

Dedicated to Sir John Boardman

BETWEEN APOLLO AND OSIRIS: EGYPTIANISING EAST GREEK POTTERY, TRANSLATING GODS AND CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTION IN THE 6TH CENTURY B.C.

by Alexandra Villing

1 SETTING THE SCENE: OBJECT AND CONTEXT

The world of ancient Greece had a long-standing fascination with Egypt, yet from the end of the Bronze Age to the time of Homer interaction was sporadic. This changed dramatically with the development of intense direct contact and the influx of Greeks into Egypt from the 7th century B.C. onwards. Among the most striking consequences of this increased exchange is the appearance of Egyptian elements in Greek culture, the transmission and significance of which, however, have long been a matter of debate. Vase-painting is one of the Greek crafts featuring Egyptian themes, yet while decorative elements of (ultimate) Egyptian descent were widespread, narrative scenes are rare; it is on vessels found in Egypt itself that the latter are most concentrated¹. This is despite the fact that Archaic Greek figure-decorated pottery overall is a rare commodity in Egypt. If we exclude the special case of the trading port of Naukratis with its Greek sanctuaries and look at more ›regular‹ Egyptian sites of the period, only

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¹ Examples found outside Egypt include East Greek ceramics excavated in various parts of East Greek world, the Laconian Arkesilas cup found in Italy, and various vessels depicting the myth of Bousiris; see below, section 4.

the town of Tell Dafana/Daphnai in the eastern Nile Delta has yielded a sizable number of painted Greek finewares, over 300 examples; elsewhere in Egypt, the total number known to date is no more than a few hundred². Of these, the majority carry floral or animal decoration. Only some 50 or so from Daphnai and about a dozen from various other sites bear scenes with human figures. It is all the more remarkable, then, that a significant proportion of these, at least 10 %, are decorated with clearly Egyptian-influenced scenes, and over half have shapes adapted from Egyptian pottery – all of them East Greek vessels.

The recent recognition of Daphnai as an Egyptian temple-town rather than a Greek mercenary camp provides the impetus for a fresh look at the phenomenon of such ›Egyptianising‹ vases, that is, of the deliberate adoption/adaptation of motifs or features of Egyptian cultural origin by (East) Greek potters and painters. Such a review is all the more urgent given that recent research on key sites in Egypt and new scholarly approaches are radically transforming the basis for enquiry into Greek-Egyptian relations overall. The present article exploits these developments. Building on recent work such as Sabine Weber's thorough overview of Archaic Greek pottery in Egypt as well as other new research on Greeks in Egypt, it attempts a long overdue contextual assessment of these vases³: where, how and why were they produced, distributed and consumed, what was their role in inter-cultural dialogue, and what can they tell us about the people and processes involved in Egyptian-Greek interaction? My method in tackling these questions includes iconographic, semantic and semiotic analysis, though I will also draw on wider anthropological approaches, including ideas of embodiment and ›lived religion‹, as well as placing particular emphasis on systemic and archaeological context⁴.

As is increasingly recognized in scholarship, context matters, both in terms of iconographic frameworks as well as archaeological assemblages⁵. The function of an artefact and the meaning of its shape and decoration cannot be divorced from the horizon of its production nor from that of its (intended/actual) consumption. While in isolation each element or feature of an object could be read differently, a more specific meaning is created by the semantic web that is spun when a potter or vase-painter sets elements in relation to each other, and when the

² This is clear from the comprehensive catalogue of 7th–6th c. B.C. figured pottery compiled by Weber 2012; cf. also Weber 2007 and Villing 2013. With ongoing fieldwork the map of Greek pottery findspots in Egypt becomes increasingly dense, even if the numbers involved tend to be small and figured wares are rare. New finds of finewares of the Archaic periods have been made e. g. in the western Nile Delta at coastal sites such as Thonis-Heracleion (Grataloup 2015) and Plinthine (Dhennin – Redon 2013; Barahona-Mendieta et al. 2016), inland in the Delta at Kom Wasit (Furlan et al. 2019, 185), in northwestern Sinai at Tell Hebua II (Abdel-Alim 2020, 13), but also as far south in the Nile Valley at Syene/Aswan (Ladstätter 2015).

³ Weber 2006; Weber 2007; Weber 2012; Villing 2013; Villing – Coulié 2014; Villing 2016; and the work of the British Museum's Naukratis Project, see Villing et al. 2013–2021.

⁴ My approach here resembles that adopted e. g. in Miller's multi-layered contextual analysis of the Persian hunt scene on the Athenian lekythos made by Xenophantos found at Pantikapaion: Miller 2003; cf. also Franks 2009, esp. 463.

⁵ Miścicki 2015; Lynch 2017; Haug 2017; cf. also Boardman 2004, 150; Giuliani 2013, p. xi; Lewis 2009. Overviews of interpretative methodologies applied to vase images are given in Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011, 72–92, esp. 77–79 and Lorenz 2016 (who, however, does not take into account the crucial aspect of find contexts). A recent case study for the contextual interpretation of a single vase and its iconographic programme is the monograph by Matteo D'Acunto 2013 on the Chigi vase. The importance of assessing vessel imagery and function in relation to archaeological contexts has been underlined in a number of recent studies, such as Stefan Schmidt's 2005 analysis of Attic vases or the discussions of vase images in the context of their assemblages by Paleothodoros (2009) and Bundrick (2019). Caspar Meyer's 2013 study of Greco-Scythian art demonstrates the value of looking at a whole corpus in its context rather than isolated pieces when studying intercultural environments.

object is used in a particular historical context at its point of consumption. The task of modern scholarship is to reconstruct both, bearing in mind the limited and invariably biased nature of our evidence, including the problems of reconstructing systemic from archaeological context. This is especially true for material culture in cross-cultural contact zones, where a *›reading‹* is complicated by the multiplicity of discourses into which the objects are embedded, which allow a plurality of cultural readings⁶.

In the discourse between those who make an object and those for whom it is made, or who come to use it, both the maker's intentions and the users' expectations are fundamentally determined by their respective cultural horizons, which comprise experiences, beliefs and practices as much as artistic conventions and repertoires. For Greek vases found in Egypt, these cultural horizons are both Greek and Egyptian – or rather, related to the specific cultural, social and geographic backgrounds both of makers and users, which scholars conveniently, but incorrectly, subsume under cultural/ethnic group labels such as *›Greek‹* or *›Egyptian‹*. In particular, they are set into the wider context of Greek-Egyptian contact and exchange that from the mid- to later 7th century B.C. developed primarily on Egyptian soil and that saw large numbers of Greeks traders, travellers and mercenaries, primarily from East Greek cities, come to visit or live in Egypt⁷. Close and often long-term interaction, which could include intermarriage, turned sites like Naukratis or Memphis into prime contact zones with a high potential for cross-cultural transfers and *›hybrid‹* developments.

It is only through close attention to these cultural, social, geographical and historical horizons and contexts that we can begin to gain an understanding of the processes behind the creation and use of Greek objects in Egypt, and thus, ultimately, open up new perspectives on the role that contact with Egypt played in Archaic Greek society and culture⁸. Departing from the observation of the vessels' find contexts in Egypt, I will examine their shape as well as their iconography to assess how the cultural background of their East Greek production intersected with their local functions in Egypt. I will argue that they embody a dialogue between Greek and Egyptian religious and visual traditions that was substantially informed by the lived experience of Greeks in Egypt from the late 7th century B.C. onwards. While this dialogue involved specific regions or cities and certain groups of actors, its impact had the potential to radiate out well beyond these localized networks. The discussion will begin by looking at the large and important find complex from Daphnai in the eastern Nile Delta, before moving up the Nile to the important religious centres of Thebes and Karnak (fig. 1), and conclude by considering the wider patterns and their significance.

2 DAPHNAI: RHODIAN *›SITULAE‹* AND THE WORLD OF TYPHON AND SETH

The site of Tell Dafana in the eastern Nile Delta (fig. 1), known in antiquity under the Greek name of Daphnai and, in all likelihood, as biblical Tahpanhes, was first excavated by William M. Flinders Petrie in 1886, and it is Petrie's publication of a single season's work that until

⁶ E. g. Osborne 2012, on the grave stela of a Phoenician in Athens as a *›multilingual‹* image.

⁷ As surveyed by Vittmann 2003; Vittmann 2006; for Naukratis see Villing et al. 2013–2021.

⁸ I agree with scholars such as Ulf 2009 and von Bredow 2017 on the fundamental importance of studying such contexts of exchange and of analysing the social processes at work there.



Fig. 1. Map of Egypt showing the main sites discussed in the article

recently was the main basis for the site's scholarly assessment⁹. Among the numerous finds made by Petrie one unique group of Greek pottery vessels in particular has long exercised scholars' minds: the so-called situlae, large, bag-shaped lidded storage jars with black-figure decoration. Mostly known from Daphnai, where over 30 examples are attested, only few such situlae have been found elsewhere, notably at Memphis and on Rhodes¹⁰. The earliest decorated examples, perhaps going back to around 600 B.C., include the 'Typhon situla' (below, fig. 3) and a fragment from Rhodes; they feature figured decoration in panels just below the rim, and simple banded decoration on the rest of the body; later examples have a figured frieze atop zones with large floral patterns created by the use of incision and added red paint, otherwise characteristic of the so-called Vroulian style (e. g. below, figs. 25–27). Christened 'situlae' by Petrie after the (usually small) Egyptian ritual bronze pails widely termed 'situlae' that he regarded as the inspiration for the Greek shape¹¹, the vessels were at first suspected by him to have been made by Greek potters based at Daphnai¹². This assumption seemed further confirmed by the fact that the iconography of some examples was clearly based on Egyptian models, such as a falcon on a *nb*-basket (below, fig. 19), a scene of Egyptian stick-fighting (below, fig. 20), and Egyptian ornaments such as lotus blossoms: Petrie concluded that 'it cannot be doubted that this was painted with living Egyptians under the artist's eyes'¹³.

Today our understanding both of Greek pottery and of the site of Daphnai is rather different from that of Petrie some 130 years ago. On the one hand, new research and excavations have revealed Daphnai as an Egyptian frontier town with a largely Egyptian material culture assemblage and with a large Egyptian temple complex clearly visible in satellite images, consisting of a large enclosure containing the temple and subsidiary buildings such as magazines (fig. 2)¹⁴. A border town of strategic importance from the time of Psamtik I (r. 664–610 B.C.) through the Persian period (Hdt. 2,30) it certainly housed a garrison that in all likelihood included soldiers (and perhaps other residents) of foreign origin, but it was not, as long believed, a mere military camp, garrison or 'palace fort' manned by Greek and Carian mercenaries¹⁵. Indeed, as is now clear, the vast majority of the Greek painted pottery was excavated in buildings adjacent to the large casemate storage building (termed 'Quasr' by Petrie) within

⁹ Petrie 1888.

¹⁰ Precise numbers for Daphnai are difficult to establish because of the highly fragmentary nature of the material and the possibility of some sherds belonging to one and the same vessel. The situlae as a class are discussed in Cook 1954, 29–37; Weber 2006; Weber 2012, 236–240, 275–281, 360–369, 378–388. Intriguingly, an exceptional example of the shape decorated in the South Ionian Wild Goat style has been found in the Samian Heraion (inv. K 1590); made around or even before 600 B.C. it is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, extant situla: Weber 2006, 147 figs. 6, 7. An undecorated fragment from Naukratis has also been suggested to possibly come from a situla: Weber 2006, 148 figs. 14, 15.

¹¹ Petrie 1888, 62; cf. also Weber 2006, 146; Villing 2013, 91 f.; and the discussion below.

¹² Petrie 1888, 62; Dünnmler 1895. Petrie, recognising the fabric as not local, suspected that Greek clay was imported, which he considered 'easier to ship to Egypt than a ton of brittle and bulky vases' (Petrie 1888, 62). Evidence for ancient pottery trade, not least from shipwrecks, however, shows that 'brittle' vases regularly travelled long distances, while there is little indication for shipment of clay; in the Aramaic tax register on the Elephantine papyrus, the reference is to Samian earth not potter's clay: Villing 2013, 75 with n. 19.

¹³ Petrie 1888, 62.

¹⁴ Leclère – Spencer 2014. The new research clearly contradicts Petrie's assertion of there being 'more evidence of Greeks than of Egyptians in the place'.

¹⁵ Petrie 1888, 48–53; on Greek and Carian mercenaries in Egypt, see Haider 2001; Vittmann 2003, 197–203; Kaplan 2003; Luraghi 2006; Agut-Labordère 2012a; von Bredow 2017, 234–242, 301–304.

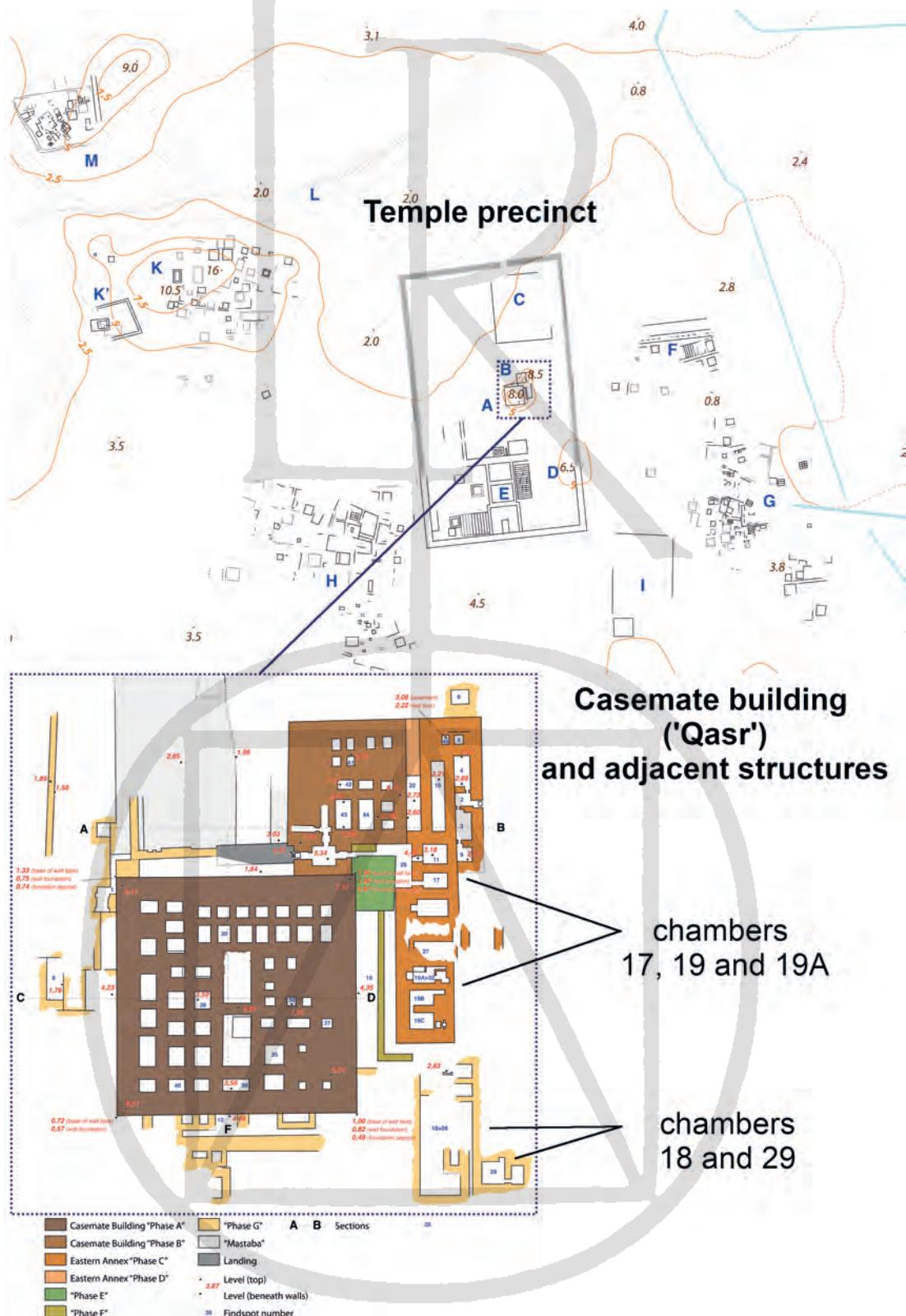


Fig. 2. Tell Dafana: sketch map showing features visible from satellite images and in excavations, and detail plan of casemate buildings and surrounding structures excavated by Petrie, with levels and findspots of Greek pottery marked

the Egyptian temple enclosure (see fig. 2)¹⁶. They were found here with other storage vessels, tools and possible temple offerings and thus may well have served as containers, e. g. for wine or oil or other temple supplies. Unlike some of the Greek transport amphorae here, however, which were clearly re-used¹⁷, none of the situlae bears traces of repair, making it likely that Daphnai was their target destination, even if they might have been re-used within the temple (one situla apparently was once labelled with an Egyptian inscription)¹⁸. At the same time, scientific clay analysis and a better understanding of Greek pottery trade have confirmed the situlae as imports from the Greek island of Rhodes. The situlae were thus East Greek products used in an Egyptian context¹⁹.

2.1 The Typhon situla: an intercultural puzzle

The Typhon situla (fig. 3) is the best known, most elaborately executed and probably also the earliest extant pottery situla from Daphnai²⁰. Panels on both sides of the jar contain figured images which, as on most of the other situlae, are today quite worn but were originally carefully executed in black-figure technique with added red paint; small traces of red are preserved in places and have guided the new reconstruction drawings by Kate Morton which are included here²¹. One side of the vessel features a representation of a snake-tailed monster with an upper body of a bearded man. The other side depicts a youthful, long-haired male figure, also winged, wearing a short tunic and striding forward, chasing ahead of him a group of animals, consisting of several birds, a hare and a locust. The tripartite panel, recalling (East Greek) pottery styles of the latter part of the 7th century B.C., as well as the hair arrangements and the rosettes on the figures' thighs and in the corners of the picture panel, which we still

¹⁶ Precise findspots are recorded only for some vessels; at least seven situlae, including the Typhon situla, come from the thick-walled, Egyptian-style building directly east of the casemate building (›Qasr‹), chambers 17, 19 and 19A, cf. Weber 2012, 221–231; Leclère – Spencer 2014, 18–22, 96 f. 207–211. At least four situlae, along with the majority of other Greek vessels, were found in chambers 18 and 29 of an adjacent building further south, see Petrie 1888, 58. As Carrez-Maratray – Defernez 2012, 38 f., rightly note, this complex has a somewhat unusual layout, but there is no reason to think, as they propose, that this could have been a Greek temple. The material assemblage suggests that this, too, was a storage building: Leclère – Spencer 2014, 20.

¹⁷ E. g. Leclère – Spencer 2014, 202 pl. 44 no. 22343; 222 pl. 64 no. 22356; 225 pl. 66 no. 23678; 225 pl. 67 no. GR 2010,5002.19.

¹⁸ Petrie observed traces of a Demotic inscription in ink on the ›Typhon situla‹, but none are visible now, as already noted by Weber 2006, 149.

¹⁹ Rhodian production had been suggested already by Elinor Price (1924, 188). The evidence for Rhodian production, both archaeological and scientific, is discussed in detail by Weber 2006, 149 f. and most recently by Villing – Mommsen 2017. Of the three groups of situlae established by Cook (1954), the production place of group A (simple banded vessels of smaller size attested only at Vroulia on Rhodes itself) was always thought to be Rhodes, but for the figured groups B and C Egyptian production, at least in part, has sometimes been considered. Clay analysis conducted on examples of both groups B and C with different methods in different laboratories all concur in excluding an Egyptian origin and detecting chemical compositions characteristic for Rhodes instead; this includes new, still unpublished analysis of the ›Typhon situla‹ conducted in 2015 by Anne Bouquillon at the C2RMF in Paris.

²⁰ London, British Museum 1888,0208.1, from Daphnai, ›Qasr‹, east annex (C), chamber 17; Petrie 1888, 56; Murray 1888, 68; Cook 1954, 32 f. pl. 1, 1–4; Walter-Karydi 1973, 91 fig. 163; 93, 149 no. 1060 pls. 135, 136; Touche-feu-Meynier 1997, 149 Typhon 11 pl. 113; Höpflinger 2010, 98–100 with fig. 7 d; Weber 2012, 279 f. with further literature. See also Tempesta 1998, 52 f., who erroneously claims the youth carries a spear. Leclère – Spencer 2014, 97 mistakenly note a findspot in chamber 29.

²¹ On the process of their creation, see Morton forthcoming.



Fig. 3, 1–3. Daphnai (Qasr chamber 17), Rhodian black-figure situla with representation of (a) Apollo and (b) Typhon, ca. 600–570 B.C. London, Brit. Mus. 1888,0208.1

find in the work of Athenian vase-painter Sophilos but rarely later, suggest a date around 600–570 B.C.²²

Scholarship to date has mostly concerned itself with one side of the situla only, that with the representation of the snake-tailed monster. Though Petrie had proposed a possible identification as Triton and Murray had briefly pondered Boreas²³, the identification as Typhon

²² The situlae's dating remains problematic, due not least to the rarity and exceptional nature of Archaic figured Rhodian pottery. Cook 1954, 33, acknowledged the Typhon situla's early stylistic features but nonetheless suggested a relatively late date for it as well as other situlae. He and others, such as Hemelrijik (1984, 184), considered the situlae (as well as the East Dorian *>Perseus<* plate mentioned below n. 189 and the amphora fig. 29) stylistic forerunners of the Caeretan hydriai, commonly dated no earlier than 530/525 B.C. Based on stylistic comparanda and discounting a significant time lag compared to other regions, I have here opted for an earlier dating for many situlae; few, I believe, need be significantly later than 540 B.C., as their stylistic features broadly seem to span the careers of Athenian vase-painters such as the Gorgon Painter and Sophilos, down to around the time of Lydos. Such a dating would also fit well with the overall picture of Greek vessels (Athenian, Corinthian and Ionian) from Tell Dafana, the earliest of which belong to around 600 B.C. or shortly after, with the bulk of Athenian vessels dating from the second quarter or around the middle of the 6th c. B.C. (see Weber 2012). This conforms well to the context dates: the find assemblages that yielded the situlae and other Greek vessels contained objects with seals of pharaohs Necho II, Psamtik II and Amasis, providing a maximum date range of ca. 610 to 527 B.C. It is possible, nonetheless, that situlae were produced into the late 6th c. B.C., the context dates for the examples from Rhodes itself – unless we assume these pieces to be *>heirlooms<* deposited significantly later than their manufacture (which would not be impossible from a stylistic perspective): see below, n. 219.

²³ Petrie 1888, 56; Murray 1888, 86.



Fig. 3, 4 and 5. As fig. 3, 2 and 3, drawings of Apollo and Typhon

ultimately settled on by Murray is now commonly accepted and uncontroversial. In Greek mythology Typhon, the son of Tartaros and Gaia (or of Hera alone, as in the Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo), unsuccessfully tried to overthrow Zeus to gain rule over the cosmos. Thrown into the abyss by Zeus, he was closely linked with the earth and associated especially with volcanic regions, credited with causing eruptions and storms; he was a common figure in early Greek texts and images, pictured especially on Corinthian pottery and early 6th century B.C. bronze shield bands²⁴. His representation on the situla broadly conforms to other Greek representations but also to the description given, for example, by [Pseudo-]Apollodorus (1,39), for whom Typhon was winged, with flashing eyes, wild hair and the upper body of a man, while »from the thighs down he had great coils of vipers, which extended to the top of his head and hissed mightily«²⁵.

Yet scholars have also pointed to Typhon's links with Egypt and have recognised Egyptian features especially in his portrayal on the situla. Jean-Yves Carrez-Maratray, followed by Sabine Weber²⁶, has noted that Greek texts from the 6th century B.C. onwards identified Typhon with the Egyptian god Seth, god of chaos and the desert. Indeed, as already pointed out by Murray²⁷, Typhon-Seth seems to have had special local relevance for the region of Daphnai in particular, as according to Herodotus (3,5) Typhon was banished and buried at Lake Serbonis (modern Lake Bardawil), a saline lagoon on the Mediterranean coast of Northern Sinai east of Pelusium and Daphnai (above fig. 1 and below, fig. 18); later sources associated seismic activities and the heating up of the lake's water with Typhon's presence here²⁸. The situla,

²⁴ Hes. theog. 820–868; Hom. h. 3 to Pythian Apollo; Pind. P. 1,31; 8,21; O. 4,12; Aischyl. Prom. 353–372; see Bonnet 1987, 132–143; Toucheau-Meynier 1997; Weber 2006, 149; Ogden 2013, 69–80.

²⁵ Transl. Aldrich 1975, 11.

²⁶ Notably Carrez-Maratray 1999; Carrez-Maratray 2001 and Weber 2006, 149; Weber 2012, 280.

²⁷ Murray 1888, 68.

²⁸ Carrez-Maratray 2004.

moreover, exceptionally renders Typhon as holding two snakes, a Near Eastern ›master of the animal‹ motif not otherwise used in relation to Typhon²⁹. According to Carrez-Maratray this could be a reference to a local tale, dating back at least to the 8th century B.C., about dangerous winged serpents inhabiting the mythical border land between Arabia and Egypt, the desert east of Daphnai and Buto of Arabia (Tell el Fara' on) in the Sinai peninsula³⁰. It also seems to echo contemporary and later Egyptian representations of Horus, the Egyptian god who, according to myth, had defeated Seth³¹. Carrez-Maratray thus proposed to see the Typhon on the situla as referencing a local, powerful yet benevolent divinity, a special version of Seth, who was locally assimilated to Horus (who in turn was equated with yet another local god, Zeus Kasios), otherwise the god's antagonist in the period³².

While Carrez-Maratray is certainly right that physical and conceptual context, and notably the region's sacred landscape, are key to understanding the situla's imagery, his interpretation also highlights the dangers of considering a single image in isolation as well as drawing on chronologically disparate sources in doing so. In the following I will set out an argument that considers more comprehensively the vase, its context of production and use and its position in Greek-Egyptian dialogue, and propose some significant revisions to Carrez-Maratray's interpretation.

The first important step in any iconographic analysis should be to look at an object in its entirety – yet, surprisingly, the other side of the situla has received very little attention so far. Indeed, the winged youth represented here has left scholars rather at a loss. Granted, interpreting Archaic Greek images of winged youths outside a precise narrative context is always difficult, since they appear to have been used for a diverse range of mythical personalities, from Kastor (named as such on one vase) to the rather marginal vegetation and weather god Aristaios, son of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene, identified in images of a running winged youth carrying a basket or tools³³. With few winged youths being named, however, identifications mostly remain conjectural³⁴. The figure on our situla has most often been interpreted as Boreas³⁵, personification of the North wind, or as another wind god, such as one of the sons of Boreas, Kalais or Zetes, as suggested by Murray³⁶. However, an identification of Boreas

²⁹ Carrez-Maratray 1999, 285 f.

³⁰ The most detailed rendering is Hdt. 2,75–76, but the story is found already in the Old Testament (Jes 14,29; 30,6) and in Neo-Assyrian annals of the 7th c. B.C. The tale has attracted a considerable amount of scholarly interest; see especially Carrez-Maratray 1999, 285 f. 361; Braun 2004; Rollinger 2005; Rollinger – Lang 2005; Radner 2008; Radner 2007 (confusing Buto of Arabia with Buto of the north-western Delta); Barbara 2012, 17–19. 22 f. Rollinger – Lang 2005 suggest that the idea of the winged snakes may be linked with the cult of the Egyptian goddess Uto/Wadjet at Buto of Arabia, while Radner 2007 argued that fossils in the area of Makhtesh Ramon in the Negev on the route from the Red Sea may have contributed to the legend. My own suggestion, that the swarms of winged snakes may refer to swarms of locusts, is discussed below, section 2.5.

³¹ Cf. also Ritner 2009, 68–74.

³² Carrez-Maratray 2001, 94. On the vilification of Seth in the Late Period, see e. g. te Velde 1967, 139–151, and below, section 2.4.

³³ Cook 1984; Thomsen 2011, 137–146. 155–160; cf. also Schefold 1986, 129–131.

³⁴ Pind. P. 9; see Kunze-Götte 1999; Cook 1984. Aristaios was associated especially with sheep and the production of cheese or honey. It is noteworthy that a winged bearded figure carrying a basket on a 7th c. B.C. ivory plaque from Sparta that has been identified by Cook as Aristaios (Cook 1984, 604 no. 9) strongly recalls Assyrian images of genii associated with the sphere of fertility, suggesting that a Near Eastern idea and iconographic scheme may have been appropriated here.

³⁵ Weber 2012, 279 f.

³⁶ Petrie 1888, 56; Murray 1888, 68.