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Phyllis Fray Bober

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CERNUNNOS: ORIGIN AND TRANSFORMATION OF A CELTIC DIVINITY¹

PHYLLIS FRAY BOBER

TO the student of Roman provincial art, the monuments from the Celtic provinces of Gaul present myriad problems of religious interpretation as well as purely stylistic complexities in the constant dialogue between inherent "primitivism" and Graeco-Roman formal concepts. The multiple barriers which obstruct our understanding of the essence and origin of indigenous Celtic divinities are based upon the fact that these divinities are manifestations of religious concepts that can be approached only indirectly, given the lack of native sources and the extremely limited figural representations from La Tène art. With the advent of the Romans one begins to distinguish the first vague outlines of pre-Roman mythology in Germany and in Gaul, rapidly to be modified by a transforming re-interpretation which is effective from two directions: from the Romans' naive assurance that strange divinities of the "barbarians" are but members of their own pantheon under foreign designation—*interpretatio romana*; and from the indigenous population's readiness to accept for their religious personalities, often

aniconic, the artistic types and names of those Roman divinities whose natures may include one or more parallel functions—*interpretatio gallica*.²

There are three equally hazardous avenues of approach to Celtic religion open to the investigator. The first is that provided by Greek and Latin authors who, if their information concerning the gods and beliefs of the inhabitants of Gaul or Germany was accurate, were prone to misinterpretations rooted in the very immanence of their own classical background. And these scanty literary references are now impossible to verify, since the writers only rarely give the native names of the divinities who are the subject of their brief equations or, recording the names, neglect to adduce their interpretation.³ Wissowa has summed up the situation implicit in this method of research: "Im allgemeinen darf man sagen, dass wir aus den *interpretationes Romanae* mehr für unsere Kenntnis römischen Denkens als für die der provinziellen Religionen gewinnen."⁴

The second method of approach, of which

¹ The substance of this article was prepared in 1946, before I was familiar with a war-time publication by P. Lambrechts, *Contributions à l'étude des divinités celtiques* (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, werken . . . faculteit van de wijsbegeerte en letteren, no. 93), Bruges, 1942. Although some of the material given here is duplicated in his study of Cernunnos, the conclusions reached differ so markedly from those expressed here that it has not seemed necessary to suppress any of my documentation. The reader is referred to Lambrechts' work for supplementary references and bibliography.

I would like to express here my indebtedness to Professor Karl Lehmann for his counsel and interest in the larger study of Gallo-Roman sculpture of which this forms a part.

² For the most penetrating discussion of *interpretatio romana*, according to the term borrowed from Tacitus, see Wissowa, *ARW* (1916-19) 1-49; also F. Richter, *De deorum barbarorum interpretatione*

romana quaestiones selectae (Diss. Halle 1906). For a less intensive treatment, see the introductory section of F. Drexel, "Götterverehrung im röm. Germanien," *Röm.-german. Komm. Bericht.* 14 (1922) 1-68.

For the religion of various provincial groups within the Legions, von Domaszewski, *Westdeutsche Ztschr. f. Gesch. u. Kunst.* 14 (1895) 1-121.

³ Complete references to Greek and Latin authors whose works include comments on the Celts are listed in the first chapter of Dottin, *Manuel . . . à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique*² (1915). The sources for Gaul are collected in Dom Bouquet, *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum scriptores* I (Paris 1738). For the Germanic regions, see A. Riese, *Das rhein. Germanien in d. antik. Literatur* (1892). E. Norden (*D. german. Urgesch. u. Tacitus Germania*³) clarifies the background and conditioning preconceptions of Latin historians.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 28.

Arbois de Jubainville⁵ has been the major exponent, is that of a comparative study of later Irish mythology as it had evolved from alleged parallels with continental conceptions. This may often prove valuable for corroborative material, but would seem to be misleading as *a priori* evidence in view of the many centuries of independent evolution which elapsed between the origins of the Irish mythological cycle and its documentation. It is then the third method, intensive study of the monuments of the Roman period—in which, however, the complex process of assimilation to state religion had already contaminated the older Celtic worship—which proves most reliable and rewarding.

This oblique methodology is further complicated by the fact that local divergences appear to have been strong among the various tribes of Gaul, and that there is no reason to assume a uniform pan-Celtic religion in pre-Roman times. Many of the so-called divinities seem to have been natural personifications of certain topographical features, mountains, springs and woods, and as such local in character. The wealth of epithets appended to the name of any one Roman god—Apollo, Mercury, or Hercules, for example—is eloquent testimony to these regional variations, since it appears that these are but designations of indigenous personalities who were merged with the Latin figure.⁶ In general, the native divinities of Gaul and Germany are known to us only through such epithets, occurring in independent inscriptions or in connection with representations of purely classical conception.

It is, then, an exceptional position in which one finds oneself in seeking to define the essential

nature of the Celtic divinity whose characteristics include a seated pose with legs crossed under his body (the attitude termed "accroupi," "Buddhist," or "the tailors' seat"), large stag's antlers growing from his temples, one or more torques, and a heavy sack or purse, although not all of these need appear in a single representation. In addition, the god is frequently accompanied by a ram-headed serpent or by other divinities, including his female counterpart who usually holds a cornucopia. In this instance, not only the Celtic name of the god, but also pre-Roman representations of him are known.

His impressive figure appears on one face of an "altar" in the Cluny Museum, dating from the Roman occupation of Paris (fig. 1), a representation to which we shall return in the ensuing discussion of the iconographic and stylistic character of the Gallo-Roman monuments. Above him, now partially obscured but assured by eighteenth century drawings, is inscribed his name: CERNVNNOS, "the horned one."⁷ The same personage is found in a rock carving of Val Camonica which is dated by Altheim before the mid-fourth century B.C., at the time of the Celtic sojourn in northern Italy.⁸ Here, clothed in a long flowing garment, he stands erectly in an *orans* pose, but the presence of both torques and antlers ensures his identification. Cernunnos is not, therefore, one of the aniconic deities of the Celts who first found artistic visualization under the impact of Roman civilization. Coins of the Catalauni and other tribes antedate the Roman conquest and these already show him, or a related figure, in his more characteristic "tailors' seat"⁹ as does the famous plaque of the Gundestrup cauldron,

⁵ *Le cycle mythol. irland. et la mythol. celtique* (1884); English ed., Dublin, 1903. Also numerous articles

⁶ Cf. MacCulloch, *Religion of the ancient Celts* (1911), 23 f. For the extraordinary profusion of divine names among the Celts, see Holder, *Alt-celt. Sprachschatz* (Leipzig, 1896 f.).

⁷ Holder, *s.v.* See below, pp. 28–31, notes 99–104.

⁸ *RM* 54 (1939) 2.

⁹ *Dictionnaire archéologique d. l. Gaule; époque celtique*, 1, no. 232. An enlarged photograph of one example of this coin type is to be found in D. A. MacKenzie, *Buddhism in Pre-Christian Britain*, pl. vi. The older attribution of the type to the Catalauni

has been negated by Blanchet, *Traité des monnaies*, 1, p. 387, and by Forrer, *Keltische Numismatik*, p. 311, no. 516. It seems that if the coins were not "international," they were at least minted by several tribes. They are often referred to in the literature as "bronzes," but actually consist of the alloy, *potin*.

Inasmuch as the figure represented lacks antlers, the identification is problematic. It is entirely possible, however, that the die-cutters considered the posture, the torque and the serpent on the reverse (above a boar, seemingly horned) sufficient characterization, particularly in view of the spatial exigencies of the coin surface. All early representations of

a Celtic product of the second or first century B.C. (fig. 3).¹⁰ We shall return to a more detailed analysis of these monuments which prove that the representational type for Cernunnos had already been formed in La Tène art.

Such a situation would seem a particularly happy one, but despite these advantages Cernunnos remains one of the most enigmatic figures of Celtic religion. Discussions concerning his origin and his meaning have been both varied and heated. This divinity who could retain so much of his initial character under the impact of Roman symbolism appealed strongly to the imaginations of French archaeologists of the nineteenth century and many catalogues of the known representations were compiled, one after the other, as new monuments continued to be discovered. One of the most recent collections (1934) is that of Raymond Lantier,¹¹ who isolated the cross-legged pose as the basis for his catalogue and consequently omitted many images which can be identified as Cernunnos but which do not conform to that attitude; by the same token, a number of Lantier's listings cannot be included under Cernunnos. The realm of interpretation saw even greater activity. Working in a maze of contradictory evidence, such scholars as Salomon Reinach, Alexandre Bertrand, Robert Mowat and others expounded

their theories with impressive antiquarian erudition.

Iconographic interpretations which have been offered range between the extremist poles of, on the one hand, the *retardataire* romanticism of Courcelle-Seneuil who, in discussing a bronze statuette from Autun, (fig. 7)¹² designated it a personification of Mont Dore and called the two serpents entwined about the waist symbols of the two rivers which embrace that mountain, to the scepticism of Lantier, on the other. The latter concludes that the "dieu accroupi" is a composite hybrid of multiple meanings and functions and that no arbitrary hypothesis concerning his significance can be accepted, that each monument must be studied as an entity.¹³ Lenormant and De Witte compared the Greek Actaeon and eccentric manifestations of Jupiter.¹⁴ Arbois de Jubainville recognized in Cernunnos the Celtic god of the night, of death and evil,¹⁵ in contrast to those who saw in him and his female partner the creators and nourishers of mankind, of animals and of plants, great divinities of generation and fecundity.¹⁶ The name of Dis Pater has been applied to him—following Caesar's statement that the Celts believed themselves descendants of that god¹⁷—as it is freely used for other Celtic deities such as the god with a mallet,¹⁸ or the ram-headed serpent

Cernunnos appear to have been beardless (Val Camonica, Gundestrup, etc.). In any event, the coins prove that the cross-legged posture was in use before the Roman conquest.

¹⁰ See below, pp. 19–21, notes 38–46.

¹¹ *MonPiot* 34 (1934) 35–59. The most useful of the earlier catalogues is that of Reinach, *Bronzes figurés d. l. Gaule romaine* (1894), 185–197. Among his errors is the inclusion of a relief from Rully (Saône-et-Loire) which does not represent a horned divinity (Ésperandieu, hereafter cited as E, III, no. 2126).

¹² *Les dieux gaulois d'après les monuments figurés* (1910) 26 f.

¹³ *Op. cit.* 56–58.

¹⁴ *Élite des monuments céramographiques* 2, 327 ff.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* 385. His comparison of the antlers with a moon-crescent is patently invalid. Compare his paper read April 25, 1883 (*Bull. d. l. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France*) in which he argued for a division of Celtic divinities into two groups, basing this distinction on false analogies with Irish mythology. The first group

would consist of the gods of life, the Tuatha dé Danann or solar gods; the second of the gods of death, ignorance and night, giants called Fomorians in Ireland. Because a twelfth century manuscript calls the father of one of the latter Buar-aineach (bull-face), he affiliated him with Cernunnos among the Celtic counterparts of the Fomorians. The same author later (*RA* 1900, 1, pp. 66–74) presented an even more confusing theory—see the discussion of the "Cluny altar" below, p. 31. But the earlier theory has had more influence, and Steuding's article in Roscher's *Lexicon* (1, pt. 1, cols. 866 f.) perpetuates it.

¹⁶ Cf. G. Gassies, *REA* 9 (1907) 185 f.; 364–368. The designation, Dis Pater, he qualifies correctly as an *ex post facto* identification due to Roman efforts of assimilation.

¹⁷ *De bello gallico* 6. 18: *Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant, idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt.*

¹⁸ The chief exponent of this point of view has been H. Hubert, *RA* 1915, 1, pp. 26–39. See also, C. Renel, *Les religions de la Gaule*, 252–257.

who is a frequent companion of Cernunnos.¹⁹

Others emphasized the same fertility aspect, but placed more stress upon specific dominion over material wealth.²⁰ Camille Jullian regarded the divine partners as manifestations of local springs, rivers and fountains, sharing in the broad conception of Dis Pater and sprouting antlers which parallel the bull's horns of classical river gods.²¹ Bertrand called the divinity who sits cross-legged in a sculpture from Saintes (fig. 9) Geryon, while the latter became in his synthesizing argument another form of Pluto, i.e. Axiokersos of the Samothracian mystery cult.²²

In more modern literature few studies submit interpretations of Cernunnos which are essentially new. An imaginative theory of D. A. MacKenzie carries earlier and more judicious ideas of Sir John Rhys²³ to a diffusionist formulation of Buddhism transferred to the West.²⁴ A stimulating article written by Emile Krüger just before the war²⁵ deals with the actual evidence in exemplary fashion, although extreme selectivity of material results in conclusions which are not convincing to me. Approaching Cernunnos by way of his holy animals, the stag and the bull,

which appear on only three of the monuments,²⁶ Krüger equates him with the Celtic war-god, Teutates. This scholar's individual contributions will be considered in their proper places below. The recent study of Celtic divinities by Pierre Lambrechts contains much valuable material on Cernunnos, although his book as a whole tends to syncretize the various deities of Gaul rather than to define and distinguish them one from the other. He examines separately the cross-legged divinity, the god with the ram-serpent, and the tricephalic deity as three regional manifestations of one being of multiple functions and poorly defined nature identified as Esus-Teutates (Mercury and Mars).²⁷

Believing that it is possible to define Cernunnos more closely, both in his original form and in transmutations under Roman influence, we shall attempt a re-evaluation of the individual monuments, beginning with pre-Roman examples or those which date from the first years of Latin hegemony in Gaul. Although in the conflicting maze of local differentiations there can be no ultimate assurance that we shall be able to arrive at a true understanding of this god and his circle, at least certain aspects may be clarified.

¹⁹ Reinach (*Bronzes* fig. 197) considered the ram-serpent and the god with a mallet as two mutually exclusive interpretations of Dis Pater, each confined to separate geographical areas of Gaul.

²⁰ R. Mowat, *Bull. épigraph. d. l. Gaule* 1 (1881) 113 f. Cf. Drexel, *Röm.-germ. Komm. Bericht* 14 (1922) 20.

²¹ *REA* 9 (1907) 85 f. (vs. Gassies). He compares the ancient name of an affluent of the Meurthe which is similar to Cernunnos (cf. Holder, 1, col. 993).

²² *L'autel de Saintes et les triades gauloises* (reprint from *RA* 1880, 1, pp. 337-347; 1880, 2, pp. 1-18, 70-84), pp. 32 f. It is no longer possible to accept Bertrand's views on triads in Gallo-Roman religion, since there is no fixed or stable combination of figures on the monuments.

²³ *Celtic Heathendom* 77-99. He sought the origin of Cernunnos in remote Aryan mythology, which enabled him to find parallels in Teutonic and Irish legends.

²⁴ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 63 (1928-9) 196-213; *Buddhism in Pre-Christian Britain*, *passim*. In the introduction to the latter he says: "... the squatting Celtic god Cernunnos, who survives in Shakespeare as 'Herne the Hunter,' and whose attributes were acquired by St. Kentigern ...

is no other than Virupaksha, a Hindu-Buddhist god of the West—that is, a form of the Western Buddha, Amida Like Virupaksha, Cernunnos grasps in his left hand a horned snake which is the Naga . . . of a Hindu cult absorbed by the Northern Buddhists—the Naga which was the prototype of the Chinese dragon. As is shown, the horned god, Cernunnos, is himself a "Naga king" who controls the water supply, renders the land fertile, and promotes the welfare of human beings in this world and the next."

²⁵ *Germania* 23 (1939) 251-262.

²⁶ On the Gundestrup cauldron where the bull is subordinate to the deer and is accompanied by other animals such as dolphins, wolves etc.; the stele from Reims (fig. 13), and the relief in Luxembourg (Catalogue C, no. 7), both of which are late examples among monuments of Cernunnos' cult.

²⁷ See note 1. This study also includes catalogues of the pertinent monuments, but, since interpretation conditions the selection of representations in research of this kind, I have appended my own catalogue of Cernunnos images to this article. The relation of the three-headed Celtic god to Cernunnos will be clarified below.

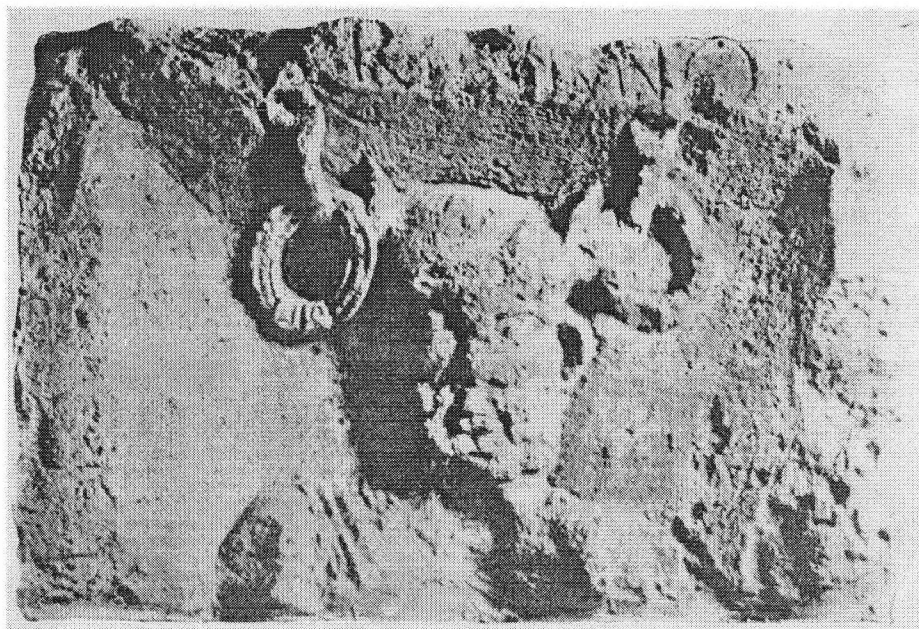


FIG. 1. CERNUNNOS. CLUNY MUSEUM, PARIS.

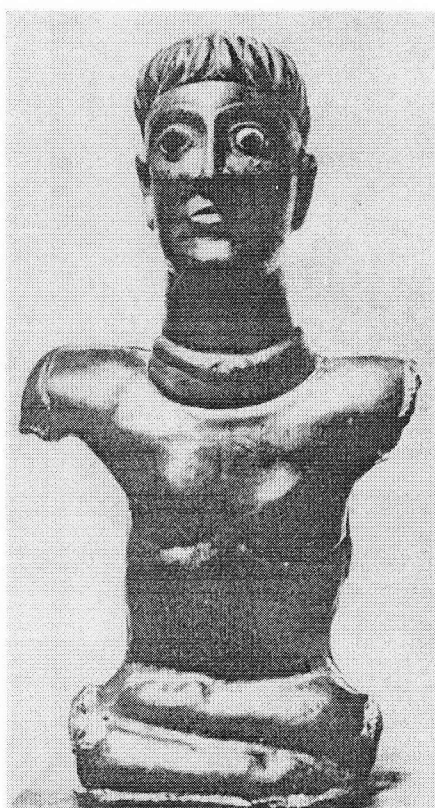


FIG. 2. COPPER STATUETTE FROM BOURAY.
ST-GERMAIN-EN-LAYE. (Lantier)

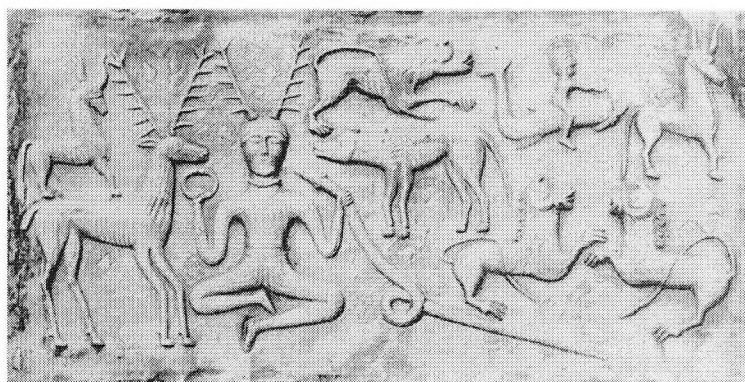


FIG. 3. CERNUNNOS PLAQUE. GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON. COPENHAGEN.

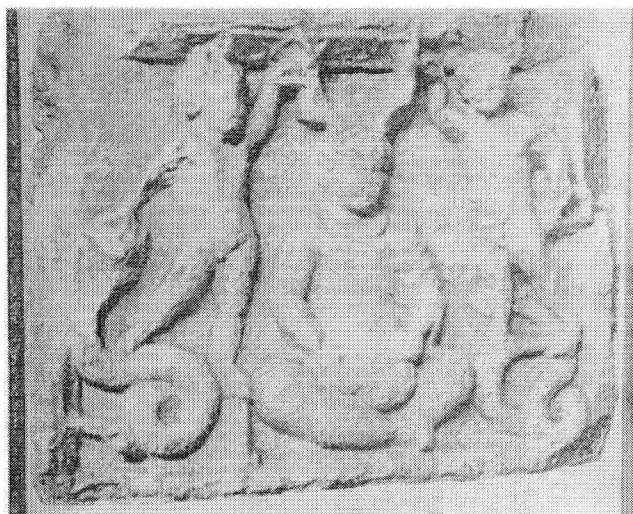


FIG. 4. RELIEF FROM VENDEVRES.
CHATEAUROUX MUSEUM.

Among the representations of Cernunnos which belong in the realm of unadulterated Celtic art, and are therefore our most significant evidence for his original meaning, the rock carving of Val Camonica is unique.²⁸ It is the only known image of the divinity which can be dated in the first La Tène period and is also unparalleled in portraying him as a tall, draped figure standing in an *orans* pose. This primitive standing type does survive in a few isolated monuments of the Roman period, however.²⁹ Here at least two, and probably three, of his later characteristics are already clearly visible: the prominent antlers and a torque worn high on his right arm. Even more far-reaching in its implications is the blurred attribute appended to his left arm. This does not represent, as Jacobsthal believes,³⁰ a second torque together with a "bird," but a horned serpent. There can be no doubt about the interpretation if one consults the best photographs; the only question is whether the horns are those of a ram or not. In any case, this serpent foreshadows the ram-headed serpent which is a common adjunct to Cernunnos on Gallo-Roman monuments.

Beside the large divinity stands a much smaller nude figure with upraised arms and emphatic genitalia. The interpretation of this subsidiary figure as a worshipper seems justified,³¹ and in his phallic character lies a substantial clue to the nature of "the Horned One." In this instance Cernunnos would represent a god of fertility, not merely in an abstract sense of flourishing nature, but also in a specific reference to human fecundity and generation. We are, then, in the presence of an already developed concept which must have had its inception in worship of the stag as a symbol of abundance.³² The stag god is probably the result of anthropomorphization of an animal divinity whose origin is lost in the penumbra of the Celtic past, in the nomadic, aniconic existence before their arrival in Western Europe and North Italy.³³

There could be no more suitable animal chosen as a symbol of the generative forces of nature than this cervine creature that must have been of overwhelming economic importance to a forest-dwelling people. Even among the Greeks and Romans it is the stag or deer which is the sacred animal of Diana-Artemis, the goddess of

²⁸ Ht: 0.95 m. Altheim and Trautmann, *RM* 1939, pp. 1-13, pl. 1. Jacobsthal, *JRS* 28 (1938) 65-69 with bibl., pl. xi, 1; *Early Celtic Art* 1, p. 3; 2, pl. 217 a.

²⁹ See Catalogue A, nos. 6 and 7, Catalogue C, no. 4.

³⁰ *JRS* 1938, 65 f. Altheim (*op. cit.* 3 f.) refuted Jacobsthal and suggested a serpent instead; he did not mention the horns, however. For the clearest photograph, see Altheim and Trautmann, *Die Welt als Geschichte* 3, 1937, fig. 3. The horns are there quite obvious.

³¹ *RM* 1939, 2.

³² For so-called totemism and theriolatry among the Celts, see Lambrechts, *op. cit.* 27, n. 5 (bibl.); also, Renel, *Les religions de la Gaule*, indices; Reinach, *Revue celtique* 1900, 269-306 (*Cultes, mythes et religions* [1905] 1 30-78).

³³ It must be noted here that there are advocates of a Paleolithic survival to explain Cernunnos, urging a connection with the Magdalenian painting in the cave, Trois Frères, which shows a sorcerer wearing the skin and antlers of a stag; cf. Lambrechts, *op. cit.* 163; MacKenzie, *Proceedings* 208. Dr. Alfred Salmons has suggested to me a modification of this theory: if it is accepted, one must assume that the antler motive lived on in the art of the steppe people, who carried it into China and at the same time bequeathed

it to the Celts. He has drawn my attention to scattered monuments which might bear out such an explanation. The Scythian burial at Pazirik in the Altai (Griaznov, *AJA* 37 [1933] 38 f., figs. 17-19) and the antlered horse masks discovered there would represent the same concepts as a wooden antlered demon from Chang-sha (J. H. Cox, *Exhib. of Ant. fr. Chang-sha* [Yale Univ. 1939] 4 f., fig. 1; cf. Mizuno, *Tôhō Gakuhō* [Kyoto, Oct., 1937] 238, fig. 7) or two gold "shaman" crowns from Silla in Korea with tree and antler decoration that indicates Siberian connections (Seoul Museum. Hentze, *Östasiat. Ztschr.* 19 (1933) 156-163 with bibl.). On the other hand, if there are definite connections between Scythian and Chinese stag symbolism and the ritual use of antlers, there still remains a formidable lacuna between the Paleolithic example, which is unique, and the art of the steppe nomads. The material seems too fragmentary to support the ideal diffusion outlined above, and for the Celtic phenomenon one can as well argue for an independent evolution, particularly when the wide incidence of antlered human masks in the Moundbuilder cultures of the United States (Kelemen, *Medieval American Art* 2, pl. 271a; Shetrone, *Mound-builders*, fig. 121) prove that peoples with similar environmental compulsions may achieve identical imagery.

woodlands and wild creatures as well as the patroness of women in childbirth.³⁴ Nilsson, in his study of the origin of the Christmas festival,³⁵ has shown that in the late antique period and in the early Middle Ages animal masking became a constant feature of the holiday, being confined significantly to Celtic lands. The chief animals imitated by the mummers were the stag, the calf, and the heifer (the two latter obviously of most importance to a settled people).³⁶ To this he adduces a quotation from a letter written by Abbot Aldhelm of Malmesbury in respect to the worship of stags in temples among the insular Celts: *ubi pridem eiusdem nefandae natricis ermuli (sic) cervuli que cruda fanis colebantur. stoliditate in profanis, versa vice discipulorum gurgustia (imo almae oraminum aedes) architecti ingenio fabro conduntur.*³⁷ This zoomorphic background will become more explicit in the consideration of other early representations of Cernunnos.

When, after a long interval without preserved representations, the stag god once again appears in late La Tène art, his cross-legged pose has been crystallized, although he remains beardless. The famous interior plaque of a silver cauldron found at Gundestrup, Jutland (fig. 3)³⁸ shows him in the "tailors' seat." The hieratic

pose of his arms recalls the so-called *orans* attitude of the Val Camonica figure, as does the presence of two torques, one worn about his neck and the other held in his right hand. He has discarded his long chiton in favor of a close-fitting garment with long sleeves and short trousers. In his left hand Cernunnos holds the ram-headed serpent who is to be his frequent companion in the future; there is no longer any question as to the shape of his horns. Beside the divinity stands his archetype, a stag whose antlers are repeated in his own. Other smaller and less important animals—bulls, griffins, a hyena, and a dolphin ridden by a small, nude figure—are scattered through the field. Cernunnos is thus characterized as lord of the animals; only the bull and the stag survive in a limited number of Gallo-Roman monuments.

The most important problems raised by this repoussée plaque are the origin of the "posture accroupie" and the meaning of the ram-serpent. But it is first necessary to adduce a brief note on the date and provenance of this provocative work. The chronological range of the dates proposed for it encompasses ten centuries, from the fourth century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.³⁹ There is no less variety in the theories concerning the location of the workshop which

³⁴ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,³ 1, first chapters.

³⁵ *ARW* 19 (1916-19) 71-77.

³⁶ Proof that it is the stag who is most characteristic of this mummery is provided by Nilsson's texts, which express the custom as *cervulum et vetulum facere*, or *in cervulo et vetula vadere*.

³⁷ Fl. second half of the seventh century. Migne, *Pat. lat.* 89.93.

³⁸ Copenhagen, National Museum (reconstructed). Discovered in 1891. Repoussé silver plaques of a votive cauldron 0.69 m. in diameter and 0.42 m. deep. There is a round plaque which formed the bottom of the vessel; its major element is a large bull, seen from above, whose free-standing horns (now lost) were inserted into the relief. There are five interior reliefs showing cult scenes and seven exterior plaques (an eighth is missing) which represent busts of gods and goddesses. The latter were gilded and had inlaid eyes of blue paste. For theories that these busts may be identified with the divinities of the days of the week, see below, pp. 37-38 and note 149. Reinach, *Rép.* 1, pp. 141-150. The best illustrations are to be found in W. A. von Jenny, *Keltische Metallarbeiten*, pls. 20-27, 1

(Cernunnos plaque, pl. 24). The plaques measure 0.21-22 m. by 0.24-26 m.

³⁹ Fourth to third century B.C.: C. Könen, *BonnJbb* 102 (1898) 160-162; followed by S. Loeschke, *Röm.-germ. Korrespondenzblatt* 3 (1910) 45.

Second century B.C.: Shetelig and Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology* (1937) 402.

First century B.C.: Drexel, *JdI* 30 (1915) 1-36. S. Müller, "Det storer Soelukar fra Gundestrup i Jylland," *Nordiske Fortidsminder* 2, 1892, dated it at the very end of the first century B.C.; later (*Nordische Altertumskunde* 2 [1898] 160-174) he decided upon the first or second century A.D.; finally, he reverted to his original position, placing it at the turn of the millennium in *Urgeschichte Europas* (1905) 167 f.

First century A.D.: Bertrand, *La religion des Gaulois* 363-380; *RA* 1893, 1, pp. 283-291. Jullian, *REA* 10 (1908) 70-75. E. Cartailhac, *L'anthropologie* 5 (1894) 93-95 (probably beginning of our era, at the latest in the first century).

Second to third century A.D.: G. Kossinna, *Mannus* 2 (1910) 203-205; A. Voss, *Festschrift Adolf Bastian* (Berlin, 1896) 413; H. Hahne, *Das vorgeschichtliche*

produced the cauldron.⁴⁰ It is not possible to enter into detailed analysis of these diverse hypotheses. The conclusions of Friedrich Drexel are most acceptable and generally agreed upon today. Relationships to Pontic art pointed out by Drexel and Reinach⁴¹—although the latter insists upon a date in the early Middle Ages—and many obvious borrowings from both classical⁴² and Scytho-Sarmatian⁴³ art, establish that

the Celtic atelier responsible for this remarkable work was situated in the general area of the Black Sea, whence it would have been exported to the North. Certain internal details—for example, in one scene which represents a procession of warriors, the horsemen wear spurs, objects of material culture which did not come into use until the late La Tène period⁴⁴—preclude a dating before the late second or first century

Europa 71; Schumacher, *Verzeichnis der Germanen-Darstellungen* (Mainz, 1910) pp. 78–80, no. ph. 30; followed by F. Behn, *Mainzer Ztschr.* 7 (1912) 39. The foundation for these datings are a group of “Wochen-göttervasen” which have been dated in the third century A.D. If they are actually of that period, they follow the Celtic stylistic traditions seen in the Gundestrup vessel. The scholars listed here accept Müller’s comparison with these later monuments, as well as his identification of the Gundestrup divinities with the days of the week. This scarcely seems valid in view of the original number of plaques (eight). Schumacher and Behn must resort to an “older prototype” to explain the purely Celtic objects of material culture represented.

5th to 6th century A.D.: Reinach has often insisted upon a Viking origin for the Gundestrup cauldron (see in particular *Revue celtique* 25 [1904] 208–224). He maintains that the elephants which flank one goddess (von Jenny, pl. 26) reflect late antique ivory diptychs and that the griffin type is very close to those in the Norman reliefs of Bayeux Cathedral. Reinach overlooks the fact that myriad steppe motives and stylistic details persisted for centuries in the art of the migrations, and thus found their way into Viking and even Romanesque art. I am grateful to Dr. Salmony for having made many demonstrations of such survivals clear to me.

For a summary of these attempts at dating the vessel, together with other less important references, see the excellent article by Drexel, *op. cit.* 2–3.

⁴⁰ Until the publication of Drexel’s article, it was generally considered to have been produced in the region where it was found, Jutland. Following Müller, most scholars attributed it to the Cimbrians and their Germanic religion, despite such exclusive Celtic traits as the torques, to mention only one—Bertrand, *op. cit.* 283–291; Jullian, *loc. cit.*; R. Forrer, *Urgeschichte des Europäers* 547 f.

⁴¹ Drexel, *op. cit.* 12 ff. He suggests that the Scordisci may have been responsible for the work. Reinach, *Bull. archéol.* 1895, 41 f.

A. Voss (*op. cit.* 367–414) considered the cauldron a Pontic work, but attempted to relate it to the doc-

trines of Mithraism; O. Wulff, *Jahrbuch d. k. preuss. Kunstsaml.* 24 (1903) 214–241, follows this interpretation.

Drexel’s theories are now generally accepted—cf. the handbook of Shetelig and Falk 189.

An interesting addition to the bibliography cited is the Buddhist interpretation of Japetus S. Steenstrup, *Kongeligt Dansk Videnskabernes Selskab Skrifter* (Raekke 6, Hist.-fil.-Afd.) 3, no. 4. He appears as a nineteenth century intellectual forerunner of MacKenzie.

⁴² Among the most obvious are the little figure riding a dolphin on the Cernunnos plaque, a group of “Hercules” fighting a lion, a winged horse, and a hippocamp, as well as one female divinity holding a bird who seems derived from an ancient Aphrodite type.

⁴³ Elements such as the pock-marked bodies of certain animals, the griffin’s wings set on backwards, and striations in alternate directions. Celtic art is in general very rich in steppe elements, among them contorted animals with foliate lips, faceted planes, and technical peculiarities of gold filigree work, features absorbed by Celtic tribes which came in contact with the Sarmatians and were ultimately accepted by their kinsmen in the West. Again, I am indebted to Dr. Salmony for having pointed out to me many facets of this phenomenon.

⁴⁴ For example, in one scene which represents a procession of warriors (von Jenny, pl. 23), the horsemen wear spurs, objects of material culture which did not come into use until the late La Tène period—Drexel, *op. cit.* 7–8. The subject matter is another proof of the Celtic origin of the work, since it refers to a sacrifice to Teutates, the large priest thrusting a figure head down into a deep bowl seeming almost an illustration to the text of a scholiast on Lucan: *Teutates Mercurius sic apud Gallos placatur; in plenum semicupium homo in caput demittitur, ut ibi suffocetur.* Drexel (p. 11) also cites this passage, but does not discuss the problem of an incorrect identification with Mercury. In recent years it has become increasingly clear through inscriptions and monuments that Teutates is to be regarded as the Celtic equivalent to

B.C. On the other hand, those who see elements of the Middle Ages in the style cannot explain the survival of purely Celtic features of costume and equipment⁴⁵ by a persistent tradition of Celtic mythology. The most satisfactory dating is that educed by Drexel, from 100 B.C. to 50 A.D., with a preference for the earlier part of this period.⁴⁶

There have been many and varied discussions concerning the ultimate source of the "tailors' seat" and the explanation for the occurrence of the motive in Gallo-Roman sculpture. Exponents of a theory of purely autonomous development follow the argument of Robert Mowat⁴⁷ who, proposing the term "posture gauloise" to replace "posture indienne" or "boudhique" current in the nineteenth century, explained it as a fortuitous result of the fact, attested by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus,⁴⁸ that the ancient Gauls were accustomed to sit upon the ground rather than upon stools or chairs. He maintained that the adaptation of this national characteristic to Cernunnos was understandable within an

identification of the god with Dis Pater, mentioned by Caesar as the divine ancestor of the Celts.⁴⁹ In recent years Mowat has been followed by Jacobsthal,⁵⁰ by Lambrechts,⁵¹ and by Drexel,⁵² who imagines that a Greek artist created the Cernunnos image for the Celts, utilizing a posture which he associated with the "barbarians" as well as antlers borrowed from Actaeon, the Greek hero whose transformation into a stag is symbolized by this detail. Such transference from an alleged ethnological peculiarity cannot be accepted in art-historical terms, particularly when our catalogue indicates that the pose cannot be proved exclusive to Cernunnos or when one of the earliest representations of the god, the rock carving of Val Camonica, does not show it.

A group of modern studies carries on the nineteenth century researches of A. Bertrand,⁵³ who was the most vociferous advocate of direct or indirect influence from India, not merely confining this influence to the artistic realm⁵⁴ but seeing in the "Buddhist" pose an attitude

Mars. This assimilation of a native god to more than one Roman divinity is, however, typical for Gaul and Germany, as will be indicated below.

⁴⁵ Namely, in the procession of warriors, the carnyx, the horned helmets, and the shields—Drexel, p. 11. Bertrand utilized analogies with the armor reliefs on the arch at Orange as support for his theory of Cimbrian origin for the Gundestrup vessel, studying the arms and claiming that only the Cimbrians continued to use this type, which was accepted by the Romans as Gaulish equipment *par excellence*—*RA* 1894, 1, pp. 152–169.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* 14–18. He compares three silver *phalerae* which he connects with the Temple of Artemis Tauropolis in Comana Pontica and with dedications by Mithradates Eupator. In the Vienna Hofmuseum is a fragmentary silver sheet from a find in Csora, Siebenbürgen. Other objects in the find suggest a date about the turn of the Christian era. The two figures represented on this piece bear some relation to the Gundestrup divinities (*ibid.* 8); the style is cruder, however, and cannot be used as an absolute chronological indication for the Gundestrup cauldron. Cf. Petersen, *Archaeologiai értesítő* 1893, 199–202.

⁴⁷ *Bull. épigr.* 1 (1881) 116; 3 (1883) 171 f.

⁴⁸ Strabo 4. 4. 3; Diodorus 5. 28. 4.

⁴⁹ At the end of the present article relationships to Dis Pater will be approached from an entirely different direction.

⁵⁰ *Early Celtic Art* 1, p. 6, citing H. Möbius *AM* 50 (1925) 47.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.* 60.

⁵² *Röm.-germ. Komm. Bericht* 14 (1922) 20.

⁵³ *RA* 1880, 2, p. 31; *ibid.* 1882, 1, p. 322. Cf. H. Galiment, *Revue mensuelle de l'école d'anthropologie de Paris* 6 (1896) 45–50, who argues against Bertrand. In the main, he follows Mowat, but pleads for a more general term than his "posture gauloise."

⁵⁴ At about the same date, Gaidoz called attention (*RA* 1881, 1, pp. 193–300) to Bactrian coins of the first century B.C., on which King Maues and his successors are represented in the same cross-legged posture; these he offered as the numismatic mediators between India and Gaul. With the Bactrian examples he compared as a direct imitation the Celtic coin type already mentioned (see note 9), going so far as to accept the boar on the reverse as a barbarian degeneration of an elephant on the Bactrian prototypes! A similar and even more far-fetched explanation was offered by E. Fourdrignier, *Bull. d. l. soc. d'anthropologie de Paris* 10 (1899) 149–150, 160–162. For the Celtic coin he sought a prototype in coins of Caesar with an elephant raising its trunk. The Celts, he believed, made the elephant into a boar, taking his trunk and putting it into the field above him (the horned serpent!).

For the Bactrian coins, see A. von Sallet, *ZfN* 6 (1879) 165–231, 271–411. The type begins with Maues

perhaps required in certain mystery rites introduced into Gaul at some undetermined date.

Among more recent heirs to this line of investigation is G. Supka,⁵⁵ whose article on Buddhist motives in the art of the migrations period includes discussion of two of our monuments, a statuary group from Saintes (figs. 9–10) and a copper statuette from Bouray (fig. 2).⁵⁶ His comparison of the latter with a Gupta piece of 448 A.D. (“not much later”) is a result of Supka’s misunderstanding of the primitive character of provincial art for “Late Antique” abstraction. The Bouray statuette retains so much of pure La Tène style, particularly in the head with its hair combed down evenly in all directions from a central point and the swelling of the individual hatched locks,⁵⁷ that it cannot be dated very far into the Roman period.

The most impressive exponent of the theory of

Indian origin for the “tailors’ seat” is Hans Berstl, who has traced an alleged westward diffusion of the “yogi motive” about the turn of the Christian era.⁵⁸ The most valuable contribution of his study has been a clarification of the role played by certain Graeco-Egyptian terracottas in the spread of the cross-legged pose into Gaul. Late Hellenistic and Roman figurines illustrate the use of this posture for “Klagefrauen,”⁵⁹ for female figures who often hold grapes and a pomegranate,⁶⁰ or for representations of Isis nursing Horus⁶¹ of which similar examples are known from ateliers in Gaul. Although all these terracottas belong in the realm of minor, and more or less folk art, it is entirely possible that the motive existed in more monumental art within the complex of the mystery cults of Demeter in Greece and of Isis in Egypt.⁶² Whether or not these Egyptian statu-

c. 100 B.C. (?) and culminates in the coins of King Kanishka. The pose seems to be a royal symbol until Kanishka’s mintings appear with the representation of Buddha. Buddha was first represented anthropomorphically after the first century A.D., but many scholars, including Berstl, assume that his characteristic posture had its prototypes in figures of teachers and in the long history of the yogi pose for contemplation. The main art historical argument for these theories seems to be the “artistic intensity of later Indian monuments”—Berstl, *Jahrbuch d. asiatisch. Kunst* 1 (1924) 168. On the origin of the Buddha image, see Coomaraswamy, *Art Bulletin* 9 (1926–27) 287–328, who reproduces all the coins in question. Coomaraswamy argues against the over-emphasis on Greek stimulation of Indian art as contained in the works of Foucher.

⁵⁵ *Monatshefte f. Kunstwiss.* 10 (1917) 217–237; pls. 24–32.

⁵⁶ This he compares with a Graeco-Buddhist work of “about” the first century A.D., a statuary group from Sahri-Bahlol which represents Kuwera, a god of wealth who holds a purse, and Hâriti, a goddess of plenty and of childbirth. The Indian sculpture does indeed bear a strong similarity, only one of the many striking analogies between Gallo-Roman art and the art of India for which no satisfactory explanation has yet been offered (cf. Foucher, “Le couple tutélaire dans la Gaule et dans l’Inde,” *RA* 1912, 2, pp. 341–349). The chronological priority would appear to be with Gaul; Supka’s lack of knowledge of Gallo-Roman art or its chronology invalidates his conclusions of Indian influence. Furthermore, he tortures not only chronology

but style as well in defining the Bouray statuette as a pasticcio which combines a Buddhist torso, carried from India into Gaul, with a “Gaulish” head (*op. cit.* 219–220. Cf. H. de Villefosse in *Mémoires d. l. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France* 72 [1912] 246). There is nothing in this figure of the rich, amorphous plasticity of Indian sculpture, whereas the proportion of head to body, the flatness of the torso, or the patterned incision of buttocks and shoulder-blades can be closely paralleled in Celtic work.

⁵⁷ For the hair style, one may compare various decorative masks on La Tène vessels or appliqué plaques—Jacobsthal, *Celtic Art*, plates. One of the most salient characteristics of Celtic ornament is the plastic swelling of individual elements in precisely this manner.

⁵⁸ *Jb. asiat. Kunst* 1924, 165–190; pls. 99–106.

⁵⁹ One example cited by Berstl, in Frankfurt, bears a striking resemblance to the Celtic coin type already mentioned, with its hands raised to its hair. See Kaufmann, *Koroplastik*, pl. 37, fig. 297, p. 115. He calls it a “Kinder-orans” and states that the type, naked as well as clothed, appears in the Fayum from at least the beginning of the third century B.C.

⁶⁰ Weber, *Die ägypt.-griech. Terrakotten* (Berlin) pls. 22 f., nos. 219–20, 222–26, 228–29, 231, 233. These figurines seem to belong, in the main, to Roman times.

⁶¹ Berstl reproduces an excellent example (pl. 103, 3). Cf. J. Vogt, *Terrakotten . . . Samml. Ernst von Sieglin*, pt. 2, pl. VIII, 3–4. A similar type is used for Bubastis.

⁶² One recalls a small frieze in the House of the Dioscuri at Pompeii which shows Demeter seated in



FIG. 5. TRICEPHALIC GOD FROM CONDAT. BORDEAUX MUSEUM.



FIG. 6. BRONZE STATUETTE. BRITISH MUSEUM (Lantier)



FIG. 7 BRONZE STATUETTE. ST-GERMAIN-EN-LAYE.



FIG. 8. TRICEPHALIC CIPPUS. REIMS.

ettes depend upon India, as Berstl contends, and despite the documented penetration of the Isis cult into Gaul and Germany,⁶³ there is evidence that the influences which acted on Cernunnos representations antedate considerably such modifications.

Crucial monuments in this entire problem are statuary fragments from La Roquepertuse, near Velaux in southern France.⁶⁴ If these statues⁶⁵ do not represent Cernunnos, they must be connected with his cult. It is possible that they are figures of priests seated in the cross-legged pose which their divinity normally assumed. The portico of the sanctuary displays sculptures of decapitated heads walled into niches in its pillars,⁶⁶ a feature which seems eminently suited to the decoration of a precinct of a chthonic god such as Cernunnos will be shown to be. Paintings of birds, fish, horses, plants, and other ornaments on the same pillars are more consistent with his fertility aspects.⁶⁷ In the absence of their heads, however, one cannot be certain of the identification of the cross-legged figures set up within the

sacred enclosure.

Salomon Reinach was the first to date these sculptures in the fifth century B.C.,⁶⁸ and on the basis of their stylistic peculiarities founded his theory that "le pose accroupi" was infused into both Indian and Celtic art by archaic Ionian prototypes.⁶⁹ Although these particular statues are without precise analogies, there is considerable justification for Reinach's chronology. Other sculptures from the precinct are consistent with better known categories of early La Tène monumental style; the pottery of the site has been dated from c. 600 to the second century B.C. (no differentiation has been made, however, between finds from the sanctuary itself and from the remainder of the plateau);⁷⁰ and the swastika ornament is a common motive of the geometric wave which enjoyed prolonged popularity in later decorative art. A degree of Greek influence is no less supportable,⁷¹ nor is it surprising in this region around the Ionian colony of Massalia. Acroteria on two of the statue bases are tangible details,⁷² and there is something in the plastic

a modified cross-legged pose near a well and receiving water from a shepherd—Curtius, *Wandmalerei*, fig. 181 ("die irrende Demeter"). This painting is often referred to as "The Return of Odysseus," an interpretation patently inconsistent with the representation.

⁶³ Berstl, *op. cit.* 167 and note 6. Cf. A. Erman, *Die ägypt. Religion* 254–255; H. Schaaffhausen, *Bonner Jahrb.* 76 (1883) 31–62. It is generally considered that the Isis cult was introduced via Marseille and made its way up the Rhone valley to the Rhineland, where Tacitus already documents its presence in the early first century A.D.

⁶⁴ See our catalogue B, no 5. The best reproductions are to be found in Jacobsthal, *ECA* 2, pls. 3–4, no. 4, A–C. In the text (pp. 5 f.) he presents a valuable summation of previous discussions.

⁶⁵ Bertrand assigned these squatting images to his sphere of Indian influence about the date of Christ's birth, citing not only the pose but also the "blessing" gesture of the hand and the swastika ornament (*RA* 1882, 1, pp. 321 ff.). Although the sanctuary and its monuments plead for renewed study, investigations which have been made indicate that these statues date well before the crystallization of the "yogi" pose in Indian sculpture, even if this can be accepted for the third century B.C. with Berstl and Coomaraswamy.

⁶⁶ Lantier, *AA* 44 (1929) 291. Cf. Gerin-Ricard,

Provincia, 8 (1928) p. 58. Benoit, *L'art primitif méditerranéen* 34–36 and plates. For the cult of the decapitated head in Gaul, see Reinach, *Revue celtique* 1913, 38–60, 253–286, with literary sources cited (note particularly Livy 23.24 and *CIL* XII 1077).

⁶⁷ Lantier, *op. cit.* 286, fig. 2.

⁶⁸ *CRAI* 1901, 1, p. 281. Cf. Lantier, *op. cit.* 287: between fifth and second century B.C.

⁶⁹ *Cultes, mythes* 4 pp. 64–66. Reinach had previously (*Bronzes* fig. 17, 191) admitted influence from the Egyptian scribe-god, Imhotep, although there could be no connection in concept or meaning between Egyptian scribes and Cernunnos.

For theories of "Celto-Ligurian" or "Greco-Ligurian" style in connection with these statues and others from southern France, see Reinach, *CRAI* 1901, 281; Gerin-Ricard and d'Agnel, *Antiquités . . . Vallée de l'Arc en Provence, passim*; Éesperandieu, *MonPiot* 30 (1929) 69–76; and, especially, the recent study by Benoit, *op. cit.*, for the stylistic community of Spain, southern France, and Italy.

⁷⁰ Gerin-Ricard, *Provincia* 1928, 58. Cf. Benoit, *op. cit.* 28, for the opinion that the sanctuary of Roquepertuse is not earlier than the fourth or even third century B.C.

⁷¹ Jacobsthal, *ECA* 3. He also dates the sanctuary in the fourth century B.C.

⁷² *Ibid.* 6. Lantier, *AA* 1929, 286.

yet unarticulated volumes of these figures which corresponds to Ionic archaic style. Reinach's hypothesis is supported by minor finds within the regions dominated by Eastern Greek civilization which reveal the cross-legged pose or modifications of it. Terracottas from Cyprus,⁷³ Cyrenaica,⁷⁴ and Punic Carthage,⁷⁵ however, indicate that a Phoenecian stratum underlay the "Ionic" development. On the other hand, it is true that one cannot point to a single example of the pose in monumental Greek sculpture of any period.⁷⁶

To my mind, the most judicious explanation of the parallels between India and Gaul in the matter of the cross-legged pose would be as follows. A hieratic use of the posture is documented for the early dynasties of Ur.⁷⁷ Seals and other objects of minor art from both Sumer and such Indian sites as Harappa and Mohenjodaro illustrate the diffusion of the motive in the Indo-Sumerian art of the third millennium.⁷⁸ Once introduced into India it probably persisted in those spheres indicated by Coomaraswamy

until its adoption for official Buddha images in the first century A.D. From the same Near Eastern tradition the motive may have both spread into Egypt and survived to form one of the oriental elements in the Phoenecian-Ionic art which Reinach cites. In any case, it is clear that it is not to India that one must turn for the sources of Cernunnos' posture. When the archaeology of the Celtic kingdom established in Galatia in the third century B.C. is scientifically explored, new light may be cast on other enigmatic relationships between the later art of Gaul and India and potential artistic currents flowing from West to East.

The second problem posed by the Gundestrup cauldron is the significance of the ram-headed serpent. This vessel provides our most explicit evidence that the hybrid reptile, although he frequently accompanies Cernunnos, is more than an attribute of that divinity and cannot be contained exclusively within his religious circle.⁷⁹ Two other interior plaques show the same

⁷³ Winter, *Typen* 2, pl. 11, no. 7. See also, Collignon, *Hist. sc. gr.* 1, p. 15, fig. 4. A modification of the cross-legged pose, based on prototypes in Egyptian art, is very common in Cypriote figurines: the right leg is bent under the body in approved fashion, but the left is more vertical—E. Curtius, *Atlas, Cesnola Coll.* 1, pl. 130–132; 2, pl. 36, 44. The same posture is seen in reliefs from Carthage (see below, note 75), and is not absent among the "statues accroupies" published by Éesperandieu (cf. E. II, no. 1626, a statuette in stone from Vichy in the Museum of Moulins).

⁷⁴ Winter, *op. cit.* 2, pl. 270, 3 (a child with crossed legs and raised arms, in the Louvre).

⁷⁵ Reinach (review, *RA* 1884, 2, p. 385, of E. de Ste-Marie, *Mission à Carthage*) mentions a figurine of a woman seated cross-legged, holding grapes in one hand and a dove in the other. A partial tailors' seat is seen in votive stelae from Carthage which represent a nude child holding an "apple" (the object seems rather to be a disc and crescent, a motive which appears in the pediments of these small reliefs). One of these bears an inscription to the great Tanit and to Baal Ammon—Berger, *Musée . . . de Carthage* (Mus. et coll. de l'Algérie, 8), pl. 1, 4; p. 13, no. 6.

⁷⁶ A life-size statue of a squatting "slave" discovered at Halicarnassos was certainly not executed for the Mausoleum in the fourth century B.C., as Möbius has maintained (*AM* 41 [1916] 209 f.; *ibid.* 50 [1925] 45–50). His fourth century dating follows that of Maiuri; a more convincing suggestion, in view

of the insensitive repetition of drapery folds and emphasis upon patterned contrasts of light and shade, is that of Karo (*AM* 45 [1920] 160), who places it in the second century A.D. The statue is of island marble and measures 0.77 m. in height.

It is interesting to note that Pan, one Greek divinity who is comparable to Cernunnos in his resistance to anthropomorphization, is shown seated cross-legged on certain Attic fourth century nymph reliefs: Ilissos relief in Berlin (*Beschreibung*, no. 709; Rodenwaldt, *AM* 37 [1912] 147, fig. 4); Parnes relief (Svoronos, *Nat.-Mus.* 1, pl. 74, no. 1448). Möbius (*AM* 1925, 45) cites these, together with an example from Vari where the legs are not crossed.

⁷⁷ Woolley, *Development of Sumerian Art*, p. 90 f.; his plate 47a reproduces the first dynasty statue of Kur-lil in the British Museum (Budge, *Guide* 57, pl. xxii).

⁷⁸ An interesting blue faience tablet from Mohenjodaro is published by Marshall, *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India* 1924–25, 61 f. He argues that it represents a deity rather than a king, because the cross-legged figure is flanked by two worshippers and there is a snake beside him.

⁷⁹ Cf. Reinach, *Bronzes fig.* 195 ff., with a catalogue of the major monuments. Elsewhere (*RA* 1891, 1, pp. 1–6; 1897, 2, pp. 315–326) he contended that on a much disputed "altar" from Mavilly (E III, no. 2067) the ram-serpent represented with twelve gods of the Roman pantheon stands for the entire Celtic pan-

composite serpent; in one instance he is associated with a god who holds the sacred cosmic wheel,⁸⁰ in another with a sacrifice and procession of warriors which relate to Teutates.⁸¹ Among Gallo-Roman monuments the same animal is twice represented with the Celtic Mars or a person in military dress,⁸² and several times as an attribute of Mercury.⁸³ He appears alone as an heraldic symbol on certain Celtic coins discovered in Württemberg, Bavaria, Saxony and Bohemia.⁸⁴ Forrer illustrates examples which indicate that the obverses of these concave, gold coins originally bore imitations of the likeness of Philip of Macedon, but that the portrait was gradually eliminated in successive castings.⁸⁵ In a monograph on the type written in the 1860's,⁸⁶ Streber classified the impressions known at that time, dividing them into seven major groups. In the first group belong those with the device of a large serpent coiled about the outer circumference of the coin, a serpent with the head either of a lion or, more usually, of a ram.

From these various advices it appears that the ram-serpent is an independent Celtic divinity or semi-divinity which may share in the cult of

several other gods. Its meaning is certainly to be sought in the chthonic sphere, since the snake is the animal *par excellence* of the underworld among myriad peoples and theological systems. It is also probable that in Gaul "the ram was associated as a sacrificial animal with the cult of fire on the hearth, and by an easy transition was connected with the cult of the dead there."⁸⁷ Ram figurines are found in ancient tombs and frequent among Celtic remains in Gaul are clay andirons which terminate in rams' heads.⁸⁸ The combination of ram and serpent is, then, an entirely logical syncretism which produced a chthonic emblem for the Celts. Its association with Cernunnos on the Gundestrup plaque is our first intimation of a second aspect of that divinity which will be fully elaborated in discussion of the monuments of the Roman period: his dominion over the world of the dead.

On the other hand, the ram's head probably has implications of fertility too. The ancient Greek reverence of the ram in Arcadia⁸⁹ and its adaptation as the cult animal of Hermes may be rooted in something deeper than mere animal husbandry. One wishes that Pausanias had felt

theon. The interpretation of the other figures is debated, however, and there is little justification for this assumption.

⁸⁰ von Jenny, pl. 25.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* pl. 23. See above, note 44.

⁸² On the Mavilly altar cited above, and on a stele from Vignory in the Langres Museum (E IV, no. 3219). The latter is a very small relief (Ht: 0.43 m.; W.: 0.19 m.) which represents a male personage wearing a tunic and scaled skirt. He is crowned with a three-pointed diadem and holds a ram-headed serpent in his right hand. E. Flouest (*RA* 1884, 2, pp. 285-298) attempted to relate it to Mithraism, but there are no analogies for either the figure or its strange costume.

⁸³ The most explicit association occurs on an unusual relief in the Beauvais Museum (E V, no. 3919 with bibliography). On the main face stands a bearded Mercury, characterized by his winged petasos, purse and caduceus. On the lateral surfaces appear horned serpents, dolphins and pateras. The inscription is modern—de Ricci, *RA* 1899, 2, pp. 103 ff.; Reinach, *Catalogue*. . . S. Germain 1926, p. 91, fig. 78.

⁸⁴ de Longpérier, *Oeuvres* 3, pp. 18-28; pls. 1-11 (*RevNum* 1863, 141-151). Note that one example from Gagers near Munich has the head of a deer seen frontally (*RevNum* pl. v, 22; Blanchet, *Traité* 446).

⁸⁵ *Kelt. Num.* pl. xxvi, p. 34, fig. 65. Streber (cf. *infra*) considered them independent of Macedonian coinage because their weight is not connected with that of Philip's staters. Longpérier, however, pointed out (*op. cit.* 22) that the weight is the same as the Roman aureus of the last two centuries of the Republic; this does not invalidate the artistic influence from Macedonia.

⁸⁶ "Über diesogenannten Regenbogen-Schüsselchen," (*Abh. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch.* IX, 1, 3, 1860-62). These were in former times the object of peasant superstitions; the belief that they were deposited from rain clouds at the moment when a rainbow appeared is reflected in the numismatic terms, *l'arc-en-ciel*, *scutellae iridis*, etc.

⁸⁷ MacCulloch, *Religion of Anc. Celts* 34 and 166 f.

⁸⁸ Déchelette, *RA* 1898, 2, pp. 63-81, 245-262. "Le rôle du bélier dans la religion des morts tend à faire assigner au serpent à tête de bélier une place parmi les divinités funéraires"—*ibid.* 261. The excavations of Mont Beuvray have provided evidence for sepulture beneath the hearth of dwelling places (cf. J. G. Bulliot, *Fouilles de Mont Beuvray*, 1, p. 396).

⁸⁹ Lamb, *Bronzes* 92. In Athens there is a bronze group from Methydriion which shows ram-shaped upright figures dancing in a circle—*AA* 1912, 38.

free to relate what he knew "of the story told at the mysteries of the Mother about Hermes and the ram."⁹⁰ But there exist prophylactic reliefs showing Hermes with a phallus which terminates in a ram's head. One of these has been discovered in Delos.⁹¹ Another from Durazzo, in Albania, represents Hermes *phallophoros*. Picard has demonstrated⁹² that the earlier descriptions of this as Hermes carrying an enormous serpent slung over a staff balanced on his shoulder are incorrect. The "serpent" passes between his legs and is actually formed of the two parts of double genitalia, horned like the Delos example. Recalling the ithyphallic worshipper beside Cernunnos in the Val Camonica carving and anticipating Mercury's association with him on Gallo-Roman monuments, it is tempting to consider these concepts of fecundity as contributing factors in the formation of the Celtic ram-serpent.

From what source the Celts derived the particular iconography of this hybrid serpent remains obscure. In all likelihood it is to be added to the long list of motives from the art of the steppe peoples which were accepted by La Tène craftsmen. Those eastern nomads also disseminated certain artistic conventions into the Far East and it is, therefore, not too surprising to find the ram-horned serpent in the repertoire of the bronze-workers of the Chou period in China.⁹³ In the classical world one is reminded

of the Orphic literature which tells of the horned serpent Zagreus,⁹⁴ born of Persephone and Zeus and later rent by the Titans in his bull manifestation. His cult, eventually absorbed by the legends of Dionysos' birth,⁹⁵ was centered in the Thracian region with which the Celts living on the shores of the Black Sea were in close contact. The extraordinary reverence of the serpent and of the *ovum anguinum* (as related by Pliny)⁹⁶ among the inhabitants of Gaul may be an independent development, but there is at least some possibility that their ram-headed serpent has connections with Greek mythology.

Consideration of pre-Roman representations of Cernunnos has permitted certain general conclusions concerning the origin of the god from a very ancient Celtic stag deity, although he was fully emancipated from this zoolatrous background by at least the fourth century B.C. It has been suggested that his characteristic cross-legged posture probably evolved from prototypes to be sought in the East Mediterranean world and which could have penetrated Gaul by two routes, through the Greek colonies of southern France, or through the Black Sea region where far-flung Celtic tribes maintained communication with their kinsmen in the West. The same limited monuments have shown that Cernunnos' primary interpretation is to be connected with the fertility of nature, generation of

⁹⁰ 3.3.3. τὸν δὲ ἐν τελετῇ Μητρὸς ἐπὶ Ἑρμῇ λεγόμενον καὶ τῷ κριῶ λόγον ἐπιστάμενος οὐ λέγω.

⁹¹ J. Chamonard, *BCH* 30 (1906) 589, fig. 37.

⁹² Picard, *Albania* 2 (1927) 24-27. The relief is in the Museum at Tirana. Ht: 1.80 m.; W: 0.60 m. Picard dates it "not before the epoch of the colony of Augustus." I have discussed this relief with M. Leon Rey, and owe to his kindness my knowledge of a bronze figurine for suspension in Naples which represents Hermes with double phallus and rams' heads as well as with pendant bells—C. F., *Musée royal de Naples, peintures, bronzes et statues érotiques du Cabinet secret* (Paris 1836) pl. xxiii, p. 27.

⁹³ I owe this information to Dr. Salmony. For one example, see Koop, *Chinese Bronzes*, pl. 8.

⁹⁴ Cf. Reinach, "Le serpent Zagreus et le serpent cornu celtique," *CRAI* 1899, 455; "Zagreus, le serpent cornu," *RA* 1899, 2, pp. 210-217. His theories that Zagreus was a horned serpent have been opposed by several scholars—see Schmidt, Roscher's *Lexicon* 6,

col. 535. But many texts speak of Zagreus as horned and indicate that Persephone and Zeus assumed the form of serpents during his conception. Nonnos, VI, 169 lists among the forms of Zagreus "δράκων ἐλέλικτο κεράστῃς." Classical references to Zagreus are collected in C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*.

⁹⁵ Might not the fact that Dionysos is frequently represented with ram's horns be taken as an indication that the little horns of Zagreus (Nonnos 6.165: κρόεν βρέφος), his prototype, were also those of a ram? The ram is important in the Sabazius and Cabiric cults of the same Thracian region; see the coins in Münzer and Strack, *Münzen von Thrakien*, pt. 1, p. 81, no. 132, pl. II, 25; p. 191, no. 378, pl. v, 16-17; p. 192, no. 379, pl. v, 18. For rams' heads on Bacchic sarcophagi, see Lehmann-Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi* 22 and note 32.

⁹⁶ Pliny, 29.12. The edition of Bostock (1856) has very complete notes to this passage.

the fruits of the earth and the fecundity of men and animals. On the other hand, in a process which can be paralleled in many religions, "the god, who had at first been earth itself, then a being living below the surface and causing fertility . . . became a divinity of the dead when the multitude of graves had become a wide subterranean region."⁹⁷ This is expressed through his association with the Celtic symbol of the cult of the dead, the ram-horned serpent. In the same manner, the Greek Pluto often retains emblems of control over the abundance of the soil in such attributes as the cornucopia.⁹⁸

To expand our knowledge of Cernunnos, the monuments from the first years of Roman hegemony in Gaul—from Caesar's conquest in 50 B.C. through the organization and consolidation by Augustus and his successors—should prove to be the least corrupt source of information after those of the La Tène period. The difficul-

ties entailed in dating Gallo-Roman sculpture, however, reduce the effectiveness of this approach. There are nevertheless certain works which may be placed in this era, since they represent a patent survival of Celtic traditions, and we are fortunate in possessing one securely dated monument about which other sculptures may be grouped. This is the "altar" in the Cluny Museum, already mentioned as our only evidence for Cernunnos' name (fig. 1).

The quadrangular block is one of four discovered together beneath the choir of Notre-Dame in Paris,⁹⁹ all of which are important sources for Celtic mythology, since they belong to a formative stage of classical syncretism, representing indigenous divinities in the company of Graeco-Roman ones. Dating of the entire group is based on close stylistic relationships among the reliefs¹⁰⁰ and analogies in the epigraphic rendering of the preserved inscriptions

⁹⁷ MacCulloch, *op. cit.* 345.

⁹⁸ For example: a relief in the Palazzo Albani representing Jupiter, Pluto, Neptune and two goddesses; Pluto carries a cornucopia and patera (Zoega, *Basirilevi* 1, pl. 1. See Scherer and Drexler, "Hades," Roscher's *Lexicon* 1², col. 1802. Cf. also a red-figured vase from Nola representing Pluto, Hebe and Eurydice, Pluto with a cornucopia filled with grapes—Lenormant and de Witte, *Cabinet de feu . . . E. Durand*, Paris, Feb. 1836, p. 60, no. 201.

⁹⁹ The initial publication, at the time of their discovery in the eighteenth century when the king wished to erect an altar and the canons of the church determined to move the crypt to the choir, is Baudelot de Derval, *Description des bas-reliefs anciens trouvez dans l'Eglise cathédrale de Paris* (Paris 1711). Éspérandieu (IV.217) misquotes from this source concerning a "sixth" sculpture, actually the leg of a figure found with the four blocks.

The most important bibliographical items follow: Montfaucon, 2, 423 and pl. cxc, 1–4; J. G. Keyser, *Antiquitates selectae septentrionalis et celticae* (Hannover 1720) 366–377, pl. XIII (with an interesting eighteenth century philological discussion deriving the German name for the month of February, *Hornung*, from Cernunnos); Mowat, *Bull. épig.* 1 (1881) 23–31, 49–70, 111–129; 3 (1883) 130–136, 162–174; du Sommerard, *Catalogue . . . Cluny*⁴, pp. 3 f., nos. 1–4; E. Desjardins, *Géographie hist. et administ. de la Gaule*, 3, 260–268; Jullian and Pachtère, *REA* 9 (1907) 263 f.; pls. xi–xiv; Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine*, 103–110, pls. xi–xv; Koepp, *BonnJbb* 125,

1919 (art. "Ogmios," Pls.). See our Catalogue C, no. 3.

There is great need for a monographic study of these monuments which would permit reconstruction of the whole. The correspondence in size argues against their being separate "altars," as they are called. An intensive study would establish correct inter-relations among the various figures also. I am grateful to M. Montremy, formerly director of the Cluny Museum, for having permitted me to examine the blocks at a time when the museum was still closed and in war-time disruption, although protective coverings prevented a detailed study. Since each block is sculptured on all sides, it is impossible to combine them in a reconstruction unless it be one atop another. There seem to be shallow holes in the center of their rough upper surfaces which would indicate that something was fixed on top of them. I have considered the possibility of their being column postaments from the sanctuary which must have existed on the spot. Mowat (*op. cit.* 27) compared the situation of the sanctuary at the "prow" of the Ile de la Cité with the position of a Mercury temple at the point of the island on which ancient Melun was built, also superseded by a church dedicated to Notre-Dame.

¹⁰⁰ In profile figures the eyes are consistently rendered in full view, as in Egyptian art; the figures are allowed to expand beyond their frames; the head types are very similar throughout and every bearded figure shows a sharp demarcation of this feature from full cheeks above; in many figures a peculiar drapery pattern appears which, in a two-dimensional sense,



FIG. 9. STATUARY GROUP FROM SAINTES.
ST-GERMAIN-EN-LAYE.



FIG. 10. RELIEF ON REVERSE OF STATUARY
GROUP FROM SAINTES.

with a long dedication inscribed on one of the four stones. In rather halting Latin this records the dedication by *Nautae Parisiaci* to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and to the emperor Tiberius.¹⁰¹ The remaining three faces of this key block form artistically one unit, with a procession of

armed figures carrying a large "torque" (the size rather suggests a *cornu*) to Tiberius.¹⁰²

The second of the stones is in the best condition, bearing fully preserved and labeled figures of *Iovis*, *Esus*, *Taurus Trigaranus* and *Volcanus*.¹⁰³ The third has a pair of divinities on each

resembles plaiting; all display a very plastic but non-skeletal modelling, and the arms may be bent into impossible gestures as if constructed of rubber; finally, the postures of *Esus* and *Smertullos* are the same.

¹⁰¹ *CIL*, XIII 3026c: TIB(erio) CAESARE (sic) AVG(usto), IOVI OPTVMO MAXSVMO [su]M[mo?], NAVTAE PARISIACI PVBLICE POSIERVN[T].

¹⁰² Above the armed figures carrying the large circlet appears the inscription, EVRISES; above other figures in long draperies appears SENANI VSEILONI////. Since there are six of the former, three bearded and three clean-shaven, Mowat (*op. cit.* 54) suggested that they represent junior and senior *Seviri Augustae*; their name he related to the Celtic *ieuru*, expressing the votive idea. At Lyon the corporation of *Nautae* provided also the *Seviri* who presided in the emperor cult — Grenier, *Manuel d'archéol. gallo-romaine*, 2, 554. For the distinction between *Naviculari* and *Nautae* as well as the organization of the *collegia*, cf. Bonnard, *Navigation intérieure de la Gaule*, 174 ff. For the relation between the *Nautae Parisiaci* and the Gallo-Roman baths of the Cluny Museum, see *ibid.*

90 and the recent study of the ship-prow consoles by P.-M. Duval, *Gallia* 5, 1 (1947) 123–142. It is entirely possible that the baths are part of a larger complex, the *Schola* of the corporation.

¹⁰³ Both *Esus* and *Taurus Trigaranus* present many problems of interpretation. They merit a separate study which cannot be undertaken here. *Esus*, according to one scholiast on Lucan, is equivalent to the Roman Mercury — see Ihm, *RE* 6 cols. 694–696. Lehner, in a discussion of a votive monument from Trier (cf. below, n. 105) accepts the identification with Mercury. As Ihm points out, however, the main relief of the Trier stone with *Esus* on one side represents Mercury and *Rosmerta*; it is unlikely that the same god would appear twice. On the other hand, *Esus* might have some connections with one specific function of Mercury. Mowat considered him as a form of *Silvanus*, because he is shown hewing a tree (*op. cit.* 62–65). The divinity may be one of the many ill-defined Celtic gods who created so much difficulty for Roman assimilation, possibly sharing certain aspects with each of the suggested counterparts, Mars,

face, but is very badly damaged. Of the block which holds most interest for our particular problem only the upper half is extant. On one face appears Cernunnos, clad in a tunic and with two large torques hanging from his antlers. He is, in addition, provided with two prominent cervine ears placed above normal ones. For the first time he is characterized as an old man, heavily bearded and partially bald, an aspect which becomes increasingly emphasized during the Roman period in keeping with the classical conception of a divinity of the underworld. In this instance, however, one cannot be certain of the presence of a ram-serpent, since it would have appeared on the missing portion of the stone. From the larger proportions of Cernunnos in relation to the figures of the remaining three faces, it has been correctly assumed that the divinity could have been portrayed only in the "tailors' seat."

On two adjacent sides of the stone the Dioscuri¹⁰⁴ of normal classical type are depicted; the inscription *Castor* over one of them has been preserved. On the fourth face, at Cernunnos'

left, a Celtic divinity again appears: a nude, bearded figure seen in semi-profile, his right arm bent back awkwardly grasping a large club which he wields against a snake at the right. The accompanying inscription has been severely damaged, but from old drawings and careful observation most scholars agree that it reads: *Smert[ull]os*. On one of the companion blocks there is an intimate connection between the two Celtic divinities on adjacent sides in contrast with two Graeco-Roman gods. Esus and the bull with three cranes are certainly regarded as correlative images there, and this is confirmed by a votive monument in Trier¹⁰⁵ which shows Esus cutting down a tree in whose branches the same three birds and a large bull's head are placed. Since Smertullos and Cernunnos are probably grouped together in the same manner, it is necessary to dwell briefly on the significance of the former.

Many interpretations of Smertullos have been offered. Arbois de Jubainville originally considered him as a form of Mercury, a god of light slaying the ram-serpent who belongs to Cer-

Mercury or Silvanus.

The bull with three cranes is equally enigmatic. The most reasoned explanation of the bull is that of Loeschke, *Erforschung des Tempelbezirkes im Altbachtale zu Trier*. In the sanctuary of *Mercurius Peregrinorum* was discovered a large statue of a bull standing over a man reclining between his forelegs. The base is decorated with two large fish and a "nymph" stands beside him. Loeschke believes him to be a river-god and connected with *Tauros Trigaranus*, a companion of the "Handelsgott" Esus. This would explain his association with Mercury in his specific aspect of a commerce divinity. The three cranes have never been satisfactorily explained. The complex theorizations of Arbois de Jubainville deserve mention here, however, since they are frequently quoted in consideration of a tricephalic divinity often assimilated to Cernunnos (see below, pp. 34-42). In *Cycl. myth.* he explained that Cernunnos, when represented as a three-headed being, embodies the Gaulic triad Teutates, Esus, Taranis (corresponding to the Irish Bress, Balar, Tethra), in other words his sons. *Tauros Trigaranus*, he reasoned (p. 385), is the double of Cernunnos and corresponds to a bull in the herd of Geryon. Then, through the faulty etymology of the Celts, Geryon became three cranes in their imagery instead of a figure with three bodies.

¹⁰⁴ The connection with Cernunnos is vague, since the brothers do not appear in his company on other

preserved monuments. Like Smertullos, (i.e., Hercules?—cf. *infra*) their general funerary character in no way weakens the chthonic interpretation of Cernunnos. Certain Germanic tribes worshipped divine twins, the Alci, whom Tacitus likened to the Dioscures (*Germania* 43, speaking of the Naharvali). Diodorus says that the Celts living on the shores of the ocean placed the Dioscures among their most prominent gods, and said they came with the Argo (4.56.4). F. Chapoutier (*Les Dioscures aux service d'une déesse* 264, n. 5) relates to this the notation of Strabo on the Samothracian ceremonies of the Bretons (4.4.6). In view of our subsequent discussion of Cernunnos' partner, an earth goddess who might be compared to Demeter, and of ramifications of his cult which include that of the Matres, it is interesting to cite Chapoutier's statement concerning the cult of Cybele and the Dioscures in Gaul: Cybele there took the place of the Matres, the protectors of curative springs —*op. cit.* 240; corroborated by an inscription from Agathe: "Ἀδρη Μητράσι καὶ Διοσκόροι[s]."

¹⁰⁵ E. VI, no. 4929 with bibl. H. Lehner, *Korrespondenz-Bl. d. Westdeut. Ztschr.* 15 (1896) 33-49, no. 19. The inscription below Mercury and Rosmerta is a dedication by a member of the Mediomatrici, refuting an earlier suggestion once made by Reinach that Esus is merely a local divinity of the Esvii residing around Paris.

nunos, the god of "night, death and of evil."¹⁰⁶ But there is no evidence that the serpent is ram-headed, and we have already shown objection to this interpretation of Cernunnos as a divinity of night and evil; Celtic gods of the underworld were not considered harmful or evil, since their realm seems to have been regarded as a fertile region of light, not a gloomy Hades.¹⁰⁷ Later, the same author, in his zealous efforts to coordinate the religion and mythology of Ireland with that of the continent, suggested an equation of Castor with Cuchulainn, called Esus on the continent and in this one instance, Smertullos; likewise Pollux is the second divine brother of Ireland, Conall Cernach or the mainland's Cernunnos.¹⁰⁸ Such an acrobatic correlation is not acceptable. Esus and Smertullos cannot be the same person, although the sculptor of these stones, being called upon to represent two divinities in similar action—the one striking a serpent, the other hewing a tree—chose to render both in the same pose which derives from the classical formula for Hercules slaying the Hydra. Indeed, the most convincing identification of Smertullos is with Hercules, as suggested by Koepp in his study of Ogmios.¹⁰⁹ It is difficult, however, to define the *rapport* between him and Cernunnos. Hercules frequently has funerary significance, and we shall meet him again within the circle of our "dieu accroupi."¹¹⁰ As a further tentative note, one may call attention to a stele from Meaux¹¹¹ on which a similar figure is shown in combat with a snake. Between his legs appears an enigmatic head, larger than that of the god, which seems to represent one of the tricephalic divinities often assimilated to Cernunnos.

Although the Cluny Museum sculptures may thus be drawn into the general line of interpretation that has been established for Cernunnos, they cast little new light upon it. The only novel feature is the acceptance of a more classical, bearded physiognomy which is to become in-

creasingly characteristic for the divinity during the course of Gallo-Roman art. The real importance of these reliefs lies in their being precisely dated in the period of Tiberius and in their stylistic analogies with a more informative monument, the so-called Altar of Saintes (figs. 9–10).¹¹² Lothar Hahl, in his valuable dissertation which establishes a stylistic framework for the dating of provincial sculpture, has already placed this group in relation to a series of seated figures from the same site.¹¹³ According to his chronology, the group exemplifies a development from early Flavian to late Flavian-Trajanic style, and our divine couple stands at the beginning of it. He notes that the headdress of the goddess seems to have been affected by the Claudian "Zopf-schleife." In view of this detail and of a peculiarity of drapery-rendering which this sculpture shares with the Paris blocks—a sort of interlocking, plaited pattern—I should be inclined to place it even closer to the period of Tiberius.

As with so many problematic monuments in our catalogue, the Saintes "altar" denies us positive identification of its "dieu accroupi," since the head of the god is destroyed. This is also true of the smaller relief on the back of the figures. Nevertheless, the presence of three of Cernunnos' attributes, cross-legged posture, torque and purse, together with the accompanying goddess whose cornucopia places her within a fertility realm, permits an identification with that divinity. What is more, the shape of the break above the head of the smaller representation actually preserves traces of antlers (the tip of the left one still remains).

The Saintes sculpture introduces the anonymous goddess who is Cernunnos' female partner. Although in this instance she does not seem to have had antlers, our catalogue contains three independent bronze statuettes of her with that attribute.¹¹⁴ In all of these the cross-legged pose and antlers are prominent indices of the close

¹⁰⁶ *Cycl.myth.* 382 f. Cf. Steuding, "Atusmerius, Adsmarius," Roscher's *Lexicon*, 1², col. 727.

¹⁰⁷ MacCulloch, *op. cit.* 60.

¹⁰⁸ *RA* 1900, 1, pp. 66–74.

¹⁰⁹ *BonnJbb* (1919) 56. Cf. also, Mowat, *op. cit.* 117.

¹¹⁰ See the Saintes "altar," Catalogue B, no. 3, and below, p. 33. For Hercules as a fertility divinity, see Furtwängler, Roscher's *Lexicon*, 1², col. 2157 f.;

also P. L. Williams, *Statues on Coins of South Italy* 5 f. and notes.

¹¹¹ E IV, no. 3212 with bibl. Museum of Meaux. This is called "Heracles fighting the Hydra."

¹¹² In addition to Bertrand's monograph, see Gas-sies, *REA* 9 (1907) 364–368.

¹¹³ *Stilentwicklung der provinzialröm. Plastik*, 45 f.

¹¹⁴ Catalogue A. nos. 3–5.

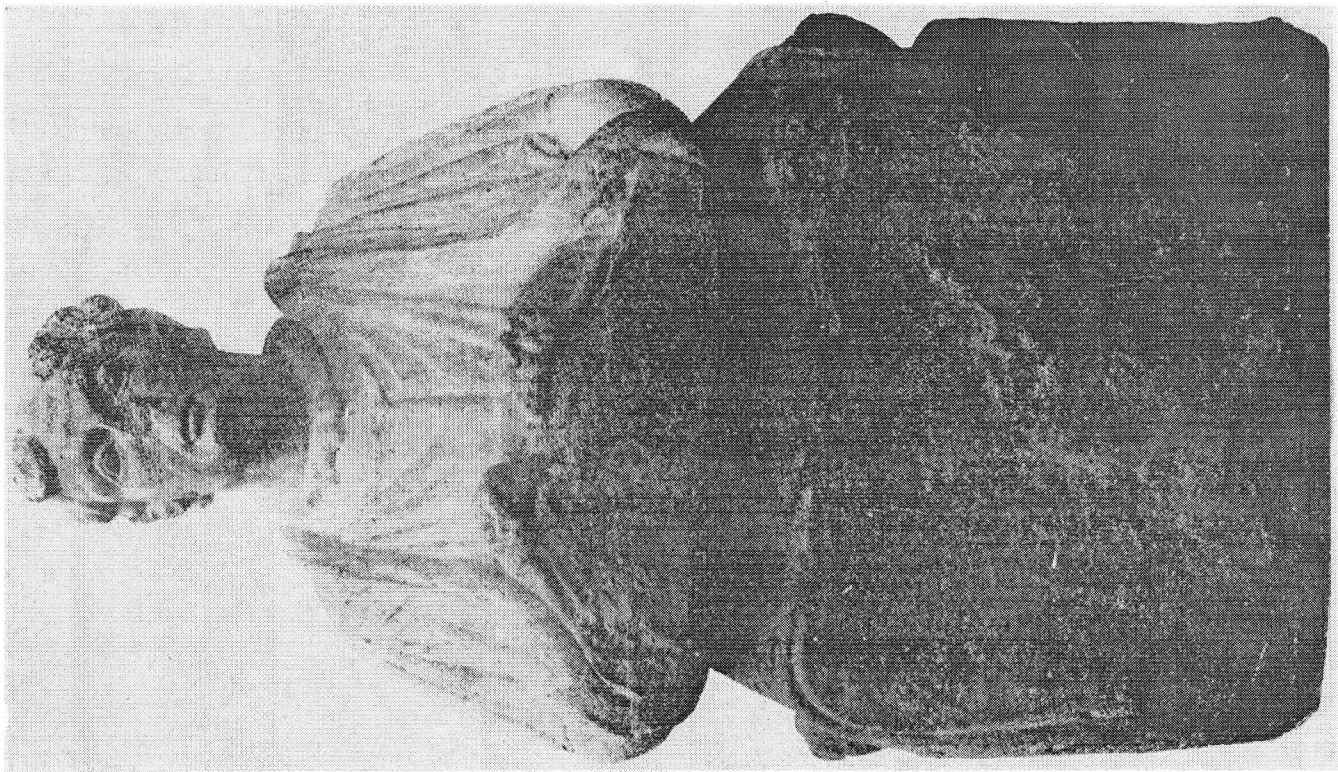


FIG. 11. MALE DIVINITY FROM SOMMERÉCOURT. ÉPINAL MUSEUM.

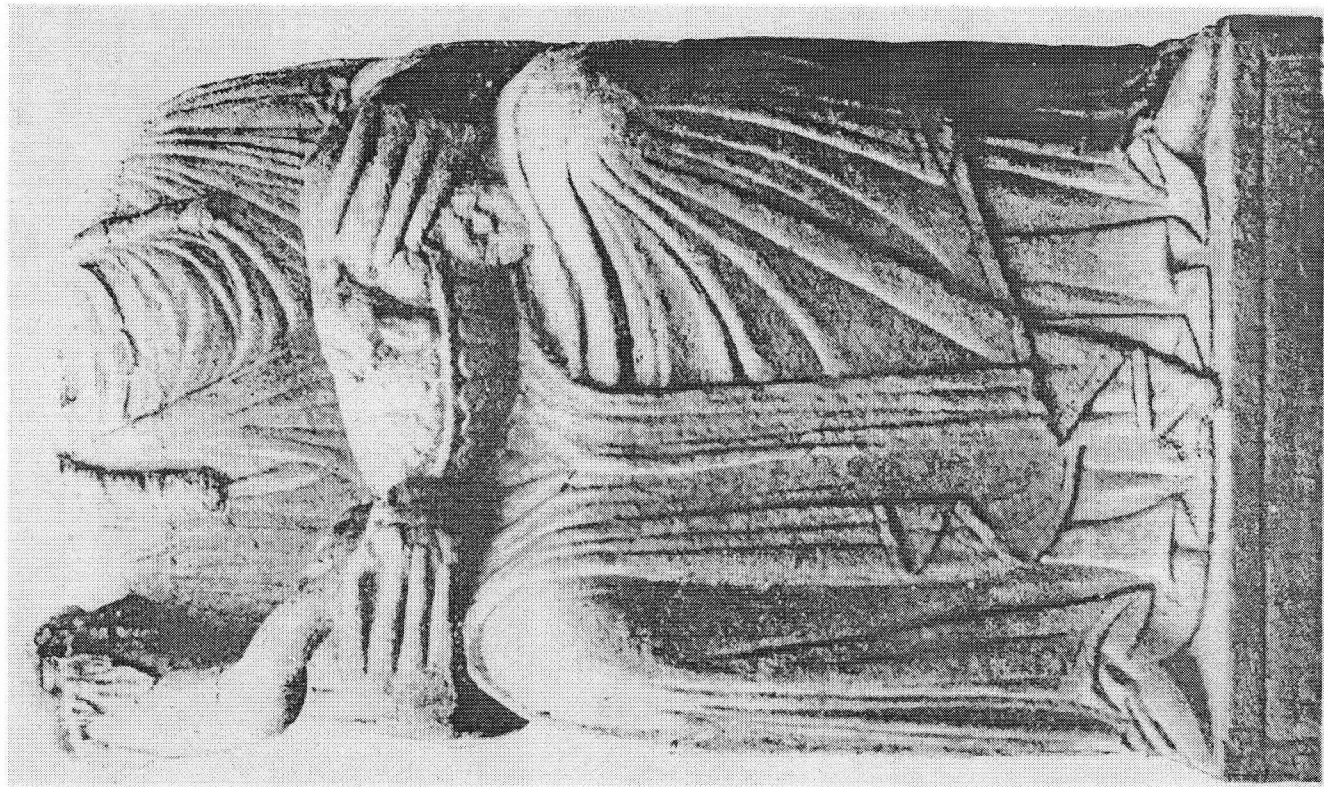


FIG. 12. FEMALE DIVINITY FROM SOMMERÉCOURT. ÉPINAL MUSEUM.

relationship between herself and the "horned one." The bronzes consistently portray the cornucopia attribute, the one in the British Museum (fig. 6) and that published by Montfaucon supplementing it with a patera. At Saintes her secondary attribute is recognizable as a bird. A small female figure standing at her knee holds the same objects,¹¹⁵ which obviate the possibility that she might be a worshipper, and show that she must be regarded as a daughter goddess.¹¹⁶ The whole constellation recalls nothing so much as the Greek divinities, Pluto, Demeter and Kore. In fact, we shall discuss evidence which suggests that a classicizing syncretism is already at work upon this group, and that the artist was aware of a basic similarity between the Celtic and the Hellenic "triads." Yet the entire emphasis is upon fertility, expressed by means of the purse, cornucopia and dove(?), and not upon chthonic aspects. The obscure allusion to Hercules on the reverse is comparable to the Cluny "altar," and may also imply fertility.

An analogous couple of approximately the same date, two statues from Sommerécourt (figs. 11-12),¹¹⁷ provide the chthonic symbolism which is suppressed in the Saintes group. The female figure is again seated normally, but her cornucopia, the cross-legged pose of her companion, and the antlers which were originally attached to his head¹¹⁸ identify them sufficiently. Both figures hold vessels in which they offer nourishment to three ram-headed serpents. Two of these representatives of the underworld entwine the body of Cernunnos, the goddess having only one. In addition, the pomegranate (?) which she holds¹¹⁹ would be specific evidence

that *interpretatio romana* had affected the artist and that we are justified in recognizing divinities who parallel those of the Eleusinian mysteries in certain respects.

Before turning to representations of Cernunnos from later Imperial times, it is necessary to consider a parallel development indicated by a problematic statuette from Bouray, mentioned previously in connection with the questions of Indian influence upon the "pose accroupi." This figure (fig. 2)¹²⁰ cannot be proved to represent Cernunnos, although it must belong to his religious ambit; this and other images of doubtful identity included in our catalogue may well have been intended as priests of the cult. In this instance, strong preservation of typical features of La Tène style favors the conclusion that the work cannot date after the first century A.D.¹²¹ One might compare the head with those attached to the Aylesford bucket¹²² for general similarity of shape, as well as for such features as the extremely low forehead, the treatment of nose and brow as one plastic unit, or the rendering of the lips by two sharp planes set at an angle to one another. Again, several small bronze heads found at Welwyn, Hertfordshire,¹²³ although of different type, display an analogous hatched stylization of eyebrows and lashes; and the eyes of blue and white paste maintain a technique seen on the exterior panels of the Gundestrup cauldron.

The value of this statuette from Bouray lies not in any intrinsic iconographical interest, but in its stylistic relationship with a work whose interpretation produces startling ramifications, a

¹¹⁵ It is perhaps the same goddess who flanks the horned god on the reverse of the monument. The bases under those relief representations suggest that the three figures depict statues which perhaps stood in the sanctuary, although this would not preclude, of course, an underlying logic in their combination.

¹¹⁶ Gassies (*op. cit.* 365) regarded her as a local emanation of the Mother goddess, perhaps a small fountain.

¹¹⁷ Catalogue B, nos. 1-2. In addition to the bibliography cited there, see De Caumont, *BMon* 17 (1851) 307 for an identification of the goddess as Nehalania; Reinach, *Cultes* 1, 68; Flouest, *RA* 1884, 2, pp. 41 f., pls. II-III. The style of these two figures

is extremely significant for problems of Romanesque dependence upon local Gallo-Roman works. Hahl (*op. cit.* 44 f.) places the goddess in early Imperial times, i.e. pre-Flavian.

¹¹⁸ Notice that the head is still faithful to the beardless tradition.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Bertrand, *RA* 1884, 2, p. 302.

¹²⁰ Catalogue A, no. 10. Cf. above, p. 22.

¹²¹ Cf. Lantier, *MonPiot* 1934, 50-52.

¹²² Smith, *British Mus., Guide . . . Early Iron Age*, fig. 135; Ebert, 1, pl. 26a.

¹²³ Smith, *op. cit.* pl. XI. Close analogies are also to be found in the heads on certain silver discs in Brescia—Jacobsthal, *ECA*, pl. 53, no. 84.

bronze figurine from the vicinity of Autun (fig. 7)¹²⁴ which will enable us to trace an important development of the Cernunnos cult from at least the first century A.D. Here the awkward junction of head and body seems a translation from the Bouray type of figure with separate head formed for insertion into the torso. Also, the rendering of the hair and tendency to patternize are so close to the latter that the two statuettes must belong to the same period.

Not only does the Autun bronze reveal all the characteristics which we have come to associate with Cernunnos: cross-legged pose, antlers (the holes for their insertion are clear), sacred torques, and even the ram-headed serpents (in this case with fish-tails), but two secondary faces placed above the divinity's ears, not visible in our illustration, announce entirely new avenues of research. Numerous monuments in Gaul acquaint us with a tricephalic god whose ambiguous character has occasioned much archaeological discussion and various conflicting theories. It is obvious that this being is here assimilated to Cernunnos, the Autun statuette thus becoming a key monument in the determination of his significance as in the enlargement of our vision of the stag god. Nor is this a unique syncretism. A bust of a statue found in Dordogne (fig. 5)¹²⁵ shows essentially the same combination, save that the three heads are of equal size and therefore even more prominent.

Wide interest in the tricephalic god of Gaul

first arose after the middle of the nineteenth century as a result of the publication of a group of monuments found in Reims. These have the form of quadrangular cippi or colonettes and there are now about twelve examples known from that city (fig. 8)¹²⁶ where, it is interesting to note, one of the most grandiose monuments of the Cernunnos cult was unearthed (fig. 13). There are minor variations among these sculptures, but the most usual disposition gives a relief of three bearded faces—a frontal one flanked by two profiles—united by a single pair of huge eyes, with the block surmounted by a representation of a ram's head and of a bird which is most probably a cock. At first numismatists connected these busts with certain early coins of the Remi the obverses of which depict three profile heads, placed one behind the other in pseudo-perspective recession, and thought of some specifically local divinity.¹²⁷ This view was soon challenged,¹²⁸ and rightly, since each bust on the coins has its own comma-shaped shoulder. In addition, the existence of identical monuments in other provinces of France precludes any geographical limitation of the type.¹²⁹

Robert Mowat was the persistent champion of a theory, in complete contrast to the interpretation which would see an indigenous divinity in the tricephalic figures, that there is nothing "Gaulish" in any of them unless it be the "barbarian crudity" of execution.¹³⁰ The monuments were, he argued, merely provincial trans-

¹²⁴ Catalogue A, no. 1.

¹²⁵ Catalogue B, no. 4.

¹²⁶ E V, no. 3651-2, 3654-9, 3661, 3751 with bibliography. Many of the heads are laureate. For an example found in 1925 at Soissons, see Blanchet, *CRAI* 1930, 199 f. (interpretation as tricephalic Mercury), E XI, no. 7700; R. Louis, *Bull. des antiquaires* 1938, 160 ff.

¹²⁷ E. Hucher, *RevNum* 1853, pp. 15 f., pl. I, 4; *Idem. RevNum* 1863, 58 f.; Duquenelle, *Congrès archéol.* Reims, 1861, 75. Cf. Reinach, *BF* 189. For a clear illustration of the coin, see Blanchet, *Manuel de num. fr.* 1, p. 66, fig. 111.

¹²⁸ For the bibliography and analysis of diverse theories, see Blanchet, *Traité* p. 380, no. 131.

¹²⁹ Note the following independent examples: (1) E II, no. 1055. Musée de Dax. A white limestone tablet from Auch (Gers). Both the frontal face and the one extant profile are beardless, but a separate

bearded head appears at the right. (2) E III, no. 2668. Lyon Museum. Sculpture said to be from Nîmes (Gard). (3) E IV, no. 3287. Langres Museum. A bearded "head" found in the city (Haute-Marne). One head has spiral horns. (4) E V, no. 3762. Laon Museum. Block from Nizy-le-Comte (Aisne). The faces are arranged so one appears on each of the three sides of the block. (5) E VI, no. 4729. Very damaged fragment from Sommeville (Marne). Generally speaking, only the Reims type unites three faces with a single pair of eyes. However, the distribution of these examples as well as such sculptures as the Bordeaux Cernunnos etc., argue against Lambrechts' regional manifestations of one god in the tricephalic, the cross-legged and the ram-serpent divinities (*op. cit.* 51 ff.).

¹³⁰ *RA* 1876, 1, p. 60, a note addressed to Longpérier, who adds that there are very good reasons why scholars have not recognized Janus Quadrifrons: the fact



FIG. 13. CERNUNNOS STELE. REIMS MUSEUM. (Cliché Giraudon).

lations of the Roman Janus Quadrifrons, whose fourth face was not executed either because it was not possible in relief technique or, in full round examples, because the fourth side was meant to be placed against a wall. In the face of much natural opposition, Mowat later elaborated his theory,¹³¹ adducing as the model a Hadrianic coin type which represents Janus with three faces. It is not detrimental to this hypothesis of foreign importation that there are no tricephalic figures preserved from La Tène times in Gaul, although double figures are frequent among the rare examples of Celtic stone sculpture.¹³² But a three-headed stone from Corleck, Cavan,¹³³ belongs to a collection of "Gaulish" idols in Ireland of the first century B.C. and proves that the absence of such on the continent is probably fortuitous. In any case, there is no possibility that the three-headed representations of Gallo-Roman art are nothing more than misunderstood adaptations of a Latin phenomenon. Provincial

quadricephalic sculptures¹³⁴ indicate that this particular classical formula was known, but differentiated from the one under discussion. However, subsequent consideration will show that in special aspects there is a possibility of collateral influence from Graeco-Roman sources. Finally, Mowat's theory would not explain the affiliation of the *triceps* with Cernunnos, an alliance which will be further explored below.

Another theory, propagated mainly by Reinach,¹³⁵ has gathered so many adherents that Éspérandieu can state apropos of one of the Reims monuments: "Le Tricéphale est le dieu indigène que César identifia au Mercure romain."¹³⁶ Reinach based his interpretation upon the evidence of a relief in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris.¹³⁷ This relief is carved on one face of a block of stone excavated with three companion pieces at the site of the Hôtel Dieu, all of which scholars consider contemporary with the sculptures from Notre-Dame.¹³⁸ It represents a tri-

that in the full round examples there are still only three heads, and the evidence of the Autun statuette. Mowat's thesis was a revival of an opinion previously expressed by P. Paris, *Congrès archéol.* 1861, 85: is it not Janus whose figures represent the past, present and future?

¹³¹ *Bull. ép.*, 1, pp. 29-30; 3, pp. 168-170. In the latter pages he quotes a passage from Macrobius concerning a typical gesture of Roman Janus figures (*Saturn.* 1.9): *inde et simulacrum ejus plerumque fingitur, manu dextra trecentorum, et sinistra sexaginta et quinque numerum tenens ad demonstrandum anni dimensionem*. Mowat claimed that a tricephalic divinity on a relief from Dennevy (see below, p. 40, n. 174) makes such a symbolic gesture, but it is impossible to distinguish any such dactylology.

¹³² See Jacobsthal, *ECA* 16 and plates.

¹³³ F. Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period* 6, pl. 3d.

¹³⁴ For example: (1) Cippus of Niederkerschen, Luxemburg, cited by Mowat, *op. cit.* 3, p. 171. This consists of four heads, alternately bearded and clean-shaven, surmounting a column. (2) Bronze statuette from Bordeaux in the Bibliothèque nationale. Ht: 0.095 m. Babelon-Blanchet, *Catalogue* p. 158, no. 362; Blanchet, *Bull. des antiquaires* 1895. 86 f. The figure is a nude, standing Mercury, identified by the purse in his right hand and wings on his main head. The front and back faces are beardless, while those at the sides are bearded. It is a question how

much of this conception is dependent upon classical tradition. For assimilation of the *triceps* to Mercury cf. *infra*.

¹³⁵ *Rev. de l'hist. des religions* 1907, 57-82 (*Cultes* 3, 160-185).

¹³⁶ Vol. V, p. 12, under no. 3661.

¹³⁷ E IV, no. 3137 with bibl. Ht: 0.96 m.; W: 0.55 m; th: 0.61 m. This and its companion pieces were excavated in 1867; for notice of discovery, see Longpérier, *CRAI* 7, 1871, 20 Oct., p. 379.

¹³⁸ For discussion and possible reconstructions, see Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine* 105 f., note 3, pl. XIII, 1-5; Mowat, *op. cit.* 1, 27-30; Blanchet, *Bull. d. l. soc. de l'histoire de Paris* 36 (1909) 201-205; Krüger, *Annales du XXI^e Congrès archéologique*, Liège, 1909, 123-137, pl. VI. The Mercury figure is set into a surface which is imbricated; one adjacent face of the block bears a relief of a putto with the large helmet of Mars. One face of each remaining block is covered with imbrications, the adjacent faces bearing a putto with greaves, another with a sword and a third with a shield, respectively. There is general agreement on a reconstruction as some type of pedestal or base. Since the subject matter involves the Disarmament of Mars, most scholars assume that the tricephalic image is in some manner connected with that divinity. There is a strong discrepancy in style, however, between the three-headed Mercury and the lively putti, and it seems—particularly since the imbrications are sharply interrupted to form his

cephalic figure who can be identified with Mercury by virtue of certain attributes peculiar to that divinity in provincial sculpture: a purse held in his right hand over the head of a reclining goat, a large turtle in one corner, and, less typical, the head of a ram grasped in his left hand.

Closely united with Reinach's argument is the problem of a number of so-called "planetary vases" discovered at sites in Belgica.¹³⁹ The most important of these is preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris and is said to come from Bavay (Nord) which seems to have been a center of their production.¹⁴⁰ The shoulder of this vase is ornamented with seven busts, one of which is our enigmatic "tricéphale," bearded and furnished with horns. Because of their number, Babelon did not hesitate in his catalogue to identify these busts with the divinities of the week.¹⁴¹ His interpretation has been challenged only by Reinach¹⁴² who refused to accept it because it would present grave objections to his own theory that the tricephalic divinity is to be connected with Mercury. For with two female busts, separated by two male heads, which must correspond in Babelon's scheme to Friday and Monday, the three-headed god is resolved as the

Celtic equivalent of Mars. All other scholars who have discussed the Bavay vase or similar ceramic products concur in the opinion that the busts represent the potter's substitution for the Roman divinities of the week those of his national gods whom he identified with them.¹⁴³ Yet all is not well, since they fall into difficulty when they would apply the formula to other "Wochengöttervasen." Some are fragmentary and raise no problem.¹⁴⁴ But another vase from Jupille, near Liège, can be arranged only so that the tricephalic figure (who is, indeed, destroyed) becomes Saturn if he is present at all.¹⁴⁵ Again, a third complete vase in Cologne has but six busts;¹⁴⁶ compensating for the "potter's omission," the most satisfactory scheme shows that the three-headed bust is Mercury.¹⁴⁷

Actually, there is good reason to believe that the tricephalic god was assimilated to more than one Roman deity.¹⁴⁸ However this may be, I am convinced that the evidence of the vases as a whole cannot be forced to fit the artificial scheme of "gods of the days of the week." The pottery in question seems rather to continue such ancient La Tène traditions as are seen on the exterior plaques of the Gundestrup caul-

niche—that he is a later addition which does not belong to the original conception (cf. Blanchet, 202; Krüger, 136, who believes the pedestal was erected to support a statue of the Roman Mars and that the "tricéphale" was added later to explain the nature of the Roman god).

¹³⁹ Most of these have been gathered by Loeschke, *Röm.-germ. Korrespondenz-Blatt* 8 (1915) 2f.

¹⁴⁰ This may also come from Mons; the provenance is not certain. Ht: 24.5 cm.; W: 25 cm.; Ht. of busts: 12 cm. I am deeply indebted to M. Jean Babelon for having permitted me to examine this vase at my leisure. For excellent illustrations, see Krüger, *op. cit.* pl. iv; C. Jullian, *REA* 10 (1908) 173 f., pls. XII-XIII. That Bavay was the center of a flourishing production is indicated by the fact that the Museum there is in possession of about 70 or 80 fragments of similar vessels—P. Darche, *Bull. archéol.* 1932-33, 665 f.

¹⁴¹ E. Babelon, *Guide illustrée*, 24.

¹⁴² *Cultes* 3, p. 170.

¹⁴³ Cf. Cumont, "Comment la Belgique fut romanesquée," *Annales d. l. soc. d'archéol. de Bruxelles* 28 (1919) 174 f. He enumerates some examples and relates them to the second century wave of oriental religions which brought astrological concepts that combined with

certain Celtic beliefs persevering among the Belgae.

¹⁴⁴ For fragments from Bavay and Élouges, near Mons (tricephalic divinity), see Baron de Loë, *Belgique ancienne, Cat. . . Bruxelles* 3 (1937) 164 f., no. 58. Other fragments derive from Valenciennes, Aiseau, Schalkoven in Limburg, Tongres, Ombret and Vodéce (for the latter, see Debove, *RA* 1893, 289). The late Paul Rolland was kind enough to call my attention to a complete vase in the Tournai Museum, published by Amand, *Ant. class.* 12 (1943) p. 100.

¹⁴⁵ F. de Villenois, *Bull. de l'inst. archéol. Liégeois*, 11 (1873) 484 f. (excavation report; the most recent coin found on the plateau at Jupille was of Commodus); 23 (1894) 423-430. Demarteau, *Mélanges G. Kurth* (1908) 2, 15-25 and pl. *Idem. L'Ardenne Belgo-romaine*,³ 71 f.

¹⁴⁶ Discovered at the Fliegenberg, Troisdorf. Cologne, Prehistoric Museum. C. Rademacher, *Mannus* 2 (1910) 1-17; pl. II, 3-4.

¹⁴⁷ G. Kossinna, *Mannus* 2 (1910) 201-208, with a table of the various possibilities, comparing the schemes of Bavay and Jupille.

¹⁴⁸ See below pp. 39-42.

dron,¹⁴⁹ with busts of divinities which need not conform to any single correlative or significant pattern. This is borne out by the fact that a similar vase group is known, characterized by merely four busts.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, with the exception of E. Krüger, the scholars whose views have been outlined above date the various vases in the late second or early third century A.D., primarily for the reason that they feel representations of the days of the week could not be expected in the provinces before that period. But, with Krüger,¹⁵¹ I should place them—on the basis of style alone—no later than the early part of the first century A.D. Whether the planetary week was accepted in the North at such an early date is an entirely separate problem. The Cologne vase comes from a sepulture which is dated by the excavator in the third century A.D., but he himself admits at least the possibility that it belonged to an earlier grave destroyed by a new complex.¹⁵² Comparison with certain glass pendants in the shape of human heads found in La Tène burials of the late fourth century B.C. and in Punic tombs of the same age proves, I believe, that indigenous Celtic style persists in these ceramic products.¹⁵³ They must not be dated too late in the Roman period. However, if they should belong to an “awakening of the

indigenous element” in the second century,¹⁵⁴ they would still have little value in determining the significance of the tricephalic god on analogy with his supposed Roman, planetary counterpart.

In place of attempts to mold the evidence of the vases into a preconceived pattern in order to approach an understanding of the three-headed god through alleged *interpretatio gallica*, it is more valid methodologically to examine the archaeological material for external evidence which may point the way for further research. There are several facts which one can state under this category, without evaluation or interpretation. First: one of the tricephalic representations comes from an excavation which also yielded two funeral inscriptions.¹⁵⁵ Second: Reims was obviously an important center of his cult, as can be judged by the number of cippi found there.¹⁵⁶ It is interesting to note in passing that the preserved monuments from this city, with the exception of gravestones and other funerary sculptures, can be related almost exclusively to the worship of Cernunnos and his circle. In addition to the well-known stele of the stag god, there are a number of reliefs of goddesses who seem to have a certain rapport with Cybele,¹⁵⁷ a figure of a woman nursing a child or a “Déesse mère,”¹⁵⁸

¹⁴⁹ Indeed, Kossinna (*ibid.* 203–205) following S. Müller tries to force the Gundestrup vessel into the “Wohengötter” pattern, despite the fact that there were originally eight exterior panels and that he has difficulty with the preserved divinities. For this reason he dates the cauldron in the second or third century A.D.

¹⁵⁰ Discussed by L. Renard, *Bull. d. l. soc. scientif. de Limburg* 22 (1904) 198 f.

¹⁵¹ *Annales, XXI^e Congrès*, 127–131. Krüger is the only author who actually considers the *style* of the vases. He makes significant comparisons of the profiles of the bases and finds parallels in Augustan pottery from the camp at Haltern. Of the Bavay example he says (p. 130): “Il ne doit donc pas être postérieure à l’époque de Tibère.”

Loeschke (*RG Korr. Bl.* 1915, 5–9) compares a mould for pressing these busts on vases, stating unequivocally that this mould dates from the third century. There is no indication of his reasons for this dating. Ferri reproduces the same mould in Trier (*Arte romana sul Reno*, 195 f., figs. 117–118) saying that it seems of the second century. It should be

noted that Drexel is another advocate of an early dating for the “Wohengöttervasen,” as expressed in his study of the Gundestrup vessel—*op. cit.* 10.

¹⁵² Rademacher, *op. cit.* 11 f.

¹⁵³ See Déchelette, *Manuel*, 2, pt. 3, p. 1317, fig. 574, 1–6. No. 2, from Carthage, is particularly close in style to the busts on the vases.

¹⁵⁴ Cumont, *op. cit.* 174 f., note 1. Cf. Krüger, *op. cit.* 123.

¹⁵⁵ The relief from Dax (see above, note 129, 1). *RA* 1882, 1, p. 125.

¹⁵⁶ There is, in addition, a “Viergötterstein” in the Hôtel Dieu which represents Mercury, Jupiter, Diana (?), and the tricephalic god. E V, no. 3666. Discovered in the Rue de Temple. The three-headed divinity wears a short tunic and mantle; his front face is beardless, the lateral ones bearded. He holds a patera in his right hand and rests his left on a gnarled stick.

¹⁵⁷ E V, no. 3670, 3673–5. Reims, Musée archéologique. The provenances are not known, but the stelae must derive from the city or its vicinity. The general disposition in all of these shows a seated, draped goddess who holds a cornucopia. In most cases she

and monuments which relate to Mercury.¹⁵⁹ Third: one may recall the incontestable assimilation of the three-headed god to both Mercury and Cernunnos on occasion.¹⁶⁰

On this basis, one may enter a more speculative sphere to examine additional monuments which represent the "tricéphale" in the company of other figures. The connection with Mercury—and one must bear in mind that assimilation in isolated instances does not imply identity—is reaffirmed by a cippus from La Malmaison (Aisne).¹⁶¹ This shows a relief of Mercury and a goddess, and is surmounted by the familiar three-faced, bearded head. In the museum of Verdun is a relief of a standing tricephalic figure who holds a cock, the frequent chthonic attribute of Mercury.¹⁶² Two fragmentary reliefs, from

Trier and Metz respectively, enlarge the sphere of his connections.¹⁶³ These are quite normal representations of a group of three Matres, those goddesses who have already been mentioned as counterparts to Cybele in Gaul.¹⁶⁴ But below the central goddess on each stele appears a tricephalic bust of the Reims type.

Two further sculptures are more problematic. The first is a *sacellum* from Beaune with three figures within its architectural niche.¹⁶⁵ The tricephalic divinity is given the central position, flanked by Pan and another god; all hold cornucopias. This sculpture is in such poor condition that it is not possible to suggest a date for it, although it is undoubtedly not one of those which manifest stylistic survivals from Celtic art, and its developed religious imagery suggests the

wears a mural crown and has one foot raised on a small round footstool.

¹⁵⁸ E V, no. 3679. Reims, Hôtel de Ville. Again, the provenance is not indicated. Such a conception, dependent upon fertility symbolism, is probably related to the cult of Cernunnos in its wider sense. Compare the statue in Auxerre, Catalogue B, no. 15, which represents a "dieu accroupi" nursing a child.

¹⁵⁹ E V, no. 3668. Reims, private collection. Discovered in the city. This stele shows a bearded Mercury clad in native dress standing beside his partner, Rosmerta. Below the figures are represented a cock and the head of a boar(?); Mercury holds a second such head. It seems that both might be ram's heads similar to that of the relief in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris. One might note here the cross-legged figure (Catalogue B, no. 14) of unknown provenance, but in a private collection near Reims.

¹⁶⁰ In addition to the Autun statuette and the statue of Condat already mentioned, there is another monument which may evidence a similar syncretism. A bronze female head discovered at Cebazat (Puy-de-Dôme) shows two smaller heads applied above the ears in the manner of the Autun figurine. Possibly this is to be connected with Diana, but one detail indicates a relation to the female partner of Cernunnos: behind the diadem are two small holes, at either side of the hair parting. Could these have some connection with the frequent insertion of antlers in the monuments we are considering, or did they merely serve to attach a moon-crescent? The head is 0.08 m. in height. See Luguët, *Bull. archéol.* 1890, 240 f., pl. xiii.

¹⁶¹ E V, no. 3756 with bibl. St. Germain-en-Laye. Ht: 0.65 m.; W: 0.32 m. Mercury and the goddess

are seated. He is nude and holds a cock in his left hand, as well as some indeterminate object in his right.

¹⁶² E VI, no. 4640 with bibl. Discovered at Senon (Meuse). Ht: 0.49 m.; W: 0.26 m. The figure is described as bicephalic in Éperandieu. The relief is fragmentary, revealing only the right face in its entirety, but it seems reasonable to assume a third head missing at the left.

¹⁶³ E VI, no. 4937. Trier Museum. Ht: 0.19 m.; W. as preserved: 0.13 m. Only the central of the seated goddesses is complete. For a better photograph, see Krüger, *Westdeut. Ztschr.* 26 (1907) 315, pl. x, 13. See also, *Idem.*, *Schumacher-Festschrift* (1930) 249–253.

E IX, no. 7234. This piece is known only through a drawing from Tabouillot and Francois, *Hist. de Metz* (1769). Here the three Matres are standing.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. above, note 104.

¹⁶⁵ Catalogue C, no. 8. For an ingenious interpretation of this monument in relation to disease and abnormalities, see G. Wilke, *Die Heilkunde in der europäischen Vorzeit* (1936), text accompanying fig. 36. Medical historians utilize Gallo-Roman sculpture to an astonishing degree. It is also discussed frequently in literature published by the French Folklore Society. None of these publications is quoted in this article, since they are rarely scientific formulations, but rather comparable to earlier literature like the interesting study of Bulliot and Thiollier, *La mission et le culte de Saint Martin . . . dans le pays éduen* (Autun 1892). The latter includes many of our examples, discussed from the viewpoint of determining the rural paganism which St. Martin had to combat.

later Empire. We have seen the connection of the three-headed deity with the Matres who, as goddesses of forests and woods, must have been included in the wider sphere of Cernunnos worship, particularly his fertility aspects. As time went on the natives seem to have come to isolate this forestial domain from Cernunnos and, under the influence of the Roman garrisons who specially honored their own god of the woods and hunt,¹⁶⁶ to relegate it to Silvanus. In the Balkan regions, however, the penetration of originally Greek ideas conditioned his representation under the guise of Pan.¹⁶⁷ I believe that the Beaune triad is to be regarded as unique documentation of this development, perhaps dedicated by a person whose home had been in Dalmatia, with the figure of Pan replacing the normal Celtic type of Silvanus. The bust of Diana, the normal partner of Silvanus, in the gable would certainly be apposite to this interpretation.¹⁶⁸ The presence of the tricephalic divinity can be explained by a system of transfer: having been associated with the Matres, who in turn became affiliated with Silvanus,¹⁶⁹ he migrated from the Cernunnos cult into that of

his supplanter in certain instances. It is also possible that the emphasis upon the number three in the Beaune relief may be analogous to the established formula of the three Matres.¹⁷⁰

The foregoing theory is substantiated by the overlapping functions of Cernunnos and Silvanus in Gaul, which would seem to prove that their dichotomy is based upon original unification in a single cult.¹⁷¹ Thus Silvanus is regularly associated with another divinity of the underworld, Sucellos, who is represented with a hammer and *olla* and is frequently accompanied by Cerberus.¹⁷² On the other hand, one of Krüger's major contributions has been indisputable evidence that Silvanus was often identified with Mars.¹⁷³ This fact will have some bearing on the proposed derivation of the tricephalic divinity.

A second problematic monument cognate to the three-headed god is a relief from Dennevy (Saône-et-Loire) in the Musée lapidaire at Autun.¹⁷⁴ He stands at the left, wearing a tunic and mantle, and seems to break a small cake with both hands.¹⁷⁵ Beside him, in the center, stands a female figure whose drapery leaves her right breast bare; she wears a diadem and holds

¹⁶⁶ For the importance of Silvanus among the legions, see L. Chatelain, *Mél.* 30 (1910) pp. 77-97 (particularly pp. 78 ff.).

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Wissowa, *ARW* 1916-19, 34; R. Peter, "Silvanus," *Roscher*, iv², cols. 870 f., 874; Klotz, *RE* 3, col. 123. An interesting survival of this is found in a fifteenth century (?) Italian manuscript (Vat. MS. Barb. lat. 273): Pan is shown with a moon in his hair (cf. the bust of Diana above him on the Beaune relief) and is inscribed "Pan-Silvanus," see G. Carbonelli, *Sulle fonti storiche della chimica e dell'alchimia in Italia* (1925), fig. 77.

In Dalmatia Pan-Silvanus is accompanied often by three goddesses, Silvanae, comparable to the Matres in Gaul and Germany.

¹⁶⁸ In view of the alliance between Silvanus and the Celtic mallet-god, Sucellos (cf. *infra*), it is interesting to note that Sucellos and Diana appear as partners on a "Viergötterstein" in Mainz-Flouest, *RA* 1890, 1, pp. 153-165, pl. vi.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. *supra*. Also, Renel, *op. cit.* 322. For a discussion of Silvanus' connection with the cult of the Matres and a listing of illustrative monuments, see M. Ihm, *BonnJbb* 83 (1887) 83 ff.

¹⁷⁰ This emphasis on three led Creuly (*RA* 1862, 1, pp. 24 f.) to interpret the monument as a manifesta-

tion of the cult of the *Lares viales* and Hecate.

¹⁷¹ A provocative stele which is perhaps a reflection of such unification was discovered on Le Donon in 1937. It represents a male divinity with attributes and characteristics of Mercury (talaria), Silvanus (fruits and pine-cone), and Cernunnos (stag), as well as the *ascia* sometimes held by Sucellos. See Linckenheld, *Bull. des antiquaires* 1937, 136; Grenier, *Les Gaulois*, pl. xii, left; Forrer, *Cahiers d'Alsace* 1937, 155 (E, XI, no. 7800).

¹⁷² See H. Hubert, *RA* 1915, 1, pp. 26-39. His evidence for the assimilation is buttressed by inscriptions to the two divinities (*CIL* XIII, 6224, for example). For the mallet-god in general, see the recent study by Lambrechts and the following: MacCulloch, *op. cit.* 31; A. de Barthélemy, *Rev. celtique* 1 (1870-72) 1-8. A major problem is the relationship between Cernunnos and Sucellos as underworld divinities. The latter seems to be a chthonic Zeus-Serapis type, whereas Cernunnos is more allied with the Greek Pluto.

¹⁷³ Krüger, *Germania* 1939, 256-258. Inscriptions ensure the validity of this section of his study. Cf. below, p. 42, note 188.

¹⁷⁴ E III, no. 2131 with bibl. Ht: 0.25 m.; W: 0.27 m.

¹⁷⁵ See above, p. 36, note 131.

a patera over a small altar. To the right stands her counterpart, a *Genius* with long hair, wrapped in a mantle which conceals the lower part of his torso; he grasps a cornucopia in his left hand and a round object in his right toward which a serpent climbs. This last figure bears a strong resemblance to another youth of abundance type portrayed on a relief in Luxembourg.¹⁷⁶ But an unusual feature of the latter sculpture returns us to the cult of Cernunnos, for in one corner of the niche appears the head of a stag disgorging coins onto a rectangular tablet; the head of a bull is also visible. The relationship of both the Dennevy relief and the Luxembourg stele to our major investigation will be elucidated below.

If it has been demonstrated that the tricephalic divinity of the Celts has definite connections with the cult of Cernunnos and that, on occasion, he may even be combined with the latter in a single image, it still remains to clarify his origin and independent significance, to define the background of the established syncretism. In this connection it is natural to recall other conceptions of tricephaly among Indo-European peoples.¹⁷⁷ The idea of a being with three heads or bodies appears repeatedly in the classical world. It cannot be mere fortuity that the principle is especially common for those of some chthonic affiliation: Cerberos, Hecate, Typhon and, above all, Geryon.

The figure of Geryon has been traced to an origin in Minoan-Mycenaean times and would

appear to be a genuine Mediterranean invention rather than one of the myriad Greek derivations from hybrid creations of the Near East or Egypt.¹⁷⁸ It is customary to divide the representations of this personage into two groups: one of Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, the other of the West. The first is characterized by a three-bodied formation which is often accompanied by a corresponding multiplicity of arms and legs,¹⁷⁹ but the type of three heads added to an otherwise normal human figure is restricted to the Western Mediterranean until an advanced date.¹⁸⁰ Sardinian bronzes of the seventh century B.C. reveal such a formula,¹⁸¹ and it is very popular throughout the development of Italic art, notably among the Etruscans.

The legend of Hercules' conflict with Geryon and the hero's rape of his cattle is frequently laid in these western regions—namely, at Gades in Spain, although the geographical setting is a fluctuating element among classical authors.¹⁸² Pausanias, however, was shown at Gades the tree which sprang from Geryon's body.¹⁸³ In later Roman times there was an oracle of Geryon at Patavium in Cisalpine Gaul.¹⁸⁴ But, in any case, it cannot be maintained that the Greek legend derives from some ancient acquaintance with the three-headed figures prevalent in the West, nor that for this reason the locale was placed in Spain. The eastern and western manifestations are rather parallel developments from a common source.

On the surface of the story, the cattle which

¹⁷⁶ Catalogue C, no. 7.

¹⁷⁷ See H. Usener, "Dreiheit," *Rheinisches Museum f. Philologie*, 58 (1903) 1–47, 161–208, 321–362, for a study devoted to this problem. Cf. Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* 2 pl. 184 for polycephalic divinities of Germanic tribes (Trigla—a goddess with three heads) and the Slavic tricephalic god, Triglav. See also R. Pettazzoni, "The pagan origins of the three-headed representation of the Christian trinity," *Journal Warburg Institute*, 9 (1946) 135–151.

¹⁷⁸ Weicker, *RE* 7 col. 1290. This article (cols. 1286–1296) is the basis for much of the following material.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* cols. 1290–1294, for examples. Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 287.

¹⁸⁰ Panofsky (*Hercules am Scheidewege*, p. 1, n. 2 after Schlosser, *Beilage zur Münchner allgemeinen*

Zeitung 1894, no. 249, p. 5) speaks of an "older," Gallo-Roman type of three-headed representation with three faces, three noses, three mouths and two or four eyes; the "younger" type is characterized as three free-standing heads. Actually the latter type seems to be the earlier, if one takes into consideration the ancient Italic representations.

¹⁸¹ A. de la Marmora, *Voyage en Sardaigne* (1839–57) 2, pl. xxiv, no. 67. Cf. E. Pais, *Atti Linc.* 7 (1881) 366 ff., for spurious figures among those published by Marmora. See also, E. Gerhard, *Gesamm. Schrift.* 2, 541, pl. XLV, no. 1.

¹⁸² The most extended account appears in Apollodorus (*Ped.* 10.25–27), and he places the action at Gades.

¹⁸³ 1.35.8.

¹⁸⁴ Suetonius, *Tib.* 14.3.

Hercules steals from the island of Erytheia are the herds of Helios, and he travels thence in the golden beaker of the Sun-god. But Robert and other scholars have established that, although at some remote period it may have been the herds of the Sun which the story concerned, in the form in which it is preserved to us the meaning is already quite different, that "es nicht sowohl die Rinder des Helios als die des Hades sind . . ."; that the deed is perhaps only another form of the Cerberos myth with the same implications of triumph over death.¹⁸⁵ The cattle would thus stand for souls and their theft for release from the abode of the dead; the shepherd Eurytion would parallel Menoitos, the herdsman of Hades, and his multiple-headed watch dog, Orthos, would be the counterpart of Cerberos.¹⁸⁶ Confirmation of this is to be found in the tomb frescoes of the fourth century B.C. in the Tomba dell'Orco at Corneto where Geryon appears as an armed satellite before the throne of Hades and Persephone.¹⁸⁷

Given a considerable incidence of representations of Geryon in Etruscan art,¹⁸⁸ it seems justified to assume that the Celts, during their sojourn in northern Italy, formed their tricephalic god on the basis of an acquaintance with this figure and his legend in Italic culture.¹⁸⁹ He must have preserved an aura of the underworld in this transaction and could therefore serve as a legitimate cult companion to Cernunnos when

that divinity's chthonic powers had been crystallized. In the very process of adaptation to the worship of the stag-god, new implications of fertility would have developed which ultimately conditioned his conjunction with the Matres. In regard to the syncretism of the three-headed god and Mercury, another prominent member of the Cernunnos circle, it is a question whether worshippers in Gaul were aware of external analogies between their indigenous god and the classical one whom the Greeks sometimes represented with three or four heads.¹⁹⁰ It is more probable, however, that their assimilation to one another in specific monuments is but the symbolic dichotomy of cult companions, comparable to the hybrid images of a three-headed Cernunnos or a Mercury seated cross-legged.¹⁹¹

The preceding clarification of the position of the problematic tricephalic divinity of the Celts has underlined one of the major aspects of the stag-god as lord of the nether world. In addition to this, and subordinate to the other, fertility side of his complex personality, there is yet another development under Roman influence which expands Cernunnos' sphere of activity.

A final development of the complex synthesis of ideas which attaches to Cernunnos in the Roman period is announced by the famous stele from Reims (fig. 13)¹⁹² Unearthed in 1837, the relief was interpreted with true early nine-

¹⁸⁵ Robert, "Alkyoneus," *Hermes* 19 (1884) 483. It is interesting to compare Geryon's genealogy, as given by Hesiod (*Th.* 270 ff.), and to note how many of his monstrous relatives were eliminated by Hercules.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Weicker, *op. cit.* cols. 1289 ff. The same article cites other theories of interpretation, but there has been substantial agreement on the essentials of the one accepted here. Apollodorus describes Orthos as two-headed, but a relief from Cyprus (cf. Voigt and Drexler, *Roscher*, i², col. 1636) shows him with three in the scheme that is usual for Cerberos in later classical times.

¹⁸⁷ Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, pl. CCXLVIII, 3. The figure is inscribed *Gerun*, but the three heads are sufficient identification. Cf. the description of Hades in Vergil, *Aen.* 6.289 (. . . *Gorgones, Harpyiaequae, et forma tricorporis umbrae*). It is interesting to note a Renaissance interpretation of Pluto as having three bodies; Colonna gives the following inscription in his *Hypnerotomachia* (Guégan facsimile ed., Paris, 1926,

161): *Interno Plotoni tricopori et carae oxori Proserpinae tripititque Cerbero.*

¹⁸⁸ One Etruscan bronze statuette is in the Museum of Lyon. Its provenance is unknown. Ht: 21 cm. E. de Chanot, *Gaz. archéol.* 6 (1880) 136 ff., pl. 22. The figure is nude, but each of the three heads is helmeted. Weicker (*op. cit.* col. 1295) cites a number of examples.

It may be noted here that the classical representation of Geryon as a warrior could be claimed as the basis for an assimilation of the tricephalic god to the Celtic Mars, if one accepts the orthodox interpretation of the Bavay "Wohengötttervase."

¹⁸⁹ Cf. J. de Witte, *RA* 1875, 2, pp. 383-387.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. above, p. 36, note 134, no. 2. Ancient lexicographers speak of a four-headed Hermes which stood in the Cerameikos at Athens. For images of Hermes with three heads, see J. Schmidt, "Trikephalos," *Roscher* 5, cols. 1111-1115.

¹⁹¹ See Catalogue A, no. 9.

¹⁹² Catalogue C, no. 1.

teenth century allegory as a personification of the Fine Arts, Commerce and Agriculture.¹⁹³ The Antonine date suggested at the time, on the basis of coins discovered in the area, does not seem to require emendation. The rich modelling of the coiffures and of the beard of Cernunnos, the gracility of the poses, and the rather "baroque" extension of the flanking figures beyond the frame do not contradict it.¹⁹⁴

It is not necessary to reaffirm the chthonic significance which is maintained, though subordinated, for Cernunnos here. A small rat sculptured in the pediment of the stele substantiates that aspect of the divinity; as a burrowing animal, the rat was early associated with the underworld.¹⁹⁵ The bull and stag are probably to be recognized as allusions to the remote theriolatrous origins of the stag-god, as well as fertility symbols. But other elements of this composition enlarge the familiar iconography of Cernunnos and present new problems of interpretation.

First, the conjunction of two normal, classical gods, Apollo and Mercury, must be explained. The presence of Mercury is not surprising. We have encountered him before in this circle for which he possesses more than one qualification. Not only is Mercury a constant associate of funerary divinities as a favored mediator between the world of men and the realm of the dead, but he is also an ally of the generative forces of *abundantia*. His function as protector of herds goes far back into classical Greek times, and one can be sure that his connection with Demeter is based as much upon corn fertility as upon chthonic significance. This is borne out by the situation in Rome in the early fifth century B.C.

when, as Livy records, whoever won the dedication of the temple of Mercury was to incur thereby administration of the corn supply, as well as establishment of the merchants' guild.¹⁹⁶ The inclusion of Apollo as a major partner is, however, more difficult to interpret.

In this respect one may cite a frequent partnership of Mercury and Apollo in classical times: at Olympia they shared one altar because, Pausanias assumes, "Hermes invented the lyre and Apollo the lute."¹⁹⁷ But this is not the only ground for their affiliation. Apollo under one guise was worshipped in rites of the Great Goddesses at Oechalia in Messenia, rites which were said to be second only to those of Eleusis in sanctity. At that site were erected statues of Apollo Carneios, Hagne (Kore) and Hermes.¹⁹⁸ Furtwängler studied the syncretistic unification of Apollo and Mercury incidental to a statuary type which portrays Mercury with the attributes of a scroll and the quiver and baldric of Apollo.¹⁹⁹ In Roman provincial art there is abundant evidence for their fraternization: an altar in the Museum of Metz shows Mercury and Rosmerta on one side, Apollo on the other;²⁰⁰ an important stele in Stuttgart reveals the two divinities side by side, accompanied by two minute human figures, above a sacrifice which includes Minerva;²⁰¹ and a quadrangular block from Reims itself presents on one face a nude Mercury with caduceus, lyre, cornucopia and club.²⁰²

Nevertheless, it is impossible at this time to venture any concrete suggestion as to the relation of Apollo with Cernunnos.²⁰³ In any case, the affiliation is not a unique phenomenon. Another monument of the stag-god (fig. 4)²⁰⁴ as a

¹⁹³ E. Charton, *Magasin pittoresque* 1847, 164.

¹⁹⁴ Certain elements, however, might suggest a chronological revision into the late Hadrianic period: the rigid isocephaly, preserved in the two animals by a rather naive device, or the uncoordinated juxtaposition of figures and background.

¹⁹⁵ De Witte, *RA* 1852, 561. This detail has been seized upon as a "tangible clue" to the influence of Indian art on that of Gaul—A. Grünwedel, *Globus* 75, March 18, 1899, 176, comparing figures of Kuwera in which his sack is replaced by a rat.

¹⁹⁶ 2.27.5.

¹⁹⁷ 5.14.8.

¹⁹⁸ Pausanias 4.33.4.

¹⁹⁹ *Kleine Schriften* 2, 350–360.

²⁰⁰ E V, no. 4346 with bibl. From Montigny.

²⁰¹ E XI, no. 479. From near Neuberg. Cf. Haug-Sixt, *Röm. Inschr. u. Bildw. Württembergs*, pp. 78 f., no. 112, fig. 40.

²⁰² Cf. above, p. 38, note 156, for the tricephalic divinity on another face of the same stone. Hahl dates this sculpture c. A.D. 232—*op. cit.* 42.

²⁰³ Cf. the suggestion of Rhys (*Celtic Heathendom* 88) that Apollo, connected in Gaul with mineral springs, here represents the sources of health pouring out from Cernunnos' deep realm.

²⁰⁴ Catalogue C, no. 5.

child, holding a purse and torque and flanked by youthful genies and serpents, preserves on its adjacent face a figure of Apollo playing the lyre. On analogy with the Reims sculpture, the third, destroyed side could probably be reconstructed as a representation of Mercury.

A second novel feature of the Reims stele reveals a new direction of *interpretatio romana*. Cernunnos holds a large sack from which he pours forth sketchily rendered round objects. These have been variously interpreted as coins, grains, acorns or beech-nuts,²⁰⁵ but comparison with other monuments supports their identification as coins. The same objects are spewed out by the stag on the Luxembourg relief already mentioned, where their flatness and regularity of shape could be applied only to pieces of money. A stone statue from La Guerche shows a seated figure holding a purse from which coins escape.²⁰⁶ A silver bowl from Lyon bears relief decoration which represents, according to P. Wuilleumier, Cernunnos reclining on a couch beside a table at which Mercury counts out coins.²⁰⁷

With this development it becomes proper to speak of Cernunnos as Dis Pater, the old Italic god of the underworld who corresponds to the Greek Pluto.²⁰⁸ The fact seems inescapable that the Celtic divinity with his chthonic-fertility dualism was equated by the Romans with their own god of similar character. In Rome Dis Pater had a sanctuary near the altar of Saturn belonging to the temple whose subterranean cave was given over to the custody of the Roman state treasury.²⁰⁹ It is probable that some association of money, i.e., the metals of its composition and the depths of the earth from which they were mined, led people to assign the function of be-

stower and protector of riches to the lord of those nether regions. Subsequently, by a comprehensible transfer, the same role was attributed to Dis Pater's Celtic equivalent. For two centuries Cernunnos maintained his identity, but with the triumph of this Roman interpretation at the end of the second century A.D., the way was opened for his complete submergence in classical forms. In the Luxembourg relief and the Dennevy sculpture related to it,²¹⁰ his fertility aspects are expressed by *Genii* of abundance.

Perhaps Cernunnos preserved his independence in the funerary sphere; in any case this most haunting figure of the Celtic pantheon achieved as enduring an immortality as many divinities of the classical world. He survives in many examples of Irish and Viking art: for example, the north pillar of Clonmacnoise²¹¹ and one leaf of the Book of Bobbio in Turin.²¹² The imaginations of medieval artists were also captured by the arresting appearance of this antlered divinity. I may mention two examples of this continued interest. The Stuttgart Psalter, that manuscript which contains so much provocative material for archaeologists, gives startling evidence of what has been suspected from its style: that its miniaturist was a well-informed observer of Gallo-Roman monuments. In the scene of the Descent into Limbo he places Cernunnos, complete with cross-legged posture, antlers, and even a ram-headed serpent, in an arcaded niche of Hades.²¹³ No mere copying of some antique monument this but a clear vision of what that ancient figure stood for, the lord of the underworld in his proper home.²¹⁴ Again, on one of the capitals of the Cathedral of Parma, Cernunnos is shown seated between two addorsed animals, clearly

²⁰⁵ Krüger, *Germania* 1939, 253, n. 6, agrees that they are certainly coins, and compares the Celtic die type with the head of a stag on the obverse mentioned above, p. 26, note 84.

²⁰⁶ Catalogue B, no. 10.

²⁰⁷ Catalogue A, no. 19.

²⁰⁸ R. Peter, "Dis Pater," *Roscher*, i¹, cols. 1179-1188.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 1181.

²¹⁰ See above, pp. 40-41.

²¹¹ Henry, *op. cit.* 108; *Idem*, *La sculpture irlandaise*, pl. 41, 3. Although hornless, the cross-legged figures of the Oseberg bucket (Henry, *Irish Art* pl. 49) and

the Freyr statuette from Rellinge (Berstl, *Jb. asiat. Kunst.* 1 [1924] pl. 99, 2) belong to the same tradition.

²¹² Henry, *Irish Art* pl. 67.

²¹³ Berstl, *op. cit.* pl. 102, 2. DeWald, *The Stuttgart Psalter*, fol. 16 verso.

²¹⁴ A similar cognizance of the original implications of Cernunnos appears in a miniature of a fifteenth century manuscript of the Holy Grail. Satan is shown as a three-faced being (rendered in a very accurate Reims type) with animal ears and antlers - *Aesculape*, Sept. 1912, p. x of Supplement. For the Christian applications of tricephaly to both Satan and the Trinity, see Pettazzoni, *op. cit.* 151.

identified by the small antlers which sprout from his head.²¹⁵

If this detailed examination of the monuments of the cult of the stag-god has clarified his significance and permitted a more integrated understanding of his functions, it has also yielded important evidence for the typology of provincial sculpture. Pre-Roman types were able to survive the impact of classical culture,²¹⁶ and this select example has given some intimation of the complex background of Gallo-Roman art with its fusion of diverse elements from varied sources.

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APPENDIX

CATALOGUE OF REPRESENTATIONS OF CERNUNNOS AND RELATED FIGURES

L. refers to Lantier's catalogue in
MonPiot 34 (1934) 41-50.

CATALOGUE A: BRONZE STATUETTES

1. (L.2) Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée des antiquités nationales, inv. no. 14658. Discovered c. 1840 at Savigny, near Autun (Saône-et-Loire). Ht: 0.185 m. including base (fig. 7).

Bearded divinity seated with his legs crossed under him upon a cushion decorated by cross-hatched incisions. He wears a long sleeveless garment fastened at each shoulder by a round fibula, a torque about his neck, and a bracelet on his right wrist. Two smaller heads projecting at either side of the principal one, just above the ears, make this god tricephalic. Above his forehead appear two symmetrical holes (which still retain traces of lead) for the attachment of antlers.

The divinity's arms protectively embrace the bodies of two serpents with fish tails and ram heads which encircle his torso; the heads of these animals rest upon an indistinguishable heap of fruits (?) held in the lap of the god, above which a second torque is hieratically displayed. An illustration is to be found in *RA* 1880, 1, pl. XII. A new picture-book, published in Paris, in-

cludes a fine plate of this figurine (pl. 6) and of several other works discussed in this study: Champigneulle and Gischia *La sculpt. en France d. l. préhist. à la fin du moyen age*, 1950.

2. Unpublished bronze in the possession of H. Scheinfelen in Stuttgart, on loan exhibition in the Landesmuseum at Cassel. This statuette is mentioned by E. Krüger, *Germania* 23 (1939) 253-4: "... hockenden Hirschgottes mit dem geöffneten Geldbeutel . . ."

3. (L.8) Musée de Clermont-Ferrand; cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 29313. Discovered in the suburbs of Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme). Lantier, fig. 9.

Goddess seated with crossed legs. She wears a long chiton, mantle, and a tiara. Two unbranched antlers grow from her head. In her left hand she holds a cornucopia; the missing right hand was partially extended and probably held a patera.

4. (L.9) Lost statuette formerly in the Jesuit collection at Besançon (Doubs). B. de Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée*, 2nd ed. (1722) 2, pl. cxiv, fig. 3.

Goddess seated as before, in the so-called "tailors' seat." She wears a long-sleeved chiton with an overdrape at the waist. From her head rise four-pointed antlers. The left hand holds a cornucopia filled with fruits, and the right a patera.

Montfaucon misinterpreted the antlers as palm branches and consequently identified the figure as Isis.

5. (L.10) London, British Museum. Unknown provenance (fig. 6).

Goddess seated as before, wearing a long chiton. Three-pointed antlers grow from her head. In her left hand she holds a cornucopia with a "bull's head" on its reverse, and in her right a patera.

6. Lost statuette formerly in the collection of M. de Chezelles at Montluçon (Allier). Montfaucon, *op. cit.* 2, pl. cxc, fig. 6.

Bearded divinity standing with right arm extended. The god wears a long-sleeved undergarment and a cloak which is wrapped tightly about his legs. From his temples grow four-pointed antlers. In his left hand he holds a striated object which terminates in an animal head (ram or goat?).

7. Lost statuette formerly in the possession of M. de Mautour, Paris. From Ablainsevelt (Pas-de-Calais),

²¹⁵ C. Martin, *L'art roman en Italie* pl. 10, 2. He holds a spear in one hand. The curls of his beard are rendered in very Celtic style, closely comparable to the exterior plaques of the Gundestrup cauldron.

The ram-headed serpent was also revived in later periods, appearing frequently in manuscripts, particularly those of the Apocalypse, as a symbol of the anti-Christ. Cf. the Apocalypse, Valenciennes, no.

199, fols. 36, 37 and 26 (the text with the latter reads: *draconem qui habet cornua duo simula agni . . .*)—*Bull. d. l. soc. de reprod. de manuscrits* 6, 1922, pl. xxviii.

²¹⁶ The horse-goddess, Epona, would be another example. She not only survived, but was accepted by the legions and spread throughout the Empire.

1703. Ht: "13 thumbs." Moreau de Mautour, *Dissertation sur une figure de bronze, trouvée dans un tombeau et qui représente une divinité des anciens* (Paris 1706). The engraving of the figure, between pp. 6 and 7 (*Figura aenea antiqua Bacchi senioris cornuta*) served as the basis for Montfaucon, *op. cit.* 2, pl. cxc, fig. 5.

Nude, standing divinity with a mantle draped over his left shoulder and arm. His right arm is partially extended. The god is bearded, and from his luxuriant hair spring two antlers. The strange conformation of these antlers in the drawings, which make them appear to end in crescents, derives from the fact that these eighteenth century savants did not understand the iconography of Cernunnos. A drawing of the head of this same figure by Grivaud de la Vincelle (*Arts et Métiers des anciens* [1819] pl. cxi, top center) gives the antlers a form similar to the Clermont-Ferrand statuette (no. 3), i.e. without tines but with a forked summit.

8. (L.4) Amiens Museum. Discovered at Amiens (Somme). Ht: 0.108 m. Lantier, fig. 5.

Youthful, beardless divinity seated in a cross-legged pose. He wears a long-sleeved tunic, belted at the waist, and a mantle. His arms were outstretched symmetrically; the right is missing below the elbow, while the left hand is clenched as if to grasp some attribute. At the right side of his head, in front of the hair, appears a large animal ear; it is said that there are no traces of a corresponding one at the other side. Because of this feature (cf. A. Danicourt, *RA* 1886, 1, p. 78) early observers identified the figure as Midas. Lantier points out (*MonPiot* 34 [1934] 43) that the ear is rather that of a deer than of a horse (cf. Reinach, *RA* 1894, 2, p. 374). The relation of this statuette to other representations of Cernunnos or members of his cult remains problematic.

9. (L.3) Toulouse, Musée Saint-Raymond. Discovered at Pouy-de-Touges (Haute Garonne). Traces of gilding. Lantier, fig. 4.

This figure represents Mercury assimilated to Cernunnos (see text, p. 42 ff.) He is seated with his legs crossed under him, and his right leg bears hatchings which resemble those on the cushion of the Autun Cernunnos (no. 1). Both arms are extended without attributes. The god wears a tunic, a mantle, and the winged petasos of Mercury.

10. (L.1) Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 76551. Discovered in 1845 at Bouray (Seine-et-Oise). Ht: 0.42 m. (fig. 2). A hollow, copper figure composed of six independent pieces of sheet metal soldered together.

Nude, beardless man whose head is approximately half the size of the complete figure. He is seated in the "tailors' seat," his rudimentary legs violently contorted so that the soles of his feet are turned upwards. He wears a torque about his neck. The arms are missing, but traces of solder on the thighs prove that the

hands reposed there (Lantier, *op. cit.* 39 versus H. de Villefosse, "Le dieu gaulois accroupi de Bouray," *Mém. d. l. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France* 72 [1912] 244-275, who believed them to have been raised).

There is no compelling reason to recognize Cernunnos in this statuette; the person represented might not even be divine. Lantier relates it to a group of bronze busts from Compiègne and elsewhere (Reinach, *Bronzes figurés* 224 ff; Lantier, 52-55), suggesting that all are to be connected with the cult of Cernunnos and his female partner. This seems a dubious assumption, although one female head from Compiègne reveals slots for the insertion of "wings" (Reinach, *op. cit.* no. 218) or "horns" (Lantier, 54).

11. (L.5) Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 35231. From Vassel near Billom (Puy-de-Dôme). Lantier, fig. 6.

Bearded god wearing a tunic, a mantle and *bracae*. Both arms were extended; the right is broken from the elbow and the attribute in the clenched left hand is missing. The pose agrees with that of Cernunnos types, although the legs are more outstretched than those of true "dieux accroupis." The figure seems to bear more relation to the mallet-god of the Celts than to Cernunnos. For interpretation of that divinity and Cernunnos, see text, p. 40, n. 172. The "traces of horns" mentioned by Reinach (*Catalogue* 2 [1921] 163) seem to be merely damaged curls of hair.

12. (L.6) Musée d'Issoudun. From Neuville-Pailoux (Indre). Ht: 0.09 m.

According to Lantier, this is neither the handle of a patera nor of a sword, but a statuette of a seated female divinity whose lower body has been replaced by a simple "bourrelet." She wears a torque about her neck and holds a second against her chest with both hands.

This minor monument has been excluded from our discussion, although it may well belong among representations of Cernunnos' female partner. Cf. A. Blanchet, "Manche de poignard du Musée d'Issoudun," *Bull. d. l. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France* 1901, 160-65.

13. (L.7) Formerly in the R. Gadant collection at Autun. From Mt. Beuvray (Saône-et-Loire). Ht. 0.046 m.

This extremely crude piece represents a seated goddess, clothed in a long robe. Her left leg is placed in the correct position for our type, but the right does not cross it and is more extended. Her arms repose on her knees.

In the lack of positive evidence, this statuette has also been excluded from the discussion. Cf. Lantier, fig. 7; R. Gadant, "Note sur une figurine de bronze découverte au Beuvray en 1905," *Mém. d. l. société éduenne*, N. S. 34 (1906) 261-65.

14. Suspect bronze from Broc (Maine-et-Loire).

Ht: 0.055 m. Reinach, *Bronzes figurés*, p. 192; R. Gaidoz, "Note sur une statuette en bronze représentant un homme assis les jambes croisées," *RA* 1881, 1, pp. 365-69.

This bearded figure, clothed in what resembles a coat of mail, is extremely stylized. He holds two decorative elements in symmetrically upraised hands. The piece is interpreted as furniture applique and dated in the medieval period by Reinach and Gaidoz. If it is medieval, certain details would indicate that the artist was copying an ancient piece, but it could well be a modern forgery.

15. In 1896 a dealer in Clermont-Ferrand was in possession of a small bronze "dieu accroupi," described as bearded and as having a draped torso. I have been unable to connect this piece with any other listed here or to ascertain its subsequent history. For mention of it, see M. Imbert, "Le dieu gaulois de Chassenon," *Revue mensuelle d. l'école d'anthropologie de Paris*, 6 (1896) 19.

*Other Representations in Metal (and Val
Camonica Rock carving)*

16. Rock carving of the Val Camonica, North Italy. See text, pp. 14, 18, notes 8 and 28 ff.

17. Gundestrup silver cauldron. Copenhagen, National Museum. See text, pp. 19-21, notes 38-46 and (fig. 3).

18. Celtic coin type formerly ascribed to the Catalauni. See text, p. 14 and note 9.

19. Silver bowl found at Lyon in 1929. Ht: 0.065 m.; upper diam: 0.085 m. P. Willeumier, "Gobelet en argent de Lyon," *RA* 1936, 2, pp. 46-53

The decorative frieze shows various animals (boar, tortoise, raven, eagle, serpent and dog), a youth seated at a table and pouring coins upon it from a purse, and a figure reclining on a couch. The head of the latter figure is missing, but he holds a cornucopia and a torque and a deer stands behind him. Willeumier identifies him as Cernunnos and the youth counting coins as Mercury. Cf. text, p. 44.

CATALOGUE B: STONE STATUES

1. (L.24) E VI, no. 4839 with bibliography. Épinal, Musée départemental des Vosges; cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 27511. Discovered at Sommerécourt (Haute Marne). Ht: 1.20 m. Sandstone (fig. 11).

Beardless male divinity seated on a cushioned block. His legs have been broken away, but one foot appears in horizontal position at his left side and proves that he was seated cross-legged. The god wears a tunic and mantle, a torque about his neck, and earrings (as indicated by holes for their insertion). Two holes, still retaining particles of lead, make it certain that metal (or natural?) antlers were attached to his head. Two ram-headed serpents encircle his arms and

shoulders, resting their heads upon a "plate" (or sack?) held in his lap.

2. E VI, no. 4831 with bibliography. Épinal Museum; cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 24510. From Sommerécourt. Ht: 0.95 m. without the head. Common stone (fig. 12).

It was the knowledge that this figure had been discovered in a well in 1806 that led Voulot to return to Sommerécourt over fifty years later seeking its head, or other interesting fragments. This expedition led to the recovery of this goddess' male partner (no. 1): A. Bertrand, "Les deux divinités gauloises de Sommerécourt," *RA* 1884, 2, pp. 301-304, pls. ix-x.

Female divinity seated normally in a very hieratic and contained pose. She is fully draped, wears sandals, and is provided with bracelets as well as a torque about her neck. A long curl of hair falling over each shoulder preserves some indication of her coiffure.

The goddess holds a cornucopia in her right hand; it is filled with three fruits resembling apples and a round object under her left hand is described as a fourth such fruit (although it seems more like the "pomegranate" mentioned below). In her lap is a large bowl which suggests metallic form and is filled with more fruits and a sort of "pâtée." A serpent with the head of a ram surrounds her body and rests his head upon the contents of this vessel. In addition to the cornucopia resting against her shoulder, the right hand grasps what has been identified as a pomegranate and for this reason the goddess was called Ceres in the catalogue of the museum (J. Laurent, *Cat. des collections du Musée départ. des Vosges* [Épinal 1868] 62).

The stylistic affinity of this figure with that of Cernunnos from the same site is so strong that the two divinities can only have been intended as counterparts.

3. (L.26) E II, no. 1319 with bibl. Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 25327. From Saintes (Charente-Inférieure). Ht: 0.84 m.; width: 0.77 m.; thickness: 0.32 m. Shelly white stone. This so-called altar is actually a statuary group on the back of which additional figures are given in relief (figs. 9-10).

At the left, a god seated in the "tailors' seat," clothed in a *paenula*. He holds a purse in his left hand and a torque in his right. Unfortunately, his head is missing, making it impossible to determine the presence or absence of antlers. To the right a draped goddess is seated normally upon a cushioned block. She holds a cornucopia in her left hand and a dove in her right. At her left knee stands a diminutive figure, a draped female carrying a cornucopia and a fruit (apple?).

On the reverse the "dieu accroupi" is repeated in the center, seated upon a base which is either supported by or decorated with two bucrania. In his right hand he holds a purse, in his left some indeterminate object.

At his left, supported on a base over a similar bull's head, stands a nude male figure identified as Hercules because his right hand rests on a club, and an apple (?) is held in his left. At the opposite side of the cross-legged god a draped female stands on an undecorated base; she holds some object in her left hand (Ésperandieu: vase or fruit).

4. E II, no. 1316 with bibl. Bordeaux Museum. Discovered c. 1859 at Condat (Dordogne). Preserved ht: 0.35 m; width at base: 0.41 m. Common stone. Destroyed below chest (fig. 5).

Three bearded heads on a single broad bust characterize this tricephalic divinity. He is clothed in a *sagum* and wears a large torque about his principal neck. On top of the central head, two symmetrical holes for the insertion of antlers bear out the assimilation of Cernunnos to this second Celtic god (cf. the bronze statuette from Autun, Cat. A, no. 1).

E. Cartailhac ("Une nouvelle statue du dieu tricephale gaulois," *RA* 1899, 1, pp. 302-303) believed that he could distinguish an "ear" against one arm, recalling animals sculptured on other monuments of the same mythological sphere.

That this is not a bust but part of a complete figure, probably seated in the usual cross-legged pose, is borne out by the uneven fracture and the fact that the pose of the arms can be explained only if they rested on the divinity's thighs (cf. Reinach, "Nouvelles archéologiques et correspondance," *RA* 1899, 2, p. 467).

The best reproductions are to be found in a note by C. de Mensignac, "Le dieu tricephale gaulois de la commune de Condat," *Mém. d. l. soc. archéol. de Bordeaux* 22, no. 2 (1897) 29, pls. I-II.

5. (L.13-17) E I, no. 131, III, no. 1703 and IX, no. 6703 with bibl. Marseille, Musée Borély. Two statues and fragments of figures squatting in the tailors' seat. From the sanctuary of La Roquepertuse near Velaux (Bouches-du-Rhône). One fragment (E no. 6703) was discovered in the vicinity, walled into a construction at Rognac (M. Clerc, *REA* 16 [1914] 81). In addition to no. 131 and no. 1703, fragmentary remains of similar figures at La Roquepertuse indicate the original existence of at least four statues within the sanctuary. The most fully preserved statue (E no. 131) measures 1.25 m. in height. Unfortunately, not a single head has been preserved, and it is thus impossible to insist upon an identification with Cernunnos or other members of his cult; these statues might represent human priests or votaries rather than divine personages. The most recent discussion is to be found in F. Benoit, *L'art primitif méditerranéen de la vallée du Rhône; La Sculpture* 1945, pp. 16, 34-36, pls. xxv, xxxiii-xxxvi.

The preserved statues represent male figures seated cross-legged on stone plaques, two of which have "acroteria" at the corners. Only the legs and base of the Rognac fragment are preserved. The other two

agree so closely that a description of E no. 131 will serve the entire group. The right arm follows the contour of the torso, and this hand probably rested on the upper surface of the base. The left arm is bent across the chest; its hand is missing, but the size of the break and a metal dowel (Benoit, 16) indicate that some large object was displayed. One of the fragments which constitute the third statue is part of a torque or collar held in that figure's right hand (H. de Gerin-Ricard and G. A. d'Agnel, *Les antiquités de la Vallée de l'Arc en Provence*, p. 29, no. 6). By analogy one may assume the same attribute for the more complete figure (Jacobssthal, *Early Celtic Art* [1944] Text, p. 5).

The figure is clothed in a short, sleeveless tunic with vertical folds, a fringed hem, a girdle, and an engraved network of diamond patterns. A second article of apparel remains unexplained: a thick, rectangular dorsal section decorated with geometrical patterns covers the back of the figure from neck to thighs, while the smaller pectoral section is divided into two sections with stepped outline and crosses or meanders filling the squares. Jacobssthal (p. 6) attacks the description of Lantier and Gerin-Ricard, who took it for a stole or "chasuble," but admits that the construction cannot be explained in our present state of knowledge.

5a. Musée d'Aix-en-Provence. Fragment of a cross-legged figure from the sanctuary at Entremont (Bouches-du-Rhône). One leg bent under a thigh; of same style as Roquepertuse figures. Benoit, *op. cit.* 35, pl. xxxviii, 2.

5b. Musée de Nîmes. From Russan, *oppidum* of Marbacum (Gard). Torso of a similar figure wearing the so-called chasuble. Probably "accroupi" also. *ibid.* 36, pl. xxxvi, 1-2.

6. (L.20) E II, no. 1603 with bibl. Musée de Clermont-Ferrand. Discovered in 1833 at Longat (Puy-de-Dôme). Preserved ht: c. 0.90 m. Sandstone.

Draped torso of a man whose head, legs and arms are missing. He is seated in the "tailors' seat" upon a cushion. Traces of the right hand remain, crossing over the thigh and resting on the cushion between his legs (cf. Gaidoz, *RA* 1884, 2, p. 300). In the absence of the head and any attributes there can be no certainty that the statue represents Cernunnos.

7. (L.19) E II, no. 1589 with bibl. Musée de Rochecouart. From a well in Chassenon (Charente). Preserved ht: 0.60 m. Common limestone.

Male figure whose head is missing seated cross-legged. His garment forms a deep pocket between his thighs. His hands rest on his knees. There is a bracelet around his right ankle and a torque about his neck. Again there can be no certainty of identification.

8. (L.18) E II, no. 1566 with bibl. Nérès, Musée de l'établissement thermal. From Nérès (Allier). Ht: 0.88 m.

A nude male figure "accroupi" of very crude stiff-

ness and frontality. He wears a torque about his neck. Both hands are held before him, the left grasping a torque or "garland" which the right supports (cf. J. Bariau, *Néris-les-Bains* [Montluçon 1867], 54: "... un personnage ayant les mains liées ensemble par un chaîne ..."). Although the head is preserved, destruction has completely erased the features. The figure cannot be identified as Cernunnos because he is without antlers, but it may be connected with his cult.

9. E III, no. 2332 with bibl. Autun, Musée de la société éduenne (Hôtel Rolin). Discovered in 1878 at Lantilly (Côte d'Or). Preserved ht: 0.45 m. Local stone.

A nude god seated normally on a low seat. Between his knees is placed a large bunch of grapes. The left hand rested palm up on his thigh, with the last three fingers closed. The right held the head of a large serpent. The tail of this serpent is described as being of fish form, which would connect the statue with the bronze statuette from Autun (Cat. A, no. 1). Both the head of the divinity and of the serpent are missing, making identification problematic.

10. E II, no. 1555 with bibl. Small stone statuette which, in 1882, was the property of M. Roubet, president of the Société nivernaise. Cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 26259. From La Guerche (Cher). Ht: 0.35 m. Common stone.

Divinity seated normally in a hieratic pose. In his left hand he holds a patera; his right steadies upon his knee a large purse from which coins escape. The god wears a tunic and *sagum*. The figure is not an "accroupi," nor is the head completely preserved, but it deserves inclusion in the tentative Cernunnos circle because of its analogy with the famous Reims stele (Cat. C, no. 1).

11. (L.21) E II, no. 1375 with bibl. Angoulême, Musée archéologique. From La Terne (Charente). Preserved ht: 0.37 m. Friable limestone. Destroyed above the waist.

Male figure clothed in a mantle which is fastened on his left shoulder. His hands are placed on his knees, between which rests a purse or vase. Although his legs are crossed, the figure is less in the "tailors' seat" than other examples and is not included in our discussion.

12. (L.23) E IX, no. 7033 with bibl. Mont Dore, Musée de l'établissement thermal. From Mont Dore (Puy-de-Dôme). Ht: 0.69 m. Sandstone.

A seated male figure wearing a mantle. His legs are broken away and, although he is so described, it seems doubtful that he was "accroupi." Beside his right arm there appear to be traces of the arm of a throne. The figure is beardless; his hair is strangely like a skull-cap, and there is no trace of horns. It seems unlikely that the sculpture was intended to represent Cernunnos or any members of his cult. It is therefore omitted from our discussion.

13. E IV, no. 3210. Meaux, private collection. Found at Meaux (Seine-et-Marne). Ht: c. 0.30 m. Soft stone.

A seated divinity clothed in a long tunic. He holds a large cornucopia-shaped sack (?) into which his right hand is inserted. On his forehead are two protuberances which have been referred to as "cornes naissantes" (G. Gassies, "Le dieu gaulois au sac," *REA* 7 [1905] 373), but these might merely represent a hair stylization similar to that of the god from Sommerécourt (no. 1).

14. (L.22) E V, no. 3731 with bibl. Brimont (Marne), collection of Vicomte A. Ruinart de Brimont. Unknown provenance. Ht: 0.28 m. Coarse limestone.

A nude figure in the "tailors' seat." The arms are lacking, but seem to have rested on the thighs. The face is extremely crude in execution and the body very flat. The figure leans so far forward that it approximates a hunchback. This statuette is consistently described as that of a man, but there appears to be something female in the conformation of the breasts (cf. no. 16).

Although this statuette probably derives from the Reims region in which so many monuments of the Cernunnos cult are centered, it is omitted from our discussion as problematic.

15. (L.28) E IV, no. 2882. Musée d'Auxerre. Found in 1891 near Auxerre (Yonne). Ht: 0.36 m. Soft limestone. The head is missing.

A male figure in the "tailors' seat," clothed in a long tunic and an "apron" fastened on each arm near the shoulder by a buckle and two straps. He wears a torque about his neck and a bracelet on each arm. In his right hand is an apple (?); his left raises the head of a child who is sleeping on his knees. At his right knee appears a beardless bust with a torque about its neck.

This enigmatic work cannot be connected specifically with Cernunnos, although, in all likelihood, it is to be placed in the wider sphere of his cult.

16. (L.27) E III, no. 2218 with bibl. Musée d'Avalon. From Étaules near Avallon (Yonne). Ht: 0.66 m. Soft limestone. The head and arms are lost.

A nude figure "accroupi," in the contorted pose in which each foot rests, sole up, on the opposite hip (cf. the Bouray statuette, Cat. A., no. 10). The body leans forward and is provided with heavy breasts and eight nipples on the belly. On the back appear very short crossed wings.

This statue was discovered at the site of a burial together with other funerary monuments. It illustrates an interesting syncretism: the normal mortuary sphinx utilizes the characteristic pose of the Celtic god of the underworld. Cf. F. Poullaine, "Tombeaux de pierre et monuments funéraires gallo-romains à Avallon," *Bull. archéol.* 1901, 23-26 ("génie funéraire").

17. (L.25) E III, no. 1804 with bibl. Lost statue, a

cast of which is preserved in the Musée de Roanne. Original from Saint-Galmier (Loire); formerly in the Noël collection. Ht: 0.55 m. The head is missing.

This statue is described as a nude, squatting man with a serpent twined about his body. Éspérandieu states that it represents, perhaps, a Mithraic divinity and that his chest has a "gibbosité" which is difficult to explain. From the very poor reproductions it seems clear that the figure is not a human being at all, but some animal, probably a bear. Thus it would have no place in our discussion.

Supplement: Terracotta

18. (L.12 and fig. 11) Terracotta statuette, formerly in the collection of Leon Maître. Cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 35519. From Quilly (Loire-Inférieure). L. Maître, "Le dieu accroupi de Quilly," *Bull. d. l. soc. fr. d'anthropologie* 1899, 142-153.

A nude, beardless god in the "tailors' seat." His right arm is bent so that the open hand rests on his abdomen; at the extremity of the fingers a bird is depicted on his chest. On the right elbow appear three circles centered with stars. On the reverse of the figurine is engraved a scabbard, decorated with a large double circle and surrounded by nine smaller double circles framing stars.

This figurine bears no specific relation to Cernunnos, and has been omitted from our consideration. It is a further illustration of the fact that the cross-legged pose cannot be confined too narrowly to Cernunnos.

CATALOGUE C: STONE RELIEFS

1. (L.29) E V, no. 3653 with bibl. Reims, Musée de Beaux-arts. Discovered in 1837 in the Rue Vauthierle-Noir, Reims (Marne) with other objects, including coins of Tiberius, Vespasian and Antoninus Pius. Cf. H. Bazin, *Reims, monuments et histoire* (1904) 19: "en guise d'ex voto, il était entouré de petites statuettes en terre cuite, Lucine, Cybèle, ou autres." Cast with restored antlers, Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 24414. Ht: 1.25 m.; width: 1.10 m.; thickness: 0.41 m. Local soft stone (fig. 13).

On a quadrangular block in the center of the relief Cernunnos is seated with crossed legs. He wears a mantle fastened on his left shoulder, a bracelet on his right upper arm and a torque about his neck; his legs are covered by Celtic *bracae*, and either the toes of his feet have not been indicated or they are encased in soft shoes. The god is richly bearded and has branching, four-pointed antlers growing from his head (these have been broken away but can be reconstructed from traces on the upper moulding of the stele). He holds a large sack from which round objects flow down to two antithetic animals, a bull and a stag, placed below

his seat. These round objects have been variously interpreted as coins, grains, beech-nuts or acorns.

To the right stands a figure of Mercury, clad in a mantle and wearing a winged petasos. His weight is borne by his right leg, while the left is flexed to the side. His right arm, holding a caduceus, is raised behind his head which is turned toward Cernunnos. In his left he grasps a large purse. At the other side of the seated god stands Apollo, nude save for a long piece of drapery placed on his left shoulder and falling behind him to be drawn forward over his right thigh. The right leg is bent and placed on a small base to provide support for this drapery. Apollo's right arm seems to have rested on his thigh; his left is raised to a lyre supported on an altar. Both attendant figures are of smaller proportions than the seated Cernunnos, and a rigid isocephaly is thus preserved. A rat is depicted in the pediment of the stele.

2. A fragment of a relief similar to no. 1, also from Reims, is reported by Maxe-Werly in the *Bull. d. l. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France*, Séance of April 4, 1883, and is mentioned by Mowat, *Bull. épigraph. de la Gaule* 3 (1883) 172.

This fragment shows three masculine heads. The center one is horned, the right wears the winged petasos of Mercury, and the left is of a beardless type suitable for Apollo.

3. E IV, no. 3133 with extensive bibl. Paris, Musée Cluny. Cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 351. One face of the upper part of a quadrangular "altar" discovered in 1710 under the choir of Notre-Dame, Paris (Seine). Preserved ht: 0.47 m.; width and thickness: 0.75 m. (fig. 1).

Older drawings—as Montfaucon, *op. cit.* 2, pl. cxc, 1—show above the god, the inscription *CERNVNNOS* (CIL XIII 3026 c) completely preserved, although much of it is illegible today.

Cernunnos appears to be clothed in a tunic. Although his head is bald, he has a heavy beard and moustache. In addition to normal ears, he is provided with those of an animal—undoubtedly borrowed from a stag like the antlers which flank them. From each antler a torque depends.

The relative proportions of this figure and of the standing figures on the remaining three faces ensure a reconstruction of the cross-legged pose for Cernunnos. It is entirely possible that a ram-headed serpent was included in the original composition.

4. E IV, no. 3015. Formerly in the Revellière collection. Cast Musée Saint-Germain. From Blain (Loire-Inférieure). Ht: 0.39 m.; width at center: 0.15 m.; thickness: 0.09 m. Red granite (or terracotta?) relief.

Nude, frontal Cernunnos standing on the back of an animal. Tall, unbranched antlers assure the identifica-

tion of the divinity. His left arm is raised, and his right hand seems to hold a purse (?). A wavy border along the left side of the stele has been suggested as a serpent.

This standing type of Cernunnos may be compared to the bronze statuettes in Cat. A, nos. 6 and 7, and to the rock carving of Val Camonica, although the pose of his arms and the use of an animal as his support were probably inspired by representations of Jupiter Dolichenus.

5. (L. 30) E II, no. 1539 with bibl. Musée de Chateauroux. Cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. 26244. Said to have been found at Vendevres (Indre) in 1865. Ht: 0.48 m.; width of front face: 0.61 m., of sides: 0.25 m. Common stone (fig. 4).

On the front face of this block appears Cernunnos seated in the usual "pose accroupi." He wears a tunic and mantle and is provided with antlers, but the child-like forms of his body contrast with normal representations. The two nude male figures standing on large serpents at either side of him likewise resemble erotes rather than adults. The young Cernunnos holds a large purse in his lap. One of his attendants, who grasp his antlers, holds a torque in his left hand; the other places one foot on an adjacent altar. The serpents are very large and thick; their heads have been so damaged that it is impossible to determine whether they were horned.

On the left face of the block a seated Apollo with nude torso and legs is represented playing a lyre. A basket stands beside him. The relief on the right face has been destroyed, but on analogy with the Reims stele (no. 1) one might restore a figure of Mercury.

6. E VI, no. 4726. Lost altar known from the drawings of Grivaud de la Vincelle (*Arts et Métiers* [1819] pl. cxi, 1-4) and an anonymous sketch in the library of the Musée Saint-Germain (cited in E as Album 14, fol. 81, but this is incorrect and a search in the collection has failed to reveal it). The altar was discovered in 1772 at Le Chatelet (Aube). Each figure is "one cubit" in height.

On one face Hercules, with a bird perched on his shoulder, is seen in combat with the Nemean lion, a composition which very closely resembles the Smerullos face of the Paris altar (no. 3 and text, pp. 28-31). The second face represents a draped Victory on a globe, holding a piece of her veil in one hand and a palm in the other. The third face reveals a draped goddess who grasps an open purse in one hand and a few coins in the other. The fourth face was described by J. Cl. Grignon, (*Bulletin [sic] des fouilles faites . . . d'une ville romaine, sur la petite montagne du Chatelet, entre Saint-Dizier et Joinville . . .* [Bar le Duc 1774] xlix-1) as depicting Midas "qui tient une bourse

fermée" and who dresses "en capucin." Éspérandieu remarks that this figure is more probably Mercury with two wings on his head which were mistaken for the ears of an ass; or that it is possibly Cernunnos. From Grivaud de la Vincelle's drawing one would be inclined to accept the latter identification, since the alleged "wings" look more like the stubs of antlers. Furthermore, scholars of the eighteenth century were fully aware of the fact that Mercury is characterized by wings in his hair and would have recognized them if there had not been something unusual about these cerebral appendages—unless, of course, the abnormal costume misled them.

Like the bronze statuettes and the Blain relief (no. 4) this would represent a survival of an older erect posture for Cernunnos, as it appears in the rock carving of Val Carmonica. In the absence of the original, there can be no certainty concerning the identification, however.

7. E V no. 4195 with bibl. Luxembourg, Musée lapidaire. From Turbelsloch near Differdange. Ht: 1.20 m.; width: 0.80 m.; thickness: 0.40 m.—after G. Welter, *RA*, 1911, 1, p. 63.

In a niche appears a semi-draped male figure of a youthful genius type, holding in his left hand a cornucopia filled with fruits. To the left is the head of a bull in profile, now almost obliterated. In the lower left corner is represented the head of a stag vomiting round pieces of money onto a tablet. See text, pp. 41, 44.

8. E III, no. 2083 with bibl. Musée de Beaune. Cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 9286. Discovered in an ancient well at Beaune (Côte d'Or). Ht: 0.78 m.; width: 0.49 m.; thickness: 0.22 m. Soft limestone. Very damaged.

A *sacellum* in the triangular gable of which appears a bust of Diana (?) with a crescent on her head. Within the niche are depicted three divinities: from left to right, a seated nude god whose left hand rests on a cornucopia and who seemingly offers some food to an animal ("dog") with his right; a seated nude tricephalic divinity, without a beard, who holds a cornucopia with both hands (snakes on his knees?); a standing nude god with a mantle over his shoulders who has tall horns and the legs of a goat and who carries a cornucopia in his right hand. The latter figure has been connected with Cernunnos, but it clearly represents Pan, whose goat-horns were usually strongly elongated in Gallo-Roman art (cf. J. Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*, 2, pp. 69-71, nos. 409-414 especially). The relief is connected with the Cernunnos cult, however (see text, p. 44).