The Roman Art Treasures from the Temple of Mithras

J.M.C. Toynbee

Front cover: Head of Mithras

Back cover: Temple of Mithras. Visitors watching excavations in progress, 1954

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Frontispiece: The excavations of sculptures from the Temple; Serapis head, Mercury group and colossal hand *in situ*.

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By J.M.C. Toynbee

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PREFACE

The Temple of Mithras, discovered in 1954, was the most outstanding Roman building excavated by the Roman and Medieval London Excavation Council during the 1954 season. Noteworthy amongst its finds was the collection of marble sculptures which had been deliberately buried, and to which had to be added three further marbles known as the Ransome Collection. Found in 1889 during building operations, they are now known to have come from the temple. All the sculptures are now housed in the Museum of London. The interest of the marbles was such that it was decided that they should, with the silver canister, be made the subject of a separate publication.

The Council is grateful to the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society for making it possible to publish the City's post-war excavations. Thanks are due to the late S.E. Ellis of the British Museum (Natural History), M.J. Hughes and J.R.S. Lang of the British Museum Research Laboratory for specialist contributions to the work; to Joanna Bird and Sarah Macready over matters to do with details of the text; to John Edwards for the photography of the sculptures; to Nick Griffiths for the artwork for Figures 1 & 5; to Catherine Johns and Don Bailey of the British Museum and François Baratte of the Musée du Louvre for photographs; to Hugh Chapman, past Editor of the Society, and Jenny Hall for seeing the work through the press. Above all, thanks are due to the late Professor Toynbee for making available her unrivalled knowledge of the subject and it is regretted that for various reasons (none of which were the responsibility of Professor Tonybee), she did not live to see the final publication.

W.F. Grimes

EDITOR'S NOTE

The text of this publication is that completed by the late Professor Toynbee some years ago and last seen in an edited form by her in September 1980, at which time she made some final amendments and corrections. The first proofs were not unfortunately produced until after her death on 31 December 1985. The responsibility for any errors and omissions must therefore lie with myself.

Hugh Chapman

INTRODUCTION: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

W. F. GRIMES

The discovery of the Walbrook Mithraeum was the chief outcome of an investigation the original purpose of which (whatever else might result) was to obtain more precise information about the stream which has given the site its name. Though long since lost to view the Walbrook played an important part in the Middle Ages as a parochial and administrative boundary; in Roman times it divided the walled city into two approximately equal parts and must have affected living conditions in ways which can now only be guessed at. Its scale and the behaviour of its flood-water (if any) would doubtless have been important.

But of this part of the work it need only be said here that as expected the stream was smaller than had previously been thought. At the one point where it was possible to examine it, about 360m back from the present river-frontage, though incompletely seen it could not have been more than 5–6m wide. But the exigencies of the situation made it necessary to concentrate effort on the building which presented itself in the easternmost of the cuttings which were all that time and the general conditions allowed.

The presence of the stream was no doubt a factor in the establishment of the temple at this point, with its west end about 17m back from the channel. By the time of its building the shallow valley had acquired a filling, mainly man-made, which hereabouts was up to 2.5m deep. The shrine itself was of slightly irregular basilican plan, about 18 by 8m. It was oriented east to west, with a heavily buttressed apse at the west end. The interior was divided into nave and side aisles by sleeper-walls which carried stone colonnades. Entrance was by a double door in the east wall from a narthex which was only partly seen and may have fronted a Roman predecessor of the present Walbrook street. The floor of the narthex was higher than that of the nave, perhaps indicating that the temple was built on the lip of the Walbrook valley. This involved a stone sill and two steps down to the floor of the nave, creating the sense of descent which is a feature of many Mithraea. At the western end the floor of the apse was raised on a solid drum of masonry above all other levels. Before it were two steps, the upper tread wider than the lower, presumably to allow space for altars. It is tempting to see in the seven columns of the colonnades some reflection of the seven grades that made up the cult membership. Other features of the building in its original form were a square timber-lined well or water-container in the south-west corner and the remains of wooden structures, floors and benches in the aisles.

The evidence of coins and pottery combined suggests a date of AD 240–50 for the building of the temple. In subsequent years the main changes were of two kinds. There was in the first place a gradual building up of the floors, in part perhaps a reaction to the damp conditions which seem to have prevailed throughout much of the building's history and which were responsible for the later preservation of

many timber elements which otherwise would have perished. The process seems to have been fairly rapid, judging by the relatively shallow intervals between surfaces. The temple was in use until about AD 350 or a little later. In a period of about 120 years the nave acquired eight successive floors. The resulting accumulation on the original surface was rather more than 1m deep.

One result of these changes was inevitably to modify the internal arrangements of the building. The steps both at the entrance and before the apse were gradually covered and finally eliminated. There were corresponding alterations in the levels of the aisles. For a variety of reasons it was not possible always to correlate the intervening surfaces and there were some differences in the treatment accorded to the south aisle as compared with the north.

The second, more disastrous change is equated with the fifth floor in the above succession. It is dated on coin evidence to the early fourth century, perhaps about AD 310–20. It involved the removal of the stone colonnades and therefore the dismantling of the whole structure of the building apart from the outer walls. But Floor 5 not only overlay the colonnade sleeper-walls and the column-settings; it was also the floor in which the main group of marbles (Nos. 1–5) was buried. The hollow containing them extended over the north sleeper-wall; and the head and neck of Mithras (No. 1) and the head of Minerva (No. 2), slightly apart from the others, rested on the wall and on the concrete 'pad' or setting for the first column from the east.

It would be possible to argue that the loss of the columns may have been due to structural failure. But although there had been collapse at the south-west corner (see below) there was no sign of movement elsewhere in the building. The sleeper-walls in particular were solid and undisturbed.

Given the early fourth-century date for Floor 5 the alternative conclusion is inescapable: that the two events, the removal of the colonnades and the concealment of the sculptures, were yet another example of the hostility that existed between the emerging Christians and the Mithraists at this time, with the former attacking the temples and the latter seeking to protect their sacred possessions by hiding them. This view receives support from the belated recognition of the fact that the Mithras had been damaged in antiquity. The neck, as found broken from the head, carries a scar which is due to a heavy blow from an axe or other sharp implement. In accepting this interpretation, however, there is some danger of over-simplification, for the laying of Floor 5 must have preceded the burial of the marbles in it. The two cannot therefore be strictly contemporary; and there is no evidence as to the time-interval between the damaging of the head and its burial, or between the laying of the floor and the burial.

In the confused conditions that must have prevailed during this period (added to which is the possibility of evidence that may have been lost because of difficulties in the excavation) it is perhaps not surprising that the archaeological facts reflecting such conditions should not fall tidily into place. Coin evidence indicates that Floor 5 was open down to at least AD 330. It is provided by coins of Constantine II (AD 320–4) and a Constantinopolis (AD 330–5) from a pit dug in this surface at the east end of the nave. During the period covered by Floor 5 also some innovation had continued in the neighbourhood of the apse, particularly in the introduction of what may have been a pair of unusual pedestals set on the floor in front of it.

But from this time on the building must

have presented a somewhat bedraggled appearance. With colonnades and entablatures gone and the replacement roof presumably carried on the outer walls, it was probably reduced in height. The interior would have been more open than previously, but a series of wooden posts, sometimes in clusters but not all of the same date, along the line of the southern colonnade is unexplained. They were at one stage thought to be roof-supports replacing the columns, but there was no corresponding series along the north aisle; and the final result would have been lopsided, while some of the timbers appeared too light for such a purpose. The division of nave and side aisles was maintained down to the final floor. It was marked by two beams along the lines of the long since buried sleeper-walls. They provided support for the timber joists which carried plank floors for the aisles while the nave floor continued to be of mortar or similar material.

This and other evidence combined to demonstrate that the building continued in use after the marbles had been buried. The three floors that succeeded Floor 5 were of the same type as the earlier ones, though their material varied. In the make-up for Floor 7 there were more roofers and building debris than usual, but nowhere was there an accumulation of mixed rubbish that would be expected on an abandoned site.

There were other indications of the poor state of the building in its later years. The collapse of the south-western corner has already been noted. The main wall leaned outwards slightly, the southern buttress of the apse had been reduced and a hole in the wall behind it had been filled with a column-drum. There was no way of dating this event, but the rough nature of the work, with the possibility that the drum was derived from the original building, was in keeping with the make-shift character of other details. The long beams referred to above were re-used; a secondary altar later employed to support one of them had been contrived from a dressed-down column capital; and the support for the final altar in the apse, itself a rough block, rested on a loose arrangement of pieces of wood—a state of affairs in marked contrast to the original building with its architectural pretensions and fine sculptures.

It does not appear that in its degraded state the temple had passed into other than Mithraic hands. There was no sign of Christian usage. The last sculpture to be found within the building, the Bacchus (No. 15) had not apparently been deliberately buried, but it was above rather than actually on the final floor and cannot therefore be said to have been in its original position. This floor was level with the surface of the apse. It had the effect of dividing the interior longitudinally into two parts. To the west, covering the beams, it eliminated the lateral division of nave and side aisles, being continuous as far as could be seen over the full width of the building. To the east the division had been maintained for about half the length of the former nave, with the floor cambered to the beams which continued to support the aisle floors. The junction between the two parts had not survived later disturbance, but was perhaps represented by a patch of stones set in mortar surviving on the north side. The block for the support of the last altar on the chord of the apse was the last structural feature. From amongst the underlying timbers came coins of Constantine I (AD 310–12) and Licinius I (AD 313–18). Several coins of the same period were found in the area immediately in front of the apse. Doubtless votive offerings, taken in conjunction with a coin of Constans or Constantius II (AD 341–6) from the make-up of the final floor they show that the

temple continued to be used down to about AD 350, perhaps later.

The filling over the last floor of the temple consisted of mixed building debris and black soil which included much decayed mortar with stones and fragmentary tiles. It made up the whole of the deposit to the underside of the modern floor and appeared to be the result of stone-robbing. It was presumably in the course of this activity that the scattered sculptures were dispersed: the Cautopates (No. 12), two plain altars and an incomplete column immediately outside the south wall; and the Dioscurus (No. 13), a separate find some distance away to the south of the building. Of the two figures of Bacchus, one (No. 6) came from amongst debris similar to that in the nave on the south side of the narthex; the other (No. 7) was built into a late Roman square foundation of uncertain purpose 30m to the north-west across the Walbrook stream.

It remains to be added that no direct light was shed on the finding of the 1889 group of sculptures (Nos. 8–10). If the assumption that they were found together is correct they were probably buried like Nos. 1–5. The good condition of the river-god (No. 8) and of the Mithraic panel (No. 10) would support such a view; perhaps not the headless Genius (No. 9). It has been suggested that they were revealed in the course of sewer excavations which were being made in the area at about the time of the discovery. More complete knowledge of the conditions on the site indicates that this could not have been so. There were three modern foundations in the area of the nave, which penetrated at least the upper floors. (Shortage of time prevented their removal.) They were the only modern disturbers of the temple deposits. The foundation immediately to the west of the hollow containing the main group of sculptures occupies the position that is perhaps most likely to have produced Nos. 8–10. But the true facts will not now be known.

List of Abbreviations

Grimes, *ERML*	W. F. Grimes, *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (1968)
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
LRT	*London in Roman Times*, London Museum Catalogues, No. 3 (1930)
Merrifield, *RCL*	R. Merrifield, *The Roman City of London* (1965)
RCHM, *RL*	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *London*, vol. III, *Roman London* (1928)
Toynbee, *ARB*	*Art in Roman Britain* (1963)
Vermaseren, *CIMRM*	M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, I (1956), II (1960)

PART I

CATALOGUE

Second-century works in imported marble (Numbers 1–9)

1. HEAD OF MITHRAS (*Pl. I; Pls. 1–3*)

Museum of London Acc. No. 20005

Dimensions Height, 369mm (14½in); width at base of neck, 168mm (6⅝in).

Material Fine-grained saccharoidal marble, with polygonal grains, probably from Carrara.

Find-spot The head and neck, found sundered and separately, but lying close together and fitting one another perfectly when reunited, had been deliberately buried in a hollow, overlying the dismantled stone colonnades of the temple and afterwards sealed over by the later, fourth-century, floors of the temple, just east, and slightly north, of the site of the easternmost column of the northern colonnade.

Date of discovery Head: 18 September 1954; neck: 21 September 1954

Bibliography JRS xiv (1954)pl. 44, fig. 1; R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford (ed.), *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain* (1956), pl. 28; Vermaseren, *CIMRM* ii (1960), p. 37, no. 815, fig. 252; Toynbee, *ARB*, pp. 141–2, no. 36, pl. 42; Merrifield, *RCL*, pl. 78; Grimes, *ERML*, p. 106, pl. 44.

Description and aesthetic appreciation. Mithras is portrayed as a handsome beardless youth, with long, curly hair and characteristic Phrygian cap. The twist of the neck shows that his body, now vanished, veered three-quarters towards the spectator's right, while his head was turned back over his right shoulder more than three-quarters towards the spectator's left. When the head was found, most of the face and large portions of the hair were disfigured by dark smears of iron incrustation and staining. These have been cleaned off through the skill of Dr Plenderleith in the British Museum Research Laboratory, leaving a light yellow colouring and a slightly roughened surface. But originally the flesh parts were smooth and highly polished, as can be seen on part of the right cheek, near the hair, and over the whole of the neck, which comes down to a point in the centre. The clean break between head and neck cuts across just below the chin. But at the base of the head on the left-hand side there is a gash which has severed from the hair on the head the ends of the side- and back-locks, where they touch the shoulders (Pl. 2). The two parts, head and neck, are now joined together by a dowel inserted into opposing holes drilled in the fractured surfaces. The carbon residue found in the iron incrustation suggests that the marble may have been exposed to altar fires[1].

Since the whole of the face and most of the head and neck are in a very good state of preservation, with the nose intact, the Mithras must have been very carefully buried by persons who valued it and who cannot have been responsible for the gash in the side of the neck mentioned above. Yet this gash was certainly made in antiquity, deliberately, before burial, and with a blunt implement, perhaps an axe; and the only explanation of it that comes to mind is that it was the work of Christian (?) iconoclasts, who got into the Mithraeum and attacked the Mithras with a view to decapitating it, but were prevented from doing further damage to it. The gash may well have been the cause of head and neck splitting apart. It was possibly such an attack on the Mithraeum that suggested to the Mithraists the advisability of burying all their precious marble sculptures. This hypothesis is not inconsistent with the fact that the floor (No. 5) in which the sculptures were buried dates from *c.* AD 320.

Below the lower edge of the polished neck the bust terminates in a kind of tenon, more or less triangular in shape and roughly surfaced. Head, neck, and tenon thus form together a separate entity; and the tenon, which was obviously never meant to be visible, must have been let into a hollowed-out cavity between the shoulders of the body to which the head and neck once belonged. The carving of the head and neck of a statue in a separate block, apart from the body, was a common practice among sculptors of the Roman imperial period[2]. In many cases the finest marble was reserved for the head and neck, and often for hands and feet as well, the draped parts of the figure being rendered in some inferior material, which might be coarser marble, stone, or even stucco. A marble head resting on a stucco body would undoubtedly need some extra support to bear its weight; and in the base of the tenon of our head there is an ancient hole, about 20mm (¾in) wide

Plate 1. Head of Mithras; full face.

Plate 2. Head of Mithras; detail of break across neck.

and roughly square (Pl. 3), into which a vertical metal bar or spike may have been inserted. Assuming that the head is that of Mithras Tauroctonos ('Bull-slayer'), such a bar could have passed down invisibly through the bodies of god and bull to the floor on which the group rested; and were this group, apart from its surviving head, of stucco, its complete disappearance would be very readily explained[3]. At any rate we have no knowledge of the details, material, and provenance of the remainder of the monument of which the Walbrook head was apparently the most distinguished feature. It might have been worked abroad by the sculptor who carved the head, or by a member of the same workshop, and imported along with it into the province. If, on the other hand, we suppose that it was fashioned in this island, we must envisage the activity in Britain of a craftsman sufficiently skilled to produce a body that exactly fitted this costly marble head and also a bull and other accessory figures that provided a worthy and suitably proportioned setting for it.

The Walbrook head of Mithras was clearly not intended to be viewed from the rear. Not only was it always relatively flat and unworked behind, but the back of the cap has been shaved down still further, leaving a heavily tooled surface, from which the hair on the nape of the neck and behind the right ear projects somewhat. This criss-cross tooling does not extend to the top of the peak of the cap in front; and it looks as if the head had been reconditioned to fit a group placed a short

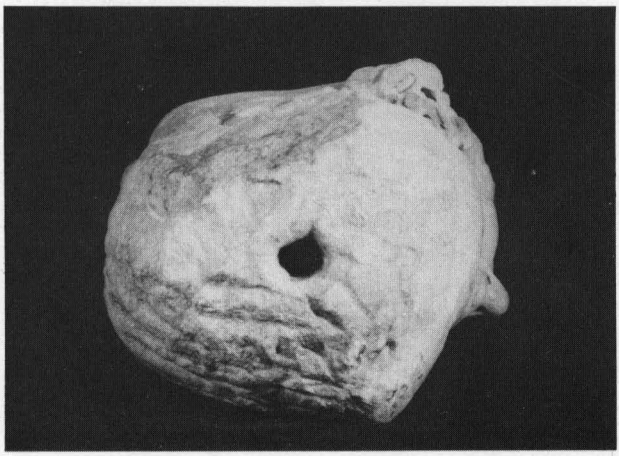

Plate 3. Head of Mithras; revealing hole at base of head.

distance in front of a background that curved up slightly over it from below. Furthermore, the god was meant to be seen neither full-face (Pl. 1), nor even three-quarter-face, but almost in profile towards the spectator's left (Pl. I). For not only is this the view obtained when the tooled portion of the head is placed flush with some vertical surface, but the line of the brows slopes slightly up, and that of the nostrils slightly down, towards the spectator's right, producing a distinctly asymmetrical effect when the face is regarded directly from the front (Pl. 1), while as seen from the side the perspective is perfectly correct and must have resulted from deliberate calculation. Again, the two creases that cut horizontally across the neck emphasise the sharp turn of the head in that they are aligned, not with the chin, but with the central hollow that separates the ends of the collar-bone. The horizontal line which furrows the right temple, starting above the right pupil and ending just to the left of the nose, but not extending across the left temple, may reveal a small error, or change of idea, on the part of the artist.

No attempt is made to indicate the hairs of the eyebrows. The irises of the eyes are not incised and were probably put in with paint. The pupils are each represented by a deeply drilled-out, somewhat elongated hollow, with a small indentation in the centre of its upper side, so that the effect is roughly crescent-shaped. Glass-paste or enamel may once have filled these hollows, although no vestige of any filling substance now remains. Between the centre of the nose and that of the upper lip a deep, circular depression has been drilled. The inside of the mouth has also been deeply drilled out, with the suggestion of an upper row of teeth just visible between the slightly parted lips. The lower lip and projecting tip of the chin are separated by a deeply carved 're-entrant'.

The hair is treated in an impressionistic manner, with deep circular holes and deep running grooves, all drill-made, flecking the rough surface and parting lock from lock. This now results in a lace-like look, with black and white vividly juxtaposed and setting off most effectively the burnished polish of the flesh. That the contrast was originally accented by colouring the hair is very probable; but no traces of paint can be detected. The working of the individual locks is more complete and careful on the visible left side of the head than it is on the almost hidden right side. There the drilled holes and grooves cease a short distance behind the presumed position of the right ear. Both ears must be imagined as completely covered by the falling side-locks, from which a tiny wisp of hair runs forward horizontally onto the edge of each cheek. On the left side a deep running groove emphasises the line of junction between hair and cap; it continues under the peak of the cap, which flops over towards the left eye, but it ceases on the right side.

The surface of the cap is rough and unpolished and was almost certainly once painted, although here again no trace of colouring survives. The soft material, wool or leather, in which this headdress is conceived to have been fashioned, is suggested by two shallow diagonal grooves, denoting folds or creases, on the left side of the peak and by two more lower down on the left side of the bonnet. Apart from the clean and easily mended break that sundered head from neck and may well have been occasioned by the aforementioned gash, Mithras has sustained but little damage. He has lost a small triangular portion of his hair on the left side, where the gash took place, a small piece of back hair below the break, by the right side of the neck, and another small bit of hair just above the break, under the place of the right ear. There is a chip out of the margin of the bust above the tenon on the right side, a small abrasion just above the break on the left side of the chin, and three small abrasions on the back of the head. A shallow crack extends over the right side of the peak of the cap, from the hair to the crown of the head; and the surface of the top of the cap, just behind the peak, has been badly eaten away by iron corrosion.

Taken as a whole, the Mithras head can claim first place among all the Walbrook works of art. It combines a fine mastery of the technique of marble-carving with the power to express an intense life and activity, both of flesh and spirit, which arrests the spectator's gaze and stirs him emotionally. In the wide-open, far-seeing eyes with their large, dark pupils, in the slightly dilated nostrils, and in the parted lips we can sense strength tempered with serenity and tenderness, and a deeply felt excitement and ecstasy linked with contemplation and repose. It is the face of one who is enacting, with quiet triumph and even with buoyancy, the role for which he has been cast.

Parallels to art-type. The backward turn of the head towards the spectator's left and the slightly upward glance of the eyes, recalling the type of the inspired Alexander, leave little room for doubt that this is the head of Mithras from a variant of the famous scene that portrays him as Tauroctonos. In that scene is depicted the great elemental and symbolic act of sacrifice whereby the god brought life out of death, good out of evil, light out of darkness for mankind. These opposing forces are normally represented by the flanking figures of Mithras' two attendants, Cautes with torch erect and Cautopates with torch reversed (No. 12). Mithras is believed

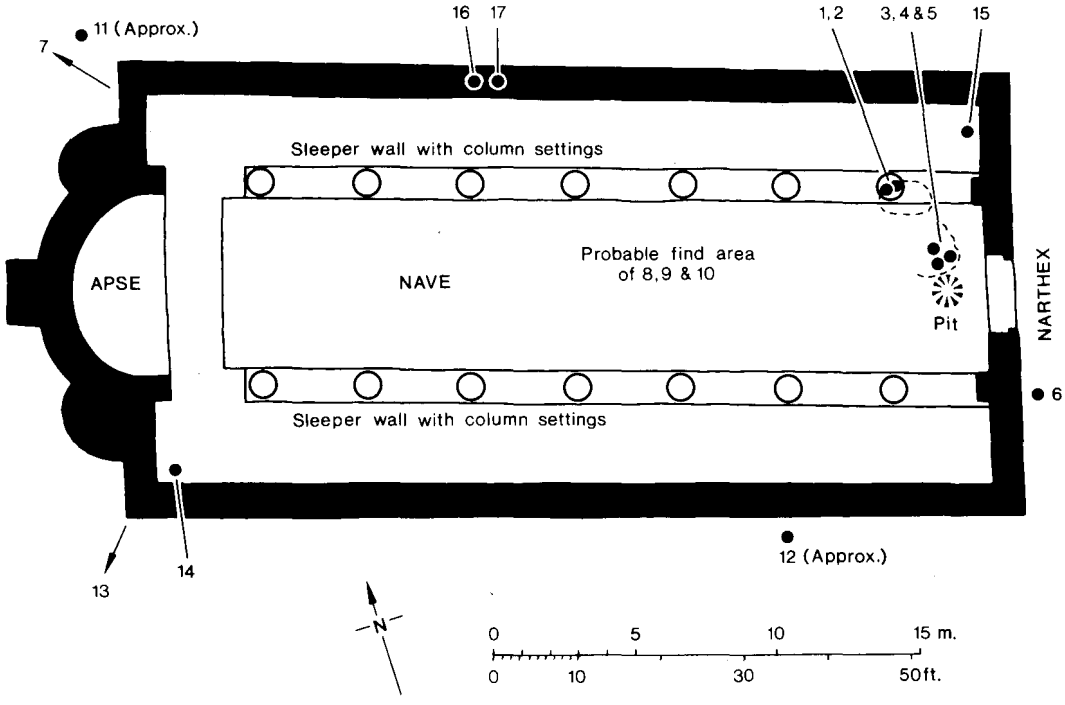

Fig. 1. Site plan; showing findspots of art treasures.

by some students of the cult to have performed the deed at the bidding of the Sun, who seems to have sent a raven as his envoy. He is shown holding the mouth of the bull with his left hand and with his right hand plunging his knife into its right shoulder. He averts his gaze from the sight of his victim's anguish because he takes no delight in slaughter for its own sake, but his face, if sometimes sad and 'pathetic', seldom, if ever, expresses horror and revulsion; he is generally, as here, the strong, yet pitiful, the inspired and transfigured sacrificant, who fully comprehends the holy purpose that underlies this bloodshed[4].

Mithras Tauroctonos was portrayed in sculpture sometimes in the round, more often in relief; and since every Mithraeum possessed at least one version of the scene, while many shrines boasted several versions of it (both cult-image and ex-votos), the known representations run into many hundreds. Parallels to the London Mithras head are therefore legion. But a few of the more striking, or more recently discovered renderings of the theme may be cited as typical examples: for instance, the marble relief found near Aquileia in northern Italy in 1889 and now in Vienna[5], two marble reliefs from the Palazzo dei Musei di Roma Mithraeum in Rome, excavated in 1931[6], and a stucco head found in 1954 in the Mithraeum under the Church of Santa Prisca on the Aventine[7]. The focal point of almost every Mithraeum was the cult-image of Mithras Tauroctonos erected in sculpture, or occasionally painted, at the termination, whether straight or apsidal, of the nave: it occupied a place of honour comparable to that accorded to the Crucifix above or behind the altar of a Christian church; and since our marble is far superior to both of the two other versions of the episode that have come to light in Walbrook (Nos. 10 and 11: Pl. X; Pls. 16, 17), it is almost certain that the group which it crowned was the cult-image and stood on the platform in the apse at the western end of the London temple (Fig. 1). That this group was not meant to be seen three-dimensionally from all sides, but formed, as it were, a 'relief in the round', would appear to be proved by the flattened back of Mithras' head, which, however, shows no signs of having been in contact with a surface close up against it: the curving wall of the apse would, in fact, have served as its background. What accessories this version of the scene shared with that on

Ulpius Silvanus' dedication in the temple (No. 10, Pl. X), we do not know[8].

Date and area of production. The general style of the Mithras head and, in particular, the manner and technique in which the hair is worked, point to a date for it between about AD 180 and 200[9]. Both its craftsmanship and its material strongly suggest that it was carved in an Italian studio.

2. HEAD OF MINERVA
(*Pl. II; Pls. 4, 5, 7*)

Museum of London	Acc. No. 18491
Dimensions	Height, 253mm (10in); width at base of neck, 152mm (6in).
Material	Fine-grained saccharoidal marble, with polygonal grains, probably from Carrara.
Find-spot	Deliberately buried in a hollow overlying the dismantled stone colonnades of the temple and afterwards sealed over by the later, fourth-century floors of the temple, just east, and slightly south, of the site of the easternmost column of the northern colonnade, close to No. 1.
Date of discovery	26 September 1954
Bibliography	*JRS* xlv (1955), pl. 44, fig. 2; Toynbee, *ARB* pp. 134–5, no. 24, pl. 28; Grimes, *ERML*, pp. 107–8 pl. 46.

Description, aesthetic appreciation, and parallels to art-type. This is the head of a cold, classic beauty, finely carved and attractive in respect of its majestic air of Olympian detachment and serenity, but lacking the sensitiveness and spark of inner fire that animate the Mithras. The face and neck show a brightly polished surface, somewhat marred, as we now see it, by the black staining, due to iron deposit (Pl. 4), which spreads over the side of the left cheek, under the chin, and over the left ear and the portion of the head immediately behind it, while a few isolated dark streaks and patches are apparent on the right side of the chin. Under the lower edge of the polished neck there is a roughly surfaced tenon, rounded in shape and somewhat shallower than is the tenon of the Mithras head, and without a hole in its base. In this case, therefore, the supporting body, into which the head was let, would seem to have been of some more solid substance, stone or coarser marble. Whether this head crowned a full-length figure or a bust or a herm, we have no means of knowing.

This head presents two obvious peculiarities. The first is the plain band of marble that passes over the brows and behind, and a little way below, each ear, and then turns at a right-angle to run across the thick, rope-like coil of hair that falls down the nape of the neck. In front this band resembles a diadem, being at its broadest in the centre, above the nose, and tapering to a relatively narrow strip for the remainder of its course (Pl. 5). The second strange feature is the crown of the head, or rather the absence of a crown, since the skull as viewed in profile, looks as though it had lost its top by being cleft in a slightly curved diagonal line from the centre of the diadem towards the rear. The upper surface of the cranium is very roughly tooled and completely unfinished and is pierced by two circular holes, each 13mm ($\frac{1}{2}$in) in diameter, set one behind the other (Pl. 7). The front hole is about 13mm deep and lies just to the spectator's left of the axis of the face; the hole behind is about 19mm ($\frac{3}{4}$in) deep and lies roughly on the centre-line. These holes must have been drilled to hold in place a metal headdress of some kind, concealing the whole of the top of the head, which was clearly never intended to be visible.

It is these two apparent oddities that furnish the key to the identification of the head as Minerva's. We have only to place a profile view of the Walbrook head (Pl. 5) and one of the head of the Varvakeion statuette of Pheidias' Athene Parthenos (Pl. 6)[10] side by side in order to be convinced that the former's marble band represents the seating for a now vanished metal 'Attic' helmet, of which the upturned peak was slipped over the diadem-like portion above the brow, while the raised edging of the neck-guard rested on the narrow strip that runs behind the ears and across the back hair. The bonnet of this metal helmet was presumably held firm by two metal bars, attached to its interior, which were fixed in the two holes drilled in the upper surface of the marble. Mounted on the metal helmet would have been a metal crest, either single or triple. The lower end of this crest probably rested, as in the case of the Varvakeion statuette, against the coil of hair that hangs down the neck, since the back surface of this coil is flattened and unworked, whereas on the sides of it the individual locks are lightly indicated with the chisel. The Walbrook Minerva lacks the tresses that fall forward on either side upon the breast of the Varvakeion Athene. But both versions of the goddess show the same triangle of hair coming down in front of each ear from below the peak of the helmet. There can, indeed, be no doubt whatsoever that the London head presents us with a Roman version of a fifth-century BC Greek Athene. The helmet was probably removed and, if of bronze and not of precious metal, abandoned at the time of the concealment of the marble, on which no sign of contact with metal can now be detected.

The two triangles of hair that frame the face of the Walbrook Minerva consist of series of crisp,

Plate 4. Head of Minerva; at correct angle of view.

Plate 5. Head of Minerva; profile view.

round curls, carved with the chisel and picked out with a number of small, circular drill-holes, of which there are more on the right side than on the left. The broken effect of the surface of the hair is also indicated by several perfectly straight, deeply incised lines cutting this way and that across the triangles. The hairs of the eyebrows are not rendered. The eyes are perfectly plain, as in all classical and Hellenistic Greek sculpture and in pre-Hadrianic large-scale sculpture of the Roman age: they lack the plastic rendering of irises and pupils that came into fashion during the second quarter of the second century and which appears, from that time on, almost invariably in portraits and often, although by no means always, in the representations of deities, personifications, and the like. The clear-cut brows, long, straight nose, short upper lip, small, neat mouth, oval cheeks, and full, but not unduly fleshy, chin combine to produce an idealised and generalised, typically classical cast of countenance. The marble's only distinctively non-fifth-century BC traits, apart from the highly burnished surface, are the treatment of the hair and the very emphatic overlapping of the lower by the upper eyelid. Two horizontal creases cut across the neck, which is, perhaps, a trifle too powerful and stocky.

This head, too, is slightly asymmetrical, although less so than is the case with the Mithras. The line of the brows rises a little towards the spectator's right; the left eye is higher and more deeply set than the right eye; and the seating for the neck-guard of the metal helmet descends considerably lower beneath the left ear than it does beneath the right ear. It seems that the head was meant to be turned very slightly towards the spectator's left, with the face tilted a little upwards. That, at any rate, provides the most pleasing and satisfactory view-point for it (Pl. 4).

The Minerva is perfectly preserved, apart from the loss of a small portion of the outer margin of the upper part of the right ear and some slight chipping along the edge of the neck above the tenon.

Date and area of production. There was probably no time during the first and second centuries of our era when there was no demand for copies and adaptations of classical Greek statuary. But hellenising taste among the imperial Romans had its special booms, as in the Hadrianic and early Antonine periods; and it is to the second quarter of the second century that it would be natural to assign a work so particularly classicised and idealised as the Walbrook Minerva. If we dated it

Plate 6. Pheidias' statuette of Athene Parthenos, Varvakeion.

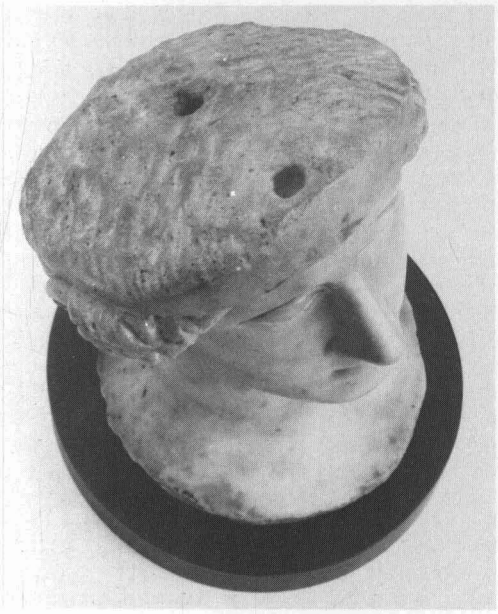

Plate 7. Head of Minerva; revealing holes in cranium.

not later than *c.* AD 150 we should have to suppose that this marble, considerably earlier than the third-century Mithraeum, had graced some continental temple or connoisseur's collection before it was imported into Britain and dedicated in the Walbrook shrine. There is nothing inherently improbable in such a supposition. On the other hand, the philhellenic interests of both Marcus Aurelius and Commodus ensured the survival of a vogue for classical Greek art-types throughout the second half of the second century, alongside the new 'baroque' and pictorial developments that characterised the portraits and reliefs of mid and late Antonine times; and it is not impossible that our head was carved as late as *c.* AD 180–90. The peculiar treatment of the hair at the sides, with the summary straight cuts across the surface, does not suggest the meticulous technique of Hadrianic craftsmanship, while the brilliant burnishing which the Minerva shares with the Mithras and with the Serapis (No. 3), is most closely paralleled in such a late second-century work as the Conservatori Commodus[11], although it must be borne in mind that polished surfacing is also characteristic of some Hadrianic sculpture. But in view of the extremely eclectic nature of the work of Roman imperial copyists, it is best to avoid attempting to date our head too precisely between the years *c.* AD 130 and 190. That the Minerva was carved in Italy may be inferred both from its style and from its material.

Representations of Minerva in other Mithraea. While Minerva in her funerary aspect as conqueress of death is functionally akin to Mithras, the Walbrook head is undoubtedly unique as being the only large and impressive representation of the goddess that any Mithraeum in the Roman world has yet produced. From the Palazzo dei Musei di Roma Mithraeum comes the lower portion of a statuette of Minerva, wearing a long tunic and resting her left hand on the shield at her side[12]; and the Mithraeum at Heddernheim has yielded a stone relief on which she stands facing the spectator, dressed in a long tunic, holding a spear in her right hand, and resting her left hand on the rim of her shield, while her helmet rests on the ground beside her[13]. As part of the official State-cult to which Mithraists had to subscribe, Minerva appears in Mithraea, along with the other Olympians, on a small marble plaque from the temple at Veles in Serbia[14], and in a small panel above the main Mithras Tauroctonos scene on the great relief from Osterburken[15]. She seems to be represented as a member of the Capitoline Triad on a terracotta vessel from the Mitreo delle Sette Porte at Ostia[16]; and possibly in the same capacity on a Mithraic relief from Virunum in Noricum[17]. And it is also as a member of the Triad that she is honoured in the only inscription known to the present writer in which her name is directly linked with that of Mithras, on an altar of late third-century date from Diana (Ain-Zana) in Africa Proconsularis[18]. For the veneration of Minerva in her own right within a shrine of Mithras comparable to that which the Walbrook head implies we have as yet no other evidence.

3. HEAD OF SERAPIS
(*Pl. III; Pls. 8, 9*)

Museum of London	Acc. No. 18494
Dimensions	Height, 322mm (12⅝in) without *modius*, 431mm (17in) with *modius*; width at base of neck 220mm (8⅝in).
Material	Fine-grained saccharoidal marble, with polygonal grains, probably from Carrara.
Find-spot	Deliberately buried, along with Nos. 4 and 5, in a shallow pit in a fourth-century floor overlying the dismantled colonnades, south-east of the pit containing Nos. 1 and 2 on the north side of the nave and just west of the entrance from the narthex.
Date of discovery	4 October 1954
Bibliography	*JRS* xlv (1955), pl. 45, fig. 1; Vermaseren, *CIMRM* ii (1960), p. 37, no. 818, fig. 253; Toynbee, *ARB* pp. 143–5, no. 38, pl. 43; Merrifield, *RCL*, pls. 74, 76; Grimes, *ERML*, p. 108, pls. 47, 48.

Description and aesthetic appreciation. As compared with the Minerva, the Serapis head has liveliness and movement, warmth and even drama; and the hand that carved it was technically more accomplished than any other whose work has come to light at Walbrook. Yet in it we miss again that dynamic spirituality which differentiates the face of the marble Mithras from every other face in this group of sculptures.

The first thing that impresses the beholder of this piece is the outstandingly brilliant polish of the flesh surfaces. The effect is, in fact, more striking than in the case of the Minerva, since here the resplendent burnishing is offset by the broken, dark-on-light masses of cascading hair and foaming beard. Once more the neck terminates in a roughly surfaced tenon, triangular in shape, like that of the Mithras, and cut into its base, just to one side of the centre-line, is an unevenly shaped, deepish slot, about 38mm (1½in) sq, into which there may have fitted some corresponding projection on the top of the body, bust, or herm that once supported this head.

The Serapis resembles the Mithras in not having been intended to be viewed from the rear, at least in the last stages of its history in ancient times (Pl. 9). The back of the head was always relatively flat and it was originally covered, from the crown to the upper edge of the tenon, by a kind of waterfall of sinuous, rippling locks, summarily carved in low relief. But the centre of this area has been reworked by the removal of a thin layer of marble, an operation that has left a bare patch, from which all traces of these locks have vanished. The purpose of this mauling we do not, or course, know; but we may surmise that it was done with a view to squeezing the head more easily into a niche, or against some other form of background, when it was dedicated in the Walbrook temple.

The crown of the head was flattened from the first so that it might give a steady foothold for the *kalathos*, the *modius* or corn-measure, a symbol of fertility, by which Serapis is always distinguished. This cylindrical object shows a smooth, but not brightly burnished, surface and at top and bottom it carries a plain, rounded, and projecting moulding. The drum between these two mouldings splays out slightly towards the top and it is adorned with three conventional, but not precisely identical, olive-trees, with leaves and berries sprouting from a central trunk—a further allusion to the fruitfulness that the god was expected to bestow both on dead and living (p. 61). These three trees, of which one occupies the front of the *modius*, the other two its sides, are worked in very low and delicate relief; and they have their counterparts on many other representations of Serapis. The summit of this curious headdress measures 81mm (4in) across; and is pierced at its centre by a small, round hole, 25mm deep, which is likely to have held a metal bunch of corn-ears, to complete this picture of material and other-worldly bounty. The *modius* of the Walbrook Serapis is unusually tall and slender.

The locks of the hair that hang upon the brow, and those that descend in thick, vertical masses on either side to frame the face and hide the ears, are all deeply undercut and heavily drilled, with long, running grooves distinguishing the lateral tresses, some of which, on the right side, are connected by small, transverse 'bridges' of marble left between the grooves and for some reason not removed (Pl. 8). The similarly drilled hair of Mithras has a sketchy and impressionistic appearance. But here the overall effect is one of painstaking virtuosity. Apart from the little 'bridges', every detail has a finished look; and we note that exact repetitions have been studiously avoided. For instance, on the left side there is a gap of 13mm (½in) between the downward-pointing tips of the locks and the top of the shoulder, while on the right side the upward-curling ends of the corresponding locks meet the shoulder, and the main mass of hair projects further forward over the beard than does the balancing mass on the left. It is clear that the brow was once overshadowed by four dangling forelocks; but of the two central ones, which must have been completely undercut, so as to hang quite free of the surface of the forehead, only the stumps remain, and the two unbroken forelocks to right and left respectively merge slightly with the side locks. There is the same heavy drilling in moustache and beard. Below the centre of the chin the beard is dressed in large corkscrew ringlets, the lower parts of which are modelled in the round, with flanking tiers of spiral curls arranged in patterns that vary somewhat as between the two sides. It may be claimed that in the treatment of the hair, moustache, and beard the Walbrook Serapis represents a triumph of pictorial and colouristic sculpture.

There is no indication of the hairs of the eyebrows beneath the sensitively rendered temples. The pupils of the eyes are represented by small round depressions, the irises by lightly incised circles. These devices produce an air of vivid alertness, which is wholly absent from the Minerva's blank eyeballs; and indeed the entire face, if lacking the force and inspiration of the Mithras, is instinct with life. We can almost sense the breath issuing from between the rows of teeth, the upper one of which the parted lips clearly reveal; and we seem to feel the softness of the strongly marked hollow above the upper lip, beyond which the fuller lower

Plate 8. Head of Serapis; profile view.

lip projects, as it sags slightly out of line towards the left. It is partly to these small irregularities and individual traits in the features, combined with those already noted in the hair and beard, that this version of Serapis owes its special freshness and flavour.

The mutilation of the two central forelocks is the only substantial damage that the marble has sustained. There are a number of chips along the edging of the neck, above the tenon; one large chip and a few small abrasions on the upper moulding of the *modius*; and on the surface of the rear of the *modius* near one of the olive-trees some pitting and a few more slight abrasions can be seen. The tiny break in one of the locks on the left side of the face is modern. The bright brown stains on the beard and on the hair above the brow, and the darker brown stain on the edge of the right side of the neck, are vestiges of iron incrustation.

Parallels to art-type. The Walbrook head is a version of a well-known type of Serapis, of which two of the most familiar examples are a colossal marble bust in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican[19] and the dark greenish-grey basalt head in the Villa Albani collection in Rome[20]. The hall-mark of the type is the fringe of normally four or five vertical forelocks, which in most representations dangle over the brow in straight, stiff lines, 'like icicles', to quote H. P. L'Orange's apt comparison[21], and are sharply demarcated from the main coiffure, but which in the case before us seem to have worn a less hieratic, clear-cut, and rigid aspect. It has been suggested that these overshadowing curls were intended to denote the darkness of the underworld in which Serapis reigned[22]. But whatever their meaning may have been, these curls clearly distinguish the heads that bear them from those of another series in which the hair, instead of falling forward over the brow, either rises up from it, in what has been called an *anastole* ('crest'), leaving it free and uncovered, and then streams down on either side in waving tresses or, less frequently, is waved laterally on either side of a central parting. Serapis heads belonging to this second series certainly go back to the Hellenistic age[23]; whereas there is no example of the forelocks type that can be definitely dated so early. But throughout imperial times both series ran side by side. The British Museum possesses a good example of the *anastole* type, a Roman work executed in a manner that dates it not later than the time of Antoninus Pius, but which could well have been carved several generations before[24]. This type may, for convenience, be labelled 'Hellenistic'[25], as opposed to the forelocks type, of which relatively few sculptural examples would appear, from stylistic and technical criteria, to antedate the

Plate 9. Head of Serapis; rear view, revealing reworked area.

second half of the second century AD and which might, for that reason, be termed 'Roman-age' or 'Roman'[26]. Which type of hair-style reflects that of the original cult-image of the god which, according to some scholars, an early Hellenistic sculptor, a hypothetical Bryaxis the Younger, created for the Serapaeum of Alexandria[27], we do not know. The 'Hellenistic' type would seem to be the more likely candidate, although the forelocks type, examples of which are by far the more numerous, has been commonly attributed to Bryaxis. The great fourth-century sculptor Bryaxis, an Athenian, according to Clement of Alexandria, may well have made the statue of Pluto-Hades at Sinope in Pontus, which was brought thence to Alexandria to serve as the original cult-image of Serapis[28].

When precisely the 'Roman' Serapis type with the forelocks, which the Walbrook head examplifies, whether going back to Bryaxis or not, became the fashionable and standard one, we cannot tell. Amongst its earliest *certain* appearances are those on an Alexandrian tetradrachm of Nero, on a Hadrianic relief in the Louvre, and on a frontal bust of Serapis on an Alexandrian coin of Marcus Aurelius[29]. But general considerations would suggest that the greatly increased popularity of the

forelocks type in late second-century AD Roman sculpture had some connection with the history of the cult-image of the Serapaeum of Alexandria, the mother-temple, and always the centre of the god's worship. Excavations made in 1943–5 at Alexandria have, indeed, revealed the remains of a large Roman Serapaeum replacing the original and smaller Ptolemaic building[30]. A. Rowe and A. J. B. Wace suggested that the Hellenistic temple was destroyed during the Jewish insurrection and that the grandiose new shrine was the work of Hadrian[31]. But we have no record of any such early second-century destruction. On the other hand, we have got a record of the burning of the Alexandrian Serapaeum under Commodus in AD 183[32]; and Commodus, whose devotion to the gods of Egypt was notorious[33], is a likely emperor to have sponsored the replacement of the burnt temple on new and more ambitious lines[34]. It is, as we have seen, in the age of Commodus that many of the 'Roman' heads of Serapis fit both in style and in technique: and it is at least a reasonable hypothesis that Bryaxis' original statue (if Bryaxis' it was) may have been lost in such a disaster and that, of the two existing types, that with the forelocks was chosen for a new cult-image made under Commodus for a new Alexandrian Serapaeum. The type was certainly well established in that city by AD 199 to 201, when Septimius Severus, during his famous tour of Egypt, became an enthusiastic devotee of Serapis and adopted for himself the forelocks hair-style of his patron deity[35]. The existence of these two distinct types of Serapis hair-style is anyhow a puzzle. For the original image would have been a single new creation and cannot have combined both styles. One of them must have been created at a different date and by a different sculptor.

Among the many versions of the 'Roman' Serapis type that offer parallels to the olive-decked *modius* of the Walbrook marble are the Villa Albani head already cited and two heads in the British Museum[36]. The *modius* worn by the colossal Serapis in the Vatican is modern, apart from a small portion directly in contact with the head. But the circlet that passes beneath the *modius* is ancient and is pierced by holes for holding metal rays—an interesting piece of evidence for the assimilation of Serapis to Sol and hence to Mithras (p. 61)[37].

Date and area of production. The Serapis may be dated, on grounds of technique and style, to *c.* AD 185 to 200. As in the cases of the Mithras and the Minerva, both material and workmanship indicate that Italy was the ultimate source from which the sculpture was brought to Walbrook.

Representations of Serapis in other Mithraea. Of the representations of Serapis known to have been dedicated in other Mithraea the most impressive in many ways is that from the temple at Mérida (Augusta Emerita) in Spain[38]. It is a marble head, now about 300mm high, and broken off in a jagged line, just below the chin, from the bust or body that it once surmounted. Its identification as Serapis is rendered certain by the flat cut across the summit of the crown, which can only be explained as the seating for a *modius*, carved, it would seem, in a separate piece of marble—unless it were of bronze or stucco—and balanced upon the level surface. The nose is broken and the hollowed-out eye-sockets, which must have held glass-paste or enamel eyes, are now gaping cavities. There is a glint of teeth between the parted lips. The hair, which is confined by a circlet, flares up above the centre of the brow in an *anastole* and then ripples down to frame the finely modelled face and short, square-cut beard. Here we have, in fact, a version of the 'Hellenistic' Serapis, without dangling forelocks; while the sparing use of drilling and undercutting points to a date in the early Antonine period, as it also does for several other sculptures from the site. It may be noted in this connection that a marble group of Mercury, the only precisely dated piece of sculpture from the Mérida Mithraeum, bears an inscription recording its dedication to Mithras in AD 155 (p. 21).

Two sculptured representations of Serapis have come to light more recently on the Aventine, in the Mithraeum found beneath the Church of Santa Prisca. One of these is a marble statuette, standing on a rectangular base, with a short, square-shaped support behind the god's left foot and ankle[39]. Serapis is wrapped in a heavy mantle, which veils the head and is swathed round the waist, leaving the chest exposed, but enveloping the back, against which the left hand rests as it raises a fold of the drapery. The right fore-arm and hand are lost; the head, now replaced upon the shoulders, was broken off; and the face has been severely battered. A *modius*, partially preserved, crowns the head and the brow, so far as its damaged state permits us to judge, appears to show traces of the forelocks falling over it. If the forelocks are indeed present, they might date the statuette to the late second or early third century.

More closely related to the Walbrook marble is the stucco head of Serapis from the Santa Prisca site[40]. It measures about 500mm in height and shows the god wearing a blue veil and a *modius* which splays out towards an upper moulding and carries traces of olive-tree decoration. Here again the parted lips reveal a row of teeth between them. In this case distinct traces survive of the forelocks

dangling freely over the forehead, as on our head; and in the rendering of the thick, billowing curls of the beard the plasterer has sought to imitate the drilling and undercutting practised by the marble-carver. This head belongs to a series of stucco figures with which a niche, added to one end of the temple, was decorated during either the last years of the second, or early years of the third, century; but its place in the scheme of decoration is not easy to establish. The excavators' first theory was that it belonged to a colossal reclining figure of a Water-god, which occupies the niche, and that this figure thus represented a conflation of Serapis and Oceanus[41]. But when parts of the head of the Water-god had been recovered, that theory was rejected in favour of the view that the Serapis head may have been fixed on or near the upper margin of the stucco relief of Mithras Tauroctonos which fills the back wall of the niche, behind the reclining Water-deity[42]. Such, indeed, is the position occupied by a draped bust of Serapis, rayed and wearing a *modius*, above a large relief of the bull-slaying scene, worked in white gypsum, which figured prominently in the niche at one end of the Dura-Europos Mithraeum[43]. Now, however, it is seen that the Santa Prisca Serapis head is too large to have occupied the margin of the niche; and that it would, if placed in the niche itself, have detracted attention from the head of Mithras[44]. The Serapis head's position must therefore remain unknown.

These four monuments from Spain, Rome, and Syria give ample proof that there is nothing abnormal in the finding of the head of Serapis in the Walbrook Mithraeum[45].

4. MERCURY GROUP
(*Pl. IV; Pls. 10, 11*)

Museum of London	Acc. No. 18493
Dimensions	Height, 254mm (10in); base, 203mm (8in) long, 111mm (4⅜in) wide.
Material	Fine-grained saccharoidal marble, with polygonal grains, probably from Carrara.
Find-spot	See No. 3.
Date of discovery	See No. 3.
Bibliography	*JRS* xlv (1955), pl. 46; Toynbee, *ARB*, pp. 132–3, no. 20, pl. 31; Merrifield, *RCL*, pls. 74, 77; Grimes, *ERML*, p. 108, pls. 48, 49.

Description and aesthetic appreciation. This dainty little group of Mercury, seated on a rock and characterised by a number of his well-known attributes, has, as will be seen, been severely fractured in several places. But apart from the loss of the left knee-cap, of part of the right hand, and the ends of two of the toes of the right foot, all of which probably disappeared before the marble was deliberately concealed, the sculpture is intact, since the portions of it that had become detached from one another were found lying all together in position and could at once be reunited.

The god is naked and lounges in an easy attitude upon the top of a projecting lump of rock, between which and his person he has interposed his folded cloak to serve him as a cushion. He is hatless, but two little wings sprout directly from his hair, which covers his head with a mass of tight, round curls, in which no trace of drilling or of undercutting can be detected. Mercury is here portrayed as very youthful, with full lips, rounded cheeks, and a mild and somewhat pensive expression, as he gazes dreamily towards the spectator's right with eyes of which the pupils are marked by tiny drill-holes. Trunk and limbs are soft and slender, well knit and well proportioned. The group was certainly meant to be viewed all round, since the back (Pl. 11) and sides are as sensitively and exquisitely modelled as is the front, although the sculptor has skilfully contrived so to utilise his block that the greyer parts of it could be restricted to the rear. All the flesh is brightly burnished; the drapery is smooth, but not polished; while the surfaces of rock and other accessories have been left slightly rough, no doubt for contrast.

Mercury's left hand rests on the end of his rugged seat and grasps by the neck a long money-bag, presumably of leather, which dangles downwards. In the palm of his right hand, which is supported on his left knee, is cut a diagonal groove, into which must have fitted the stem of a small metal serpent-staff (*caduceus*), once held in the missing fingers and projecting forward from the group. His right foot is set on the ground, his left on a fold of drapery bunched upon the back of a tortoise. Below his left knee a ram crouches towards the right against the vertical face of the rock. These attributes are, of course, symbols of the god's diverse functions. The wings and herald's staff befit him as the traveller who guides the dead from earth to paradise; the purse denotes his patronage of commerce; the ram his gift of fertility to flocks and herds and so to man; while the tortoise alludes to the well-known tale of his invention of the lyre, which, as a token of celestial harmony, hints at the after-life bliss of the Mithraic *mystes*.

The piece is carved in two separate blocks of marble. From the larger of these is cut Mercury himself, his rocky seat, his ram and tortoise, and the thin flat, oval slab that represents the 'ground' on which the group is supported. The smaller block has provided the sculpture with a solid base or stand, oval in shape and consisting, below, of a

Plate 10. Mercury group, revealing ancient fractures.

large concave moulding between two smaller convex mouldings, and above, of a thin and narrow collar of roughly modelled rock. This collar surrounds a shallow sunk area, designed to receive the 'ground' of the group, which originally fitted into it with precision. The under surface of the 'ground' and the floor of the sunk area were both left slightly rough; and thus the two worked blocks were neatly keyed together without any form of fastening. Furthermore, the under surface of the base is criss-crossed with scratches, presumably to obviate the danger of the marble slipping off a shelf or table.

As the fractures already mentioned indicate, this Mercury has had a chequered history. Two of these breaks took place after the piece was buried; for it must have been the pressure of the earth above that snapped the head clean off at the neck and detached in a similar manner a flake of marble from the right shoulder-blade. But the larger and more serious fracture, which caused the figure, its seat, and its 'ground' to split right in two, certainly occurred in Roman times and before the marble 'went to earth', since there is evidence that steps were taken to repair it. This break passes through the god's right thigh and his left knee and bisects the rock, with the ram and drapery carved upon it. It may further have resulted in the snapping of the left leg just above the ankle. In order to remedy this damage, both sides of the main fracture, from the 'ground' to the summit of the rock, were scratched with diagonal keying lines, smeared with cement, and stuck together. The breaks at the right thigh and left ankle then closed up automatically and did not require cementing. But since the thrust of the god's body towards the right would have tended to pull the lower section of this fracture, where it passed through the rocky seat, apart again, the under surface of the 'ground' on the right-hand side of the break and the corresponding portion of the floor of the sunk area in the base were clamped together with a shallow cushion of cement. The effect of this was to raise the right-hand portion of the group very slightly, so that it no longer dropped neatly into place on the base. Hence the joining-up of the major fracture is not quite exact and some tiny fragments of marble on and near its edges have been lost. This ancient repair was, in fact, a clumsy, botched job; but the attempt to deal with the situation at the left knee may be described as desperate. Here the knee-cap has now vanished, disclosing two grooves which have been drilled right through the knee, one from the front of the leg, the other from the upper surface of the thigh, and which meet in the middle very slightly at an angle. Such grooves must have been meant for rivets, intended to hold the left leg and thigh together, but only resulting in the knee-cap splitting off in two fragments[46]. These fragments, and the portion of the right hand that they carried with them, were not found with the rest of the marble; and it seems almost certain that these losses were incurred before the Mercury was buried. The cementing-up of the major fracture must have come unstuck while the piece was under ground, for when the sculpture came to light the two edges were lying in the closest contact, but not adhering; and it is possible that the snapping of the left leg was not contemporary with that break, but was due to earth-pressure after the two halves of the group had ceased to be firmly held together.

We can, of course, only speculate about the point in the Mercury's career at which the major fracture took place. But it seems unlikely that the marble was already injured at the time when it was bespoken for the Walbrook shrine. We can visualise the damage being done during its transit from the continent to London and a hasty patching-up being carried out by the temple authorities or by the donor and dedicator. Alternatively, the marble may have reached the Mithraeum safely and then have fallen from its place at some point after its dedication. To this same accident, whenever and however it occurred, the loss of the two toes of the extended right foot may reasonably be attributed.

Parallels to art-type. The Walbrook Mercury is a typical example of Graeco-Roman *genre* art as

Plate 11. Mercury group; showing finished sculpture at rear.

applied to a religious theme. Its point is not so much cult as picturesqueness; and it stems directly from the Hellenistic tradition which prettified the gods and immersed them in the common human round, so that Mercury figures here as a dainty, graceful boy, conscious only of weariness, as he flops upon his rock, and totally forgetful of his own divinity. Compared with our marble, the famous bronze statue of the seated Hermes, found at Herculaneum and now at Naples[47], a Roman copy of a Greek original probably dating from the closing decades of the fourth century BC, has god-like dignity and poise, for all its slenderness and air of relaxation. This work has been assigned to Lysippus on the score of its affinities with the Vatican copy of that sculptor's Apoxyomenos; and it is to a later, early third-century generation of Lysippus' pupils that the closest parallel to the Walbrook group is attributed. This is a bronze statuette of Hermes seated on a rock in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York[48], which shows the same carefree turn of the head as does the London Mercury and represents, as it does, the next stage, after that of the Naples Hermes, in the humanising and dandyfying of the god.

Date and area of production. The absence of drilling and of undercutting in the hair, combined with the hard, drilled folds of the cloak, the plastic treatment of the eyes, and the burnished surfacing are all suggestive of the Hadrianic or early Antonine period. On the other hand, it is possible that a derivative work of this type was fashioned in a conservative style at a date somewhat later in the second century. Material and craftsmanship again point to Italy as the country in which the Mercury was manufactured.

Representations of Mercury in other Mithraea. In this discussion we are not concerned with the numerous instances of Mercury's appearance in Mithraic contexts as a planetary god[49]. It is to his representations in Mithraea for his own sake that we must turn for counterparts of the Walbrook group; and of these the most significant is a marble statue from the Mérida Mithraeum [50], about 1500mm high and as monumental and imposing as our piece is slight and refined. In this case the god is seated, directly facing the spectator, on a rocky throne, over which he has draped his cloak. He has short, curly hair, in which no wings are visible, and he is both more mature in features and more solidly built than is the Walbrook figure. His left hand rests on a corner of the rock; his right hand, of which some of the fingers are damaged, seems to have held some object, possibly a purse; and a large portion of his left leg and the front part of his left foot are lost. His distinguishing attributes are the wings at his ankles and the tortoise-shell lyre that rests against his seat, below his left hand. This lyre is inscribed with the statue's most important and interesting features—the record of its dedication to Mithras by a *pater* (the highest of the seven Mithraic grades of initiation) in the 180th year of the colony of Augusta Emerita, that is, in AD 155[51]. No evidence for the close association in the Roman mind between Mercury and Mithras could be more conclusive than this.

The four stone representations of Mercury found in the Mithraeum at Stockstadt in Roman Germany are described below (p. 61). From the Dieburg Mithraeum come a headless stone figure of the god, with cloak, purse, *caduceus*, wings at the ankles, ram, tortoise, and cock; and the base of another stone figure, of which the god's feet and the forepaws of his ram are alone preserved[52]. It remains to mention the standing figure of Mercury, with winged hat, cloak thrown over his left shoulder, *caduceus*, and purse, carved, along with figures of Vulcan, Jupiter, Hercules, Neptune, and Bacchus, in the frieze above the great Tauroctonos relief from Sarrebourg[53]; and the stone reliefs of Mercury with head-wings, cloak, purse, and *caduceus*, from Mithraeum I at Heddernheim[54] and from the Mithraeum at Gimmeldingen[55].

5. COLOSSAL HAND OF MITHRAS TAUROCTONOS (*Pl. V; Pl. 12*)

Museum of London	Acc. No. 18492
Dimensions	Length, 257mm (10¼in); height, with knife-hilt held vertically, 152mm (6in); width, across back of hand, 133mm (5¼in); length of iron shank, 114mm (4½in).
Material	Fine-grained saccharoidal marble, with polygonal grains, probably from Carrara.
Find-spot	See No. 3.
Date of Discovery	See No. 3.
Bibliography	*JRS* xlv (1955), pl. 45, fig. 2; Toynbee, *ARB*, pp. 142–3, no. 37, pl. 40; Merrifield, *RCL*, pls. 74, 75; Grimes, *ERML*, p. 108, pl. 50.

Description, aesthetic appreciation, and parallels. The thumb and fingers of this huge right hand, just over twice life-size, are clenched to grasp a cylindrical knife-hilt, also of marble. The hilt has a round pommel, slightly projecting beyond the contours of the shaft, and decorated on the top with a deeply incised circle. In the centre of the end of the shaft is drilled a circular hole 44mm (1¾in) deep, into which a metal blade, presumably of bronze, must have been inserted. Much of the surface of the hand is polished, with a few tooling-

marks visible on the back of the hand itself and on the backs of the fingers. But the shaft of the hilt, the palm of the hand, and the under-side of the wrist are tooled all over, and on the hand and wrist the purpose of it seems to be to reproduce the myriad tiny creases that appear in nature. Deeply drilled-out grooves separate the fingers, which, with the thumb, are most sensitively modelled, the utmost care having been expended on the finger-nails and transverse creases at the joints. The large crease that runs between the palm and the wrist is also beautifully rendered. The hand presents, in fact, a quite exceptionally fine combination of delicacy and strength.

It is clear that the hand is not a completely isolated hand, nor yet one that had been accidentally snapped off from a marble statue. There was never any break at the wrist, but the piece ends in a shallow tenon which starts a short way below the line of the wrist on the thumb side and tapers away to merge with the edge of the wrist on the side of the little finger. Into the base of this tenon a very rough, irregular iron shank has been lapped with lead, a large drip of which has spilt itself slightly over the edge of the wrist, where the tenon merges with it (Pl. 12). Here, then, we have a detachable marble hand, to which at least an arm once belonged. For the ugly iron shank must have been embedded in an arm of another material, whether of coarser marble, stone, or stucco; and embedded in a draped arm, since the end of a sleeve must have fitted over and concealed the roughly surfaced tenon.

The hand holds the knife with its blade pointing downwards and exactly reproduces the attitude of Mithras' right hand as he stabs, or is about to stab, his victim in the endlessly repeated bull-slaying scene[56]. This, combined with the fact that the arm wore a long sleeve, leaves no room for doubt that this collossal hand is that of Mithras Tauroctonos. Parallels are too numerous and too familiar to be quoted; but it may be mentioned that there are traces of a hole for a metal blade in the end of the marble knife-hilt held aloft in the right hand of Mithras in the group in the round signed by Criton of Athens from the 'Terme di Mitra' at Ostia (p. 56)[57].

But if it is easy to identify the owner of the hand and arm, the problem of the monument of which they formed part, and of their place and purpose

Plate 12. Colossal hand of Mithras Tauroctonos; view of underside, revealing iron shank and knife-hilt.

in Mithraic worship in London, is extremely difficult to solve. Were the hand all that has survived to us of a complete bull-slaying group, in the round or in very high relief, that group could never have been dedicated in the Walbrook shrine. It would have been far too large to stand on the platform in the apse; nor could it have stood in the nave, where it would have seriously interfered with the movements of the congregation and where it would have needed a solid emplacement, of which no trace was found, to support it, given the moist and unstable nature of the ground in this area. Again, it is impossible to hold that a rendering of this sacred and secret theme was erected in the street, outside the narthex. Such a mammoth group, if it did exist, must have been set up at the end of another and much larger Mithraeum in Londinium: we should have to imagine the hand being brought from that 'cathedral' for burial at Walbrook; and we must suppose that the precious marble left hand and head from the group still lie concealed somewhere in or near the Roman city. On the analogy of Rome, Ostia, and other cities of the Empire, it is highly probably that a big provincial port like London had more than one Mithraeum. Yet London was, perhaps, hardly rich and populous enough in Roman times to produce a temple of the quite abnormally large dimensions, even by Italian standards, required to accommodate a group proportioned to this mighty hand.

Fewer difficulties are raised by the view that the hand was never linked with an entire group, but formed, together with its vanished arm, a symbolic object, in which the immediate agent of the holy act of sacrifice was isolated from its context and erected, as a token of the whole scene, for veneration in the Walbrook Mithraeum[58]. We have no idea how, and in what place, within the shrine such a symbol might have functioned; and instances of other Mithraic dedications of this nature are, to the present writer's knowledge, wholly lacking. The great gilded right hand of stucco found in the Santa Prisca Mithraeum and grasping the stem of some object, offers no parallel[59], since it certainly belonged to the reclining figure of the Water-deity (p. 27)[60]. The absence of Mithraic parallels is, indeed, the chief weakness of this interpretation[61]. But we can at least set it out as possible hypothesis and hope that corroborating evidence may one day come to light.

The closest sculptural parallel to the Walbrook hand, although it is one completely lacking, so it seems, in Mithraic associations, is provided by a colossal marble bust now standing in the circular ambulatory that surrounds the ground floor of the Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castel Sant'Angelo: No. 130). Most of the face and shoulders of the bust are modern restorations. But the style of the curly hair suggests that we have here the sorry relics of a portrait of Antinous—a subject that suits the site well enough. Upon the crown of the head rests an enormous right hand measuring at its greatest extent about 318mm (16in). Thumb and fingers grip firmly what appears to be the hilt of a sword or dagger, the blade of which must be thought of as buried in the left side of the head. The hand is carved in a separate block of marble from the head, but fits the latter's curve perfectly and it seems to have been finished off at the wrist as a self-contained hand, revealing no trace of an arm to which it had once been attached. The hand is set more at an angle to the wrist than is the case with the Walbrook hand, but otherwise its attitude is much the same as that of the latter. Does it symbolise the hand of Death striking down Antinous?[62].

That an isolated right hand, with sleeved wrist and forearm, grasping an attribute, was sometimes depicted in the Roman world to represent the power of a deity is proved by finds from Palmyra and other Syrian sites. An altar, discovered in the 1963–4 Polish excavations in the forum area of Palmyra and dedicated in AD 223, possibly to Baalshamin (the god's name is not given), shows in relief a right hand gripping a winged thunderbolt, with the wrist emerging from the cuff of an embroidered sleeve[63].

Date and area of production. The Walbrook hand may be assigned to the second half of the second century on grounds of style and general probability; but data for a more precise attribution are obviously not available. Its Italian provenance is suggested by both its marble and its craftsmanship.

6. FRAGMENT OF A STATUETTE OF BACCHUS (?) (*Pl. VI; Pl. 13*)

Museum of London	Acc. No. 18495
Dimensions	Height, 184mm (7¼in); width across torso, 133mm (5¼in); thickness from back to front, 195mm (3¾in).
Material	Fine-grained saccharoidal marble, with polygonal grains, probably from Carrara.
Find-spot	In the overlying debris in a room (?) on the south side of the narthex.
Date of discovery	23 September 1954.

Description, aesthetic appreciation, and parallels to art-type. This is a fragment of a mutilated nude male statuette. All that survives is a torso extending from a short distance above the naval to half-way down the thighs; but this is enough to indicate that the weight of the body rested on the right leg and that the left leg was placed slightly in front of the right.

The whole of the upper part of the body, with the head, and the rest of the thighs, with the legs and feet, have been more or less neatly, and apparently deliberately, chopped off; and at the back, above the buttocks, there is a large and ancient break (Pl. 13). The surfaces of front and sides are brightly burnished and very well preserved, apart from a few red stains due to iron incrustation. The modelling of the back is finished; but there the surface is not burnished and both the buttocks and the rear of the thighs show tooling-marks. From the right buttock a lump of marble projects and extends a short distance along the right side towards the spectator. It seems that the figures right leg was attached to a support and that the marble as a whole stood against some background. In the surface of the front there are some small, shallow cracks and abrasions.

What remains of the statuette is very competently carved, with a fine sense of anatomical structure and feeling for the texture of naked flesh. Given the context, there can be little doubt that this torso represents a youthful deity; and we can with some assurance identify that deity as Bacchus. The stance of the figure, with the weight on the right leg and the left slightly advanced, is the normal one in which the god is repeatedly portrayed, whether he is shown alone or surrounded by members of his revel-rout[64]. It is identical, for instance, with the pose of Bacchus in the somewhat later marble group from Walbrook (No. 15); and an even more striking analogy is forthcoming from the Santa Prisca site, where there was discovered a marble statuette quite remarkably close to our torso in style, size, and posture[65]. There the head, most of the arms, the right leg from the knee downwards, and the left leg from half-way down the thigh are lost. But chest and shoulders are intact; and the latter shows two vestiges of the long, falling tresses by which Bacchus is often characterised. It must, however, be borne in mind that Apollo also is often represented with the same stance and hanging locks; and it should further be noted that the find-spot of the Santa Prisca statuette furnishes no proof that it was ever actually dedicated in the Mithraic sanctuary[66].

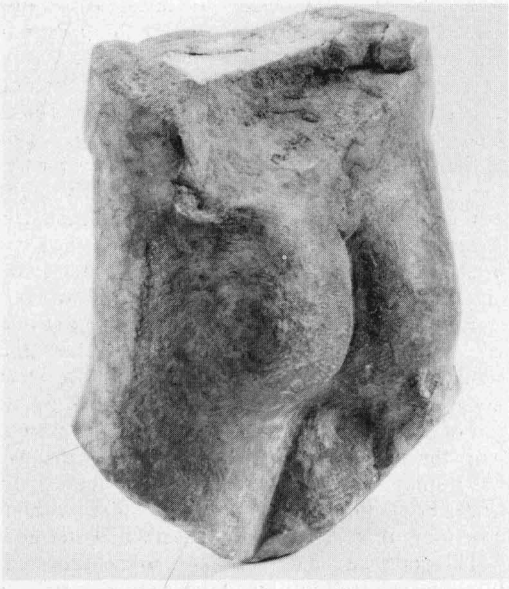

Plate 13. Fragment of statuette of Bacchus (?) (No. 6); rear view, revealing ancient break.

Date and area of production. In the case of this torso, as in the cases of Nos. 5 and 7, we have not enough to go upon for attempting a precise dating on stylistic and technical grounds. We can only say that the treatment points to the second century, the marble to an Italian workshop.

Representations of Bacchus in other Mithraea. Bacchus, appropriate as he is in a Mithraic context, is seldom represented in Mithraea. He appears in his own right in only one certain instance, that at Walbrook (No. 15), already quoted. Otherwise he merely features as one of the Olympians, where these are introduced into Mithraic monuments, as in the frieze above the bull-slaying scene from Sarrebourg[67]. In this he leans against a huge bunch of grapes, with his left arm, now lost, held behind his head and a beast-skin round his waist.

7. FRAGMENT OF A STATUETTE OF BACCHUS (?) (*Pl VII; Pl. 14*)

Museum of London	Acc. No. 18015
Dimensions	Height, 185mm (6½in); width across torso, 153mm (5¾in); thickness from back to front, 96mm (3¾in).
Material	Fine-grained saccharoidal marble, with polygonal grains, probably from Carrara.
Find-spot	Found reused in a late Roman Foundation block of masonry west of the Walbrook stream and about 183m (200 yards) from the temple.
Date of discovery	1952.

Description, aesthetic appreciation, and parallels to art-type. This torso is on the same scale as No. 6, and although not precisely identical with it, since the rendering of the private parts is slightly different, it is clearly of the same date, technique and style and must come from the same workshop, if not

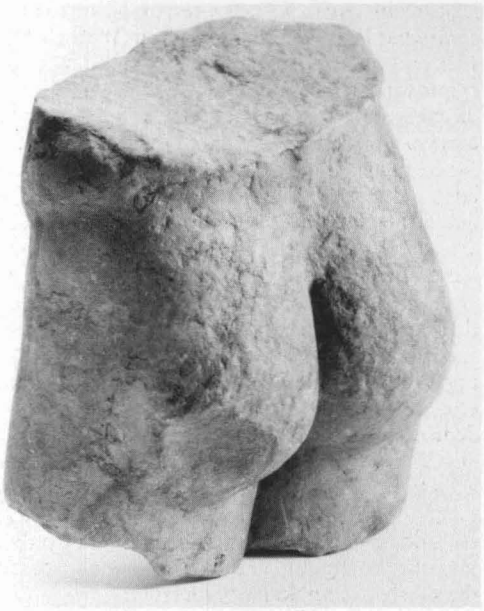

Plate 14. Fragment of statuette of Bacchus (?) (No. 7); rear view.

from the same hand. But unlike No. 6 it has no traces of a support behind and no tooling-marks appear on the buttocks or on the backs of the thighs. It would seem that its rear was intended to be more exposed to view than was the case with No. 6. This piece has been chopped up in exactly the same way as was No. 6. The upper cut is on roughly the same line, but is flat across the top, without the break behind that its fellow shows. The lower cut occurs in about the same position in the right thigh, but truncates the left thigh at a somewhat higher level. The polish has vanished from the front and sides, no doubt as a result of the menial role to which the marble was degraded. There is a large circular chip out of the left buttock and a rather large abrasion on the side of the right thigh. The surfaces are somewhat pitted and rubbed and there is a grey stain down the left thigh. For the workmanship and counterparts of No. 7, see No. 6.

Date and area of production. See No. 6.

8. WATER-DEITY (*Pl. VIII*)

Museum of London Acc. No. A16931

Dimensions Height, 343mm (13½in); width, 266mm (10½in); thickness from back to front, 140mm (5½in).

Material Fine-grained saccharoidal marble, with polygonal grains, probably from Carrara.

Find-spot Near the middle of the Walbrook, at a depth of 6.1–6.7m (20–22ft), at a time when deep sewerage works were in progress in Walbrook, near Bond Court: information supplied soon after the discovery by James Smith, a London antique dealer, to Mr W. Ransom of Hitchin, who purchased the marble, along with Nos. 9 and 10, which came to light with it. There can be little doubt that the find-spot was, in fact, the Mithraeum itself. [It seems likely that Nos. 8, 9 and 10 were found when the concrete-block foundation just to the west of the group Nos. 3–5 was inserted—W.F.G.]

Date of discovery Latter part of 1889, at which date were erected the office-buildings that stood above the temple-site till World War II.

Bibliography *Archaeologia* lx, 1 (1906), pp. 45–6; *JRS* i (1911), p. 163, pl. 22; ii (1912), p. 152, pl. 9; RCHM, *RL*, pl. 10; *LRT*, p. 44, pl. 15; Vermaseren, *CIMRM* i (1956), pp. 284-5, no. 813, fig. 220; Toynbee, *ARB*, pp. 137–8, no. 29, pl. 35; Merrifield, *RCL*, pl. 85.

Description and aesthetic appreciation. The marble before us consists of the upper half of an elderly male figure, which, when complete, was reclining towards the spectator's left, with its head turned three-quarters towards the spectator's right. Apart from a rather heavy abrasion on the tip of the nose, the head is intact: on the figure's right side the chest is preserved as far as the waist; but on its left side the chest is lost below a diagonal line that cuts across the body from below the left nipple to just below the navel, from which point the body terminates in a slightly convex, horizontal line running to the right flank. Below these lines nothing is left: abdomen and legs have wholly vanished. Gone, too, are the left arm and shoulder, the ends of the left-hand side-locks, and the upper part of the left flank above the diagonal cut. The right arm is broken off a short way below the shoulder. Against the front side of what remains of the right upper-arm is the thick, sappy stem of a bull-rush, originally held in the figure's right hand. From this stem two pointed leaves branch out to right and left and are rendered in low relief on chest and shoulder respectively. The section of the stem above these leaves, and most of the thick, blunt rod of flowers and fruit, are worked in the round, with the top of the rod, and the tips of the two more spiky leaves that cup it, resting against the head. From this attribute we may infer, without more ado, that the figure represents a Water-god.

The god's hair flares up like a mane above the brow, twists itself into two horn-shaped curls, one above each temple, and then descends on either side of the face in long, sinuous tresses, the lower

tips of which touch the shoulders. The moustache is heavy and completely conceals the upper lip; and the thickly massed locks of the beard fall like water from the cheeks and from below the full lower lip onto the left side of the chest. The effect is decidedly baroque, despite the absence of deep undercutting and of drilling, except in the side-locks, where drilled grooves part the individual strands of hair. The back of the crown of the head is encircled by a fillet and there the locks, which radiate star-fish fashion from a central point, are worked in very low relief, with incised lines between them. This work, flat and unplastic as it is, is finished.

The eyes are deep-set below beetling brows and slightly rubbed surfaces of the eyeballs show no clear traces of the rendering of pupils and irises. Between the temples, just above the nose, is a triangular-shaped depression; and a deepish longitudinal furrow runs across the centre of the forehead. The face combines benignity and strength; and the fineness of the modelling of brow and cheeks is off-set by the powerful handling of the somewhat corpulent trunk, with its full breasts and deep transverse crease in the flesh above the navel, where the left flank and left thigh formed an angle.

The surfaces are smooth, that of the flesh being smoother than those of the hair and beard, but none are brightly polished. This smoothness extends to the back and suggests that, for all the unplasticity of the treatment of the back hair, the figure could be viewed from the rear. The surviving portions of the marble, with the exception of the nose, are remarkably little damaged, with only a few slight cracks and abrasions here and there. The iron hook or rivet, which now pierces the left shoulder-blade, is modern.

The diagonal line cut across the torso, already described, in the centre of which is a small hole partially filled with plaster, is completely smooth and level and almost certainly denotes a trimming-down of some uneven or broken edge carried out in modern times, after the piece was unearthed—perhaps to facilitate display. It presents a sharp contrast to the rough and slightly rounded surface of the horizontal sector of the figure's present lower line, seen on the spectator's left, a sector that meets the cut at an angle and carries at the back, under the right shoulder-blade, a projecting roll of marble. It looks as if the diagonal cut had sliced away a kind of tenon which ran in a gently curving, convex line from under the left arm-pit to the navel and which was continued by the line of the existing short horizontal sector. In other words, our marble may represent the detachable nude upper half of a reclining figure which was let into a draped lower half worked in stone or stucco (p. 58); and the projecting roll of marble at the rear, just mentioned, may be the upper transverse fold of a cloak which fitted into the main mass of drapery below it.

Parallels to art-type. The Walbrook marble is one of a very large and familiar series of representations of Sea- and River-divinities, which show the god reclining to left or right, either completely naked or wearing his cloak wrapped about his lower limbs, holding water-plant, oar, anchor, or *cornucopiae*, leaning against some object, such as an urn, rock, or dolphin, and surrounded by accessory figures and other adjuncts appropriate to a special locality. Of pictorial groups of this type in the round the most famous instances are the Vatican Nile[68], the Louvre Tiber[69], and the Capitoline Oceanus[70]; while the coin-types of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, for example, provide a wide range of personifications, in miniature relief, of Nilus[71], Tiberis[72], and Oceanus[73]. The bullrush held by the Walbrook god suggests that he personifies, not the Ocean, but a river, which is, perhaps, partly the local Thames, partly the far-distant boundary-river which divides the living from the dead, and partly the great primeval stream, the cleansing and fertilising source of life, both here and hereafter[74].

Date and area of production. The treatment of the surfaces, the relatively restrained use of drilling and undercutting in the hair and beard, and the absence of, or, at the most, very slight, plastic rendering of the eyes suggest that this figure was carved under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, rather than later in the century. It would, at any rate, seem to be earlier stylistically than the Mithras and Serapis; and we must assume its erection in some other place before its dedication in the Walbrook temple. From the nature of the marble and from the high standard of its execution we may conclude that it was imported ready sculptured from Italy.

Representations of Water-gods in other Mithraea. We have a considerable body of evidence from elsewhere for Water-gods in Mithraic contexts. Oceanus, reclining half-draped and grasping an overturned urn, figures as a cosmic power, with Coelus and Terra Mater, in the exergue on the reverse, depicting the myth of Phaeton, of the great cult-slab from the Dieburg Mithraeum[75]. But it is as a more immediately Mithraic symbol that we see him, reclining half-draped and wearing crab-claws on two reliefs, showing tiers of Mithraic scenes, from Virunum in Noricum[76]; and also at Heddernheim, where again he features twice: first, reclining to the right in one of the small panels that frame on the left the great bull-slaying scene on the

obverse of the principal 'altar-piece'[77]; secondly, reclining to the left on rocks and holding shell and anchor in the lower panel on one side of a two-tiered altar, the chief relief of which portrays Mithras' rock-birth[78]. It is again with this birth that Oceanus is linked in a strange and fragmentary marble at Florence[79]. Surviving is the lower part of the god's torso as it rises from a mass of rock; and below, on the rock-face, is carved a great Oceanus mask with streaming hair and wet beard. At the back of the piece is a hole for a water-pipe communicating with the mouth of the mask, while another pipe ran upwards through the body of Mithras, who here seems to share the Water-god's role as fount of life-giving streams and as purifier. Further examples of Oceanus as a witness of the bull-slaying and other exploits of Mithras are on a badly damaged relief from Siscia in Pannonia, where he reclines to the left[80]; and on a fragment of relief from Callatis in Moesia Inferior, where he lies in the same position, but accompanied by an urn and a boat, on a frieze that runs below the Tauroctony[81].

For independent, large-scale representations in Mithraea of Water-deities comparable to the Walbrook piece, we must turn to Rome and Spain. The great reclining figure in the niche of the Santa Prisca temple[82] is half-draped, with a blue cloak wrapped round the lower part of the body, enveloping the back, and veiling the head. The arms are missing, but a lead pipe in the left shoulder suggests that the god once held in his left hand a bowl or *patera*, from which water, forced through the pipe, gushed into a basin in front of the niche. His aquatic character, at any rate, is not in doubt. Commensurate with this body are a large stucco hand, grasping the stem of some object, perhaps an oar, and large stucco nose, both gilded. Among the Mérida Mithraic marbles is a headless and armless reclining figure of Oceanus, or of a River-god, wearing a cloak which covers his back and legs, while leaving his chest exposed[83]. He leans against a dolphin (suggestive of the sea) and holds in his right hand a *cornucopiae* (suggestive of a fertilising stream), the end of the stem of which is seen in relief against his thighs. On the base below the figure are undulating lines denoting waves. The left thigh carries an inscription which proclaims the dedication of the sculpture by a Mithraist[84]. 'No clear case occurs', wrote Haverfield in 1906, apropos of the Walbrook Water-deity, 'where such a figure as the one now under discussion has been found in a Mithraeum[85].' In the Roman stucco figure and in the Spanish marble statue we now have the very parallels for which Haverfield was seeking.

9. GENIUS (*Pl. IX; Pl. 15*)

Museum of London	Acc. No. A16932
Dimensions	Height, with base, 585mm (23in); height, without base, 528mm (20¾in); width of base, 255mm (10in); thickness of base from back to front, 178mm (7in).
Material	Fine-grained saccharoidal marble, with polygonal grains, probably from Carrara.
Find-spot	See No. 8.
Date of discovery	See No. 8.
Bibliography	*Archaeologia* lx, 1 (1906), pp. 45–6, pl. 9; *JRS* i (1911), p. 163, pl. 23; ii (1912), p. 152, pl. 8; RCHM, *RL*, pl. 10; *LRT*, p. 45, pl. 16A; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 284, no. 812, fig. 219; Toynbee, *ARB*, pp. 139–40, no. 32, pl. 25; *Britannia* ix (1976), p. 130, pl. 20b.

Description and aesthetic appreciation. This statuette of a half-draped male personage has unfortunately parted with its head, which has been snapped off at the neck. The figure stands facing the spectator on a low rectangular and moulded base, with the weight on the right leg, which is slightly advanced beyond the left leg. Arms, torso, and feet are bare, but a thick cloak envelopes the back, hangs in heavy, vertical folds over the left arm, passes in a broad, diagonal swathe from the left wrist to just above the right thigh, and then falls again in deeply-cut, vertical folds to reach the ankles. This mantle must once have been drawn as a veil over the now vanished head, since it is difficult to see how it could otherwise have been held in position at the back. The two necklace-like, semi-circular objects that encircle the neck and dangle down, one within the other, over the chest, are not, as has been suggested[86], parts of the drapery, but appear to represent either metal torcs or two flower-garlands very stiffly and conventionally rendered. If they are garlands, the individual blossoms may once have been filled in in paint. The navel-hole is very deeply drilled out; and below the navel, almost concealed by the transverse sweep of cloak, there are three small round drill-holes, the meaning of which is obscure.

In the left hand, of which the tips of two fingers are lost, the figure holds a *cornucopiae*. Part of its stem, just below the hand, has gone; but the bottom of it can be seen adhering to the end of a triangular-shaped 'bridge', which projects from the vertical folds of the cloak on the left side in order to support this stem. It would seem that when the statuette was found, the corner of the left shoulder, together with the upper portion of the *cornucopiae*, had split off from the rest, making a clean break, since this fragment has been stuck on again in modern times. The *cornucopiae* is brimming with vine-leaves, grapes, and other fruits, but the topmost tip of

Plate 15. Genius; rear view, not intended to be seen.

these contents has disappeared. The vine-leaves are picked out with small, circular drill-holes. In his right hand the figure holds a *patera* over a narrow, rectangular altar, with plain mouldings at top and bottom and flames, also picked out with drill-holes, curling up from its focus. The top of the altar is connected by a marble 'bridge' with the cloak on the right side. A snake rears up from behind the altar and twines itself round the figure's right wrist; and on its coiled body incised lines, crossing one another at right-angles, summarily indicate the creature's wrinkled skin. To the spectator's right of the figure's left foot is the prow of a ship riding over a pile of conventionally rendered waves.

The limbs and feet, and the toes in particular, are plastically worked and sensitively modelled; but the drapery-folds tend to be harsh and mechanical. The statuette was obviously not meant to be viewed from behind (Pl. 15), since its back presents a very much flattened, board-like appearance, with the folds of the cloak and the lines of the waves but faintly indicated. The surfaces of both flesh and drapery are smooth, but not burnished. The front shows a large number of black stains due to iron incrustation.

Parallels to art-type. The Walbrook statuette belongs to a well-known series of personifications of localities (eg Genius loci)[87], classes of society (eg Genius Populi Romani), and abstract ideas (eg Bonus Eventus), by means of youthful male figures, either naked or partially draped, and distinguished by a variety of attributes and adjuncts. Of these personifications an extremely frequent, although not universal, feature is the sacrificial act implied by the *patera* grasped in the outstretched right hand. Very often, but again not always, this gesture of sacrifice is supplemented by a flaming altar onto which the contents of the *patera* are being poured; while the left hand normally holds some symbol of fertility—a *cornucopiae* or a bunch of corn-ears sometimes combined with poppies. For the Walbrook figure the name Bonus Eventus has, indeed, been suggested[88]; and Roman coins of the first and second centuries show a youthful male figure labelled BONVS EVENTVS or BONO EVENTVI, with a *patera* held in his extended right hand, generally over a flaming altar[89]. But there the youth is always naked and holds a bunch of corn-ears in his left hand[90]; whereas the Walbrook figure is, as we have seen, characterised by the draping of the lower limbs and by the *cornucopiae*, which, together with the *patera* and flaming altar, are the hall-marks of a Genius. Genius is, in fact, a more accurate title than Bonus Eventus for this statuette, although the absence of boots, the veiling of the head (?), the torc or garlands worn round the neck, and the ship's prow borne on waves, set it apart from the common run of local Genii. Possibly our figure wore the *modius*, not uncommonly affected by these beings, under or over his veil[91]. Such Genii were minor deities, symbolising the prosperity and fruitfulness of a place or district. In this case the locality thought to be represented was presumably London itself, with ship, waves, *cornucopiae*, and torcs or garlands alluding to the wealth and activities of a busy sea-port. But the snake suggests the living dead and hints at a 'fertility' that will endure beyond the grave, in a harbour beyond the waves of Ocean, for those city-dwellers who have accepted Mithraic initiation (p. 61). The *patera* could be for feeding the snake, as well as for holding sacrificial objects.

Date and area of production. The loss of the head makes the piece very difficult to date on grounds of technique and style. The handling of the flesh and the treatment of the surfaces recall No. 8; and the Genius may belong to about the middle of the second century. It must, in that case, have been venerated elsewhere in London, or in some continental port, before it reached the Walbrook shrine. The workmanship suggests the hand of a

competent, if somewhat undistinguished, Italian carver.

Representations of Genii in other Mithraea. The evidence for Genii in other Mithraic contexts, if not abundant, is clear. Not only is a Genius loci linked with Mithras on the altar from Diana (Ain-Zana) in Africa Proconsularis[92], but the Dieburg Mithraeum has produced two provincial stone reliefs on each of which a Genius is sculptured, half-draped, wearing boots, holding a *cornucopiae* and sacrificing from a *patera* at an altar[93]. One of these reliefs shows on the ground, on the spectator's right, an unusual motif, a little slave-boy fast asleep on top of an overturned flower basket. Its meaning in association with the Genius is not easy to determine; and it bears an inscription recording its dedication to Mithras by three brothers[94]. Furthermore, a Genius wearing a mural crown, holding a *cornucopiae*, and sacrificing from a *patera* at an altar is depicted on one side of an altar dedicated to Mithras from Poetovio in Pannonia[95]. Haverfield's objection, that 'the combination [of Mithras and Genius] seems to be without proper parallel or precedent'[96], no longer holds.

Third-century work in imported marble (Number 10)

10. RELIEF OF MITHRAS TAUROCTONOS (*Pl. X*)

Museum of London	Acc. No. A16933
Dimensions	Height, 432mm (17in); width, 508mm (20in); thickness at top, 114mm (4½in).
Material	Fine-grained saccharoidal marble, with polygonal grains, probably from Carrara.
Find-spot	See No. 8.
Date of discovery	See No. 8.
Bibliography	*Archaeologia* ix, 1 (1906), pp. 46–8, pl. 10; *JRS* i (1911), p. 163, pl. 24, fig. 1; ii (1912), pp. 142–3, fig. 14; RCHM, *RL*, pl. 10; *LRT*, pp. 45–6, pl. 17A; Vermaseren, *CIMRM* i (1956), pp. 283–4, nos. 810, 811, fig. 218; Toynbee, *ARB*, pp. 153–4, no. 69, pl. 73; Merrifield, *RCL*, pl. 84.

Description and aesthetic appreciation. The central feature of this rectangular relief is the slightly concave roundel or medallion which occupies the main field. Within the roundel is carved the famous bull-slaying scene in high relief, which, at its highest point, stands out some 83mm (3¼in) from the background. On the border of the roundel, which projects 32mm (1¼in) from the surrounding surface of the slab, the twelve signs of the zodiac are worked in low relief between two narrow mouldings. The series starts with the ram on the spectator's right, runs left, then right, and ends on the right with the two fishes just below the ram.

In the roundel Mithras wears his usual costume—Phrygian cap, short, long-sleeved tunic, cloak and trousers. He turns his head three-quarters towards the spectator's left as he grasps the bull's nostrils with his left hand and plunges his knife into its shoulder with his right hand. He kneels with his left knee on the creature's back, while his right leg is thrust straight down beside its rump, his right foot resting on the inner moulding of the zodiac frame. The god's cloak flies out behind him to touch the frame just below the lion in the upper left-hand sector. But a substantial portion of this garment has been broken off, leaving a small fragment adhering to the inner moulding. The horizontal sweep of the cloak is supported partly by the corn-ears sprouting from the victim's tail, of which the greater part is gone, and partly by the Phrygian cap of Cautes, who stands facing the spectator on the left of the scene, looking towards the right, wearing a sleeved tunic, cloak, and trousers, his left leg crossed over his right leg, and a torch held erect in both hands. Cautes, the symbol of life, light, and day, is balanced on the right by Cautopates, the symbol of death, darkness, and night (not as unmitigated evils, but as the necessary prelude to immortality), also facing the spectator, wearing the same costume, looking down towards the right, crossing his right leg over his left leg, and holding in both hands a torch reversed. A snake, of which the head and tail alone remain, and a dog rear up to right and left respectively against the bull's flank to drink the blood that gushes from the wound. These represent the life, both natural and other-worldly, generated and nourished by the act of sacrifice, as does also the scorpion, which approaches the bull's genitals[97].

Outside the frame of the roundel, in the upper left-hand corner, is Sol, driving his team of four horses up the sky towards the right. His head is lost, and so is that of Luna, who, in the corresponding corner on the right, sends plunging headlong down the sky, also towards the right, her pair of bulls. In the lower corners are the frontal busts of two Wind-gods, each with a pair of wings in his flying locks. The god on the left is old, fierce, and bearded, with bared teeth and staring eyes: he may be Boreas. His companion on the right is young and smiling, full-cheeked and beardless: he may be Zephyrus.

The central group, well composed within its roundel, stands out effectively in highlight against a shadowed background and is boldly and vigorously drawn. But the modelling is crude and sometimes

clumsy; and the features of Mithras and of his two companions are, so far as we can judge of them in their abraded condition, naïve and somewhat coarse. The figures in the zodiac frame are roughly and unplastically worked and poor in drawing. The two chariot groups are badly balanced, with horses and bulls carelessly, not to say grotesquely, rendered. The Zephyrus (?) bust, which is in itself attractive enough, is much too large, both as a counterpart to Boreas (?) and for the corner that it fills.

Into such empty spaces as are left on the slab between the sculptured elements an inscription has been squeezed in four separate parts. On the left, below Sol, we read *Ulpi/us/Silvanus*; on the right, below Luna, *emeri/tus leg(ionis)/II Aug(ustae)/votum/solvit*; to the right of Boreas (?), *fac/tus*; and to the left of Zephyrus (?), *Arau/sione*. This is best interpreted as 'Ulpius Silvanus, veteran of the second Augustan legion, paid his vow: he was initiated at Orange.' The reading *factus emeritus*, 'discharged', is as insipid in the present context as *factus* in the sense of 'made a Mithraist' is pointed.

Parallels to art-type. The components of the central group are all of standard pattern and need no special comment. But the scheme of the composition, with the main scene enclosed within a rounded border, is relatively rare. A zodiac oval frames the relief of Phanes Aion's egg-birth at Modena[98] and the rendering of Mithras' birth from an egg found in the Vercovicium (Housesteads) Mithraeum[99]; and a zodiac circle encompasses his rock-birth on a relief from Trier[100]. The bull-slaying scene appears in a laurel-wreathed medallion (the laurel presumably alluding to the god's victory) on reliefs from Heddernheim[101] and Friedberg[102] in Germany, from Sarmizegetusa[103] and Potaissa (Turda)[104] in one time Dacia, from Kumanovo in Serbia[105], from Küstendil in Bulgaria[106], and, in a corn-wreathed medallion, from Siscia in one time Pannonia[108]; it is found in a circular frame decorated with a bust of Sol, two snakes flanking a vase, and a variety of animals on a relief from Salona in Dalmatia[109]. But the present writer knows of two examples only, possibly one from Stockstadt in Germany, and certainly one from Siscia[110], in which, as on the Walbrook slab, Mithras Tauroctonos is framed within a zodiac circle. The zodiac itself denotes apotheosis, the sky where Mithras dwells and where his devotees will find eternal life. It may be noted that a number of the reliefs displaying this medallion-composition come from the Danubian area.

Supporting groups of the great cosmic powers, Sol and Luna, are so abundant and familiar in this context that parallels need not be cited here. Representations of the winds, both in virtue of their cosmic aspect and as wafters of the dead to paradise, are a well-established, but less common, feature of Mithraic iconography. For instance, four profile heads, two old and bearded (Boreas, Eurus), two young and beardless (Notus, Zephyrus) occupy the four corners, outside the zodiac circle, of the Modena relief[111]. Similar heads fill the four corners, outside the zodiac circle, on the rock-birth relief from Trier[112]. On the Mithras Tauroctonos altar, dedicated by Cnaeus Arrius Claudianus, in the Mithraeum under the Church of San Clemente in Rome, busts of the four Wind-gods in the round project from the four corners of the upper plinth[113]. Of the major Mithras Tauroctonos reliefs, the Neuenheim 'altar-piece' shows two profile busts of winds in the two upper corners[114]; that from Heddernheim has four profile busts, each in a roundel, in the four corners[115]; while that from Sarrebourg has a frontal bust in each of its four corners[116].

Date and area of production. Style and technique both proclaim the Walbrook slab to be provincial work. As such, it is impossible to date precisely on internal evidence; and the inscription, which is not necessarily quite contemporary with the sculpture, provides no fixed chronological data. The eyes of the Wind-gods are plastically rendered by tiny drill-holes; and the absence of heavy drilling and of undercutting in the hair would suggest a mid second-century date in the case of a product of an Italian workshop. But western provincial carvers were often technically conservative or unequal to adopting immediately the latest Mediterranean fashion; and this relief may have been carved quite late in the second century or even during the first half of the third. It would, in fact, have been carved for this Mithraeum.

According to Haverfield, Mr J. Allen Howe, sometime curator of the Jermyn Street Geological Museum, stated that the relief is carved in sandstone[117] that 'might have come from the Wealden area, while, on the other hand, a rock which could not be distinguished from it might readily be found in the neighbourhood of Orange'[118]. But a new investigation of the material has revealed it to be marble, probably from Carrara. It would seem, then, likely that the unworked slab was imported into Britain and was carved there either by a Briton or by a Gaul, or perhaps by a Danubian (p. 55), who was plying the trade of sculptor in this country[119].

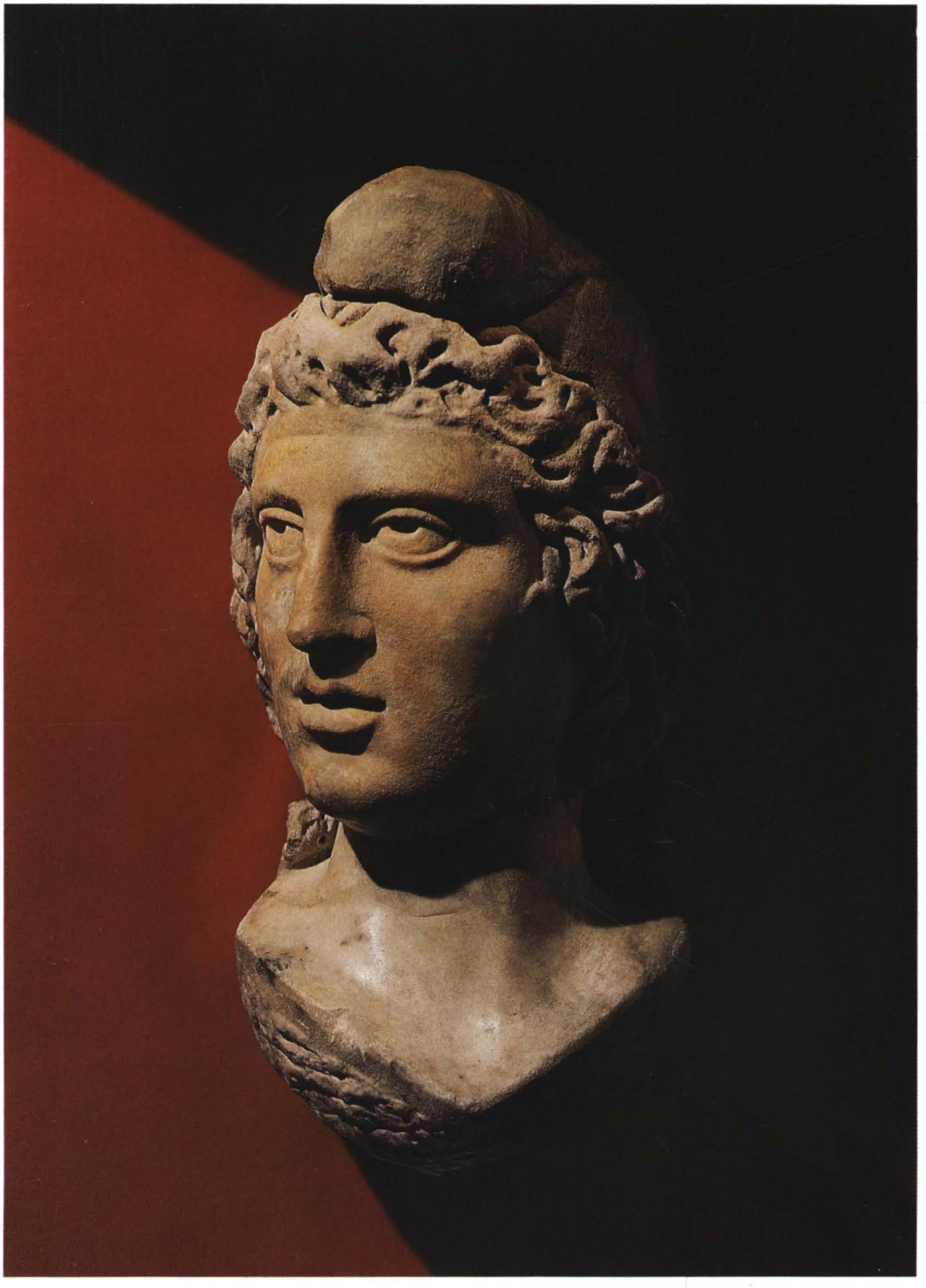

Plate I. Head of Mithras (No. 1); at correct angle of view

Plate II. Head of Minerva (No. 2)

Plate III. Head of Serapis (No. 3)

Plate IV. Mercury group (No. 4)

Third-century works in British stone
(Numbers 11–13)

11. LEFT HAND AND FOREARM OF MITHRAS TAUROCTONOS
(Pls. 16, 17)

Museum of London	Acc. No. 18497
Dimensions	Length 190mm (7½in); width at greatest extent, 70mm (2¾in).
Material	Pisolitic limestone of Jurassic type, probably from the Cotswold area.
Find-spot	Just outside the temple, on the north-west.
Date of discovery	September 1954.
Bibliography	*JRS* xlv (1955), pl. 48, fig. 2.

Description, aesthetic appreciation, and parallels to art-type. The fragment before us is the left hand and forearm, broken off well below the elbow, of an under-life-sized human figure. The arm is enveloped in a long, fairly tight-fitting sleeve, terminating in a narrow wrist-band and pulled taut along the arm's upper surface, while on its left side a series of deeply-cut diagonal grooves represent the looser folds of the material converging on the band at the point where it passes beneath the wrist. On the right side of the arm no folds are rendered and the wrist-band presents an unfinished appearance (Pl. 17). Arm and hand meet at a very obtuse angle, with the wrist at the lowest point of the dip between them. The main part of the hand is intact; but only the little finger and a portion of its neighbour survive, the two other fingers and the thumb having been snapped off. Originally fingers and thumb were all bent inwards round a thick, fleshy object which is gripped between them and the palm. This object broadens towards the break at its lower termination, and two parallel lines are diagonally incised along it. It is the upper lip of a bull, forced apart from the lower lip, which together with the rest of the creature's head, has wholly vanished. Our fragment is, in fact, the left arm and hand of a Mithras Tauroctonos.

That the scene was, in this case, not a bas-relief, but a free-standing group in the round is clear from the fact that the left, or back, sides of the arm and hand, which on a relief would be in contact with the background and invisible, are carefully and sensitively carved with some feeling for anatomical structure and for the soft flexibility of the sleeve's material, whether of wool or linen. Furthermore, from the rough and incompletely worked state of the right sides of the arm and hand, it is obvious that they must have been concealed by some other portion of the group that came close up against them. This portion was probably the profile of the bull's head from brow to nostrils, which was forced back by the god's action into a slightly convex line running at an acute angle to his left arm. A free-standing marble group, found in Rome and now in the Vatican (formerly the Lateran) Museum, shows precisely this arrangement, with the bull's head completely covering the right sides of Mithras' left arm and hand[120], while on the Tauroctonos relief from Walbrook the animal's head, although exposing the god's left hand, partially hides the right side of his left forearm (Pl. X). But this variation in the scheme is very uncommon. Normally the left arm and hand are well above the victim's head, with their right sides in full view of the spectator.

Plate 16. Left hand and forearm of Mithras Tauroctonos; front view.

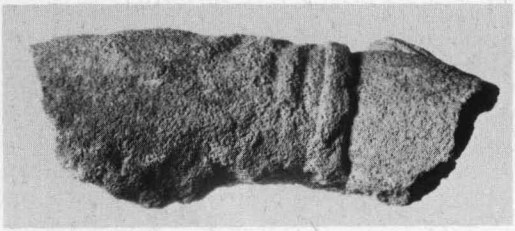

Plate 17. Left hand and forearm of Mithras Tauroctonos; rear view.

The Vatican group also parallels another rare feature of the Walbrook fragment, namely the fact, already mentioned, that the forearm and hand both slope slightly downwards to the wrist. According to the standard pattern, forearm and hand slope gently upwards to the wrist, both on reliefs and in free-standing statues. But a very provincial Tauroctonos relief from Jajce in Yugoslavia, now in the Sarajevo Museum, reproduces the Walbrook position of arm and hand exactly although there their right sides are not concealed[121].

It may be safely assumed that the surfaces of the Walbrook group were originally painted, despite the fact that on the surviving portion no vestiges of pigment now remain. The red stains visible here and there are due to iron incrustation.

Date and area of production. As in the case of No. 10, this provincial piece may be assigned to the late second or early third century, but cannot be dated more precisely. It would have been carved expressly for the Walbrook temple. Its material proves that the group from which it came was produced in this country, either by a native British, or by an immigrant Gaulish, artist—a competent provincial carver, who has done his best with the rough and ugly stone in which he was accustomed to work and which was all that the dedicator could afford.

12. RELIEF OF CAUTOPATES (*Pl. 18*)

Museum of London	Acc. No. 20006
Dimensions	Height, 915mm (36in); width across base, 584mm (23in); width from back to front, 265mm (10½in).
Material	Pisolitic limestone of Jurassic type, probably from the Cotswold area.
Find-spot	Just outside the south wall of the temple, towards the east end.
Date of discovery	24 September 1954.
Bibliography	*JRS* xlv (1955), pl. 48, fig. 1.

Description, aesthetic appreciation, and parallels to art-type. This stone shows the lower half, from just below the waist downwards, of the figure of Cautopates, carved in high relief in a deep, curved niche hollowed out of the thickness of a block of stone. The height of the relief reaches 127mm (5in) at the point of its greatest projection from the background. Below the floor of the niche is a low, rectangular plinth; and plain, narrow, vertical borders, now almost totally destroyed, framed the niche on either side. The broken upper edge of the piece is irregular and jagged, rising to a kind of peak above the figure's right flank and then descending in a diagonal line to the side of the niche on the spectator's right, to a point lower than that from which it starts on the left side. The monument was either hacked carelessly, not to say viciously, in two, or it snapped asunder as a result of being hurled to the ground very violently. The fate of the upper half we do not know. It may have been carried off for use as building stone in late Roman times, for no fragments of it came to light near the temple in 1954.

Cautopates stands facing the spectator, with his right leg, seen in profile, crossed over his left leg, shown frontally, on which his weight rests. He holds diagonally across his person, and reversed, a great torch, the flames of which merge into the niche's left-hand border. Faint traces of his right forearm and hand, grasping the stem of the torch, are visible above the right knee. He wears a tunic, reaching to his knees, trousers, boots, and a cloak, which hangs down his back and forms behind his calves a kind of curtain, worked in low relief on the curving background. Quite apart from its major loss, the piece has suffered considerable battering, for the surfaces of the stem of the torch, of the right hand and forearm, and of most of the right calf, are gone. The stem of the torch, below the bottom hem of the tunic, is connected with the background by a ridge of stone; and higher up on the relief this stem, near its butt-end, was presumably gripped again by the now vanished left hand. The missing half can be readily completed in imagination, on the analogy of similar figures from other Mithraea. Cautopates would have worn a Phrygian cap; and his head would have been bent downwards, with his doleful gaze fixed upon the ground. He represents the painful and dreadful aspect of the sacrifice through which alone life can be created.

In view of its severely damaged state, the monument's artistic value is hard to estimate. But from what survives we can see that the pose is somewhat stiff and wooden and that the treatment of the drapery tends to harshness and lifelessness. The feet and, in particular, the foreshortened left foot are the best drawn portions. But when the piece was new, defects in carving were no doubt largely compensated for by lavish application of paint.

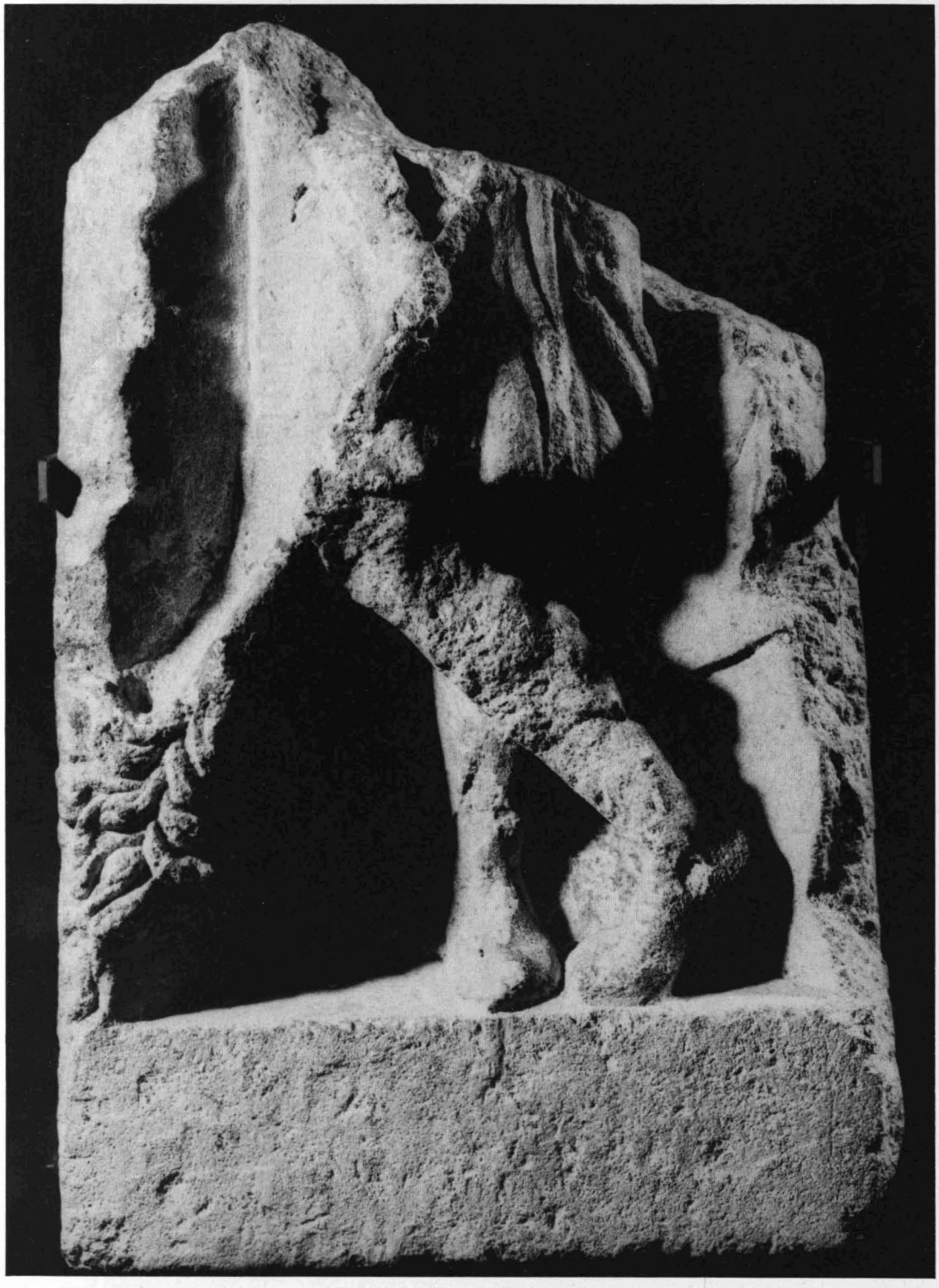

Plate 18. Relief of Cautopates.

It would seem to be almost certain that the Walbrook temple once possessed a balancing figure of Cautes, standing in his niche, similarly clad, but with upward gaze and torch held erect. We can, indeed, visualise Mithras' two attendants facing one another across the nave from positions at the eastern ends of the two lateral aisles or benches. For figures in the round stood on pedestals in just those positions in the Procolitia (Carrawburgh) Mithraeum on Hadrian's Wall[122], and similar pairs were found in corresponding places elsewhere, while in Rome the Santa Prisca Mithraeum was equipped with two niches, rounded at the top, standing against the ends of the benches and containing figures of Cautes and Cautopates[123]. In all his details the Walbrook Cautopates is of standard type and calls for no special citing of parallels.

Date and area of production. The same wide bracket of dates may be suggested for the Cautopates as for Nos 10 and 11. Once again the stone points to Britain as the country in which the relief was sculptured, in the workshop of some British or Gaulish carver. And once again, it could have been carved for the Walbrook Mithraeum.

13. RELIEF OF A DIOSCURUS
(*Pl. 19*)

Museum of London	Acc. No. 20736
Dimensions	Height, 555mm (22in); greatest remaining width, 355mm (14in); overall thickness, 114–129mm (4½–5in).
Material	Oolitic limestone of Jurassic type, probably from the Cotswold area.
Find-spot	By the east bank of the Walbrook, some 20m (60ft) south of the temple, 5.80m (19ft) below street-level, and between 3.35 and 3.65m (11 and 12ft) above the primary deposits of the Walbrook stream. There can be little doubt that the piece came from the Mithraeum.
Date of discovery	May 1955. The relief was found by Stephen Greenway, an amateur collector, some six months after the official investigations on the site had ended.
Bibliography	*JRS* xlviii (1958), pl. 21, fig. 2; Toynbee, *ARB*, p. 151, no. 61, pl. 69; Merrifield, *RCL*, pl. 79.

Description and aesthetic appreciation. This fragmentary sculpture shows one of the Dioscuri and his horse carved in relief, the greatest height of which is 50–60mm (2–2½in), against a flat background. From this background there projects by 82mm (3¼in) a heavy ledge or base, nearly 76mm (3in) deep, on which the figures stand and along the top of which a narrow, grooved line is cut horizontally. The extreme left-hand edge of the slab is intact, from the base to a point roughly level with the Dioscurus' raised right hand. But above, the relief has been smashed and a ragged, jagged line runs diagonally from where the left-hand vertical edge now ends to the crown of the god's head; and on the right the background is broken away round his head and left shoulder, while of the figure itself the extended left arm and hand, the top surface of the left thigh, the whole of the left leg from the knee downwards, and the right leg from the middle of the shin downwards are lost.

The Dioscurus stands facing the spectator, in front of his horse's belly, with his weight thrown mainly on his right leg. He is naked, save for a cloak, which is fastened on his right shoulder, passes across the left side of the chest, envelopes the left shoulder and upper-arm, and hangs like a curtain behind the back. He wears the characteristic pointed cap (*pilleus*), from under which appear the thick curls of his hair, framing the face and falling onto the shoulders. The left-hand eyeball is damaged, but the pupil of the right eye is marked by a drill-hole. The face is round, full, and heavy; the neck and right hand are clumsily drawn and somewhat thick-set in proportion to the torso. In his right hand, which has been snapped off at the wrist, the Dioscurus grasped the shaft of his spear, of which the major portion is in good condition, apart from abrasions near the god's right arm and just above the ledge; the head of the spear has gone; and the shaft is not undercut, but is joined to the background by a thin wall of stone. With his extended left hand (the left arm is bent sharply at the elbow) he must have held the bridle of his horse, which faces towards the right, but of which the head, fore-parts, and fore-legs have now completely vanished. All that is left of the animal is its rump, tail, right hind-leg, and a small bit of its left hindleg visible behind its master's spear. Part of the crupper is seen passing round the base of the tail. The hind-quarters and, in particular, the long, sweeping tail, which reaches almost to the ground, are vigorously modelled; but the right hind-leg terminates in a feature that looks more like an elephant's foot than a horse's, since, in contrast to the profile leg, the hoof is turned fully towards the spectator.

The back of the slab is roughly hewn and was clearly not intended to be viewed.

Parallels to art type. The scheme of grouping here exemplified, with the middle part of the horse concealed behind the standing figure of the god, is not uncommon in Roman-age representations of the Dioscuri. We find it, for instance, in the reverse-types, with the legend *Aeternitas Aug(usti) N(ostri)* on bronze coins of Maxentius, where the Twins

Plate 19. Relief of a Dioscurus.

stand confronting one another in a heraldic design, each holding a spear in his outer hand and his horse's bridle in his inner hand; there the figures are not strictly frontal, but turned three-quarters to right and left respectively, with the weight resting on the leg that is nearer to the horse's head[124]. A very similar pair of confronted Dioscuri appear in the upper part of the marble relief dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus in the Dolichenum on the Aventine in Rome by Publius Egnatius Fructus; there the bodies of the Twins are wholly frontal, while their heads are turned slightly towards one another, and the hind-quarters of the horses are, as on the coins of Maxentius, invisible[125]. Closer to the Walbrook relief is one from Corbridge, on which both the fore-parts and the hind-parts of the horse, facing to the right, are shown, although most of the figure of the Dioscurus, who stands firmly facing the spectator and conceals the central portion of his mount, has been cut away; but we have his left hand holding the bridle and the upper part of the spear that his lost right hand once grasped[126].

By far the nearest parallel to the Walbrook Dioscurus, as regards art-type, material and context, is the relief at Vienne, found on the site of an underground building, clearly a Mithraeum, to the south-west of the Halle Neuve and certainly Mithraic in its content[127]. This relief is also of limestone and fragmentary; and it measures 507mm (20in) in height and 610mm (24in) in width, so far as it is now preserved. The fragment comprises the left-hand side and centre of the composition; and a narrow, projecting band of stone framed the picture on all four sides. In the centre, facing the spectator, stands the Mithraic Aion, with lion's head, four wings, claw-like feet, and a snake twined round him from feet to chin; he clutches a key in one hand and hook-like object in the other. To the left of Aion is a flaming altar, and on a high pedestal behind the altar there stands, in front of his horse, which faces to the right, one of the Dioscuri. Both the horse and its master, worked in low relief, are intact, and the former has one of its fore-legs raised and pawing the air, as on the Corbridge panel. The god is completely frontal; but whereas the Walbrook Dioscurus holds his head erect, his Gaulish conterpart inclines his slightly towards the right. Furthermore, the Vienne Dioscurus throws his weight mainly on his left leg and wears no cloak, while a headdress more like a Phrygian cap than a pointed *pilleus* crowns his hair. With his left hand he holds his horse's bridle and his right hand is raised and must have clutched a spear, of which no trace now remains. This spear was possibly of metal, since there appear to be no signs of a stone spear broken away. To the right of Aion is a lump of rock, above which a second Dioscurus with his horse, facing left, is very likely to have stood; but at this point the stone is broken off.

Assuming that the Walbrook Dioscurus was also once accompanied by his brother on the lost right-hand side of the relief, we cannot, obviously, tell whether the Twins confronted one another directly, as on the Maxentius coins and on the relief from the Aventine Dolichenum, or from the opposite sides of a central figure, as they probably once did on the relief at Vienne.

Date and area of production. The rather lumpish and stumpy proportions of the Dioscurus and his uncompromising frontality suggest a third, rather than a late second-century date for the Walbrook fragment. Since it came to light unstratified, its find-spot is of only very general value for dating purposes. The use of local stone and the relative coarseness of the workmanship indicate that the piece was carved in Britain by a native, or north-west provincial craftsman. It ranks with the left arm and hand of the small Mithras Tauroctonos (No. 11) and with the relief of Cautopates (No. 12) as one of the humbler dedications in the shrine. And, as in their case, it was not circumspectly buried, but left to be smashed and thrown out by intruders. Hence its recovery from a relatively late level. That it did indeed come from the Mithraeum, there can, as has been said, be little doubt, despite its lack of specifically Mithraic content. It need not, however, have been carved in the final instance with that shrine in view.

Representations of the Dioscuri in other Mithraea. The importance of this discovery in the neighbourhood of the Mithraeum may be gauged from the fact that only one example of the Dioscuri on an unequivocally Mithraic work of art, that on the relief at Vienne described above, is known to the present writer. For the Near Eastern counterparts of the Dioscuri in Mithraic contexts, see the discussion of No. 14 below.

Third(?)-century works in imported marble (Numbers 14–15)

14. ROUNDEL (*Pl. XI*)

Museum of London	Acc. No. 18218
Dimensions	Diameter 111mm (4⅜in); thickness, 7–3mm (¼–⅛in).
Material	Coarse, cream-coloured marble.
Find-spot	In the south-west corner of the temple, in a post-hole in a masonry block built over the well (p. 1) at a late stage in the history of the shrine.

Date of discovery 30 July 1954.
Bibliography J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans* (1964), pp. 167–8, pl. 42, b; D. Tudor, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Equitum Danuvinorum* i (1969), pl. 79, no. 181.

Description and aesthetic appreciation. This broken circular plaque is blank on the reverse and decorated on the obverse with figure-scenes carved in low relief and encircled by a narrow raised border running round the circumference. The upper and larger scene, of which about a third is lost, is separated from the lower and smaller scene by a horizontal ground-line, so that the effect resembles that of a coin or medallion with the main type above and the subsidiary motifs in the exergue below. The surface of the obverse is somewhat worn and the carving lacks fineness and sharpness: it was probably once completed in paint. But apart from a few details, of which the interpretation remains uncertain, the general sense of both designs is clear.

In the centre of the upper scene a long-robed woman stands facing the spectator from behind a low, three-legged table, on which is laid a large fish. Approaching the woman from the left is a cantering horseman, with large, hooked nose, long, pointed beard, Phrygian cap, short tunic, and probably trousers and boots. His left arm and hand are invisible behind his horse's head: his right arm is raised and bent sharply at the elbow; and in his right hand he brandishes some object, perhaps an axe or dagger. Behind the horse's rump stands a small human figure, acting as a groom to the rider, and on the ground, beneath the horse's belly, writhes a long, coiled snake. The break in the plaque begins just above the horseman's head and runs down in a roughly diagonal line towards the right, where it ends at the right-hand termination of the ground-line. The resultant losses are the woman's head and the whole of the figure on the right of the design, apart from the left fore-leg of a horse, which proclaims that vanished figure to have been another rider, approaching the woman from the right. The object beneath the belly of this horse is probably a naked human form, lying on its face. We might reasonably infer that the second horseman had the same nose, beard, and costume as the first.

The design in the exergue consists of three elements. On the left is a large, bushy-tailed dog running towards the centre. On the right we see a long-beaked bird, facing away from the centre. Between the dog and bird a large vase (*crater*), standing on a low foot, can be plainly distinguished. But the meaning of the object above it is obscure: it might be the head and fore-parts of some animal, perhaps some kind of feline, clambering towards the left over the mouth of the vase.

The roundel was presumably dedicated as a votive gift in the Mithraeum; and there can be no doubt of its belonging to the cult of the local Danubian Rider-gods, now comprehensively studied by D. Tudor, and represented sometimes singly (on the earliest monuments of the cult, mainly from Dacia), most often as a pair and normally, in the latter case, as attendant on a centrally placed Goddess who faces the spectator[128]. The two Danubian Riders on our roundel would appear to have been influenced iconographically by representations of the Graeco-Roman Cabiri and Dioscuri, but were not their equivalents religiously; and the Goddess between them has been identified, somewhat unconvincingly, from the fish on the table before her (her most conspicous attribute), as the equivalent of the Syrian Fish- and Nature-Goddess, Atargatis Derkêtô[129], while Tudor prefers to describe her as the local Danubian Great Goddess whose name we do not know. In fact, the Danubian Rider monuments carry no inscriptions giving the names either of the Gods and Goddess or of their votaries. Our knowledge of their cult is entirely derived from the figures, scenes and symbols portrayed. And from these we may infer that the deities were, like Mithras, 'saviours' and worshipped in mysteries. Aesthetically the Walbrook roundel is of little value; but as a religious document it is one of the most interesting and intriguing relics that the temple has yielded.

Parallels to art-type. A Palmyrene relief shows two confronted oriental 'Dioscuri', named Abgal and Achar, flanking the figure of the dedicator, who stands between them behind an altar[130]. In the Anatolian region these riders feature in a series of reliefs in stone or marble on either side of a Goddess, who sometimes assumes the guise of the Ephesian Artemis[131]. Various versions of scenes much more closely related to those on the London roundel occur on the small votive plaques mainly of lead, very occasionally of bronze, and depicting the Danubian deities that have come to light in the Danubian provinces. For instance, a lead plaque in the National Museum at Zagreb shows four zones of figure-decoration—at the top, Sol in his *quadriga*, facing the spectator, between the busts of Sol and Luna; next, the central Goddess and the two Riders, of whom that on the right has a fish, that on the left, a prostrate man, beneath the horse's belly; in the zone below that, a ritual meal in progress and the skinning of a ram hung on a tree; and in the bottom zone a fish on a three-legged table, a flaming torch, a lion, a large vase,

a snake, a cock, and another lighted torch[132]. Another two almost identical lead tablets, in the National Museums in Budapest and Zagreb respectively, carry the same four zones with similar scenes similarly arranged in tiers, but with a fish below and the left-hand Rider and a prostrate human form beneath the Rider on the right, and with no torches in the lowest zone[133]. Yet another plaque, this time of marble and preserved in the Fransiscan Convent at Sinj in Yugoslavia, has three zones—above, a central vase flanked on either side by a snake, a star, and a bust; in the main zone, the central Goddess approached by the two Riders, each with a star beside his head (reminiscent of the Dioscuri?) and a crouching human form beneath his horse's hooves; a bird, three loaves, a ram's head, a fish on a stand with three triangular legs and three lamps above it, and three fruits on a three-legged table of the normal type, all in the lowest zone[134]. But of all the 232 Danubian Rider-gods monuments known to Tudor so far, by far the most striking parallel to the Walbrook roundel is a circular marble plaque, complete but for a chip out of the right-hand side, in the National Museum at Cluj (Klausenburg, the ancient Napoca) in Romania (Pl. 20)[135]. The workmanship of this piece is even clumsier and rougher than is that of its London counterpart. But it shows precisely the same scheme of design, with a main zone divided from an exergue by a horizontal line; and

Plate 20. Marble plaque, depicting a Great Goddess and two Rider-Gods; National Museum at Cluj, Romania.

the main zone is virtually a replica of the corresponding picture on our roundel, with the central Goddess and the right-hand Rider fully preserved and two busts filling the spaces between the head of the Goddess and the tall, pointed caps of the Riders. These busts, the details of which cannot now be discerned, are most likely to be those of Sol and Luna, and we can restore them with some assurance on the Walbrook roundel, since the small raised lump visible just below the break, above the left-hand horse's head, is almost certainly the lower termination of such a bust. On the Cluj disc the left-hand Rider bends his right elbow and brandishes some object, in his right hand: a groom stands behind the horse's rump and the very indeterminate object below its belly might be a writhing snake, if not a prostrate man. The right-hand Rider has no groom: his right hand is concealed behind his horse's head: his left arm and hand are swung behind him over the animal's hind-quarters; and the almost indistinguishable object below its belly might be either a lion or a crouching human form. The Cluj roundel chiefly differs from the Walbrook one in the contents of its exergue, in which, passing from left to right, we see a bird, a man struggling with a ram, and a large vase (*crater*). There are also on the Cluj piece two snakes writhing horizontally between the exergue and the main scene. All the accessory motifs on these Danubian votive plaques, whether round or rectangular, fit into the general theme of cult and mystery. The prostrate human forms, snakes, and occasionally fish and lions trampled by the horses' hooves or crouched beneath their bellies are symbols, possibly, as Tudor holds, of evil and enemy forces overcome, more probably of life through death, real or feigned, for the initiate, since in the Roman tradition fish and snakes are tokens of life beyond the grave[136] and a lion, like the dog, can be the helpful companion of a 'saviour' god as a symbol of vital strength—a capacity in which it features on numerous Thracian Rider-god reliefs[137]. Sol, Luna, and stars are cosmic powers, animals and birds represent Nature's teeming life, while vases, torches, lamps, tables, loaves, and fruit are ritual objects. Scenes of sacrifice and banquet feature mystic rites.

Date and area of production. The incompetent and undistinguished style of the Walbrook roundel, combined with a find-spot that links it with the temple's final phase, suggests that it is relatively late in date, perhaps carved in the mid or late third century, but probably not dedicated in the London shrine until the period of its fourth-century rehabilitation. Its Danubian belonging is manifest, as we have seen, and it is in the Danubian area that we must place its origin. Most certainly it is

Plate V. Colossal hand of Mithras Tauroctonos (No. 5)

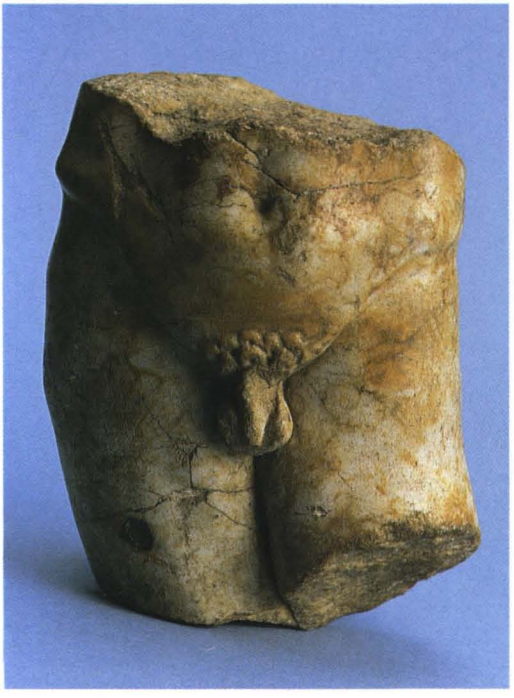

Plate VI. Fragment of a statuette of Bacchus (No. 6)

Plate VII. Fragment of a statuette of Bacchus (No. 7)

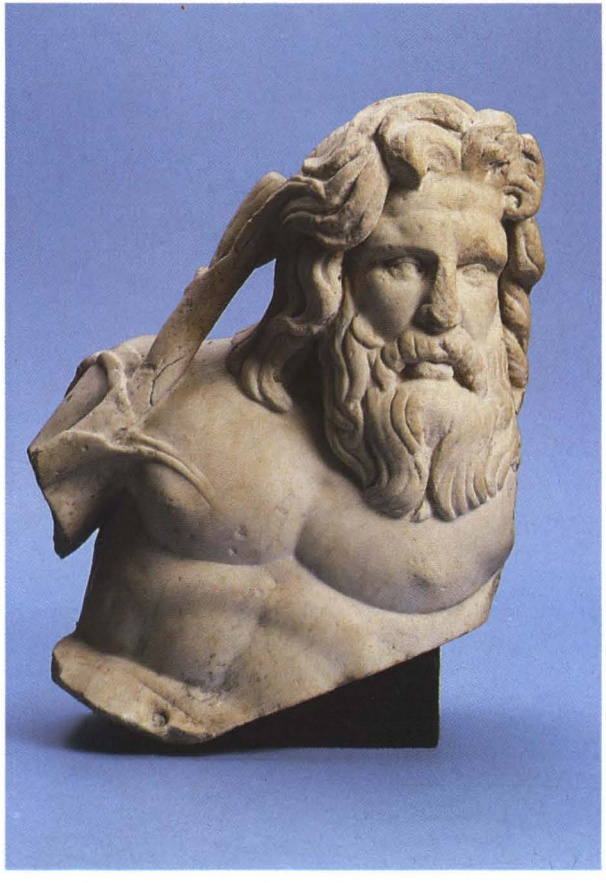

Plate VIII. Water-deity (No. 8)

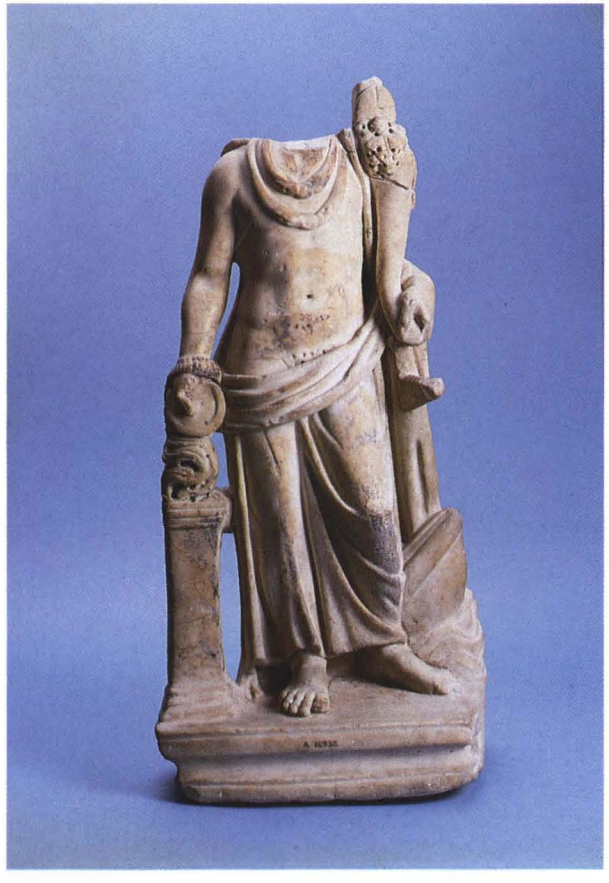

Plate IX. Genius (No. 9)

Plate X. Relief of Mithras Tauroctonos (No. 10)

Plate XI. Roundel (No. 14)

Plate XII. Bacchic group (No. 15)

Plate XIII. Silver casket and strainer (No. 16)

not a British work, but represents a provincial import into Londinium, carved in the Danube region in marble that may well have been imported there. There is evidence that the cult of the Riders lasted until the fourth century.

Representations of the Goddess and the Rider-gods in other Mithraic contexts. The sculptural evidence, listed below, for the veneration of a Goddess in Mithraea is definite, if scanty; and the Graeco-Roman Dioscuri are depicted on No. 13 and on at least one other unequivocally Mithraic relief (p. 38). The interaction of the cult of Mithras with the cults of the Thracian and Danubian Rider-gods has been noted by R. Pettazzoni[138] and there are three so-called Mithraic gems, which, if we can accept them as genuine, are interesting in that they repeat some of the motifs of the Cluj and Walbrook roundels and of the rectangular Danubian plaques. One of these gems shows, indeed, Mithras' rock-birth flanked by two horsemen, each with his star and each attended by an enormous snake and a pair of tiny grooms; while among the accessories are busts of Sol and Luna, an eagle with a snake in its beak, another bird, a dog, and several vessels[139]. The second gem displays a long-robed, bearded figure (possibly an error for a Goddess) standing between two confronted Riders, each brandishing an axe and each accompanied by a groom, snake and star. Above are a bird and busts of Sol and Luna, while the exergue contains, among other motifs, a fish and a bird[140]. On the third gem a Goddess stands between two Riders, each of whom flourishes an axe and rides over a prostrate human form. The accessories in the main scene are two minute female figures, two snakes, busts of Sol and Luna, a bird, and stars; and the exergue holds a fish, a dog, a three-legged table, a bird, and various ritual objects[141]. At all events, the mystery-cults of both Goddess and Rider-gods were closely akin in function to the cult of Mithras, in whose temple the Walbrook roundel could be most appropriately offered[142]. Moreover, Mithras himself was occasionally figured as a Rider-god. In general, Tudor (*op. cit.* in note 127, p. 171) accords 'great importance to the part played by the influence of the Mithraic religion on that of the Danubian Riders' (*cf. ibid.*, p. 276).

15. BACCHIC GROUP (*Pl. XII; Pl. 21*)

Museum of London Acc. No. 18496

Dimensions Height, 343mm (13½in); width at base, 293mm (11⅝in); thickness at greatest extent, 63mm (2½in).

Material Fine-grained saccharoidal marble with polygonal grains, probably from Carrara.

Find-spot In the north aisle of the temple, close to the north wall, just to the west of the wooden box-like structure (p. 3) and on or just above the level of the latest floor.

Date of discovery 7 October 1954.

Bibliography *JRS* xlv (1955), pl. 47; Toynbee, *ARB*, pp. 128–30, no. 12, pl. 34; Merrifield, *RCL*, pl. 80; Grimes, *ERML*, pp. 109–10, pl. 51.

Description and aesthetic appreciation. The central and by far the largest figure in this group is that of Bacchus, who stands naked and facing the spectator, with his head turned slightly towards the spectator's right. His weight is thrown on his right leg, sending his right hip curving outwards, his left knee is slightly bent, and his left foot is advanced a fraction beyond his right foot. The eyes are blank, the tip of the nose is abraded, but not broken, the thick, undrilled hair is parted in the centre and massed on either side of the face, while a long, corkscrew curl falls forward over each shoulder onto the breast. In the hair above the brow the god wears a triangular-shaped diadem. The cheeks are full, the mouth is sensuous, the general expression of the face is mild and dreamy.

Bacchus' right arm is raised and bent across the top of his head, so that his shoulders slope down towards his left and his head is gently inclined in the same direction. With his right hand he grips

Plate 21. Bacchic group; rear view, not intended to be seen.

the body of a large snake, the tail of which twists itself round his arm, while its neck and body are backed against a vine-branch, which follows roughly the line of the god's arm and then terminates in three large, flat, heavy, and summarily rendered clusters of grapes that hang down beyond his left shoulder. The branch shoots out more or less horizontally from a gnarled tree-trunk, seen on the spectator's left: this is either the vine-stock itself or the tree on which the vine is trained. The upper portion of the tree-trunk has disappeared, carrying with it most of the figure of a Pan, who was perched upon it and of whom one shaggy leg and hoof and the lower part of the shaggy torso alone remain.

Backed against the lower section of the tree-trunk is a bald-pated Silenus, wearing a long, pointed, silky beard and seated facing the spectator on the back of a little ass, which stands quietly in profile towards the spectator's left, with its head turned back towards its rider. The upper half of the Silenus is naked, apart from a collar round the neck; but below he wears a garment knotted round the waist, pulled taut across the legs, and then gathered tightly round the ankles. Against his chest he clasps a large wine-cup in both hands, the fingers of which are awkwardly and stiffly drawn. His face is asymmetrical; his right eye is blank, while there is a tiny drill-hole in one corner of his left eye. The beard is undrilled; and the drapery is flat and unplastic, with very sketchily indicated folds. The ass has no right eye, since this would have been invisible; and there is an ugly, lumpy 'bridge' attaching the creature's muzzle to its neck.

The left forearm and hand of Bacchus, and any object that he may have held in that hand, are lost. Those portions of him once projected horizontally forward and the left elbow rests against the chest of a young, naked Satyr, who stands on the god's left, with legs wide apart and frontal, while his trunk is thrown back and turned three-quarters towards the spectator's left. His function is to support his master, who is swaying visibly and seems to be none too steady on his legs; and the Satyr's right hand is placed against Bacchus' back, while his left arm is extended towards some vanished object (possibly once supported by his lost left hand), of which nothing now remains but a chunk of marble seen between the god's left hip and the Satyr's abdomen. The latter's head is snapped off at the neck and so is that of his companion standing on the right, a frontal, long-robed Maenad, who holds in both hands and hugs against her breast a *cista mystica*, or sacred casket, adorned at top and bottom with slightly projecting horizontal bands and closed by a dome-shaped lid. In front of her skirts, a leopard crouches to the right and looks up to the left in the direction of the god and Satyr. This beast lacks a right eye and nostril and teeth in the right-hand half of its maw. The Maenad's robe consists of a pouched, sleeveless tunic reaching to the feet and with folds very summarily marked. A snakey lock of hair dangles on each shoulder; there appears to be a collar round the neck; the hands are clumsily drawn and disproportionately large, and the skirts of the tunic, where the leopard conceals them, are unworked.

The back of the group was not intended to be visible (Pl. 21); for while the naked bodies of Bacchus and the Satyr are at any rate partly modelled at the rear, the three standing figures and the tree-trunk are very much flattened behind; and there, too, the hair of Bacchus, the Satyr's right hand, the tree-trunk, the vine-branch and the Maenad's drapery are all unfinished and covered everywhere with tooling-marks. The work is, in fact, in all essentials, not statuary in the round, but a pictorial relief without a background; and it is, perhaps, an instance of religious sculpture designed for silhouetting against a glow of lamp-light[143].

The nude forms of Bacchus and the Satyr are quite plastically and competently modelled. But Bacchus' head is somewhat overlarge: his torso is too broad and thick-set; and his general effect is one of top-heaviness and stumpiness. The Maenad is virtually two-dimensional; the Silenus is far too big and weighty for his little ass, and the treatment of the hands in the case of both of these figures betrays the inexperienced or poorly-gifted draughtsman. The flesh surfaces are smooth, but not burnished. Faint traces of red paint can be detected on the vine-branch, above the head of Bacchus, and on the back of the latter. The red stains appearing here and there are the results of iron incrustation.

The group has taken punishment on no less than three occasions. First, there are a very few ancient breaks—a chip out of the Silenus' right elbow and the loss of part of the right leg of the ass. Secondly, the pressure of earth and debris accumulating in the temple on top of the sculpture caused the tree-trunk to snap across immediately above the Silenus' head, the torso of Bacchus to split asunder just above the navel, his left arm to crack through a short distance above the elbow; and the neck of the snake, and the two right-hand grape-clusters behind it, to become detached from the rest. But apart from the very minor ancient losses and the post-Roman-period breaks, which could easily be repaired, the group was virtually intact when unearthed. It was not until the moment of its discovery that the piece incurred its third and most disastrous series of damages. New, raw breaks

betray quite modern losses, which are:- the top of the tree-trunk and the upper part of the Pan; the right elbow and adjoining portion of the right forearm of Bacchus; Bacchus' left forearm, hand, and attribute (?); the head, left hand, and attribute (?) of the Satyr; the Maenad's head; and the head of the snake. All these portions are utterly lost. The find-spot and its neighbourhood were searched for them in vain. Only the Satyr's right elbow and a small scale of marble from the back of the tree-trunk, both of which are modern breaks, were retrieved and replaced. [The modern damage and consequent losses were due to the unwarranted introduction of two workmen, who were not members of the excavation team, with the avowed object of hastening the final stages of the work. The missing pieces were lost because they were discarded unrecognised into a waiting skip. It was an unfortunate episode in what was in general a satisfactory relationship with the main site-contractors—W.F.G.]

The base of the group carries an inscription in rough, irregular lettering, which could be, but need not be contemporary with the sculpture. It runs HOMINIBVSBAGISBITAM; and there can be no doubt that the late Dr Stefan Weinstock was right in pointing out that *b* stands for *v* in the second and third cases in which it occurs and that the text should read *hominibus vagis vitam*, 'life to wandering men'[144]. This use of *b* for *v* is normally a sign of lateness, although an unpublished *graffito*—a workman's scrawl—in the Severan Basilica at Lepcis Magna, in Tripolitania, carries the practice back to the first decade of the third century[145]. The meaning of this enigmatic text is discussed at length below.

Parallels to art-type. Scenes of Bacchic revelry, with the god half-drunk, or almost unconscious, surrounded by members of his train, and often being saved from imminent collapse by the supporting arms and shoulders of a Satyr, are a common theme of art in many media, above all in sepulchral contexts, where they serve as allegories of paradisiacal happiness (p. 62). But the particular arrangement of divine figures and accessory motifs, which the Walbrook group displays, are not widespread through the Roman world; and the closest parallels known to the present writer are two stone reliefs, each portraying the Bacchic scene within a shallow, arched niche, from Turda in Romania[146] and Hissar in Bulgaria[147] respectively. Here again, Bacchus occupies the centre of the field. But on the first relief his nakedness is modified by boots and a *nebris* (fawn-skin) and his weight is on his left leg. His right arm is raised above his head and entwined by an enormous snake, which he grasps with his right hand, as it writhes across the top of the picture. A vine-branch and grape-cluster can be seen beside the god's head, carved in low relief on the background; and on the spectator's left is the tree-trunk, on which is perched a bearded Pan, holding a *syrinx* (Pan-pipe). At the foot of the tree is a bald-pated, half-draped Silenus, this time not mounted on an ass, but walking, with the aid of a staff, towards the right. The leopard crouches to the right behind the god's left foot and looks up to the left at its master. The Maenad is not present; but the faithful Satyr is at hand, striding towards the left, wearing a short cloak, holding a *pedum* (shepherd's throwing-stick) in his left hand, and supporting with his right hand the back of Bacchus, whose left arm is thrown round the Satyr's shoulders. On the Bulgarian relief Pan is perched on a tree-trunk in the left-hand upper corner, but below him a Maenad beating on a *tympanum* and a Satyr playing with a leopard take the place of the Silenus. On the extreme right appears the Maenad with the *cista mystica*; while Bacchus, who rests his weight upon his right leg, raises his snake-entwined arm above his head, and wears a *nebris*, throws his left arm round the shoulders of the Satyr standing between him and the Maenad. The last-mentioned gesture of the god is, indeed, normal in scenes of this type[148]; and the Walbrook group is exceptional in that it shows a variation at this point. What Bacchus and the Satyr had between them on the Walbrook piece we do not know. Possibly the god dangled a bunch of grapes over a bowl or dish held by his henchman.

Closely akin to the Walbrook marble group in its lack of a background, suggestive of its silhouetting against a glow of light, but differing from it in containing two human figures only and in being carefully finished at the rear, is a miniature amber group, 102mm (4in) high, depicting the same theme. It was found in 1960 in a grave in a Roman cemetery at Esch in North Brabant and is likely to have been carved in, and imported from, Aquileia, the leading centre of amber-carving at the head of the Adriatic Sea. Backed by a grape-laden vine, whose stem rises from the ground to the right of the group, are Bacchus on the left and a Satyr in the centre, whose right arm and hand support the god's back. Bacchus, who faces the spectator, is wreathed, but otherwise completely naked, rests his weight on his right leg, and holds a drinking-horn in his laterally extended left hand (another variation on the usual scheme: see above) and a wine-cup in his lowered right hand. Leaning against his right arm is a vertical *thyrsos*, behind which a leopard crouches on the ground. Bacchus' head is inclined towards the Satyr, who is also

completely naked, crosses his right leg over his left, and turns his head towards the spectator's left. In its workmanship and in the figures' proportions the amber group is somewhat inferior to the Walbrook marble, although the heads, bodies, and limbs are plastically modelled[149].

Date and area of production. The Turda and Hissar stones are the work of very ordinary provincial carvers; and according to A. von Domaszewski at least nine similar reliefs found in Danubian lands were known in 1895[150]. As a work of art the Walbrook group is, on the one hand, superior to the Turda and kindred pieces, but inferior, on the other hand, to every other monument of marble statuary in the round that the London site has yielded; and in view of the provincial connections of its art-type and assuming that a block of Italian marble might have been imported into central Europe (p. 55), a Balkan origin may with some reason be ascribed to it. Its freedom from the trammels of hieratic frontality, and the plasticity and movement of its two leading figures, would seem to preclude a date much later than *c.* AD 250. Meanwhile, its flagrant errors in proportion, and the slipshod workmanship revealed by the subsidiary figures and details, would seem to lift it well out of the second century onto the threshold of the Late Antique[151]. Moreover, by the middle of the third century, the late second-century passion for heavy drilling and deep undercutting, conspicuously absent from our marble, had already spent its force.

Representations of Bacchus in other Mithraea. See No. 6

Third and fourth (?)-century imported silverwork (Numbers 16–17)

16. CASKET AND STRAINER
(Pl. XIII; Pls. 22–25, 29; Figs. 2–4)

Museum of London Acc. No. 21579

Dimensions *Casket:* circular; height, 63mm (2½in); circumference, 254mm (10in); diameter, 79mm (3⅛in). *Lid*: circular; diameter, 77m (3$\frac{1}{16}$in). *Strainer*: circular; height, 45mm (1¾in); circumference, 216mm (8½in); diameter, 64-70mm (2½–2¾in); length of each 'arm', 32mm (1¼in).

Material Silver gilt.

Find-spot Unstratified, in the top of what remained of the temple's north wall, towards its western end. But it would appear that above the place where the casket and strainer lay, about 45cm (18in) of an ancient wall had been removed when a pit had been dug at that point for nineteenth-century foundations, so that originally these objects must have been inserted *in* the wall in Roman times with a view to concealing them. The fact that close to the casket and strainer there were discovered fragments of a Roman silver bowl with late-looking punched decoration (No. 17), presumably smashed by the modern building operations, when the casket and strainer themselves were mercifully missed by them, certainly suggests that all these pieces of precious metal belonged to a deliberately hidden *cache*—hidden possibly on the same occasion as that on which five statues of Italian marble (Nos. 1–5), dating from the second century AD, were buried in hollows in the temple's later floors, probably at some date during the first half of the fourth century. But that would, obviously, be no proof that the casket and strainer were contemporary with the marbles.

Date of discovery 8 October 1954.

Bibliography Toynbee, *ARB*, pp. 173–4, no. 110, pls. 111–12; Toynbee, *A Silver Casket and Strainer from the Walbrook Mithraeum in the City of London* (1963); Merrifield, *RCL*, pls. 81–3; Grimes, *ERML*, pp. 114–16, figs. 26–7.

Description and discussion

(A) *The Lid.* Opposite the hinge is the slot for the pin that fastened down the lid; and the pin itself, the head of which takes the form of the head of an animal, probably a mastiff, is surviving. Round the lid's circumference runs a very narrow beaded edging; and the whole of its upper surface is covered with figure ornament, cast in relief and chased and revealing here and there traces of gilding (Pl. 22, Fig. 2).

These designs consist of small figures of men and animals, with a few landscape accessories, and they fall into seven clearly defined groups:—

(1) In the centre of the field, and orientated slightly off the axis of the hinge and pin, are the head and fore-parts of an Indian elephant, standing towards the right. Only its right fore-leg is visible, while its hind-legs and hind-quarters retreat into the background, out of which it seems to be emerging. With its trunk and right tusk the elephant is mauling the head of an apparently shaggy-coated animal, possibly a wild goat, which crouches on the ground towards the left. A ridge represents the ground-line below the elephant, but under the goat (?) this is not continued.

(2) Immediately above the head of the elephant in (1), and facing towards the right, is a winged griffin, the fore-legs of which bestride a large, oblong box-shaped object. The griffin appears to be attacking with its beak the right-hand end of this box. Near the rim of the lid, just to the right of the griffin's head, a St. Andrew's cross is incised within a square. This mark, of which the purpose is obscure, bears no relation to the ornament.

Fig. 2. Silver casket; lid with part of wall and base. (1/1)

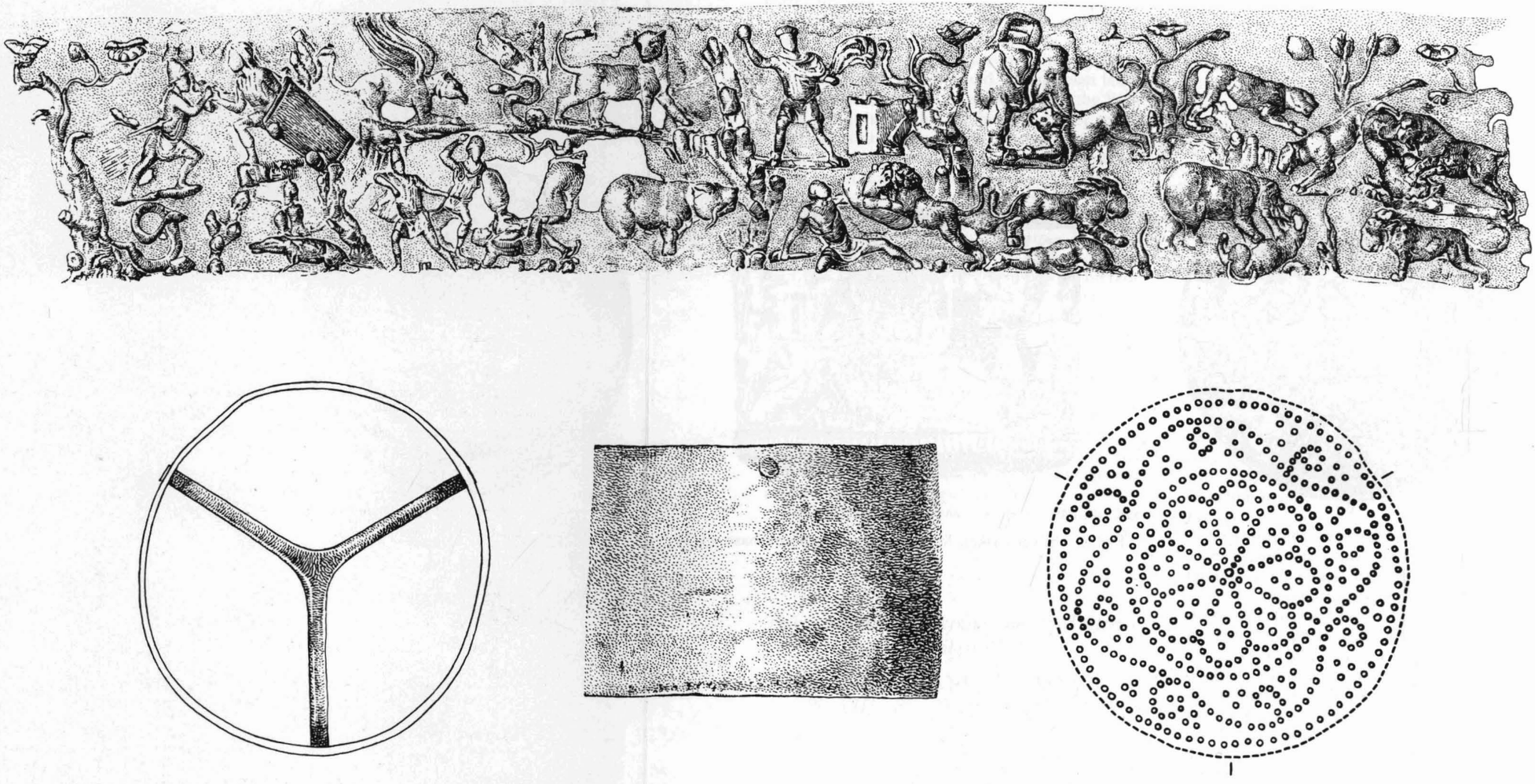

Fig. 3. Silver casket and strainer; panoramic view of casket wall and details of strainer. (1/1)

Plate 22. Silver casket; view of lid.

(3) To the right of (2) is a group of three human figures. Above, a man stands towards the right, bending down and with both arms extended in the direction of a sloping edge of rock, from the right-hand end of which project two heavy boulders. He appears to be balancing himself upon the left-hand upper corner of another oblong box, similar to that in (2). But the top of its right-hand end is open; and through this aperture emerge, towards the right, the head and trunk of a second man. His arms are extended before him and his hands are grasped by those of a third man, facing to the left, with both knees bent as he lunges eagerly forward. This man is obviously pulling the second member of the trio out of the box-like object.

(4) Opposite (3), on the left-hand side of (2), is another winged griffin, standing towards the left on a third oblong box, the end of which, as in (2), is closed. Like its counterpart in (2), this creature is pecking vigorously at the top of the box, and its long tail curls up round the right hind-paw of the beast in (2), with which it is otherwise quite unconnected.

(5) Below (4) is a leafless tree, the trunk of which curves to follow the line of the lid's circumference, while its branches spread inwards towards the centre of the field. At the end of the longest branch there perches what appears to be a very large bird, shown vertically, with its head reaching up beside the right-hand end of the box in (4) and its tail thrusting downwards between the tree-trunk and the elephant as in (1). From the foot of the tree a ground-line runs out towards the right and supports an animal, probably a leopard, the fore-parts of which are seen creeping from behind the tree-trunk, as it looks back furtively towards the left. Here, again, the hindquarters of the beast disappear into the background.

(6) Below the fore-leg of the elephant in (1) another animal, possibly a boar, is advancing towards the right. Only the legs in the foreground are rendered. A snake has twisted itself round the creature's body and bites it in the neck. The details at this point are far from clear; and it is not easy to decide whether the boar's (?) snout is facing straight ahead or is turned sharply backwards to retaliate.

(7) Finally, below the goat (?) in (1) a feline creature, most probably another leopard, bounds towards the right over rocks (?). Its tail swings out behind, its head is turned three-quarters towards the left, and beneath its fore-paws sprawls another animal, perhaps a deer, seen from behind, with its head towards the left, its body bent long the lid's curving line, and its tail flying up towards the rock in (3).

(B) *The Wall.* The exterior wall of the casket (Pl. 23, Fig. 3) is, like the upper surface of its lid, completely filled with figures of men and animals set in a landscape of trees and rocks. Here, again, the ornament was produced by casting in a mould, followed by chasing. The relief-work is bounded at the top and bottom by a pair of convex mouldings, of which the upper one, encircling the lid, takes the form of a laurel-wreath, while the lower one, girdling the base, is incised with a row of 'tongues' projecting downwards. This frieze-like design is, in general effect, continuous all the way round the vessel. But it breaks up, on closer view, into four main scenes or episodes, the beginnings and ends of which are marked either by trees or rocks or by abrupt changes in the direction of the figures. The most strongly accented of these lines of demarcation is a tree which reaches right across the frieze, from bottom to top, a short distance to the spectator's left of the fastening-pin on the lid (near the right-hand end). This tree, which has a gnarled trunk and large, flat leaves, or open flowers, at the ends of its spreading branches, may be taken as intended by the artist to indicate the start and finish of the story; and our description may conveniently begin with the scene on its immediate right.

(1) The first scene (the right-hand end) is framed on one side by the tree just described and on the other by a barren tree-trunk reaching half-way up the frieze (the left-hand end). It is arranged, as are

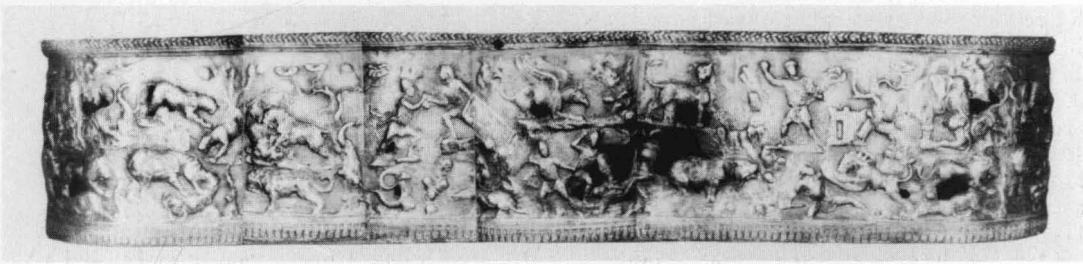

Plate 23. Silver casket; panoramic view of exterior wall.

also the three other scenes, in two superimposed tiers or storeys. Above, on the left, a man strides towards the right along a ledge of rock, with his left leg advanced. He wears a conical helmet and probably a close-fitting jerkin and breeches; and at his waist swings a sheathed knife. Facing him and striding upon the roof of a rocky cave is another man, probably also clad in a jerkin and breeches, but with a hood (?) instead of a helmet. His right leg is advanced and his left leg and left hand are concealed behind a large oblong contraption, which he seems to be dragging diagonally after him or out of which he is stepping. On its lower edge are two round blobs; and the only explanation of it that the present writer can offer is that this is a box, generally similar to, but of a somewhat different type from, those described on the lid of the casket, of which we see one side with small wheels or castors attached to it. Above the box towers what looks like a pinnacle of rock or a branchless tree-trunk. The two men are joining right hands and are clearly not in combat, but are either greeting one another or conversing on some urgent matter. Just below their hands is a small round object, probably a stone. Beside the first man's right leg a small corrosion hole pierces the background. In the lower tier, on the left, a large, coiled snaked rears itself up towards the right. On the right, facing the snake, there cowers at the entrance to the rocky cave a long-snouted, thick-set, short-legged, thin-tailed creature, probably meant to represent a mongoose (*ichneumon*), the snake's inveterate enemy[152].

(2) The second scene is terminated on the right by a tree-stump below and by a chimney-like rock, or branchless tree-trunk, rising from a wall of boulders, above. The upper storey is divided from the lower by a ledge or ground-line. At the left end of the ledge a winged griffin crouches towards the right. Facing it, in the centre, is a rearing snake, seen against what is either a tree-trunk or a jagged spur of rock and apparently opposed to the confronting griffin; and on the right the griffin is balanced by a feline—a tiger or a leopard—standing, with waving tail, towards the right, but looking backwards over its shoulder towards the snake. Below, from left to right, are (a) a man wearing a conical helmet, a jerkin or tunic, breeches (?), and flying cloak, who stands with his body facing the spectator, but looks to the right, with both arms stretched out before him; (b) a second man, similarly clad, striding towards the right, holding a small, oval shield on his left arm, while his right hand is raised to hurl a stone; (c) a third man, who has fallen to the ground, with his head towards the left, and kicking legs and a large stone visible below his left foot; (d) the vertical body of a beast shown with its head downwards and its tail in the air; this animal would seem to have overthrown the third man and to be the second man's target; (e) a hippopotamus standing unconcernedly towards the right, with a snake in its mouth and its back turned upon the scene of conflict, in front of the wall of boulders. Portions of the background are lost beneath the bellies of the griffin and the feline in the upper tier, and there are two large corrosion perforations in the background below, extending from the second man to the middle of the hippopotamus' back.

(3) Here the tiers of figures are more closely related than in scenes (1) and (2). Above, on the left, a man is standing on a ledge with his legs set wide apart. He wears a flat, round cap, a jerkin or tunic, breeches (?), and a cloak floating out like a sail towards the right. With his right hand he aims a stone at a lion, which occupies the right-hand portion of the lower tier and is rearing against the oval shield of a second man, shown immediately below the first, wearing a flat, round cap and a jerkin, holding a long knife in his right hand, and being forced to the ground, with his right leg doubled up under him, by the impact of the animal. Below the belly of the lion lies a large stone that has missed its target. To the right of the first man, above the lion's head, is yet another oblong box, seen in perspective and seemingly open at one end. A narrow rectangular object, possibly the detachable door for closing the aperture, leans diagonally beside the box; and a gnarled tree with spreading branches, one of which ends in a large leaf, or open flower, rounds off the scene.

(4) This section of the frieze is the longest of the four and consists entirely of animals, shown singly or in groups, ranged in two quite separate tiers, and interspersed with trees and rocks. The upper

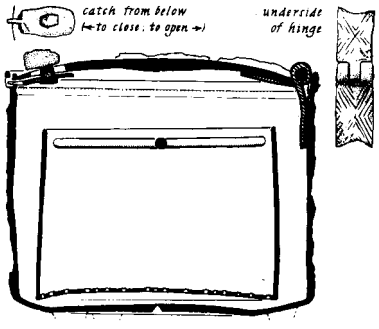

Fig. 4. Cross-section of casket and strainer with details of catch. (1/2)

zone contains, from left to right: (a) the fore-parts of an elephant standing towards the right, with its hind-quarters vanishing into the background, as in (1) on the lid, and with a howdah-like object on its back, and, again as in the lid scene, mauling with its tusks and trunk the head of another animal, here a leopard-like creature, that crouches on the ground towards the left; (b) a tree, with large leaves, or open flowers, at the ends of its spreading branches; (c) a feline bounding towards the right over rocks (?); (d) another feline bounding towards the left, with a leafy tree in the background behind it; (e) a lion prancing towards the left and devouring an animal of indeterminate species. In the lower tier are seen, from left to right: (a) a lion leaping towards the right over the body of a deer, which lies with its head towards the left; (b) possibly a bear, or more probably another hippopotamus, standing towards the right and mauling another beast that it has rolled upon its back; (c) a tree-stump; (d) a lion standing towards the left. The scene is bounded on the right by the large tree that forms the starting point; and there are corrosion perforations in the background to the right of the elephant, and beside the hind-quarters of the first feline in the upper tier.

Both on the lid and on the wall of the Walbrook casket the figures of men and animals are essentially three-dimensional, naturalistic, well-proportioned, plastically modelled, and instinct with life and vigorous movement. Trees and rocks are, in general, conventionally treated, although the gnarled trunks of the trees between the first and fourth, and third and fourth, scenes are drawn with the realistic fidelity to nature that marks the rendering of many of the animals. The individual figures and groups are, in fact, stylistically, as well as technically, in the full stream of Hellenistic art

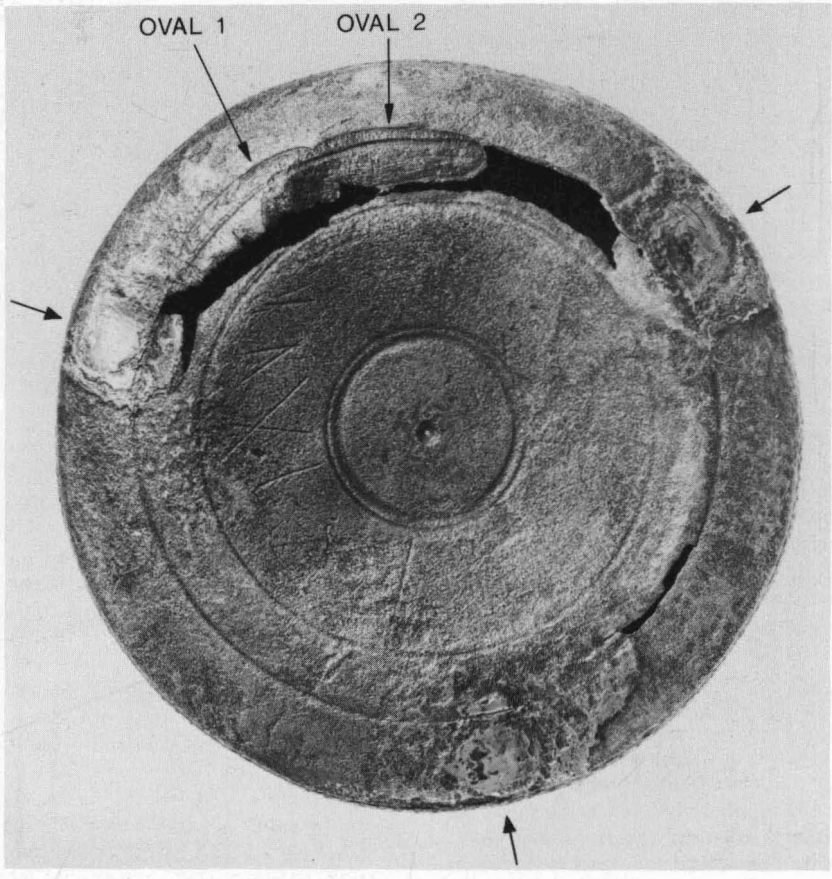

Plate 24. Silver casket: view of underside, revealing three points where feet may have been attached (arrows) and two areas of repair (ovals). see Appendix I (*British Museum*).

traditions, and they could, if taken in isolation, rank as the products of an early-to-mid imperial workshop. But as compositions these designs, on both lid and wall, are completely lacking in organic coherence; and the effect is that of an 'all-over' carpet or tapestry pattern with loosely linked, self-contained units strewn across the field, with a view to covering every scrap of the surface with small-scale filling ornament. In this respect the casket's affinities are, as we shall see, less with the first and second centuries than with the Late Antique as exemplified particularly on fourth- and fifth-century mosaic pavements; although much more organic 'all-over' designs had already appeared in the purely decorative 'free-style' wild beast scenes, with or without hunters, of the second-century 'samian' potters' repertory.

(C) *The Base.* On the under side of the very slightly convex base (Pl. 29) are four lightly incised concentric circles, the two inner ones close together, the other two much more widely spaced. They were drawn with the compass, one point of which pierced a tiny hole in the metal at the centre. There is also a long corrosion perforation through the base on one side of this central point, between the third and fourth (outer) circles; and near this perforation is a faintly scratched *graffito* reading ISI∧VI, probably a personal name in the genitive case, between the second and third circles[153].

[*Note.* Since the above was written the casket and strainer were subjected to X-ray fluorescence and metallographic analysis at the British Museum Research Laboratory. The results are given as an appendix (p. 63). Apart from technical details the report revealed evidence for repairs in the base of the casket, and for the former existence of three feet for which the attachment marks survive (Pl. 29)—W.F.G.]

(D) *The Strainer.* Inside the casket as found was a silver cylindrical strainer or filter (Pl. 24), not fitting it tightly, but conforming to it generally in shape and size and presumably intended for use with it. Within the strainer are three horizontal 'arms' springing from the wall just below the top and meeting at the centre; and on the outer surface of the wall can be seen the three rivets by which these 'arms' were held in place. The under side of the strainer's base is slightly convex; and this base is perforated by a series of small holes that form an attractive and highly decorative geometric pattern (Pl. 25). In the middle is an eight-petalled rosette, with a dot at its centre, a group of four dots on each petal, and an external dot continuing the line that divides each petal from its fellow. Outside the rosette is a circle of dots and then eight curving, scroll-like lines that combine to make a cushion-shaped square, with eight spirals curling alternately inwards and outwards and two groups of dots flanking each spiral. The whole is finally enclosed within another circle.

A close parallel to this strainer is afforded by a very slightly larger silver cylindrical strainer found at Stráže in Czechoslovakia, which has the same three internal 'arms', but with a knob at their point of junction, and perforations in the bottom that are set out in a series of simple concentric circles. It was found in a grave and is dated to the third century AD[154].

Assuming that the Walbrook casket served as a container in Mithraic ritual and that the strainer functioned with it, its contents must have been liquid. This liquid can hardly have been blood for smearing on initiates, since blood would have congealed and have been anyhow too thick to pass through the perforations in the base of the strainer. The filter might, on the other hand, have been used for straining thin honey into the casket. Porphyry tells us that those who were initiated in the grade of *Leones* had honey instead of water poured over their hands for cleansing purposes and that their tongues were purified by honey from every stain of sin[155].

An alternative possibility is that the strainer was used for infusing a concoction of herbs which served to induce a ritual hypnosis in Mithraic (or some other) mystery-cult; that the three 'arms' were to mark the limit of the amount of drug to be infused; and that this strainer or infuser was the really

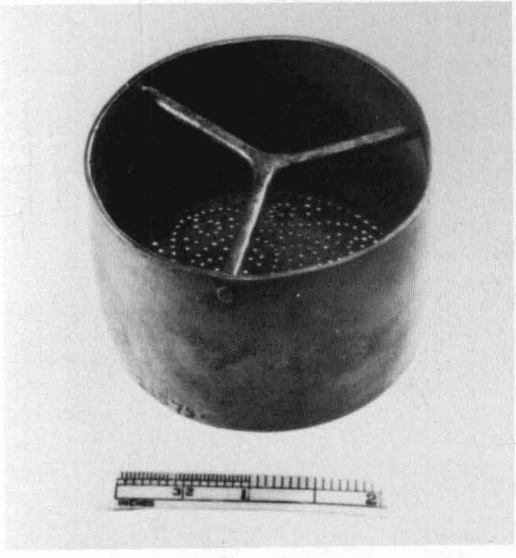

Plate 25. Silver strainer.

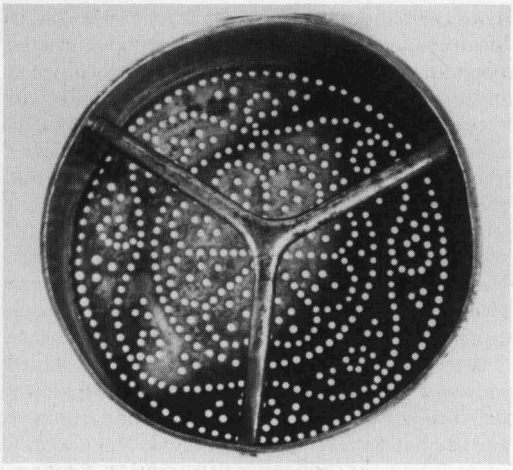

Plate 26. Silver strainer; interior view, revealing perforations forming pattern in base.

important ritual object, the casket being merely its container[156]. But the elaborate decoration of the casket suggests that it was meant to hold something ritually precious, such as honey for annointing hands and tongues, for at least some length of time; and one may wonder whether a herb infusion would have remained efficaceous if kept for long in the casket after being strained—always supposing that the small amount of drug that the casket could hold would have been sufficient for producing in an adult human being an hypnotic state. And would not the 'arms' have been needed for holding the strainer in the fingers when it was being placed in the casket and lifted out of it?

The figured scenes on the lid and walls of the Walbrook casket are, as we have seen, hunting scenes, with men, some of them armed with defensive shields and helmets, engaged in catching animals, and with animals confronting, pulling down and slaying other beasts. The landscape elements of trees and rocks suggest that these hunts and animal contests are in the field, in some distant African or Asiatic land, rather than examples of those staged *venationes* and beast-fights which were among the most popular forms of spectacle in the arenas of the Roman world. It is, indeed, in the great hunt mosaics of the later Empire, of which the primary purpose was to portray the pursuit and capture of wild creatures for such *venationes* and displays in city amphitheatres, that the casket reliefs are most closely paralleled, both in subject-matter and in style and composition; and of these late mosaics five are of outstanding interest in our present context. Hunting scenes and animal combats are only some of the many, heterogeneous themes spread across the field of the great, probably sixth-century, pavement that adorns the ambulatory of the peristyle of the Byzantine palace at Istanbul[157]. But the general effect of those unconnected, self-contained groups, somewhat haphazardly arranged in tiers (in this case, in three tiers) to form an 'all-over' design, is strikingly similar to that of the work now under discussion; and there, as here, the individual motifs have all the plasticity, liveliness, and naturalism that are the familiar hall-marks of Hellenistic and early to mid imperial art. Precisely the same conflation of earlier naturalism and Late Antique schemes of composition characterises three fifth- to sixth-century hunt mosaics from Antioch-on-the-Orontes, the Magalopsychia pavement in the 'Yakto Complex'[158], the Dumbarton Oaks pavement[159], and the pavement in the 'House of the Worcester Hunt'[160].

It is however, to the now famous country villa near Piazza Armerina in central Sicily, of controversial, but certainly fourth-century, date that we must turn for the most striking analogies to the relief-work on our casket[161]. There, on the mosaic floor of an immense corridor, 63.7m (210ft) long by 5.46m (18ft) wide and terminating in an apse at either end, is a truly amazing array of illustrations of the hunting, capturing, and transporting of wild animals and birds for exhibition in the arena shows and *venationes*. This pavement tallies exactly with the casket scenes, first, in its tiered, 'all-over' patterning with separate episodes, related, indeed, in their general theme, but carelessly, sometimes even crudely, juxtaposed without any attempt to weld them into a single, unified picture[162]; secondly, in the verve, vivacity, and realism with which, in particular, the individual birds and beasts are rendered. Furthermore, it is this Sicilian mosaic that provides use with counterparts of two of the most arresting items in the casket's repertory of motifs—the winged griffins and the large, oblong, box-like objects.

Reference to Piazza Armerina leaves no room for doubt that the oblong objects are crates or cages, set by the hunters for catching the beasts and also used as travelling boxes for transporting them alive across the Mediterranean to the places of public entertainment for which they were destined[163]. One such cage appears on wheels and drawn by oxen[164]; another is slung on a pole and carried along by a pair of huntsmen[165]; others, again, are ranged on board a cargo boat[166]. Moreover, the motif of a griffin clambering over one of these boxes, shown twice on the lid of the Walbrook casket (scenes 2 and 4 above, Pl. 22, Fig. 2), appears at the right-hand end of the mosaic, where

a great winged griffin, facing towards the left, sprawls on top of a slatted crate, out of the left-hand end of which there peeps a human face[167]. It would seem that men were sometimes immured in these boxes as baits; the quarry would sense their presence and try to tear the cages open in order to reach them, and then, while thus preoccupied, be the more easily taken captive by other hunters. Scene 3 on the casket lid represents the succeeding stage in such an episode: the human bait has served his turn and is being released from his confinement by two companions. That the griffin was popularly, at least, believed to exist in the East as a creature that could be hunted is clear from Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (iii, 48): 'For these animals (sc. οἱ γρῦπες) do exist in India and are held to be sacred to the Sun. . .In size and strength they resemble lions but having the advantage over them that they have wings, they will attack lions and get the better of elephants and dragons.' There is, then, no need to read any particular mystic meaning into the griffin. But under the Empire hunts and animal combats often carried more than their face-value significance when reproduced in a religious (as on the casket) or funerary context, where they feature as allegories, partly of the fertility, and even of the pleasant pastimes, of the world beyond the grave and partly of the chasing and overpowering of the forces of wickedness by those of goodness.

Parallels in metalwork to the style and some of the details of the Walbrook casket are afforded by vessels in the fourth-century silver treasure from Mildenhall in Suffolk[168]. On the great Oceanus dish[169], on the two Dionysiac platters[170], on the hemispherical cover[171], and on the flanges of four bowls[172] we are confronted with human and animal figures that are as vivid, naturalistic, and springy in movement as any on the London piece. The four last-mentioned items also show, interspersed among the human heads and beasts on their flanges, trees with spreading branches that terminate in large, flat leaves, or open flowers, of the same type as those that have been noted on the casket[173]. The technique of the latter, with its scenes cast in relatively high relief, is quite different from that of the Suffolk vessels, the ornament of which, worked in very low relief, was produced by hammering down the background from the front[174]. But other techniques, repoussé, for example, were also employed in the late Roman period[175]; and on every count the Walbrook casket would appear to be thoroughly at home in the milieu of the Late Antique silver-worker's craft.

The social and religious implications of the casket and the strainer, in the context in which they came to light, are less easy to define than are those of the other works of art from the Walbrook Mithraeum; and the casket's date, judging by style alone, is, as we have seen, not immediately obvious, while no deity or motif linking it directly with a specific cult, appears in its embossed reliefs. Certainly these vessels, the only distinguished 'minor' works of art that the London temple has produced, were Mediterranean imports; and it might seem natural to assign their importation to the wealthy third-century Mithraists who introduced from abroad the mid-imperial marble sculptures. They must have been comparatively costly objects, not, apparently, in keeping with the shabby structure of the shrine as restored during the fourth century after its original stone colonnades had been removed, probably earlier in the same century[176]; and, as has already been pointed out, the elegant plasticity of the casket's craftsmanship might be thought indicative of second-century work. But its closest affinities are, as we have also seen, with Late Antique mosaic pavements; and that is the main consideration which must be set against the difficulty, on social and economic grounds, of connecting such fine vessels of precious metal with the latest phases of the temple's history and which appear to weight the balance in favour of detecting in them the products of a late third- or early fourth-century, possibly east-Mediterranean, workshop.

If the above dating of it is correct, the casket illustrates that persistence of good craftsmanship in contemporary silver-work, in pagan as well as in Christian circles, to which the Mildenhall[177], Traprain Law[178], Esquiline[179], and other late Roman silver treasures, and such isolated pieces as the Parabiago *patera*, now at Milan[180], bear striking testimony; and given the means to pay for them, or the devotees able and willing to present them, the Walbrook silver vessels, with their 'neutral' reliefs and modest dimensions, could have been smuggled unobtrusively into the reconditioned temple, if they did not arrive at Walbrook, as seems, perhaps, more likely, a relatively short time before the dismantling of the shrine's colonnades in the earlier fourth century (p. 2).

Assuming that the casket with its strainer served a ritual purpose, it is probable that its animal groups and hunting episodes carried a generally symbolic meaning for those who used it, as alluding, as has been already said, partly to the teeming life of paradise and partly to the hunting down of evil by divine power. The man drawn from the cage as a human bait might possibly suggest a ritual death and resurrection[181]. Furthermore, these designs may even have conveyed to the initiated a specifically Mithraic connotation, since Mithras figures in art as a mounted hunter, pur-

suing and slaying the forces of wickedness and death, as on the obverse of the two-sided slab from Dieburg[182], on the reverse of a similar slab from Rückingen[183], in one of the small scenes that frame the great bull-slaying relief from Osterburken[184], and in a couple of mural paintings from the Dura-Europos Mithraeum[185]. There can, again be little doubt that Mithras the hunter is depicted in the unmounted figure that wears a Phrygian cap, has crosses and stars embroidered on the skirt of his tunic, and holds a bow, worked *en barbotine* on one side of a 'Castor' beaker from Verulamium[186].

As to where the casket was manufactured, no conclusive internal criteria are forthcoming from the piece itself. We know virtually nothing of local styles in silverware under the later Empire, if, indeed, such styles existed; nor have we any notion of the extent to which silver-workers may have travelled from centre to centre in the service of their patrons. There is not a piece in the Mildenhall treasure, for instance, of which we can do more than guess the origin, basing our guesses on nothing more compelling than argument from general probabilities[187]. Similarly, all that we can say about the Walbrook casket is that the provenances and affinities of the late mosaics, with which we have related its decoration, are southern and eastern; and that it is at least a possibility that its maker worked in, or hailed from, one of the southern and eastern provinces. As for the strainer, we can, again, only say that it is likely to be of Mediterranean, rather than of northern or western provincial, origin.

17. THE SILVER BOWL (*Fig. 5*)

By Joanna Bird

Museum of London	Acc. No. 21552
Dimensions	Diameter of rim 120mm (4¾in) approximately
Material	Silver
Find-spot	See No. 16
Date of discovery	8 October 1954

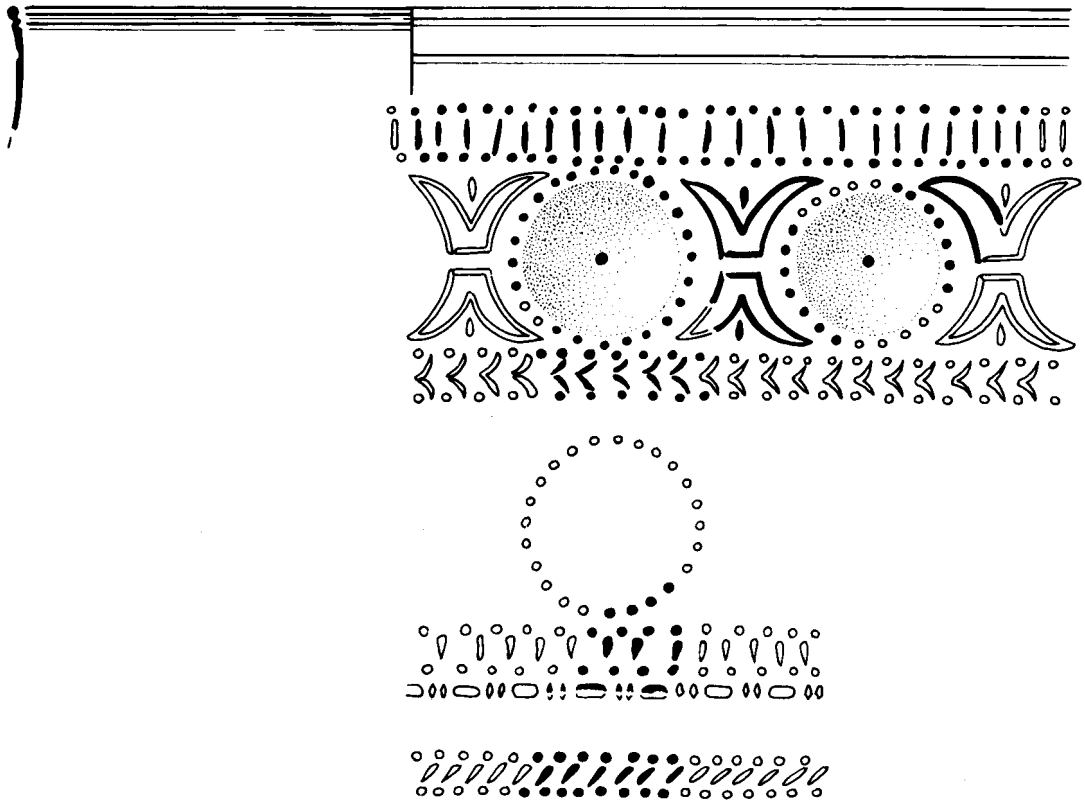

Fig. 5. Silver bowl; reconstruction of decoration. (1/1)

Plate 27. Silver bowl from Chaourse (*British Museum*).

Fragments of a small bowl in thin sheet silver were found with the canister (No. 16) in the north wall of the temple. The rim, which is approximately 1mm thick and the thickest part of the vessel, was all present but had been bent and broken into five strips. The surviving pieces of the body consist of small, badly damaged fragments, but enough remains to allow most, possibly all, of the design to be restored.

Beneath the plain rim are two turned grooves, and below, the main decoration of the body consisting of various motifs punched on to the exterior of the bowl. At the top is a band of vertical lines bordered above and below by dots; beneath is a row of circles, 26mm in diameter, outlined in dots and alternating with crude foliage motifs. It is likely, from parallels with other bowls of the same type and from indications on some of the larger fragments, that the circles were indented, or faceted. The central dot, marking the compass point for each circle of dots, has been punched right through to make a small hole, suggesting the need for a lining, perhaps of glass, to make the vessel serviceable. Below the circles is a row of chevrons bordered by dots.

There are indications of a second row of circles lower down on the body, and perhaps directly beneath the chevron band; it is probable that they too would be faceted. Beneath comes a narrow band of tear-shaped motifs bordered by dots, above a row of probable astragalus ornaments. The base of the bowl consists of a dotted circle, approximately 40mm in diameter, again probably indented, bordered by a band of diagonal hatching and dots.

The bowl belongs to a small group of closely similar vessels, likely to be of Gaulish manufacture (Strong 1966, 162), having stylistic links with contemporary glassware. Four bowls from the Chaourse Treasure are close in size and style, and share faceted circles, punched hatching, tear-shaped motifs, astragali and a similar foliage ornament (Pl. 26) (Walters 1921, nos. 157–60). A somewhat larger bowl (diameter 180–190mm) from Water Newton has two rows of faceted circles with central holes, and shows a similar banding of narrow friezes above the base; these consist of astragalus and chevron wreaths (Pl. 27). It also has a more elaborate version of the stylised foliage motif between the circles (Painter 1977, 11–12, 30 no. 4, and frontispiece). These bowls are all approximately hemispherical in shape, and it is likely that the Walbrook one is too. However, the example from Notre-Dame-d'Allençon (diameter 175mm) is in the shape of a shallow dish, with a single band of six dotted and indented circles and one on the base, and a rather more naturalistic version of the foliage motif composed of punched dots (Pl. 28).

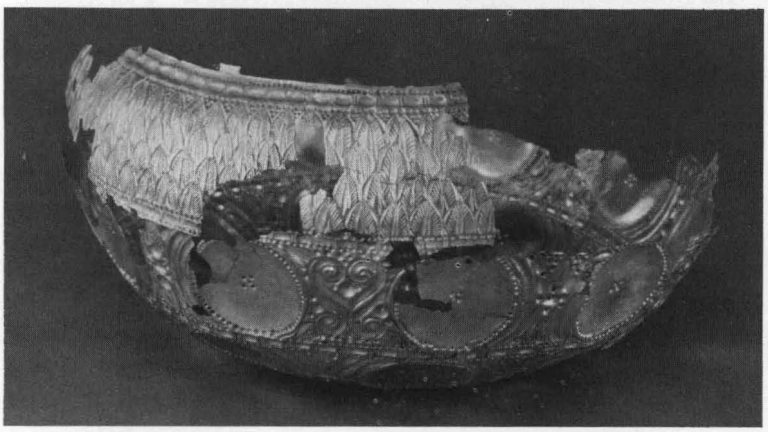

Plate 28. Silver bowl from Water Newton (*British Museum*).

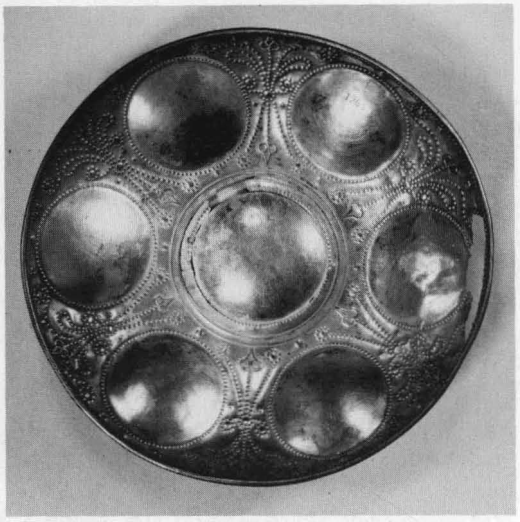

Plate 29. Silver dish from Notre-Dame-d'Allençon (*Musée du Louvre*).

On this bowl, the decoration begins immediately below the lip (Baratte 1981, 49–53, pl. XXI).

The Chaourse Treasure is dated *c.* AD 270, and a similar later third-century date was suggested by Strong for the hoards from Notre-Dame-d'Allençon and Berthouville, where another similar bowl was found (Strong 1966, 160–1). Baratte (1981) has recently suggested a wider date range, from the second century to the early third, for the Notre-Dame-d'Allençon find. The Water Newton hoard was probably buried during the first half of the fourth century, but included vessels of third-century type, to which century Painter assigns the faceted bowl (1977, 12, 21). The bowl found in an early fifth-century pirates' hoard near Coleraine was described by Strong as a late example of the type (Strong 1966, 204); the same basic repertoire of circles and punched dots and lines is used, but in a much simplified arrangement, with only the basal circle indented (British Museum 1964, pl. X, no. 48). The available evidence for these bowls would thus seem to indicate a third-century date for the Walbrook bowl.

Although the number of bowls in this distinctive style is relatively few, it is perhaps of interest that most of the other well-documented ones also come from religious contexts. The Chaourse Treasure is apparently a deposit of domestic plate, but the Berthouville find comes from a temple of Mercury, the Notre-Dame-d'Allençon hoard contained numerous dedications to Minerva, and the Water Newton hoard included various Christian dedications.

Acknowledgement

I am most grateful to Miss Catherine Johns and to the late Professor Donald Strong for discussing the Walbrook bowl; their suggestions have been incorporated in the text. I would also like to thank Mr D. M. Bailey, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, for making the Chaourse bowls available for comparison.

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PART II

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The works of art of the Roman period, catalogued above, from the Walbrook temple site constitute the richest, most impressive, and most varied series that any building, or group of buildings, so far excavated in Roman Britain has yielded. In the following pages an attempt is made to assess the artistic, social, and religious implications of these discoveries for Mithraism as it was known and practised in Londinium.

Since the specifically Roman Mithraic mysteries were, so far as Britain is concerned, an imported cult, it is not surprising to find among the Walbrook monuments none that can be called Romano-British in the strictest sense, that is, pieces executed in Britain by craftsmen of Celtic extraction, ultimately dependent on the representational art of the Graeco-Roman world, yet revealing both in style and in technique distinctively Celtic and native local traits and often more native than Roman in their content. But all the other categories into which art in Roman Britain falls are exemplified. The heads of Mithras (No. 1, Pl. I), Minerva (No. 2, Pl. II), and Serapis (No. 3, Pl. III), the figures of the Water-god (No. 8, Pl. VIII) and Genius (No. 9, Pl. IX), the Mercury group (No. 4, Pl. IV), the colossal hand (No. 5, Pl. V), and the two small torsos (Nos. 6, 7, Pls. VI, VII), all worked in foreign marble, almost certainly abroad and by sculptors trained in Mediterranean workshops, are striking instances of an imported art that is purely classical in style, technique, and subject-matter. Such works would grace a museum in Rome; and it is, in fact, to Italy and to other southern lands that we must turn for their nearest parallels. The marble Bacchic five-figure piece (No. 15, Pl. XII) and the marble roundel (No. 14, Pl. XI) are likewise imported works. But both of these are provincial, not central, in their associations and in the manner of their execution; and while the former depicts a familiar Graeco-Roman theme and imitates Graeco-Roman models, the works that display its special formula derive from a restricted area and the latter carries a subject that belongs to the north-eastern peripheral areas of the Empire and betrays the hand of a local carver whose acquaintance with classical standards was far slighter that that of the author of the Bacchic group. Finally, we have in the marble Mithras Tauroctonos relief (No. 10, Pl. X), in the stone Cautopates (No. 12, Pl. 18) and Dioscurus reliefs (No. 13, Pl. 19), and in the stone arm and hand from a bull-slaying Mithras group (No. 11, Pl. 16), sculptures carved by provincial artists, British or possibly Gaulish, works comparatively rude in treatment, but in their content wholly foreign and cosmopolitan. All of these were carved in Britain, the first on an imported slab of foreign marble, the rest in materials native to this island. Thus the essentially eclectic and variegated character of art as the provinces knew it, is, with the exception above noted, vividly reflected in the finds from Mithras' London shrine.

Closely linked with the aesthetic aspects of the Walbrook works of art is the question of their social significance. The classical, imported sculptures tell a

plain tale of wealthy and cultivated Mithraists, men of sophisticated taste and Mediterranean contacts, as frequenters and patrons of this temple (and possibly of other, as yet undiscovered, associated shrines) during the early years of its history, in the second half of the third century; and, further, of worshippers of Mithras and kindred deities during the first quarter of the fourth century who were well enough off and well enough educated to maintain, appreciate, and, it seems, hide away for safety (p. 5) mid-imperial statuary, some of it carved perhaps nearly 200 years earlier. Among all the Mithraea of the Roman world, known from discovery or inference to have existed, none in Italy, not even the best-equipped in Rome or Ostia, such as the Ostian 'Terme di Mitra' Mithraeum' with its splended marble group signed *Κρίτων Ἀθηναῖος ἐποιεί* ('Criton of Athens made it'), and only one throughout the provinces, namely that at Mérida (Augusta Emerita) in Spain[188], can boast a comparable and richer set of marbles. At Mérida are fifteen marble pieces, including the Serapis, Mercury, and Water-god already cited, and the statue of a torch-bearer signed *Δημήτριος ἐποίει* ('Demetrius made it')[189], which, together with Criton's signature, reminds us that some at least of the artists of the Walbrook sculptures were probably Greeks, or at any rate Greek-speaking. The Mithras Tauroctonos slab, dedicated by the veteran Ulpius Silvanus, the reliefs of Cautopates and of a Dioscurus, and the stone arm and hand of Mithras seem to represent lower strata in the scale of wealth and culture in third-century Roman London; while the roundel and Bacchic group, which were not found buried beneath the topmost floors and appear to belong to the latest phases of the temple's story, reflect partly, no doubt, a general decline in marble sculpture under the later Empire, but also the depressed social and economic status of the pagan community that owned the somewhat shoddily rehabilitated building in timber (p. 3). For larger and more imposing marble carvings for instance, on sarcophagi, could still be produced at this period for wealthy Christian patrons; while some quite impressive and technically competent, if stylistically rather crude, clumsy, and ill-proportioned marbles were actually being made for, and dedicated by, late-fourth-century Mithraists in Italy and possibly in Syria[190]. It is, on the whole, likely that if the marble roundel and marble Bacchic group reached the Walbrook shrine after its fourth-century dismantling, they were 'second-hand' dedications, far from new at the time of their importation. Indeed, it would be difficult, as has been pointed out (p. 42), to date the Bacchic group, on grounds of style, much later than *c.* 250; and there is an alternative possibility that these two pieces had been rescued undamaged from the earlier temple and were then re-used in its successor. At any rate, the Bacchic group was still apparently intact at the moment of discovery (p. 40) and the roundel could have lost its upper right-hand portion when the shrine was finally destroyed.

Summing up, we may say that the London worshippers of Mithras, as represented by their sculptures, were men of diverse backgrounds and differing historical conditions. But taken all in all, it is the second-century monuments of high artistic merit that predominate at Walbrook, adding their impressive evidence to that of the Mithraic finds at Rome[191], Ostia[192], Mérida[193], and Lambaesis[194], for the appeal of this religion, not only to soldiers and to 'little people', but also to members of the well-to-do business circles[195] and other middle classes of Roman society and even to high-ranking

government officers—well before 307, the probable date of our first clear indication that the cult enjoyed official court patronage.[196]

It is, however, mainly on the score of their religious implications that the Walbrook works of art are outstanding. In the first place, the circumstances in which the mid-imperial sculptures came to light have an important bearing on the question of the shrine's identity; and they conjure up a vivid picture of an episode, unrecorded in the literary sources, in the 'conflict of religions' as enacted in this province during the fourth century. In the second place, the range of dieties and subjects represented in the series, regarded as a whole, offers new and valuable testimony to the intensely syncretistic character of Roman Mithraism and to its 'other-worldly' aspects in particular.

The three marble heads of Mithras, Minerva, and Serapis are, as we have seen, self-contained units, carved separately and furnished with roughly-surfaced 'tenons' for insertion into hollows between the shoulders of their respective bodies, which may have been made of inferior materials, coarser marble, stone, or even stucco. At any rate, no traces survive of any of these bodies, from which the heads were carefully removed and buried deliberately in holes, afterwards covered over by the temple's latest, fourth-century, floors, at various points towards the eastern end of the building, the Serapis head forming part of a *cache* which also contained the small Mercury group and the detached colossal hand. This purposeful concealment fully accounts for the wonderful state of preservation in which these marbles have come down to us, with even the noses intact. By whom and for what purpose was this precious statuary hidden away? The hypothesis best suited to the context is that this was the work of the Mithraists concerned to save the sculpture from Christian (?) iconoclasts, after Peace of the Church and its official recognition under Constantine. But since the marbles Nos. 1–5 were buried in a hollow overlying a column 'pad' of the temple's stone colonnades, the Mithraists did not bury them in anticipation of the colonnades' careful dismantling (p. 2), an operation that could have been carried out by Christians in search of materials for church-building on another site[197]. We have evidence from Carrawburgh[198] and Housesteads[199] in Britain, from the Santa Prisca Mithraeum in Rome[200], from Sarrebourg in Gaul[201], and from sites in Roman Germany[202], that Christians, zealously eradicating paganism, wrecked Mithraea. Yet pagan temples certainly continued to be frequented until as late as the beginning of the fifth century, while the London temple itself was soon reconditioned, if on far less ambitious architectural lines (p. 3), by persons who possessed the marbles (that had somehow survived the dismantling of the colonnades) and hid them under the fourth-century floors. It is most unlikely that they only reached the site in the fourth century in order to be buried there and had not furnished the Mithraeum in its original, colonnaded stage.

Since no details are recorded of the unearthing of the three marbles retrieved from the temple-site in 1889, beyond the fact that they were found in the middle of the Walbrook and at a depth of 6.1–6.7m (20–22ft) below the modern surface, and that deep and long sewerage-work was in progress in Walbrook, near Bond Court, at the time when Mr Ransom purchased them from James Smith, the dealer. But since the concrete foundation-piers and the wall-foundations of the office buildings, erected in 1889, penetrated at least the upper temple floors, as the recent

excavations have revealed, these sculptures too may have been buried deliberately in cavities dug to receive them, either towards the east end of the shrine proper or within the narthex, and afterwards sealed over by the temple's fourth-century levels. The fine foreign marble, in which the Water-god and Genius are carved, and the specially sacred subject portrayed in the Tauroctonos relief, combined with its probably imported marble, would seem to postulate the taking of the same steps for the protection of these pieces as were taken in the case of the other five buried sculptures. Careful concealment would, indeed, explain the virtually perfect preservation of the relief; it would explain the fact that the Genius is largely intact, but for his head, which could easily have been detached and smashed during the rough-and-ready operations of 1889 (which mercifully did not touch the marbles found in 1954), when the appearance of antiquities could hardly have been predicted; and it would explain the survival in a comparatively satisfactory state of the most important portion (head and torso) of the Water-god, whose missing arms and vanished lower limbs might have been too severely damaged on the same occasion to be considered worth salvaging. The relief and the Genius are small and could have been interred with ease; and although the Water-god, when complete, would have been a fairly bulky object to conceal, we must take into account the possibility that only his surviving upper part was carved in precious marble, and that it was once attached to a lower part of stone or stucco, which the Mithraists abandoned, as they did the bodies belonging to the Mithras, Minerva, and Serapis heads. It was, of course, much more normal with composite figures to reserve the fine material for heads and extremities only; but here we may have one of the exceptions, although the present writer cannot cite any certain parallel instance of an ancient statue made half of marble and half of other material (but see note 3).

The fate of second-century marbles that these London Mithraists did not contrive to bury is illustrated by the two statuettes of Bacchus (?), which were probably mutilated and tossed aside at the time when the temple lost its stone colonnades. At any rate, one of them was found in overlying debris in a room in the south half of the narthex (No. 6, Pl. VI), the other was worked into a late-Roman masonry structure just to the west of the Walbrook stream (No. 7, Pl. VII); and the fact that these two seemingly almost identical statuettes were chopped up in identical ways certainly suggests the deliberate act of one hand on one and the same occasion. Why two small and fine figures of a god were left unburied and abandoned to their fate, we shall never know. But we can at least say that it seems unlikely that they would have been so abandoned had they been foreign to the temple and brought there from another building for the specific purpose of hiding them away for safety on the Walbrook site.

The Mithras Tauroctonos slab set up by Ulpius Silvanus, if dedicated in the shrine on the site of which it was unearthed in 1889, would most forcibly suggest, if it cannot absolutely prove, that that shrine was indeed a Mithraeum. It was on the strength of that relief that Cumont plotted a Mithraeum in Londinium on his distribution-map of Mithraic monuments and sites[203]; and its evidence is now reinforced by that of two of the 1954 finds, both also unequivocally Mithraic in their content but both definitely not buried under the latest levels. These are the sleeved left arm and hand, grasping the mouth of a bull, from the small stone Mithras Tauroctonos group,

of the rest of which no trace survives, and the lower half of the relief of Cautopates, found violently sundered from its now vanished upper portion. Both were discovered just outside the actual confines of the temple, the first to the north-west of it, the other to the south. There can be no question of these fragments of relatively rough and local carvings in common British stone having been brought from elsewhere as treasures to be hidden here. The monuments of which they formed parts must always have stood, before they were abandoned and flung down, within this shrine, proclaiming it to be at least a place in which Mithras was adored.

As for the five certainly buried marbles, it cannot, of course, be proved that all of them, not excepting the head of Mithras, were not brought to Walbrook for concealment from other temples in London, of which we have as yet no knowledge. The same could be true of the three pieces found in 1889. On the other hand, there is no reason for believing any of these works to be intrusions. The great hand of Mithras Tauroctonos need only have been intruded if it had belonged to some colossal group too large for this shrine; whereas it is, on the whole, more likely that it was once attached to a symbolic, isolated arm set up for veneration (p. 23). The three non-Mithraic deities represented in the 1954 mid to late second-century series of buried sculptures—Minerva, Serapis, and Mercury—all occur elsewhere, as do Bacchus, Water-god, Genius, and Dioscurus, in sanctuaries that are quite certainly Mithraea; and it is in no way surprising to find them at Walbrook on the same site as the marble head of Mithras, the marble Tauroctonos relief, and the two stone Mithraic carvings.

On the other hand, since the building of the temple is fixed, on pottery and coin evidence, at *c.* AD 240, and since none of the outstanding marbles (Nos. 1–9) can, on stylistic grounds, be dated so late, none of them can have been carved with the Walbrook Mithraeum in view, but must have been brought there from elsewhere to furnish it, at what date, or dates, we do not know.

Assuming, then, that all the sculptures found on the site once actually adorned it, it would surely be perverse, in the light of all the evidence that we possess, to attempt to identify the temple as a Serapaeum, on the score of the Serapis head, or as a shrine of Sol, because Mithras and Sol were very frequently identified[204]; or to entitle it a 'pantheon', on the grounds of the diversity of deities depicted in it[205]. Mithras was undoubtedly a hospitable god[206]. On the other hand, among the many hundreds of Mithraic monuments and sites as yet known to us, there are, so far as the present writer is aware, only three instances of Mithraic sculptures or inscriptions having come to light in temples dedicated to deities other than Mithras or in shrines to which the term 'pantheon' might be applied. A head with Phrygian cap and 'pathetic' expression, possibly that of Mithras, was found beneath the threshold of the fourth-century AD temple of Isis on the slopes of the Acropolis at Cyrene, a shrine in which statues of many other gods and personifications had been assembled[207]; three small and fragmentary Mithraic reliefs were unearthed, together with monuments of other deities, in the Dolichenum on the Aventine in Rome[208]; and a few miles south of Rome, just off the Via Appia Antica and not from from the Villa of the Quintilii, there was discovered what may have been the sanctuary of a strange oriental deity, Zeus Bronton, in which a very fragmentary Mithras Tauroctonos relief, two reliefs each depicting a torch-bearer, and a *cippus*, tombstone, with inscriptions in

honour of Mithras were revealed, along with a statue of, and inscriptions in honour of, the shrine's patron god and a large number of representations of other divinities[209]. All of these three temples could, in a sense, qualify as 'panthea'. But none of them display the architectural features present in the Walbrook shrine—the tripartite division into 'nave' and raised 'aisles', distinctive of all Mithraea, or the apse and lateral colonnades, for which the temple at Lambaesis, certified as a Mithraeum by its inscribed altars, offers close parallels[210]. And just as structurally the London sanctuary is that of Mithras, so there it is his monuments that figure most conspicuously. He has five; Bacchus probably three; the Mother-goddess and the Rider-gods share the roundel; the other gods have each one carving apiece. There can be little doubt that at Walbrook Mithras was host, not one among the many guests of another god.

Except in the case of the marble head of Mithras and of the stone relief of Cautopates, we have no clue as to how the sculptures were arranged in the Mithraeum. Its effect must have been not unlike a gallery of statuary. But in this it was by no means unique among mystery-shrines, as the evidence already cited demonstrates. And the Mérida Mithraeum was even more lavishly equipped with works of art (note 38).

That the temple remained in pagan hands during the period of rehabilitation that followed the removal of its stone colonnades is indicated by the animal bones associated with its latest altar (p. 3). Was it still a Mithraeum? The attempt then made to preserve the tripartite division into 'nave' and 'aisles' suggests that it was[211]; and with this the contents of the two carvings that were found in the higher archaeological levels on the site, the roundel and the Bacchic group, are fully consistent. The Mother-goddess with the fish and the Rider-gods (Near Eastern, Anatolian, and Danubian counterparts of the Dioscuri) are, as we have seen, linked with Mithras[212]; while for association between Bacchus and Mithras we have the evidence of the Sarrebourg Mithras Tauroctonos relief[213], and of the marble statuette possibly of Bacchus, which may have been erected in the Santa Prisca Mithraeum[214], and of the two almost identical torsos from the Walbrook shrine itself, which can, in view of their likeness to the Bacchus of the five figure group, be plausibly regarded as both depicting that divinity.

Minerva, Serapis, Mercury, Water-god, Genius, Dioscurus, Mother-goddess and attendant Rider-gods, Bacchus—such were Mithras' *θεῶι σύνναοῖ* ('Sharers of his shrine') in his Walbrook temple, as in other contexts. What was the bond of kinship between them and the Persian god? What common creed underlay this syncretism? That Mithras was essentially a 'saviour' god, whose worship was directed, as were all the Graeco-Roman mystery-cults, towards the worshippers' 'salvation', is a commonplace[215]. By his slaying of the symbolic bull, Mithras overcame the forces of evil, darkness, and death and brought new life to birth. The cave where the deed was held to have been enacted represents the depths of earth, into which Mithras descended so that he might rise therefrom life-giving and triumphant. On the reliefs that illustrate his exploit corn-ears sprout from the tail of the dying beast, while a snake and dog eagerly drink its flowing blood. But these creatures are more than representatives of Nature; in Graeco-Roman religious thought both snake and dog had 'other-worldly' associations; and Mithras' victory was also effective beyond the boundaries of the natural order. To his devotees, who had undergone successfully the trials of initiation, he promised bless-

ings more enduring than material prosperity: he offered them religious rebirth in this world, eternal life in the next, and mystic union with himself both here and beyond the grave. Death had lost its terrors for the Mithraist and became the gateway to a fuller and more glorious existence than that experienced in and by the body. The Mithraist did not cease to pray for the good things of this life; but it was beatitude, after-life 'fertility', that most concerned him. And in order to win still firmer assurance of obtaining his desires, he associated with his patron other divine beings, who were either 'saviours' of the same type or symbolised for him the happiness of paradise, while aiding and protecting him on earth.

All the Walbrook divinities fit quite naturally into this scheme of ideas. Minerva, patroness of arts and crafts of all kinds, was also the source of the wisdom that wins immortality and, in her martial aspect, conqueress of death. In the last two capacities she figures in sepulchral contexts, for instance, in stucco relief-work on a niche from a tomb in the cemetery at Sousse[216] and in the second-century AD tomb of the Valerii under St. Peter's[217], on Roman lead sarcophagi from Syria and Britain[218], as a bronze bust, attached to an iron strip, found in the Romano-British cemetery at Ospringe, Kent[219], in the form of a bronze figurine from a Romano-British cemetery area at Canterbury[220], and as a bronze bust, for mounting on some object, discovered in the Roman cemetery near Nawa (Hauran) in Syria[221]. Serapis, the well-known Graeco-Egyptian god of fertility and the underworld, was giver of life abundant in this world and the next. He also bore the name of 'saviour'; and his close affinity with Mithras is attested by the attribution to him of the Mithraic titles of 'Sol' and 'Invictus'[222]. Mercury's function as kindly guide of souls on their last journey after death was as universally familiar in the Roman world as was his patronage of commerce. At Nemrud Dagh in Commagene, in the time of Antiochus I (*c.* 69–34 BC), Mithras was identified with Hermes, bearing the title of 'Apollo Mithras Hermes'[223], and it is remarkable that in the Mithraeum of the Roman fort at Stockstadt in Germany no less than four stone representations of Mercury were found, 'popular' works of a very different calibre from the marble Mercury at Mérida (p. 21), but important as evidence of the god's particular, functional relationship with Mithras[224]. Water-gods are a common motif of Roman funerary art as reminders of the river of death that all must cross and of the voyage of souls over the Ocean to the Blessed Isles; streams, too, bring cleansing and fruitfulness, 'other-worldly' as well as material. The Walbrook Genius, with his *cornucopiae* and wave-borne prow, suggests, not only mundane prosperity carried by merchant-shipping to Londinium, but also the other-world 'fertility' to be enjoyed beyond death's waters; the snake, seen here as coiling round the Genius' right wrist above his *patera*, is a well-known image of the living dead[225]. The after-life fertility-aspect of Mother-goddesses of all types is too familiar to require comment. But it may be recalled in this connection that shrines of Mithras and of the Magna Mater (Cybele) were sometimes juxtaposed, that a very crude, somewhat repulsive figure of a Mother-goddess was unearthed in the narthex of the Carrawburgh Mithraeum[226], and that a more attractive, if artistically undistinguished, group of Mother and child came to light in the Mithraeum at Dieburg[227]. As for the Dioscurus on the stone relief and the Rider-gods who flank the Mother on the roundel—the other-world role of the Graeco-Roman Dioscuri as symbols of the hemispheres, guardians of the tomb, and

escort of the soul to paradise has been elaborately worked out by Cumont; while the 'saving' functions of their Near Eastern, Anatolian, and Danubian counterparts can be recognised in the picture-language of the monuments[228].

There remains Bacchus, whose revels with his train of Satyrs, Sileni, Pans, and Maenads are a favourite theme, symbolising bliss in paradise, of Roman tomb-art in every medium—in wall-paintings, in mosaics, in stucco-work, and particularly on innumerable carved sarcophagi of the second and third centuries AD. Such is almost certainly the meaning of the Walbrook group; and it is on such lines, in the present writer's view, that its enigmatic inscription—HOMINIBVSBAGISBITAM—is best interpreted. The reading *hominibus vagis vitam*, 'life to wandering men', undoubtedly makes sense[229]. But when we ask what precise sense we are to give to 'life' and 'wandering men' and what the 'understood' verb is, of which *vitam* is the object, then we are faced with a new set of problems to be solved.

At first sight, *vitam* would seem to be part of a well-known formula, an acclamation, in which those who use it wish 'long life' to So-and-So, some such verb as *rogo* (in the first or third person, singular or plural) being 'understood' as governing *vitam* (sometimes abbreviated to *vita* in inscriptions). For instance, a figured mosaic pavement in a set of public baths at Thamugadi (Timgad) in Algeria is inscribed *Filadelfis vita(m)*, that is, 'Long life to the Philadelphians' presumably the family, or religious guild, that earned the citizens' gratitude by paying for the building[230]. Or, again, the imperative *da* may be 'understood' with *vitam*, as in the first chapter of the Life of the Emperor Antoninus Diadumenus in the *Augustan History*—*'Iuppiter optime maxime, Macrino et Antonino vitam (da)'*. In these acclamations the life wished for is length of days in this world; and if the Walbrook inscription is to be interpreted on their analogy it would mean that the dedicators of the group, that is, worshippers or initiates of Bacchus, wished 'length of days' (or 'all the best') to 'wandering men'. But who were these *homines vagi*? In a Bacchic context *vagi* would be appropriate to Bacchus and his following of divine (or quasi-divine) companions, Satyrs, Sileni, Pans, and Maenads, who journeyed through the world with him to and from India and elsewhere. Bacchus was likewise *vagus* when he roamed the mountains with his orgiastic train of Bacchants[231]. *Vagi* by itself might, then, be thought of as applied to the Bacchic *thiasos*, to a group of Bacchic initiates. But Bacchus and his train were not *homines*; and the human Bacchi and Bacchae, when abandoned to their orgiastic rites, ceased, for the time being, to be *homines*, since they impersonated, and were assimiliated to, the god's divine companions. Yet *homines* in this inscription seems to stress the humanity and mortality of those who are *vagi*; and it is hard to see how, in this context, mere men could be *vagi* in the literal sense. But if *vagi* were used metaphorically of *homines* as 'strangers and pilgrims' in this world, who seek a safe harbour and eternal life in the next world (the final goal of all the mysteries) through Bacchic initiation, and if *da* (addressed to Bacchus, depicted in the sculpture) be supplied to govern *vitam*, then the text, as erected in the Walbrook shrine, takes on a clear significance: Bacchus, himself a wanderer, is invoked on behalf of men who are vagrants in the spiritual sense. Admittedly we cannot produce any other instance in an acclamation of *vitam* use of 'other-worldly' life. Yet scenes of Bacchic jollification are, as we have seen, ubiquitous as allegories of happiness beyond the grave; and '(Bacchus, give eternal) life to

wandering mortals' is an interpretation supported grammatically by the passage in the *Augustan History* and in content wholly in keeping with a Mithraic milieu, since Bacchus was, like Mithras, giver of life and 'saviour' from death[232].

The artistic, social, and religious implications of the silver casket and strainer (No. 16), in the context in which they came to light, and the problem of their date have already been discussed at length in the Catalogue.

We have now completed our survey of the monuments of art found in or near the Walbrook temple; and it may with justice be claimed that, as a synthesis of some of the most important facets of artistic, social, and religious life in Roman Britain, these works have played a major part in defining the historical importance of the site. They are, as a group, both unique of their kind in this province and also deserving of a not insignificant place within the larger picture of Roman imperial culture as a whole.

APPENDIX I

X-RAY FLUORESCENCE ANALYSIS AND METALLOGRAPHIC EXAMINATION OF THE ROMAN SILVER CASKET AND STRAINER FROM THE MITHRAEUM

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Introduction

In order to try to answer a number of questions regarding the construction of the casket and strainer the items were subjected to scientific examination. To obtain the composition of the metal parts the technique of X-ray fluorescence spectrometry was used. This technique has previously been applied to some hundreds of Roman silver items to obtain a comprehensive picture of the composition of Roman silver plate (Hughes and Hall 1979). The X-ray fluorescence system employed is based on the 'Isoprobe' described by Hall, Schweizer and Toller[233], although a higher energy X-ray tube of 50KV maximum was used and this was operated at 40KV so as to excite the K lines of silver and tin. Because it is a surface analysis technique, to obtain analyses of the uncorroded metal it was necessary to clean a small area some 3–4mm in diameter with silicon carbide paper so as to remove the surface corrosion products. In addition, however, some analyses on uncleaned surfaces were carried out to clarify points in the construction, but these results have to be treated with some caution and were used only to make general comments about the type of metal alloy investigated. Only full quantitative results on cleaned areas of the surface are given in Table 1. The errors in the analysis are (per cent absolute) approximately silver ±0.5 per cent; copper, gold and lead: ±0.05 per cent; and tin ±0.02 per cent. The casket and strainer were also examined metallographically using a binocular microscope at low magnification and by X-ray radiography.

The Casket

The analyses of the side and base of the casket are very similar to each other (see Table 1) and general examination under the microscope suggests that the casket body is a single piece. The lid contains a lower percentage of copper than the body, but the compositions of both are similar to each other and are very typical of Roman silver plate of this period[234]. Dendrites are clearly visible in the well-corroded surface and indicate that the casket and lid were cast virtually to their finished state, rather than being worked from a sheet or ingot of silver.

Table 1: Results of analysis by X-ray fluorescence of the composition of the metal of the casket and strainer
(all results in weight per cent in the metal)

	% silver	% copper	% gold	% lead	% tin	% zinc
Casket:						
casket base	96.8	2.31	0.57	0.19	0.10	0.01
casket side	96.2	2.59	0.81	0.20	0.15	0.01
casket lid	97.3	1.20	0.95	0.48	0.04	0.00
Strainer:						
cylinder	96.6	2.10	0.67	0.46	0.11	0.01
Y-piece	92.1	4.20	0.74	2.84	0.04	0.00

The design on the sides of the casket is very corroded and it is not easy to see how it was produced; however, since no tool marks were visible and because of the comparative crudeness of the execution it is likely that the design was cast in and the detail improved afterwards with a small amount of chasing. At many points on the surface a golden-coloured surface metal is present, and X-ray fluorescence analysis on several areas confirmed that it is gilding with no detectable trace of mercury in the gold, i.e. it has been applied by the leaf-gilding technique rather than by the use of a mercury amalgam (i.e. 'fire-gilding').

It was not possible to carry out a microsection test to determine whether working and annealing had taken place on the side of the casket and the lid, but a small fragment of the base was examined metallographically and this showed irregularly shaped cast grains with some precipitation at the grain boundaries—which would be due to precipitation of a second phase or to re-heating of the base, causing some dissolution at the grain boundaries. However, no twinned equiaxed grains, typical of worked and annealed metal, could be seen. Although the outer surface of the base has been removed by corrosion, the inner surface remains in good condition. The concentric lines forming a design on the base and the tool marks show that it was turned and polished on a lathe. There are three patches on the base where it was likely that feet were attached (Pl. 29). The metal was fairly bright and uncorroded, and analysis by X-ray fluorescence at a number of points on these patches shows them to be of

fairly pure silver which contains, however, some 2–3 per cent lead, significantly higher than in the body metal of the casket which only contains about 0.2 per cent lead (see Table 1). It seems that these patches represent the original silver surface which has been better protected from corrosion than the rest of the outside of the casket by the presence of a layer of lead-rich solder, only traces of which now remain. Soft solders consisting of tin/lead alloys were often employed for joining the parts of Roman silver plate[235]. The turning-marks on the base cut through the three patches showing that they were part of the original surface and not metal added later. Radiography revealed that, as expected, the metal was thicker at these points and also showed two adjacent oval-shaped areas (Oval 1 and Oval 2 in pl. 38), some 20mm × 7mm in size, through which the outer turned line passes. In structure they consist of columnar material, one showing a marked join down the middle. There are some cracks and holes around these fractures and a semi-quantitative X-ray fluorescence analysis (without cleaning) of Oval 1 showed it to be of much more debased silver, containing over 7 per cent copper, than the main body metal of the canister which contains about 2 per cent copper. The other area, Oval 2, did not show such a high copper percentage but it did contain about 2 per cent lead and over 1 per cent (*cf.* 0.2 per cent lead and 0.15 per cent tin in the main body metal - see Table 1), i.e. it may have included some soft solder. These two oval areas, in appearance and composition, therefore seem to be ancient repairs to the base, made by using a more debased silver alloy for one part and soft solder in another part. The precise details of the composition and distribution of the two alloys could not, however, be elucidated in the examination.

Semiquantitative analyses of the hinge showed it to be of silver with about 6 per cent copper. The fact that it contains 1 per cent gold, together with its worn appearance under the microscope, confirms that it is an original part of the canister. No analysis was made of its solder, since it is clearly a modern solder repair rather than an ancient one.

The Strainer

The cylindrical body of the strainer has clearly been raised and then scraped and polished on a lathe: hammer marks and scraping can be seen under the microscope and a radiograph also showed them clearly. The holes in the perforated base have been made from both sides. On the outside surface of the strainer there is at one point an irregular line running approximately vertically up the side which seems to represent an overlap of metal over part of the surface. However, analytical tests with semi-quantitative results failed to detect any composition anomalies in the metal anywhere near this line, so it does not seem to be a soldered joint, and may simply represent a slight crease in the metal at this point.

The Y-piece seems to have been soldered into place where the ends meet the body of the strainer, since 2.84 per cent lead was detected in the exposed end of one of the arms by analysis (Table 1). While the strainer body is of very similar composition to that of the casket (containing 2.10 per cent copper), the Y-piece is of more debased silver containing 4.2 per cent copper. The Y-piece shows striations, but it is not clear whether it is joined in any way—the radiograph was featureless with no joins—although there is a discontinuity or crack on one arm close to the central junction. Semi-quantitative X-ray fluorescence analysis of each arm suggests that the three may be of different composition, although the effects of surface corrosion could account for the differences.

Summary

A technical examination has shown a close similarity in composition of the metal of the body of the casket and strainer, while the lid of the casket and Y-piece of the strainer have compositions which are related but different to them. The casket body was gilded and the base turned on a lathe, following some repair to a fault in the metal of the base and after casting the box virtually to its present shape. Traces of solder remain at three attachment points for feet (?) on the base. The strainer was turned on a lathe from sheet metal and the Y-piece soldered into place.

APPENDIX II

REPORT ON THE STONES FROM THE TEMPLE OF MITHRAS

By the late S. E. Ellis, Department of Mineralogy, British Museum (Natural History)

Thin sections made from the stones have been compared with material in the collections of the British Museum (Natural History), the Geological Survey Museum, and with some in the British Museum and other collections. The fluorescence in ultra-violet light (both long- and short-wave) of the chips from which sections were made was also studied by comparison with a series of specimens in the British Museum (Natural History). As a result, suggestions as to source can be made with a high degree of probability. All the marbles are probably Carrara statuary marble (the Roman *Marmor Lunense*). The oolitic and pisolitic limestones are probably from the Cotswold Hills.

Details are as follows:

Sample No.	*Description*	*Rock types and probable sources*
		A. Metamorphic limestones (marble). Fine-grained saccharoidal marbles with polygonal grains.
1, 2	Mithras (No. 1)	These stones are virtually identical in appearance and texture. They are pure calcite marbles with a grain size approximating to 200 microns, except for No. 15, which is finer-grained (100 microns). They can be matched from the Carrara district, Apuan Alps, and resemble most of these also in their deep purple fluorescence in ultra-violet light. On the other hand, they differ markedly in these respects from the available specimens of Pentelic, Parian, Chian and other Aegean marbles. Carrara must be regarded as the most probably source.
3, 4	Minerva (No. 2)	
5, 6	Serapis (No. 3)	
7, 8	Mercury (No. 4)	
9	Small torso (No. 7)	
10	Small torso (No. 6)	
12	Bacchic group (No. 15)	
15	Genius (No. 9)	
14	Water deity (No. 8)	
21	Mithras Tauroctonos relief (No. 10)	
		B. Sedimentary limestones and cherts. Oolitic and pisolitic limestones of Jurassic type.
15, 16	Cautopates (No. 12)	(a) Pistolitic limestones with girvanella.
17	Draped arm (No. 11)	
20	Dioscurus (No. 13)	(b) Shelly, uneven-grained oolitic limestone.

Group B has been closely matched with material from the Inferior Oolite series of the mid-Cotswold region, between Stroud and Cheltenham, Gloucestershire. Here the pisolitic

limestones are characteristic, forming most of the 'Pea-Grit' series at the base of the Inferior Oolite, which has been extensively quarried for centuries. Somewhat similar rocks, also characterised by the calcareous alga *Girvanella*, are found in some other districts along the Jurassic belt, notably in the Corallian series of Somerset (e.g. at Keevil) and Dorset (e.g. at Sturminster). It is possible that the stones could also be matched in these areas, but this has not actually been done. Gloucestershire seems the most probable source.

The specimens are bleached on the surface, perhaps due to the action of humic acids, but internally show the characteristic buff colour (due to iron staining) of the Cotswold stones.

[Dr Ellis's report originally included analyses of other (undecorated/inscribed) stones from the Mithraeum, but these have been excluded for present purposes and will appear in the final report on the Mithraeum excavations.]

NOTES

1. H. J. Plenderleith, *The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art: Treatment, Repair and Restoration* (1956), pp. 312–13, pl. 52.
2. Excellent examples of this practice occur, for instance, among the Roman portraits from the Athenian Agora, eg E. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, I: *Portrait Sculpture* (1953), nos. 10 (pl. 8), 11 (pls. 9, 10), 17 (pl. 12), 23 (pl. 16), 35 (pl. 22), 36 (pl. 23), 51 (pl. 33), 52 (pl. 34) = heads with tenons; nos. 56 (pls. 36, 37), 57, 58 (pl. 38) = bodies with cavities between the shoulders.
3. It is, however, possible that the hole was merely for a dowel needed to steady the head, in view of its fairly sharp turn backwards, upon a stone or marble body. On the other hand, there is evidence which suggests that the cult-statue of Zeus, carved in the second half of the second century AD for the restored temple of Zeus at Cyrene, had head and other flesh parts of white marble, drapery, hair and accessories of stucco: *Papers of the British School at Rome* xxvi (1958). pp. 54–5.
4. The Walbrook head would seem to belong to Leroy Campbell's Tauroctonos subtype C ('Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones', *Berytus* xi, 1 (1954), pp. 19–21), in which 'Mithras appears to be the mediator and agent of a higher Will and the death of the bull, or the results of death, are emphasised'. This subtype, in which Mithras is looking back and upwards over his right shoulder, is represented by the best examples of Mithraic sculpture. Campbell believes that it was originally created by a Greek sculptor for a Greek-speaking Mithraic community in an eastern Mediterranean area.
5. Vermaseren, *CIMRM* i (1956), pp. 262–3, no. 736, figs. 203–4.
6. *Ibid.* i (1956), pp. 184–5, nos. 435–7, figs. 122–3.
7. *Ibid.* i (1956), p. 196, no. 479, fig. 132.
8. For another recent discussion of the origin of the Tauroctonos group, see E. Will, *Le relief cultuel greco-romain* (1955), pp. 169 ff.
9. Portraits of Commodus: M. Wegner, *Die Herscherbildnisse der antonischer Zeit* (1939); of Septimius Severus: A. M. McCann, *The Portraits of Septimius Severus* (1968).
10. A Roman-age copy in the National Museum in Athens: G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (1950), p. 550, figs 559, 600; Toynbee, *ARB*, pl. 241.
11. Wegner, *op. cit.* (note 9), pls. 53–4, fig. 1.
12. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 185, no. 441.
13. E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Germanie romaine* (1931), p. 98, no. 143, with fig.; Vermaseren, *CIMRM* ii (1960), p. 67, no. 1086, fig. 278. The goddesses shown on the fragmentary reliefs from the Mithraea at Dieburg (F. Behn, *Das Mithrasheiligtum zu Dieburg* (1928), pp. 34–5, no. 12, fig. 37) and Stockstadt (F. Drexel, *Das Kastell Stockstadt*, Obergermanisch-Raetisches Limes des Römerreiches xxxiii (1910), p. 88, no. 26, pl. 15, fig. 3) respectively may be, but are not certainly, representations of Minerva. For a fragmentary relief of Minerva from the Gimmeldingen Mithraeum, see F. Sprater, 'Mithrasdenkmäler von Gimmeldingen', *Pfälzische Heimatkunde* xxii (1926), 8/9, p. 3, fig. 5.
14. *Revue Archéologique* ser. 6 i (1933), pp. 129–4, fig. 9.
15. Espérandieu, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp. 131–3, no. 200, fig. on p. 132.
16. G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia*, ii: *I mitrei* (1954), p. 98.
17. F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* ii (1896), pp. 336–7, fig. 213.
18. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (= *CIL*) viii, 4578; Vermaseren, *CIMRM* i (1956), p. 94, no. 140: *Iovi optimo/maximo Iuno/ni reginae Min/ervae sanctae/Soli Mithrae/Herculi Mar/ti Mercurio/genio loci di/is deabusque/omnibus M/arcus Aureli/us Decimus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raeses)/p(rovinciae) N(umidiae) ex principe pe/regrinorum/votum solvit* (A.D. 283–4). For further instances of the association of Minerva with Mithras, see Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 17), ii (1896), pp. 503–5, no. 239 *bis* (votive bronze axes dedicated to Minerva and other deities from the Mithraeum at Allmendingen in Switzerland); Vermaseren *CIMRM* i (1956), p. 88, no. 112 (relief at Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania).
19. G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des vaticanischen Museums* iii, 1 (1936), pp. 135 ff., no. 544, 36; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 2nd ed. (1961), pp. 83–4, fig. 296. For a very comprehensive and detailed study of Serapis in art, see now W. Hornbostel, *Serapis: Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte den Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes* (1973). *cf.* also B. Bergquist, 'A Head of Serapis', from *The Gustavianum Collection in Uppsala* ii (1978), pp. 87–137.
20. No. 676; Bieber, *op. cit.* (note 19), fig. 297.
21. H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (1947), p. 79.
22. G. Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie* (1884), p. 250.
23. N. B., for example, the tetradrachm reverse-type of Ptolemy iv (221–204 BC): Hornbostel, *op. cit.* (note 19), fig. 68.
24. A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculptures in the British Museum* iii (1904), p. 5, no. 1527; M. Collignon, *Histoire de la sculpture gregue* ii (1897), p. 309, fig. 158; G. Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (1920), fig. 12.
25. For a valuable assemblage of examples of this type, see L. Castiglione in *Bulletin du Musée National Hongrois des Beaux Arts* xii (1958), pp. 17–39.
26. The head from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, with heavily drilled hair and beard, plain eyes, and traces of three irregular locks on the brow, never had a *modius* and could represent Zeus-Hades, although it has been published as a Serapis of Hadrianic date *(Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* lxxv (1960), pp. 88–99, fig. 1).
27. J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenen Künste bei den Griechen* (1868), pp. 253–4, no. 1325, quoting Clement of Alexandria. According to Clement, quoting Athenodorus, this Bryaxis is to be distinguished from the famous Athenian fourth-century sculptor of the same name; but Athenodorus puts the creation of the Serapis image back into the time of the XIIth Dynasty king Sesostris. Obviously, the whole passage is hopelessly confused.
28. Attributions for Bryaxis, e.g. Bieber, *op. cit.* (note 19), pp. 83–4; L'Orange, *op. cit.* (note 21), pp. 79, 83, fig. 57. Since the head of the Serapis shows the dangling forelocks, the ivory in the form of a double *cornucopiae* surmounted by busts of Serapis and Isis, recently acquired by the Louvre, can hardly be as early as the second century BC, the period to which J. Charbonneaux assigns it ('Serapis et Isis le double corne d'abondance', *Hommages à Waldemar Deonna* = *Collections Latomus* xxviii (1957), pp. 131–41, pl. 25). Both the style and the technique of the piece would appear to fit a Roman-age dating; and M. Charbonneaux's reasons for connecting it in time with Ptolemaic works of art are not in themselves convincing. Original cult-image of Serapis, Tacitus *Hist.* iv, 83, 84; F. F. Schwarz; Nigra Maiestas: Bryaxis-Serapis-Claudian *Festschrift Erna Diez* (1978), pp. 189–210, pl. 67.
29. Hornbostel, *op. cit.* (note 19), fig. 343; J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (1934), pl. 23, fig. 4; R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria in the British Museum* (1892), p. 157, no. 1298, pl. 13.
30. A. Rowe, *Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria*, Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. No. 2 (1946).
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 61–4.
32. Eusebius Hieronymus, *Chronici Canones*, ed. J. K. Fotheringham (1923), p. 290, CCXL Olymp' II: *'templum Sarapidis Alexandriae incensum'*.
33. J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire* i (1955), pp. 377 ff., 386 ff.
34. The coins ranging from Trajan to Geta, which were found in cavities at the four corners of the rock-cut cistern adjacent to the new Serapeum. do not necessarily suggest, as Beaujeu (*op. cit.* (note 33), p. 232) believes them to do. that the temple itself was the work of Caracalla: they only prove that the cistern was sunk in this period.
35. L'Orange, *op. cit.* (note 21), pp. 73–86.
36. Smith, *op. cit.* (note 24), pp. 4–5, nos. 1525–6, fig. 2. For the laurel and other plants as symbols of immortality, see F. Cumont, *La stèle du danseur d'Antibes et son décor végétal* (1942), pp. 14–15.
37. A similar circlet, but without holes for rays, is worn by a Serapis head found in 1947 at Vechten (Fectio) in Holland and now in the Utrecht Museum. This is a striking provincial work, carved in stone, with drilled eyes, severely patterned hair and beard. and no less than seven forelocks dangling rigidly over the brow. The *modius* is broken off. leaving traces of itself in a flattened circular surface at the centre of the crown (*Oud-Utrecht* (1956). pp. 28–36).
38. P. Paris, 'Restes du culte de Mithra en Espagne', *Revue Archéologique*,

ser. 4, xxiv (1914), 2, pp. 11–13, no. 11, fig. 9; A. García y Bellido, *El culto a Mithras en la Peninsula Iberica* (1948), pp. 68–70, no. 15, fig. 20; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 274, no. 783, fig. 215.

39. M. J. Vermaseren and C. C. van Essen, *The Excavation in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome* (1965), pl. 107.
40. *Ibid.*, pls. 104–5.
41. *Ibid.*, pls. 18, fig. 1; 19.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 136.
43. M. C. Rostovtzeff *et al.* (eds), *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work, 1933–4 and 1934–5* (1939), pls. 29, fig. 2; 30; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), pp. 63–5, no. 40, fig. 15. *Cf.* also the marble Mithras Tauroctonos relief at Bologna: *ibid.*, pp. 252–3, no. 693, fig. 195.
44. Vermaseren and van Essen, *op. cit.* (note 39), p. 136.
45. A fine, if somewhat battered Portland stone head of Serapis, 317mm (12½in) high, with four dangling forelocks and a flattening on the crown of the head to receive a now vanished *modius*, was discovered in a garden in the modern village of Silchester (G. C. Boon, *Roman Silchester*, 2nd ed. (1974), pp. 166–7, pl. 18; Toynbee, *ARB*, pl. 243). The sculpture, presumably the work of a good continental carver using a British medium, obviously came from Roman Calleva Atrebatum; but whether from a Serapaeum or from a Mithraeum, or from the temple of some other deity, we cannot tell.
46. The present writer is greatly indebted to Mr Norman Cook, formerly of the Guildhall Museum, for help with the elucidation of this puzzling detail.
47. Richter, *op. cit.* (note 10), pp. 61, 294, fig. 72; Bieber, *op. cit.* (note 19), pp. 41–2, figs. 106–8; *cf. ibid.*, p. 41, fig. 109 for a variation on the same scheme, a bronze statuette of Hermes in the Loeb Collection.
48. Bieber, *op. cit.* (note 19), p. 42, figs. 110–11.
49. E. G. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 123, no. 241; p. 138, no. 288; p. 249, no. 677; p. 253, no. 693, fig. 195.
50. Paris, *op. cit.* (note 38), pp. 9–11, no. 9, fig. 7; García y Bellido, *op. cit.* (note 38), pp. 61–3, no. 7, fig. 13; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 274, no. 780, fig. 213.
51. *Ann(o) col(oniae) CLXXX/invicto deo Mithrae/sacr(um)/C(aius) Accius Hedychrus/pater/a(nimo) l(ibente) p(osuit).*
52. Behn, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp. 32–4, nos. 8, 9, figs. 33–4.
53. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 324, no. 966D, fig. 236. *Cf.* Mercury's appearance in a group of Olympians on a fragmentary Tauroctonos relief from Siscia in Pannonia: F. Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 17), ii (1896), p. 326, no. 221, fig. 193.
54. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), p. 68, no. 1089, fig. 281.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 126, no. 1317, fig. 349.
56. In the representations of Mithras' birth from the rock, the blade of his knife invariably points upwards: e.g. Veramseren, *CIMRM*, i. (1956), fig. 100.
57. G. Becatti, *op. cit.* (note 16), p. 32 ff., pls. 4, figs. 1–3; 27–30: for the hole in the marble knife-hilt. For the metal blades, *ibid.*, p. 33.
58. *Cf.* the isolated dagger in mosaic on the floor, near the entrance, of the Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres at Ostia: Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 122, no. 240, figs. 71, 72.
59. As is suggested in *Antiquity and Survival* i (1955), p. 17.
60. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 196, no. 478.
61. In this connection the over life-sized hand found in the Mithraeum at Sarrebourg (*ibid.*, p. 326, no. 975) is interesting: but there is, of course, no evidence that it belonged to Mithras Tauroctonos.
62. The present writer's attention was called to this bust by Mr Ralph Merrifield, then of the Museum of London.
63. K. Michalowski, *Palmyre: fouilles polonaises 1963–4* (1966), pp. 19–22, fig. 13: 80–2, fig. 31. *Cf. Syria* xiv (1933), p. 267, fig. 7: *cippus*, with right hand holding thunderbolt above four animals; D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest* (1951), p. 51, pl. 24: altar, with right hand holding thunderbolt; *Syria* xxvi (1949), p. 33, pl. 1, fig. 6: slab, ex-voto to Baalshamin, dated A.D. 228, with right hand holding three corn-ears. *Cf.* also H. J. W. Drijvers, *The Religion of Palmyra* (1976), pl. xxvi, 2. It may be noted that a colossal marble hand and thumb (whether right or left is not stated) were found in a Mithraic context at Vien-en-Val-Romey (Venetonimagus) in the upper Rhône Valley: they are now unfortunately lost (R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône* (1972), p. 6, 13, no. 3): *cf.* Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 314, no. 913.
64. See for instance. *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* xxiv–xxvi (1950), pp. 181 ff., figs. 1, 2, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.
65. Vermaseren and van Essen, *op. cit.* (note 39), pl. 88.
66. According to information received by the present writer from Dr Vermaseren, this marble may have been thrown into the site as rubbish, when the fourth-century Christians filled up the temple.
67. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 325, no. 966, fig. 236.
68. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Antike Denkmäler* (1895), pl. 196; W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, i, 1 (1903), pp. 124–34.
69. Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.* (note 68), pl. 197.
70. H. Stuart Jones (ed.), *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (1912), p. 21, no. 1, pl. 1.
71. E.g. H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* iii (1936), pls. 63, nos. 51–20; 64, nos. 1, 2; 95, nos. 9–15.
72. E.g. *ibid.* iv (1940), pls. 31, no. 1; 33, no. 3.
73. E.g. *ibid.* iii (1936), pl. 49, nos. 15–17.
74. *Cf.* the dedication *fonti perenni* from the Aquincum Mithraeum: Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), p. 230, no. 1753: *fonti/perenni/M Ant(onius)/Victori/nus dec(urio)/col(oniae) Aq(uinci) aed(ilis);* The same dedicator set up two other altars in the Mithraeum, *deo Cauti* and *deo Cautopati* respectively (*ibid.*, nos. 1751, 1752).
75. Behn, *op. cit.* (note 13), pl. 2; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), pp. 104–6, no. 1247, fig. 324.
76. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), pp. 159–61, no. 1430, fig. 366.
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 64–6, no. 1083, fig. 274.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 76–7, no. 1127, fig. 293.
79. *Ibid.*, i (1956), p. 245, no. 666, figs. 189, 190.
80. *Ibid.*, ii (1960), pp. 172–3, no. 1472, fig. 375. *Cf.* also the reclining bearded personage in the upper right-hand corner of a fragmentary relief from Heddernheim: F. Cumont, *op. cit.*, (note 17), ii (1896), p. 379, fig. 293.
81. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), p. 366, no. 2310, fig. 640.
82. *Ibid.*, i (1956), p. 196, no. 478, fig. 131; Vermaseren and van Essen, *op. cit.* (note 39), pls. 18, fig. 1; 19.
83. Paris, *op. cit.* (note 38), pp. 8–9, no. 8, fig. 6; García y Bellido, *op. cit.* (note 38), pp. 58–61, no. 6, fig. 12; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 273, no. 778, fig. 212.
84. *C(aius) Acc(ius) Hedychrus/p(ater) patrum.*
85. *Archaeologia* lx, 1 (1906), p. 48.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 45; *JRS* ii (1912), p. 152; *LRT*, p. 45.
87. E.g. the altar at Corinium (Cirencester) inscribed *G(enio) s(ancto) huius loc(i)*: R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (1965), no. 102. See now also H. Kunckel, *Der römische Genius* (1974).
88. See the references cited in the bibliography for this section.
89. E.g. Mattingly, *op. cit.* (note 71), ii (1930), pl. 46, no. 18 (Titus); iv (1940), pl. 25, no. 14 (Antoninus Pius); pl. 32, no. 16 (Antoninus Pius).
90. *Cf.* a plaque of opaque blue glass, of unknown provenance, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum: it bears the inscription BONO EVENTVI and shows a youth naked, but for a light cloak thrown round his shoulders, holding a *patera* in his right hand and a bunch of corn-ears and poppies in his left hand (D. B. Harden, *Masterpieces of Glass* (1968), p. 47, no. 55, with fig.). The antiquity of this plaque has, however, been questioned (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* xxv (1962), pp. 335–7. *Cf. Fasti Archaeologici* xviii/xix (1968), no. 1497, where it is declared to be painted limestone).
91. The Genius represented on the Corinium altar (see note 87) wears a *modius* girt, apparently, by rays, is half-draped, and holds a *cornucopiae* in his left hand and a *patera* over an altar in his right hand; the legs and feet have been destroyed: *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* lx (1939), pl. 10, no. 17.
92. See notes 87 and 94.
93. Behn, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp. 31–2, nos. 6, 7, figs. 31, 32; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), pp. 107–8, nos. 1253, 1255, figs. 328, 330. No snake is associated with either figure.
94. *D(eo) i(nvicto) M(ithrae)/Priscinus Sedulius/Primulus fratris* [*sic*] *v(otum) s(olverunt) l(aeti) l(ibentes) m(erito).*
95. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), p. 196. nos. 1591, fig. 407. No snake is associated with this figure.
96. *Archaeologia* lx, 1 (1906), p. 48.
97. See J. R. Hinnells, *Mithraic Studies* ii (1975), pp. 293–300.
98. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), pp. 253–4, no. 695, fig. 1197.
99. *Ibid.*, pp. 298–9, no. 860, fig. 226.
100. *Ibid.*, pp. 327–8, no. 985, fig. 237. Here Mithras appears to be making the zodiac revolve: *cf.* Claudian, *De consulatu Stilichonis* i, 63: *'vaga... volventem sidera Mithram'.*
101. Espérandieu, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 107, no. 159, with fig; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), pp. 77–9, no. 1128, fig. 294.
102. Espérandieu, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 58, no. 88, with fig.; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), p. 58, no. 1054.
103. Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 17), ii (1896), p. 293, no. 165, fig. 148. Two fragments of a relief from the same site show the bull-slaying scene framed by a wreath and, outside that, by a circular frieze containing episodes from Mithras' life: *ibid.*, p. 301, no. 176, fig. 158; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), pp. 302–3, nos. 2042, 2044, fig. 538. *Cf.* the circular

marble plate from Sávkeszi in Pannonia: *ibid.*, pp. 242–3, no. 1815, fig. 469.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 275, no. 1926, fig. 503. *Ibid.*, pp. 238, no. 1799, fig. 466 shows a scene within a laurel-wreath that does not seem to depict the bull-slaying.
105. *Revue Archéologique* (1933) i, pp. 185–90, no. 5, figs. 3–7; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), pp. 339–40, no. 2202, fig. 608.
106. *Germania* xix (1933), pp. 25–6, no. 3, pl. 2, fig. 2; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), p. 349, no. 2241, fig. 618.
107. Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 17), p. 326, no. 221, fig. 193; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), pp. 173–4, no. 1475, fig. 377. *Cf.* also a fragment of unknown provenance in the National Museum in Budapest; Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 17), p. 323, no. 215. fig. 189.
108. *Berytus* xi, 1 (1954), pl. 5, fig. 2; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), pp. 256–7, no. 1861, fig. 477.
109. Espérandieu, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 183, no. 283, with fig. : Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), p. 87, no. 1161, fig. 306.
110. Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 17), p. 325, no. 220, fig. 192; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), pp. 172–3, no. 1472, fig. 375. On the Mithras Tauroctonos relief from the Sidon Mithraeum (A. de Ridder, *Collection Clercq* iv (1906), no. 46, pl. 19) the zodiac signs encircle the central scene, but they are not confined within a rigid medallion-border. The circular medallion-frame surrounding the bull-slaying scene on a relief from Küstendil in Bulgaria (*Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1929), cols. 317, 321–2, no. 4, fig. 29) is too much worn for its contents, whether laurel-wreath or zodiac signs, to be distinguished. A relief from Kadin-Most in Moesia displays the scene within a narrow, plain, circular border (*Berytus* xi, 1 (1954), pl. 5, fig. 1). These circular scenes are classified by LeRoy Cambell in his 'Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones' as Type V, 'Upper Moesian' (*ibid.*, p. 13).
111. See note 98.
112. See note 100.
113. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 157, nos. 339, 340, fig. 97: the inscription reads:- *Cn(aeus) Arrius Claudianus/pater posuit.*
114. Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 17), pl. 5.
115. *Ibid.*, pl. 7.
116. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), pp. 323–5, no. 966, fig. 236.
117. Described as 'coarse marble' in *LRT*, p. 46.
118. *Archaeologia* lx, 1 (1906), p. 47.
119. From inscriptions it would appear that *typus* was the Latin word used for Mithraic reliefs of this kind, whether they were private ex-votos, as in the case of Ulpius Silvanus' dedication, or cult-images: e.g. the marble relief from the Palazzo dei Musei di Roma Mithraeum: *Deo Soli Invicto Mithrae Ti. Cl. Hermes ob votum dei typum d.d.*: Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 184, nos. 435, 436, fig. 122 (bull-slaying scene, ex-voto); marble relief from Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen: *in h.d.d. I Mytrae/...us M Di/...us typum/a solo V: Revue Archéologique* (1950), i, p. 67 (bull-slaying scene, cult-image). See Will, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 48.
120. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 164, no. 370, fig. 107.
121. *Jugoslavia* for September 1953.
122. I. A. Richmond and J. P. Gillam, *The Temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh* (1951), pp. 14, 32, and figs. 3, 4, 5, 7.
123. *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Communale di Roma* lxviii (1940), p. 63, fig. 3; p. 65, fig. 4; p. 66, fig. 5.
124. F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (1942), p. 92, fig. 11.
125. *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Communale di Roma* lxiii (1935), pp. 152–3, no. 17, fig. 9.
126. *Archaeologia Aeliana* ser. 4, xxi (1943), pp. 186-7, pl. 7, 1.
127. In the Vienne Museum: S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains* ii (1912), p. 308, fig. 2; other Mithraic objects, since lost, were found with this relief.
D. Tudor, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Equitum Danuvinorum* i. (1969), ii (1976).
128. For a general treatment of the subject of Rider-gods, see F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse* (1935); G. I. Kazarow, *Die Denkmäler des thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien* (1938); Will, *op. cit.* (note 8).
129. C. Picard, *Collections Latomus*, ii, *Hommages à Joseph Birdz et à Franz Cumont* (1949), pp. 257–64, pl. 16; *Revue Archéologique* ser. 6, xxxvii (1951), pp. 231–3, fig. 11.
130. D. Schlumberger, *op. cit.* (note 63), p. 56, no. 18, pl. 22, fig. 1.
131. E.g. Chapouthier, *op. cit.* (note 128), pp. 23–5, no. 2, pl. 1 (Telmessos in Pisidia); pp. 29–30, no. 7, pl. 4 (Thasos); p. 38, no. 16, pl. 7 (Istanos in Lycaonia); pp. 74–5, no. 67, with fig. (Mosyna in Phrygia). *Cf.* pp. 75–7, no. 68, pl. 13, an Ephesian coin of Caracalla and Geta, showing the Ephesian Artemis flanked by two Riders.
132. F. Saxl, *Mithras* (1930), pl. 10, fig. 60; Tudor, *op. cit.* (note 128), pl. 64, no. 135.
133. Saxl, *op. cit.* (note 132), pl. 21, fig. 115: Tudor, *op. cit.* (note 128), pl. 63, no. 132.
134. Saxl, *op. cit.* (note 132), pl. 21, fig. 113; Tudor, *op. cit.* (note 128), pl. 57, no. 113. A marble rectangular plaque found at Ptuj (Pettau) again depicts three zones of decoration: above, the Goddess standing behind a three-legged table and flanked by two busts and two Riders; in the centre, a narrow frieze containing a lion (?), a vase, and a fish; below, a row of five standing human figures: Tudor, *op. cit.* (note 128), pl. 71, no. 155.
135. Saxl, *op. cit.* (note 132), pl. 21, fig. 114; Tudor, *op. cit.* (note 128), pl. 13, no. 27.
136. *cf. JRS* xlvii (1957), p. 262. The scene on some plaques of a kneeling man screened by a ram's skin upheld by two companions and interpreted by Tudor as a symbolic death, is more likely to represent the communication of some mystic secret to an initiate.
137. There a lion and a dog often combine in the slaying of the boar, wild ox, etc. that the Rider-god is hunting.
138. *Essays in the History of Religion* (1954), p. 93 and n. 70.
139. F. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, English translation by T. J. McCormack (1903), p. 124, fig. 28.
140. C. W. King, *Antique Gems* (1860), p. 359, with fig.; Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 139), p. 185, fig. 42 (wrongly described in caption).
141. Chapouthier, *op. cit.* (note 128), p. 287, fig. 56. *cf.* also for gem renderings of the Danubian Riders, Tudor, *op. cit.* (note 128), nos. 187–8, 189–94, 199, 228.
142. For the view that these marble reliefs depicting the Rider-gods were based on the metallic plaques which mainly served as amulets and domestic prophylactics, see Will, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 31. It is, indeed, not unlikely that the Walbrook roundel was in private hands before being dedicated in the temple, since no shrines specifically set apart for the cult of the Danubian Riders have so far come to light (*ibid.*).
143. A Mithraic sculpture certainly designed for such back-lighting is the altar from the Carrawburgh Mithraeum dedicated by the military prefect Marcus Simplicius Simplex: this is carved in relief on the front with a half-figure of Mithras crowned with rays, which are perforated in such a way that the light from a lamp, placed in a receptacle at the back of the stone, might shine through them (Richmond and Gillam, *op. cit.* (note 122), pp. 37–8, pls. 11A, 12B). Similar reliefs of the head of Mithras or Sol with pierced rays have come to light in the Baths of Caracalla Mithraeum (Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 189, no. 458, fig. 126) and in the Santa Prisca Mithraeum on the Aventine (*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Communale di Roma* lxviii (1940), p. 70, fig. 7). There is also a small marble bust of Mithras-Sol wearing a diadem with five perforations from Sarmizegetusa in Dacia (Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), p. 307, no. 2053, fig. 544). The Housesteads relief of Mithras' birth from an egg, with the background cut out within the zodiac frame, may have been lighted from behind. But the nearest Mithraic object to the Walbrook group in this respect is a relief at Palermo, which shows the Mithras Tauroctonos scene being enacted beneath a rocky arch, but without a background (*ibid.*, i (1956), p. 101, no. 164, fig. 46).
144. *Times* 12/10/54.
145. Information from Miss Joyce Reynolds of Newnham College, Cambridge.
146. A. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* (1895), pl. 3, fig. 4, p. 54 and n. 229.
147. *Revue Archéologique* (1958) i, pp. 38–40, fig. 4.
148. As, for instance, on another Danubian relief, from Sistov and now in the National Museum in Sofia, which shows another variant of the same group—Bacchus clutching a snake and upheld by a Satyr, with Pan and Silenus on his ass (Saxl, *op. cit.* (note 132), fig. 4).
149. A. N. Zadoks-Josephus-Jitta in *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de antieke Beschaving* xxxvii (1962), pp. 61–8, figs. 1, 2; O. Doppelfeld (ed.), *Römer am Rhein* (1967), p. 318, no. F41, colour-reproduction on cover. For Bacchus in a funerary context, see note 232. *cf.* also two fragmentary marble groups with the same Bacchic theme in Romania, from Apulum (Alba Julia) and Tomis (Constanta) respectively: they are carved partly in relief and partly in the round, with the background between the main portions cut away (O. Doppelfeld (ed.), *Römer in Rumänien* (1969), nos. F115, pl. 61; F117, pl. 60).
150. *Loc. cit.* (note 146).
151. Mistakes in proportion and shoddy craftsmanship are, of course, found in some late second-century architectural sculptures, for instance in those on the Marcus Column. But 'cabinet-pieces' of the category to which the Walbrook group belongs were governed by different standards; and it is hard to believe that the defects of this marble would have been tolerated in a second-century marble-carver's studio, even in a province. The amber group from North Brabant may be dated to the first half of the third century.
152. A Nilotic mosaic in the Naples National Museum shows a similar confrontation of ichneumon and snake: G. E. Rizzo, *La pittura ellenistico-romana* (1929), pl. 187, b.

153. *JRS* li (1961), p. 195, no. 10.
154. V. Ondrouch, *Recent Finds from Roman Tombs in Slovakia* (1957), p. 148, no. 10, fig. 34; p. 246, pl. 35, fig. 3. The present writer owes this reference to Mrs A. Cavendish.
155. *De antro nympharum* 15; F. Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 17), ii (1896), p. 40.
156. The present writer owes this suggestion to Mr R. Merrifield, formerly of the Museum of London.
157. G. Brett, W. J. Macauley, R. B. K. Stevenson, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors* i (1947). For scenes of hunting and animal combats, see pls. 28, 33, 36–9, 41–5.
158. D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (1947), i, p. 324, fig. 136; ii, pls. 77–8.
159. *Ibid.*, i, pp. 358–9, fig. 148; ii, pl. 86, a; G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (1956), pp. 62–3, no. 44, pl. 25, b.
160. Levi, *op. cit.* (note 158); i, pp. 363–5, figs. 150–1; ii, pl. 86, b.
161. From the very considerable body of literature that Piazza Armerina has already inspired, the following items may be cited here: G. V. Gentili (a) *La villa romana di Piazza Armerina*, Itinerari dei Musei e Monumenti d'Italia No. 87, 1st ed. (1951); (b) *ibid.*, 4th ed. (1960); (c) 'I mosaici della villa romana del casale di Piazza Armerina' in *Bollettino d'Arte* xxxvii, ser. 4, 1 (1952), pp. 33–46, figs. 1–24, pl. 1; (d) *La villa erculia di Piazza Armerina: i mosaici figurati* (1959); H. Kähler, *Die Villa des Maxentius bei Piazza Armerina*, Monumenta Artis Romanae xii (1973); B. Pace, *I mosaici di Piazza Armerina* (1955).
162. E.g. Gentili, *op. cit.* (note 161): (a), figs. 16–20; (b), figs. 17–21; (c), pl. 1, b; Pace, *op. cit.* (note 161), pl. 10, figs. 19, 22.
163. For such cages or boxes as traps, see J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines* (1951), pp. 450–5, pls. 3, a; 32.
164. Pace, *op. cit.* (note 161), fig. 19; *cf.* Aymard, *op. cit.* (note 163), pl. 7, a.
165. Gentili, *op. cit.* (note 161): (c), p. 39, fig. 14.
166. Gentili, *op. cit.* (note 161): (b), fig. 21; (c), p. 41, fig. 16; (d), pl. 25.
167. Gentili, *op. cit.* (note 161): (a), fig. 16; (b), fig. 17.
168. J. W. Brailsford, *The Mildenhall Treasure: a Handbook*, 2nd ed. (1955).
169. *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6, no. 1, pl. 1.
170. *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7, nos. 2, 3, pl. 2, a.
171. *Ibid.*, p. 9, no. 6, pl. 2, b.
172. *Ibid.*, pp. 9–11, nos. 7–10, pl. 4.
173. Similar trees appear in hunting scenes in a frieze on a Roman bronze bucket found in Holland: M. H. P. de Boesterd, *Description of the Collections in the Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam at Nijmegen*, v: *The Bronze Vessels* (1956), pp. 45–5, no. 146, pl. 14.
174. Brailsford, *op. cit.* (note 168), pp. 16, 17.
175. E.g. items from the Scottish Traprain Law and Roman Esquiline treasures (see notes 178, 179).
176. *JRS* xlv (1955), p. 138.
177. See note 168.
178. A. O. Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain: a Scottish Hoard of Roman Silver* (1923).
179. O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum* (1901), pp. 61–77, nos. 304–45, pls. 13–20.
180. Published by A. Levi in *La patera d'argento di Parabiago*, R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte vi (1935), and by E. Strong in *The Burlington Magazine* lxxii (1938), upper fig. on p. 92 and p. 96, both of whom, it is interesting to note, attributed the piece to the second century. Its correct, fourth-century date was first perceived by A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten* (1942–3), pl. 71, fig. 1 and pp. 69, 70.
181. For a 'grave' probably designed for such a ritual 'death', see Richmond and Gillam, *op. cit.* (note 122), pp. 19, 20, pl. 6. There seems to have been a similar 'grave' in one of the rooms adjacent to the Mithraeum under the Church of Santa Prisca on the Aventine in Rome: Vermaseren and van Essen, *op. cit.* (note 39), pp. 142–4.
182. Behn, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp. 11–16, pl. 1. Mithras is accompanied by three hunting dogs, but his prey does not appear.
183. H. Birkner, 'Denkmäler des Mithraskultes vom Kastell Rückingen' in *Germania* xxx (1952), pp. 349–62, pl. 24; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), pp. 80–2, no. 1137, fig. 297.
184. Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 17), p. 350, no. 246, pl. 6: in the second scene from the bottom on the right-hand side Mithras is shooting with his bow and arrow, but his quarry is not shown. Mithras appears as a rider, but not necessarily as a hunter, on imperial-age coins of Trebizond in Pontus (*ibid.*, pp. 189—91, no. 3 *bis*, a–c, figs. 13–16) and on a relief from Neuenheim, where he gallops through a forest accompanied by a lion and a snake (*ibid.*, p. 424, no. 310, fig. 357; H. Schoppa, *Die Kunst der Römerzeit in Gallien, Germanien und Britannien* (1957), pl. 88; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), p. 117, no. 1289, fig. 338). In the second and fifth small scenes from the right on the border along the top of the great Mithras Tauroctonos slab from Neuenheim, Mithras is shown as an archer, but is not mounted (Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 17), p. 346, no. 245c, pl. 5; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), pp. 114–16, no. 1238, fig. 337).
185. Rostoftzeff (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 43), pls. 14, 15; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), pp. 68, 69, no. 52, fig. 24. A lion and a snake accompany the god, who is charging five wild animals. Hunting scenes also appear on fragments of an epistyle (now in the Salzburg Museum) from the Mithraic sanctuary found near Schloss Moosham in Unternberg i. Lungau (*Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum: Jahresschrift* (1956), pp. 237, 238, pl. 13).
186. *Archaeologia* xc (1944), pp. 121, 122, fig. 20, no. 1; Toynbee, *ARB*, p. 190, no. 157, pl. 190.
187. Brailsford, *op. cit.* (note 168), p. 23.
188. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i, (1956), pp. 272–6, nos. 772–90, figs. 208–16.
189. *Ibid.*, p. 272, no. 774.
190. E.g. relief of Mithras Tauroctonos, dedicated by Appius Claudius Tarronius Dexter, in the Naples Museum (Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 17), ii (1896), pp. 249–50, no. 93, fig. 85; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), pp. 103–4, nos. 174–5, fig. 49); statues of Mithras Tauroctonos, Aion and Hecate dedicated by Flavius Gerontios, from the Sidon Mithraeum (A. de Ridder, *op. cit.* (note 110), nos. 47, 49, 54; cf. E. Will in *Syria* xxvii (1950), pp. 261–9; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), pp. 73–6, nos. 76, 78, 79, 84, 85, figs. 27, 29a, 29b; but for a different dating of the Sidon sculptures, see *Berytus* xi (1954), p. 26, n. 1).
191. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), pp. 151–221, nos. 327–583, figs. 91–160.
192. *Ibid.*, pp. 114–48, nos. 216–326, figs. 69–90; G. Becatti, *op. cit.* (note 16).
193. See note 188.
194. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), pp. 93–4, nos. 134–7; M. Leglay, *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Comptes Rendus* (1954), pp. 269–77.
195. For the importance of commercial routes for the diffusion of Mithraism, see Will, *op. cit.* (note 8), pp. 395–6.
196. H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (= *ILS*) 659: Carnuntum: Diocletian and his colleagues restored the shrine of Mithras as 'supporter of their Empire' (*d(eo) S(oli) i(nvicto) M(ithrae)/fautori imperii sui/Iovii et Herculii/religiosissimi/Augusti et Caesares/sacrarium/restituerunt*).
197. It is, of course, well known that in Rome, for instance, the colonnades of most of the very early churches are composed of ancient columns filched from pagan temples, basilicas, etc.
198. Richmond and Gillam, *op. cit.* (note 122), pp. 42–3.
199. *Archaeologia Aeliana* ser. 1, i (1882), pp. 263–320; ser. 2, xxv (1904), pp. 255–63.
200. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i, (1956), p. 193.
201. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
202. Behn, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp. 7, 8.
203. *Les mystères de Mithra*, 3rd ed. (1913).
204. *American Journal of Archaeology* lx (1956), p. 315.
205. *Manchester Guardian* 27/10/54.
206. *Cf.* the Greek inscription found at the foot of the Aventine in Rome and now in the Museo Capitolino: *Διὶ Ἡλ[ί]ῳ/μεγάλῳ Μίθρᾳ δνει/κήτῳ καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θε/οῖς*: 'to the Great Zeus Helios, Unconquered Mithras and to the gods who share his shrine...' (Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i, (1956), p. 192, nos. 472–3); *cf.* also the Mithraeum at Angera in northern Italy, in which were found dedications to Jupiter, Hercules, Mercury, and Silvanus (*ibid.*, pp. 258–9, no. 716), and the great Mithras Tauroctonos relief from Sarrebourg, on which Vulcan, Mercury, Jupiter, Mars (?), Hercules, Neptune, Bacchus and Sol appear in a frieze above the main scene (*ibid.*, pp. 323–5, no. 966, fig. 236).
207. *Ministero delle Colonie: Notizario Acheologico* iv (1927), pp. 149–206, pls. 18–31 (in particular, pp. 164–5, fig. 7); *Journal des Savants* (1927), pp. 318–22; P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica romana* (1943), pp. 223–51; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 87, no. 106. The temple appears to have been built (or rebuilt) in the second half of the fourth century, perhaps as a result of Julian the Apostate's pagan revival. It was furnished with a 'gallery' of earlier sculptures, representing a wide range of deities—Isis, Zeus or Serapis, Cybele, Aphrodite, Hecate, Eros, Mithras, the Three Graces, Libya with the attributes of Isis. The Mithras head is worked in the style of the late second or early third century.
208. A. Colini in *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Communale di Roma* lxiii (1936), pp. 152–3, nos. 18–20; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 91, nos. 467–9. Other, non-oriental deities depicted in this sanctuary are Diana (Colini, *op. cit.*, p. 150, no. 1, fig. 1 and pl. 1); Hercules (*ibid.*, p. 151, no. 4, fig. 2); Silvanus (*ibid.*, p. 151, no. 5, fig. 6); a Genius with a mural crown, *cornucopiae*, and *patera* (*ibid.*, p. 151, no. 6); Venus (*ibid.*, p. 151, no. 7); Sol and Luna (*ibid.*, p. 151, nos. 12, 13, fig. 8); Minerva (?) (*ibid.*, p. 155, fig. 10); while on two of the reliefs on which Jupiter Dolichenus and Juno Dolichena are portrayed, Isis and Serapis, the Dioscuri, Sol, and Luna also figure (*ibid.*, p. 152, nos. 16, 17, pl. 4 and fig. 9 on p. 153).
209. G. Annibaldi in *Notizie delle Scavi* (1935), pp. 76–104. For the Mithraic

sculptures, see pp. 90–1, nos. 17–19 and Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), pp. 237–8, nos. 635–7, figs 176–8. For the *cippus* inscribed DEO SOLI ENVICTO [*sic*] MITHRE/CAVTOPATI and D(eo) S(oli) E(nvicto) M(ithre) etc., see Annibaldi, *op. cit.*, p. 99, no. 56 and Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), p. 238, no. 639. The deities, other than Zeus Bronton and Mithras, depicted in this sanctuary included Hercules (Annibaldi, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–81, 95, nos. 3, 4, 24, figs. 3, 4, 17); Aesculapius (*ibid.*, p. 81, nos. 5, 6, fig. 5); the Dioscuri (*ibid.*, pp. 81–2, no. 7, fig. 6); Bacchus (?) (*ibid.*, pp. 82–3, no. 8, fig. 7); the Ephesian Artemis (*ibid.*, pp. 84–6, no. 9, figs 8, 9); Hygieia (*ibid.*, p. 86, no. 10, fig. 10); Minerva (?) (*ibid.*, pp. 86–7, no. 11, fig. 11); Astarte (*ibid.*, pp. 91–4, no. 20, fig. 16); Isis (*ibid.*, pp. 94–5, nos. 21, 22, 23); Cybele (*ibid.*, p. 95, no. 28, fig. 18). A. D. Knock has, however, suggested that these finds may represent the debris from various shrines that had been deliberately despoiled (*Gnomon* xxx (1958), p. 294).

210. Leglay, *op. cit.* (note 194), p. 270, fig. 1.
211. For the continued existence of Mithraea in Italy, Syria, and Germany during the second half of the fourth century, see Will, *op. cit.* (note 190), pp. 261–9; E. Espérandieu, *Receuil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine* x (1928), pp. 183–4, no. 7545.
212. For further evidence of this association of the Dioscuri with Mithras, see No. 13 and the relief at Vienne showing the Mithraic Aion flanked most probably by both Castor and Pollux (Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), pp. 310–11, no. 902, fig. 230).
213. Note 206.
214. Notes 65 and 66.
215. For the history, tenets and practices of Mithraism, see Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 17), i (1899); *op. cit.* (note 203), English ed. by T. K. McCormack (1903), German ed. by K. Latte (1923); *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4th ed. (1923), pp. 125–49; A. D. Knock, 'The Genius of Mithraism', *JRS* xxvii (1937), pp. 108–13; S. Wikander, 'Études sur les mystères de Mithras I: Introduction', *Yearbook of the New Society of Letters at Lund* (1950); Richmond and Gillam, *op. cit.* (note 122), pp. 52–61; J. M. C. Toynbee, 'Still More about Mithras', *Hibbert Journal* (Jan., 1956); R. L. Gordon, *Mithraism in the Roman Empire* (forthcoming); Hinnells (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 97).
216. P. Gauckler, etc., *Musées de Sousse* (1902), p. 8, no. 11, pl. 4.
217. J. M. C. Toynbee and J. B. Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (1956), p. 83.
218. *Berytus* vi, (1939–40), pl. 7, no. 3; *Syria* xv (1934), pl. 44, no. 11; *Archaeologia* xvii (1814), pp. 333–4, pl. 25, fig. 2: *cf.* the busts of Minerva on silver plaques attached to a sarcophagus from Emesa, Syria (*Syria* xxx (1953), p. 16, pl. 7, no. 1). On 'Rape of Proserpina' marble sarcophagi in the West, Minerva plays an interesting funerary role: she appears in the attitude of one who seeks to snatch the soul, in the guise of Proserpina, from the jaws of Hades (e.g. Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 124), pl. 7, fig. 1; Espérandieu, *op. cit.* (note 211), ii (1908), no. 898: fragment of a sarcophagus from Chiragan, on which Minerva thrusts at Pluto's horses with her spear).
219. W. Whiting, 'A Roman Cemetery discovered at Ospringe in 1920', *Archaeologia Cantiana* xxxvi (1923), p. 66, pl. opp. p. 65; W. Whiting, W. Hawley and T. May, *Report on the Excavation of the Roman Cemetery at Ospringe, Kent*, Society of Antiquaries of London Research Report viii (1931), pl. 55. *Cf.* the very similar bronze bust of Minerva (not Mars, as stated) mounted on an iron strip and found in a grave at Remagen in Germany (*Bonner Jahrbücher* cxvi (1907), p. 155, no. 81, pl. 3, fig. 8).
220. J. Brent, *Canterbury in the Olden Time* (1897), pp. 48–9, pl. 3; *Victoria County History, Kent* iii (1932), p. 79.
221. S. Abdul-Hak, 'Rapport préliminaire sur les objets provenant de la nécropole romaine située à proximité de Nawa (Hauran)', *Annales archéologiques de Syrie* iv-v (1954–55), p. 185, pl. 9, fig. 17.
222. E.g. *CIL* vi, 574 (Rome): *invicto deo Serapidi*; *CIL* xi, 5738 (Sentinum): *Iovi Soli invicto Serapidi*; *Notizie degli Scavi* (1912), pp. 322–3 (Baths of Caracalla in Roma: *Εἷς Ζεὺς Μίτρας* (= a later correction for an original *Σάραπις*) *Ἥλιος κοσμοκράτωρ ἀνείκητος / Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι σωτῆρι πλουτοδότῃ ἐπηκόῳ εὐεργετῇ ἀνεικήτῳ Μίθρᾳ χαριστηειον* ('The One Zeus Mithras Helios, Lord of the Universe, Unconquered: a gift to Zeus Helios, the Great One, Serapis the Saviour, Giver of Wealth, Hearer of Prayers, Benefactor, the Unconquered Mithras'); *cf. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Comptes Rendus* (1919), pp. 313–28; *cf.* also F. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* i (1893), pp. 64–5, no. 46 (a fourth-century magical papyrus): *ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε Ζευ Ἥλιε Μίθρα Σάραπι ἀνίκητε* ('I invoke you, Zeus Helios Mithras Serapis, the Unconquered').
223. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, i (1956), pp. 56, 57, no. 33; *Illustrated London News* 18/6/55, p. 1095, figs 4, 5.
224. Drexel, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 86, no. 14, pl. 16, fig. 11: statuette of standing Mercury with wings in hair, ram, purse, and child entwined by a snake (probably not the infant Bacchus) on his left arm; p. 86, no. 16, pl. 13, fig. 6: statuette of seated Mercury with *caduceus* and right foot resting on a tortoise; p. 87, no. 17, pl. 14, fig. 8: upper part of statuette of Mercury wearing winged cap; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), p. 90, nos. 1176, 1178, 1179, figs 312, 314. For the fourth piece, a headless seated Mercury holding the infant Bacchus and accompanied by ram, cock, and tortoise, see *ibid.*, pp. 95–6, no. 1210, fig. 318.
225. See *Britannia* ix (1978), p. 330, pl. 20b.
226. Richmond and Gillam, *op. cit.* (note 122), p. 31, pl. 10A.
227. Behn, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 35, no. 14, fig. 39; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, ii (1960), p. 109, no. 1262, fig. 331.
228. Cumont, *op. cit.* (note 124), pp. 64 ff.; Will, *op. cit.* (note 8), pp. 89 ff.
229. We can hardly accept Vermaseren's translation *CIMRM*, i, (1956), p. 287, no. 823) 'thou givest life to men', which assumes the existence of a verb *vago* or *vagio*, 'I give', otherwise unknown to classical Latin.
230. *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* (1904), p. 173, pl. 9; (1905), pp. 91–2. *Cf. ILS* 8982: *Pompeianis vita(m)*. The present writer owes these two references to the late Dr Stephen Weinstock.
231. Catullus lxiv, 390.
232. It is noteworthy that a small marble statuette of Bacchus was found in a grave not far from the Romano-British villa in Spoonley Wood, Gloucestershire: *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain in the British Museum* (1958), p. 55, no. 10, pl. 20.
233. E. T. Hall, F. Schweizer and P. A. Toller, 'X-ray fluorescence analysis of museum objects: a new instrument', *Archaeometry* 15 (1) (1973) pp. 53–78.
234. M. J. Hughes and J. A. Hall, 'X-ray fluorescence analysis of Late Roman and Sassanian silver plate', *J. Archaeol. Sci.* 6 (1979), pp. 321–44.
235. J. R. S. Lang and M. J. Hughes, 'Joining techniques', in *Aspects of Early Metallurgy* (ed. W. A. Oddy), Historical Metallurgy Society and British Museum Research Laboratory (1977) pp. 169–77.

The Temple of Mithras, discovered in 1954, was one of the outstanding excavations of the post-war period. Pagan sculptures including Mithras, the god of light, and associated deities were found deliberately buried to protect them from desecration. This collection is unique to Britain. These major finds are for the first time published together with full discussion and numerous illustrations.

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