

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WESTERN DESERT: IV

THE GREAT SERAPEUM OF ALEXANDRIA

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PART I

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

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THE present article in this Western Desert series¹ contains a revised and reasonably documented account of the archaeology of the Alexandria Serapeum, together with a new map of the site, both account and map as far as possible incorporating older material with the results which the writer obtained during his official Graeco-Roman Museum excavations in the years

¹ Abbreviations used are: *AA* = E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (1922); *AS* = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*; *BSAA* = *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alexandrie*; *DTEs* = Alan Rowe, "Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria", in *AS*, Cahier No. 2 (1946); *IGL* = E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni greche e latine* (1911)—the Serapeum inscriptions are Nos. 6, 13, 68, 85, 150, 155, 168; *PM* = Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts*, etc. iv (1934), p. 3 (*Serapeum*); *PP* = Alan Rowe, "'Pompey's Pillar', Site of the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria", in *BSAA*, 35; *RFF* = Alan Rowe, "Two Royal Funerary Figurines Recently found at Kôm el-Shukâfa and the Serapeum", in *BSAA*, 36; *WGIS* = A. J. B. Wace, "Alexandrian Notes and Greek Inscriptions from the Serapeum", in *Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University*, ii (1944). These inscriptions were found by us in the "Library" area.

1942 to 1949. Included also, in Part II (pp. 513-ff.), is an important review, written by my colleague Dr. B. R. Rees, of the classical literature dealing with the introduction of Serapis-worship into Alexandria. Previous articles in the series appeared in the BULLETIN, 36, pp. 128 ff., 484 ff., and 38, pp. 139 ff. For the position of the Serapeum itself, which was situated in the ancient quarter of Rhacotis, see the last-mentioned article, page 145, Fig. 2.

The rocky plateau on which stands the high column popularly known as "Pompey's (more correctly, Diocletian's) Pillar",¹ marks the upper part of the great Serapeum area, the "Acropolis" of Aphthonius, the Greek rhetorician of Antioch who visited it about A.D. 315. Both this writer and Rufinus (died about A.D. 410), a Christian priest who assisted at the destruction of the Serapeum near the end of the fourth century, have left us accounts of the buildings they saw there. A summary of these accounts, including a survey of references to the Serapeum area in classical and Arabic sources, as well as a list of the various monuments found in the area up to 1896, was published for the Royal Archaeological Society of Alexandria by G. Botti, the first director of the Graeco-Roman Museum.² Among the many other sources of information may be added those of E. Breccia³ (the second director of the Museum), A. Calderini,⁴ and Et. Combe,⁵ also the provisional excavation articles of the present writer.⁶ It was our own work in the area which established for the first time that the magnificent temple

¹ In Arabic, *Amud el-Sawari*, "Pillar of Columns".

² *L'Acropole d'Alexandrie et le Sérapeum* (1895), and *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne* [sic] (1897). Botti's archaeological accounts are somewhat fantastic in parts, although certain sections of the publications are of importance. His extracts from the writings of Aphthonius, Rufinus and other late authors are useful.

³ *AA*, pp. 110 ff.

⁴ *Dizionario dei Nomi Geografici e Topografici dell'Egitto-Romano* (1935), pp. 140 ff.

⁵ "De la Colonne Pompée au Phare d'Alexandrie", in *BSAA*, 34, pp. 104 ff.

⁶ *PP*; *DTEs*; "Painted Pottery Situla from 'Pompey's Pillar'," in *BSAA*, 35, pp. 55 ff. These articles, which contain detailed plans of parts of the Serapeum (not possible to include in our map), and give the provenance of objects found by us, etc., were written under war-time conditions, when much of our archaeological work was in the Western Desert.

referred to by Aphthonius, Rufinus and other classical writers was of Roman date, and that it was largely built over the remains of a rather smaller sacred enclosure of the early Ptolemaic period containing a group of temples respectively dedicated to Serapis, Isis (?) and Harpocrates. The sections which now follow are : I. PHARAONIC PERIOD (p. 487); II. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD (pp. 487 ff.); III. ROMAN PERIOD (pp. 496 ff.); IV. EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD AND LATER (pp. 502 ff.); V. HISTORICAL RÉSUMÉ (pp. 505 ff.). Next are the APPENDICES (pp. 507 ff.), containing four parts : A. Egyptian Objects from the Serapeum, viz. inscribed and uninscribed objects of the Pharaonic Period ; B. Ptolemaic Period—Hieroglyphic Texts ; C. Classical Objects from the Serapeum bearing royal names anterior to the time of Ptolemy III ; D. The "Serapeum" or "Daughter" Library of Alexandria. A few ADDENDA are on p. 512. Cross references are added where necessary.

I. PHARAONIC PERIOD

A good number of pharaonic objects, inscribed and un-inscribed, has been found from time to time in the Serapeum, and it is to be assumed that some of them originally came from contemporary buildings in the area, no traces of which now exist. As will be seen from the list in Appendix A (pp. 507 f.), the objects range in date from the XIIth Dynasty to the XXXth Dynasty, actually from about 1970-360 B.C.

II. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

It is with this period that we come across the ruins of the first certain occupation of the area ; compare our map. Classical *objects* bearing Ptolemaic royal names of the earliest part of the period are mentioned on page 491 and in Appendix C. The earliest *dated* buildings we came across were the great Enclosure and the Temple of Serapis (latter, right of map), the walls of which had their foundation blocks¹ laid in rather deep trenches cut in the rock. These buildings were made by

¹ Many of the limestone blocks in the Ptolemaic Serapeum bore masons' or quarrymen's marks. *DTES*, p. 29 (copies of marks).

Ptolemy III (247-221 B.C.). The enclosure itself, which has its main axis S.S.E.-N.N.W., is 173·70 metres in length¹ and 77·00 metres in width. The floor and lower part of the whole of the S.S.E. or back end is sunk in a trench about 4·50 metres deep. Among the rooms here² were doubtless those of the famous "Serapeum" or "Daughter" Library of Alexandria, which was a rather extensive one.³ For further details, cf. Appendix D. The three niches leading out of the lower level were perhaps for royal statues or for statues of the divine triad of the Serapeum—Serapis, Isis and Harpocrates their son, or even for the nine (originally twelve (?)) local statues of the sages mentioned on pages 501 f. On the W.S.W. long side of the enclosure were more rooms, probably for priests and assistants. A colonnade ran practically around the interior of the enclosure. Some remains of grey granite columns exist on the site. The columns vary between 7·10 to 7·15 metres in height, and have a maximum diameter at the base of 106 cm. From the foundation trench of one colonnade came part of an early-Roman (?) Ionic capital of white marble, the only one we found in the site. There must have been a pylon gate at the front end of the enclosure.⁴

¹ We have suggested elsewhere (op. cit. p. 20) that this was an Alexandrian *short* stade at the time the Serapeum was built; it may be compared with the short stade of 178·20 metres at Olympia. Cf. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Atlas pour servir à l'Histoire Grecque* (1888), pp. 92 ff. Mahmud el-Falaki thought that the length of the Alexandrian stade, according to measurements taken by him from the remains of the ancient street, was 165·00 metres (*Mémoire sur l'Antique Alexandrie* (1872), p. 25). Daremberg, Saglio and Pottier state that the Alexandrians adopted a [long] stade of 184·8375 metres, i.e. 600 Ptolemaic feet (*Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, iv. p. 1456).

² The rooms may have been two-storeyed, the roof of the upper storey being on a level with the uppermost parts of the enclosure on the plateau above. Cf. Rufinus: "All the lower part [of the Serapeum], up to the level of the pavement (plateau) is vaulted. This basement which receives its light by means of great openings from above (windows), is divided into secret vestibules, separated between themselves, which served for mysterious functions" (*DTES*, pp. 22 f.)

³ In the Edfu Ptolemaic temple, the library, a very small one, was contained in a room in a part of the enclosure near the pylon. Cf. *BULLETIN*, 38, p. 154.

⁴ For our restorations of this end (now below a cemetery) we have utilized distances, taken roughly N.W. from Diocletian's Column, of certain walls running E.N.E.-W.S.W. and obviously belonging to the enclosure. These distances are given by Mahmoud el-Falaki, op. cit. pp. 54 f. This authority of course could not then recognise the real significance of the walls.

It was the bilingual foundation plaques discovered by us in rock-cut slots below the corners of the enclosure and the Serapis temple near the pylon¹ which definitely proved that these structures were erected by Ptolemy III in honour of Serapis. Other plaques from beneath the walls of a small temple attached to the E.N.E. side of the Serapis one show that the former building was erected by Ptolemy IV (221-203 B.C.) in honour of Harpocrates. The positions of two of these sets indicate that there was a porch facing towards the pylon end of the enclosure; the adjacent temples must have had similar porches. The plaques, forty-three in all, are described in Appendix B. It is certainly no coincidence that the length of the great enclosure is exactly a thousand times as long as the length of our gold and silver plaques, namely, 17·3 cm.! But no proportion in round numbers can be made out in respect to the *width* of the plaques (5·9 cm.) with that of the short axis of the enclosure (77·00 metres). It seems probable that the temple adjacent to the W.S.W. side of the sanctuary of the father-god was for Isis, although no plaques were found in it, the building having been badly plundered. Ptolemy III probably built this presumed Iseum, because both it, and the Serapis temple, taken together as an architectural unit,² are centered between the longer colonnades of the enclosure. The fact that it was the third Ptolemy who built the temenos and the connected temples of Serapis and Isis (?) is particularly interesting because it is in a papyrus actually dating from the reign of this king (i.e. in 243 B.C.) that we meet with the *first known* mention of Parmenion, popularly called Parmeniscus, the famous architect who built a Serapeum supposed to be the great Alexandrian one.³ It is also interesting to note that under

¹ Botti, who made some clearances in this temple (he missed the foundation plaques we found there), regarded it as an Iseum. His account must be regarded with caution; his plan is incorrect (*Fouilles à la Colonne*, etc., pp. 101 ff.)

² The evidence is against any idea that the supposed "Isis Temple" was the actual sanctuary of Serapis himself, and the adjacent "Serapis Temple" of our map merely a courtyard attached to the *front* of it. Moreover, the Harpocrates Temple would never have been built before a "courtyard".

³ Cf. C. C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri* (in *Cat. Gén. du Musée du Caire*), iii (1928), p. 89. It was in 237 B.C. that Ptolemy III laid the foundations of the original nucleus of the Edfu temple, a building not completed until 57 B.C. BULLETIN, 37, p. 167.

Ptolemy III is first found the "Royal Oath", namely, the oath for use in the law-courts and in legal transactions; this was an oath by the kings, "by Serapis and Isis and all the other gods and goddesses".¹

In the Ptolemaic period it was customary for the "great temple" of the chief deity to be placed in the enclosure towards the *back end*, and it is therefore in this position, in the Alexandria Serapeum, that we actually find such a temple, obviously dedicated to Serapis.² Its length is 27.50 metres and its width 24.60 metres. The foundations are 4.40 metres thick, indicating perhaps a peristyle building.³ These foundations are sunk in rock-cut trenches to a maximum depth of 2.60 metres. As will be seen from the map a secret passage,⁴ obviously for the oracle, runs into the temple from outside. Its inner part slopes upwards to one side of the floor of that part of the building which must have been the adyton or holy of holies, while its outer entrance was concealed in some way or other, probably by a movable slab. In the adjoining cella, which had its external door facing the pylon gate, stood the huge marble statue of Serapis himself. The Temple of Apollo at Delphi has a long secret passage for the oracle leading up from some distance outside to the floor of the adyton,⁵ while the "Oracular Shrine"

¹ E. Bevan, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927), p. 47.

² Botti cleared out some of the foundation trenches of this building in 1896, but was unable to complete his work because modern houses covered part of the site. His published plan is therefore incomplete. He found a Corinthian capital (Ptolemaic) and remains of granite columns on the floor of the building, and two pharaonic statues in the debris of the trenches. Botti suggested that the building was either a pharaonic temple, re-dedicated in Graeco-Roman times to Serapis, or even (as we at one time believed) a Ptolemaic tomb (*Fouilles à la Colonne*, etc., pp. 122 f.) Our own excavations recovered the capital, and brought to light a few loose red granite blocks and also a section of the lowest course of limestone masonry, all in the trenches. Cf. *PP*, p. 132, Fig. 5, pp. 144 ff., Pls. XXX, XXXI, XXXIV, Fig. 1.

³ Cf. however, the small tetrastyle Doric temple in the Nicopolis Quarter of ancient Alexandria (*AA*, pp. 86 f., and Fig. 34); I. Noshy, *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt* (1937), p. 62.

⁴ This passage, cut in the rock, was originally lined and roofed with masonry, a final covering of earth concealing that part of the roof outside the temple.

⁵ F. Poulsen, *Delphi* (1920), p. 52, Fig. 7. Reference from Dr. J. F. Healy, to whom I am also indebted for help with certain Greek inscriptions. Dr. B. R.

at Corinth, a small apsidal structure, has a shorter passage for the same purpose.¹ Certain Ptolemaic temples in the Faiyum had a hidden recess below the altar for the oracle. Also, the reconstructed " Tomb of Battus ", of Hadrianic date, possessed an installation for an oracle.²

It will be noted from the map that our " great temple " is not centered between the long colonnades of the enclosure as are the connected temples of Serapis and Isis (?) near the pylon, although it is true that the *interior faces* of the longer walls of both Serapis temples are about in alignment. We are of the opinion that the " great temple ", which contained no foundation plaques or even rock-cut holes for them, was already on the site when Ptolemy III established his Serapeum there. In other words, he preserved the sacred building by incorporating it in his enclosure. This would be the reason, then, why the king was forced to place his own Serapis temple at the end near the pylon. There is no *direct* archaeological evidence to show who founded the supposed early great temple of Serapis, but it might have been Alexander the Great,³ or even Ptolemy I,⁴ or

Rees has assisted with other classical inscriptions and has read through the manuscript of my present article.

¹ O. Broneer, *A Guide to the Excavations of Ancient Corinth* (1947), pp. 45 ff., Plan I, B. Reference from Mr. V. R. d'A. Desborough.

² Rowe, Buttle and Gray, *Cyrenaican Expedition of the University of Manchester 1952* (1956), pp. 4 ff.

³ *DTES*, pp. 1 ff., n. 1; and PART II. Alexander the Great had a direct association with the Memphite Serapeum, on the dromos of which, according to Arrian, he celebrated a gymnastic and musical *agon* in honour of Apis (Serapis) and other local deities (*Anabasis*, iii, 1, 4). Also, his body was held in that Serapeum for a while before it was transferred to Alexandria, where, no doubt, it was still officially stated to be under the protection of Serapis. Cf. *BULLETIN*, 38, pp. 140 ff.

⁴ Cf. the gold coin of this king mentioned on p. 493 and in Appendix C. From our Serapeum. Tradition says it was Ptolemy I who brought from abroad a statue of Pluto (made by Bryaxis) which was identified by the priests as one of Serapis. But J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard believe, " au contraire, il y a maintenant, de plus en plus, de sérieuses raisons de penser que le Sarapis de Bryaxis a été créé en Égypte même, du temps de Ptolémée I^{er} " (*Les Statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis* (1955), p. 241). The same authorities maintain that it was at the Memphite Serapeum " que Bryaxis, qui travaillait déjà au Mausolée, a dû consacrer son Serapis " (*Op. cit.* p. 30, n. 4).

Ptolemy II (pp. 505, 510; Appendix D).¹ The reader is referred to Part II for the *literary* evidence about the Alexandrian cult of Serapis (originally introduced from Memphis) in this older period.

The L-shaped trenches seen to the left of the "great temple" in the map are either foundation ones, or, more possibly, trenches for a hidden underground store-room for cult objects and other valuables. In the latter event, the short passage at the corner of the L, near the colonnade, would have had a secret door. From these particular trenches we collected a good number of Ptolemaic open votive-lamps, one inscribed: "On behalf of the household of the archon."²

The famous Nilometer of the Serapeum, said to be a portable one,³ was probably kept in a rock-cut square hole, having a flight of twelve rock and twenty-nine masonry steps leading down to its lower part, an installation we came across on the east side of the plateau;⁴ see map. A passage from the lower part connects with the great grid of subterranean aqueducts below the ancient city, a grid which received its water from the "Canal of Alexandria"⁵ to the south. Recent measurements

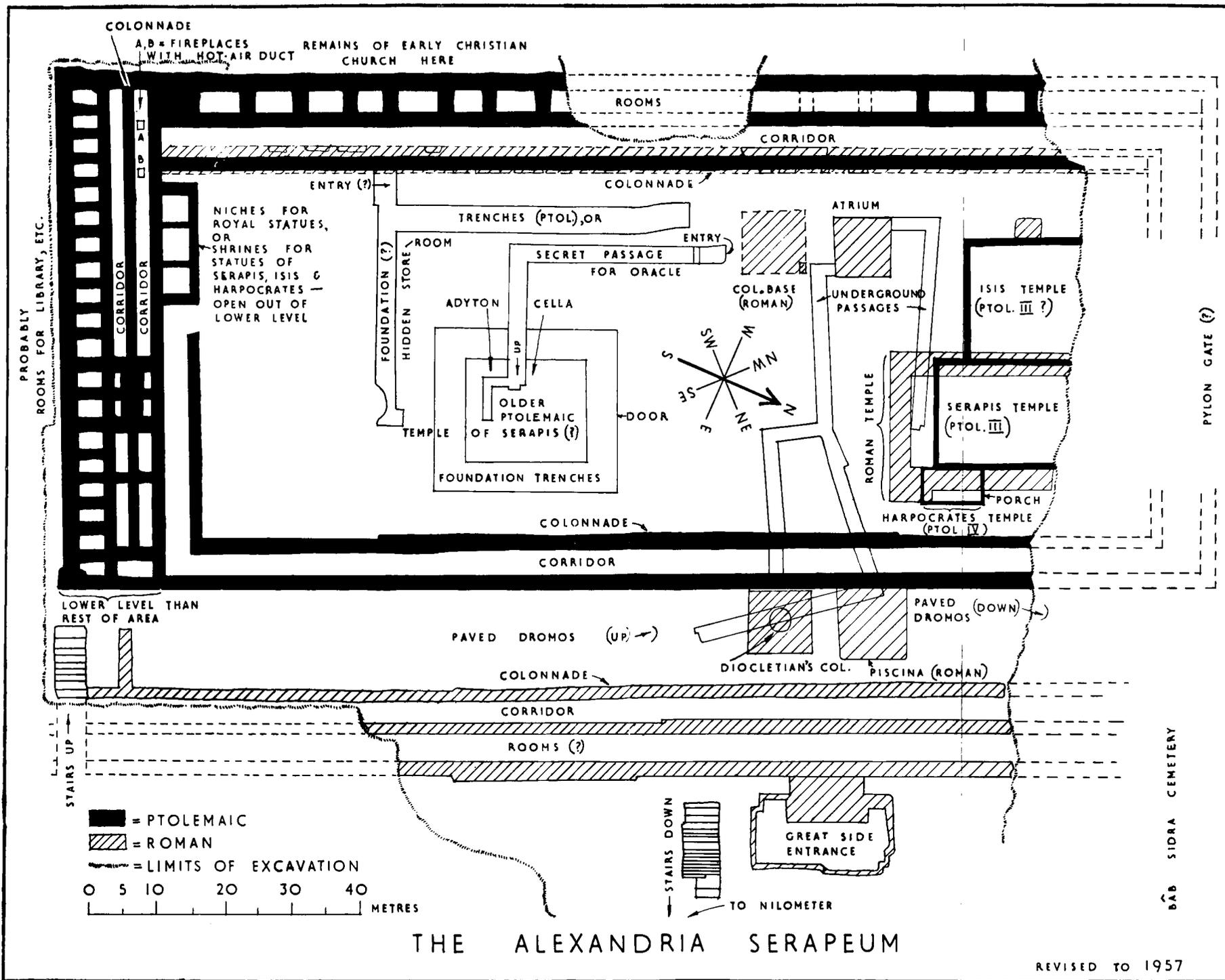
¹ Cf. the base of the Serapeum statue dedicated to Serapis by Asclepiodoros and Euboulos mentioned later on, p. 494. This dates c. 300-250 B.C. (Ptolemy I-Ptolemy II). See also the Serapeum dedications to Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoe (Appendix C). Still another inscription found in recent years on the south side of the "Canal of Alexandria" (the modern el-Mahmudiya Canal), opposite the Antoniadis Garden (cf. end map in AA), records that Archagathos, *epistates* of Libya, and Stratonice, his wife, had dedicated to Ptolemy II a Sacred Enclosure to Serapis and Isis (DTES, p. 13). The original provenance of the inscription is uncertain.

² DTES, p. 33.

³ Cf. particularly, J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, ii (1936), pp. 216 f. and n. 1. This authority says that "in the age of Constantine the Greeks of Egypt still attributed the rise of the Nile to Serapis . . ., alleging that the inundation could not take place if the standard cubit, which was used to measure it, were not deposited according to custom in the temple of the god. The emperor ordered the cubit to be transferred to a church" but it was again transferred by Julian (A.D. 361-363) to the Serapeum, where it remained until the temple was destroyed in A.D. 391. See further, DTES, p. 32, and n. 1. For local churches cf. p. 503 of this article.

⁴ A door was placed at the head of the masonry steps. Cf. PP, Pls. XLII, Fig. 1, XLIII, Fig. 2, XLIV.

⁵ Cf. BULLETIN, 38, p. 145, Fig. 2.



have proved that the level of the water in the supposed Nilometer pit (which also must have been used as a cistern) is the same as that in the canal. Rain water from the Serapeum plateau was conveyed by means of a sloping open passage¹ into a part of the grid a little north of the above-mentioned pit.

The paved dromos, or avenue of approach to the Serapeum, is of some interest and might have been made at the same time as the supposed "Older Ptolemaic Temple of Serapis" shown in our map.² Anyhow, the small right-angle part of the Roman E.N.E. long colonnade together with the adjoining Roman stairway, as well as the base of the Column of Diocletian and the adjacent piscina, all block part of it. It would appear that the sphinxes found long ago in the neighbourhood (Appendix A) probably once bordered the dromos, just as did sphinxes and other statues border the great dromos of the Memphite Serapeum.³ The latter dromos evidently inspired the Alexandrian example. The section of our dromos near the Column is horizontal (indicating, perhaps, an entrance here into the older temple enclosure), but on either side of this section, as shown in the map, there is a slope. We actually found in the Serapeum a slab with part of an inscription apparently referring to the construction of a new dromos ("To Serapis . . . the dromos . . ."); this dates from the first century A.D.⁴ The only other mention of a local dromos is that of Pseudo-Callisthenes who speaks of a "Dromos of the Great Serapis" which was constructed on the course [sic] of a canal called Rhacotis *at the time of the foundation of*

¹ Cf. *PP*, Pls. XXVIII, Figs. 1, 2, XXXII, XXXVII, Fig. 2.

² The gold coin of Ptolemy I was found on the dromos. Cf. Appendix C. At the Memphite Serapeum great quantities of votive objects (bronze figurines) were placed beneath the dromos. See A. Erman, *La Religion des Égyptiens* (1937), p. 422 = U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, i. 10.

³ A full account of the dromos of the Memphite Serapeum (on which, as we have seen on p. 491, Alexander the Great held a festival), a work which includes plans, photographs, and full details of the statues, is published by J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *Les Statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis*. The publication also contains references to the Alexandria Serapeum. For the Memphite Serapeum as a whole, cf. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography, etc.*, iii (1931), pp. 204 ff.

⁴ *WGIS*, pp. 24 f.

the city.¹ This waterway must be the "Canal of Alexandria" to the south.²

Among other important objects we came across in our Serapeum were parts of two stone bases for statues. The first base (marble) has *two* inscriptions, one of them dating from the first half of the third century B.C. and the other from the middle of the second century A.D. The Ptolemaic one indicates that Asclepiodoros and Euboulos dedicated a statue to Serapis in fulfilment of a vow, while the Roman one records the repair of the statue, probably that of the god Harpocrates, by Harpocraton, son of Polemon, and his children as a thank-offering.³ The second base (of granite) dating from the third century B.C., bears an inscription indicating that Aristodemos, son of Diodoros an Athenian, dedicated a statue, not named, to Serapis and Isis.⁴ Still other important objects found in our excavations, and generally dating (with one exception) to the early Ptolemaic period, were: (1) A cache in a small pit on the eastern side of the plateau, consisting of a beautifully-painted pottery situla or "wine-bucket" of the Gnathia type; of lamps; vases; a small pot bearing the name "Dionysi(os)"; and a Rhodian jar-handle with stamped impression giving the name of the magistrate or eponym "Timodikos", and mentioning the Doric month "Artamitios"; etc.⁵ (2) A small cache in a shallow pit N.W. of the Column, consisting of fragments of Gnathia ware; of another small pot like that mentioned in No. 2 and with the same name; and a jar-handle with part of a proper name, ". . . doros".⁶ (3) Part of a large decorated pyxis, most of which had been previously found by Botti.⁷ (4) Six fragments of a beautiful rectangular altar of Pentelic marble of Roman

¹ i, 31. 4.

² Cf. G. Botti, *Plan de la Ville d'Alexandrie à l'Époque Ptolémaïque*, for the "Boulevard de Sarapis" running from the southern canal to the Serapeum (republished in *PP*, p. 148, Fig. 9). For the canal itself, cf. *BULLETIN*, 38, p. 145, Fig. 2.

³ *WGIS*, pp. 18 ff.

⁴ *WGIS*, pp. 21 ff.

⁵ Cf. my article in *BSAA*, 35, pp. 55 ff., coloured frontispiece (situla) and Pls. XVII, XVIII. For Gnathia ware, cf. *BULLETIN*, 36, p. 563.

⁶ *BSAA*, 35, p. 62.

⁷ *PP*, p. 133, n. 1, Pl. XLII, Fig. 5.

type.¹ popular in the first century A.D. This is mentioned in the present historical section because the Ptolemaic Serapeum appears to have been in use until it was almost destroyed in the Jewish revolt under Trajan in A.D. 116.² Professor Wace has subjected the altar to an extensive study, pointing out among other things that the gorgoneion on the only preserved bolster, that to the left, differs markedly from the pathetic or mourning type of gorgoneia on grave altars and sarcophagi, in that "it rather resembles a cherub with puffed out cheeks blowing a trumpet and so far no gorgoneion like this seems to have been published". Wace has proposed the following reconstruction of our altar from the fragments available. Front: The presence of the *camillus* and the *tibicen* suggests a *lustratio*. Right hand side: The attitude of the *togatus* suggests an *allocutio* or some similar subject. Left hand side: The sacrificial axe indicates perhaps the presence of a *victimarius*. Also here is the *tunicatus*, probably one of the sacrificial attendants (perhaps another *camillus*). Back: Delicate plane leaf decoration. Possibly also a *corona civica*.³

It may now be noted that in the Ptolemaic period the Serapeum was known both as "The Temple and Sacred Enclosure of Serapis" (foundation plaques of Ptolemy III) and "The Temple of Serapis in Rhacotis" (inscriptions of the Serapeum priest Pa-sheri-en-ptah). See Appendix B. We actually came across one of the objects used by the priests in the temple. This was an inscribed flower-pot-shaped clepsydra or water-clock; see also Appendix B.⁴

¹ *DTES*, pp. 39, Fig. 9, 40.

² For the revolt cf. J. G. Milne, *A Hist. of Egypt under Roman Rule* (1898), p. 52.

³ A. J. B. Wace, "An Altar from the Serapeum", in *BSAA*, 36, pp. 83 ff., Pls. VII, VIII, IX.

⁴ Two objects which belonged to the Ptolemaic Serapeum are the head of a marble statue of a siren (*AA*, pp. 115, Fig. 48, 177 f.) and the fragment of an inscription of the third century B.C. (*IGL*, No. 168). Statues of sirens actually flanked the dromos of the Memphite Serapeum (J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *Les Statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis*, pp. 216 ff.).

III. THE ROMAN PERIOD

There may be some reason for believing that the Serapeum of the Roman period was made by Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) for, as Professor Wace has remarked, the "Nemesion was destroyed in the great Jewish revolt under Trajan [A.D. 116], and since that sanctuary [was] not far from the Serapeum, it is not unlikely that the Serapeum also was wrecked at the same time and subsequently rebuilt under Hadrian, who, as is well known, restored some of the buildings in the Jewish revolt".¹ This belief seems to be supported by the fact that a magnificent life-sized black granite statue of the bull-god of the Memphite Serapeum, Osiris-Apis, was dedicated to the Emperor and placed in the Roman temple. It bears the following inscription: ". . . to the Great God Serapis and the gods in the same temple, for the safety of the Emperor Cæsar Trajan Hadrian Augustus. . . ." ² This statue may well be the one portrayed in relief in the neighbouring catacombs of Kôm el-Shukâfa, to which a Roman emperor is seen making an offering of a beautiful collar.³ But of course the most famous statue in the temple was the superhuman colossus of Serapis, made of various woods and metal; it was in fact so large, says Rufinus, that "its right hand touched one wall and its left one another wall". Two colossal heads of Serapis, one in white marble and the other in black basalt, were found many years ago on the site.⁴

Generally speaking, the Romans retained the "Library" end as well as the W.S.W. long side (where they rebuilt the

¹ Cf. Wace's note in *DTES*, p. 64. Hadrian restored the damage done by the Jews in Cyrenaica during Trajan's reign (Rowe, Buttle and Gray, *Cyrenaican Expedition . . . 1952*, pp. 54 f.).

² The statue (very little of it was missing) was unearthed in 1895 just to the right of the "Atrium" indicated in our map, that is to say, not far from the Roman temple. Cf. *PP*, Pls. XXXII (position of statue as found), XXXVII (sketch of statue and copy of inscription), also *IGL*, No. 68. A somewhat similar statue was found in the Memphite Serapeum (J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *op. cit.* pp. 13 f., Figs. 8, 9).

³ Published in my "Kôm el-Shukâfa in the Light of the Excavations of the Graeco-Roman Museum . . . 1941-1942," in *BSAA*, 35, Pl. VIII.

⁴ *AA*, pp. 115, 216 f.; J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *op. cit.* pp. 77 f., Figs. 36, 37.

colonnade)¹ of the Ptolemaic enclosure. Also they removed (a) *to surface level*, the N.N.W. end and the E.N.E. long side of the older enclosure and (b) *to foundation level*, the connected temples of Serapis, Isis (?) and Harpocrates. Further, they extended the enclosure to the N.N.W. by 32·00 metres overall² and to the E.N.E. by 28·55 metres overall. The following comparative table is of some interest :

	Overall Lengths	Overall Widths
Ptolemaic Enclosure .	173·70 m.	77·00 m.
Roman Enclosure .	205·70 m.	105·55 m.

The new temple of Serapis was built over the remains of the older temples of the divine triad, and was centered between the *inner* long colonnades of the enlarged enclosure. This temple has an overall width of 21·10 metres ; its length is unknown. It was probably pseudo-peripteral with its entrance facing towards the "Library". As in the literature of the Roman period "The Serapeum and The Iseum" were frequently bracketed thus together,³ it is not impossible that the supposed pre-Ptolemy III temple of Serapis at the "Library" end of the enclosure may, in Roman times, have been used for the worship of Isis. The "Great Side Entrance" (see map) seems now to have been the principal and perhaps the only entrance to the Serapeum, and to have been reached by the flight of over a hundred steps, running up the side of the Acropolis, as mentioned by Aphthonius and Rufinus.⁴ Anyhow, it was at this very "Side Entrance", as we call it, that Botti came across some blocks of red granite from a huge Roman portico.⁵ The Romans did not follow the Ptolemaic method of placing foundation blocks in trenches cut in the rock, but erected their own walls on *surface foundations*

¹ Most of the existing columns and parts of columns are near this colonnade.

² Based on certain measurements taken roughly N.W. from the Column by Mahmoud el-Falaki (*DTEs*, pp. 20, 33, 60).

³ *PP*, p. 127.

⁴ The hundred steps are said to have led upwards into a vestibule closed by a grille, while four columns adorned the entrance.

⁵ *PP*, p. 143, Fig. 8. The stair seen in map to left of side entrance is Ptolemaic

consisting of small irregular pieces of limestone mixed with cement and put between boards, the boards being removed when the mixture had solidified.¹ These foundations are extremely hard, so much so that when we wished to remove a small section for examination we were forced to use a drill operated by compressed air.

The lofty red granite Column² at the E.N.E. long side of the Roman enclosure was dedicated by Postumus (?), Prefect of Egypt, to the Emperor Diocletian, after the latter had finally put down (actually in Alexandria) the revolt against him by Achilleus, the lieutenant of L. Domitius Domitianus, who had been accepted by the Egyptians as emperor. It must have been erected soon after A.D. 297, the year of victory. The situation of the inscription on the upper part of the base, actually at the W.S.W. side, clearly shows that the colossal statue³ above the column faced inwards towards the way leading N.N.W. through the long center axis of the enclosure to what must have been the outer door of the Roman Serapis temple. The inscription reads: "To the most pious Emperor, Protector of Alexandria, Diocletian the Invincible, Pos[tum]us, prefect of Egypt, [has erected this column]." As Wace has pointed out, "in view of the symmetrical arrangement of the Roman temple and enclosure (*temenos*) a single column seems odd. It is just possible that there might have been a second column erected on the west side of the enclosure to balance the other".⁴ We actually came across the remains of the base of this second column (see map), a discovery duly recorded by Wace.

Adjacent to this latter base is what is generally described by certain modern authorities as the "Atrium", which has long underground passages leading out of its lower part; all are probably Roman in origin. The "Atrium" itself is a square

¹ Cf. *DTEs*, pp. 24, 33 and footnotes, for references to this type of "concrete".

² The total height of the Column, including the base (made of various kinds of stone) and the Corinthian capital, is 26.85 metres. The red granite shaft is 20.75 metres high, with a diameter at the base of 2.70 metres and at the top of 2.30 metres.

³ The statue was of porphyry (*AA*, p. 116). The Column itself was wrongly named "Pompey's Pillar" by the Crusaders. Cf. p. 504 of this article.

⁴ See in *DTEs*, p. 64.

rock-cut masonry-lined pit, with a staircase. Some of the passages originally had niches, each with a rectangular coffer of limestone covered by a sloping libation-table with a grooved top. Smaller niches, but with sloping tables of rock, are in the upper parts of the walls. Botti, who cleared out the whole complex, reported some interesting finds, including two graffiti ("An act of devotion of Dorotheos and all his family", and "An act of devotion of Ammonios"), as well as a white marble votive slab bearing the following inscription: "To Hermanoubis, the great god who hears us and is beneficent to us, Serapion son of Dionysos, of the Serapideian *deme*, and Eucleia his sister and wife, [have dedicated this stela] for Dionysos their son, the XIIth Year, the VIIIth of Athyr." Other objects consisted of statuettes of Hermanoubis, Serapis and Venus; of lamps of various types, one of them Early Christian; and a tiny plaquette of gold with Latin inscription.¹ The significance of the "Atrium" and its passages is so far unknown.

We now come to the *piscina*² situated in that part of the dromos near the Column. The floor of this great sacred tank was of concrete and, as we believed there might be foundation deposits present, we searched in the corners below it and discovered, under huge blocks of limestone, a total of fifty-eight bronze coins and three silver ones. These coins, as Professor Wace informed us, date from the time of Trajan (A.D. 98-117) to that of Julia Domna, wife of Severus (A.D. 193-211). He suggests that the coins might indicate repairs to the Roman Serapeum carried out after the fire there in the reign of Commodus (A.D. 181).³

In the Serapeum area we came across a number of cisterns, pits for water, and so forth, full details of which are given in

¹ *DTEs*, pp. 34 ff., Fig. 7. A very fine statue of Hermanoubis was found many years ago in a Roman shrine of the deity situated at Ras el-Soda, a place outside Alexandria and near the road to Abukir.

² Professor R. A. Cordingley, who has kindly discussed with me some architectural problems affecting the Serapeum, suggests that both the "Atrium" and the *piscina* were enlarged from foundation holes excavated to hold two more huge columns on the site, thus perhaps making four columns in all before the Roman temple.

³ *DTEs*, pp. 61 ff. (See also *PP.* p. 127, n. 3; *DTEs*, p. 63, n. 1.)

our excavation reports. They are mostly Roman. Among the interesting objects of this later period which we unearthed are the following: (1) A broken base of black granite with the inscription: "To Zeus, Helios the Great, Serapis and the Gods in the same temple . . . in the year . . . of Augustus." Hadrianic or Antonine period. (2) Slab of marble with the inscription: "To Zeus, Helios the Great, Serapis and the Gods in the same temple for the safety of Augustus Cæsar. . . ." Same date as No. 1.¹ (3) Hand holding cornucopia, from colossal marble statue of Fortuna (?).² (4) Part of black granite vase, perhaps Canopic pot for containing parts of the body removed during embalmment.³ (5) Parts of a unique Late Roman bowl of light-brown pottery beautifully decorated in colours with life-like figures of birds and branches of trees. The bird is the Rosy Pastor (*Pastor roseus*), a member of the starling family. It was the *theleukias* of the Greeks and was known to them as a great devourer of locusts in the spring and a devourer of fruit in the autumn.⁴

Objects of the Roman period found in the Serapeum before our excavations are listed as follows by Botti: (1) "Inscription latine en l'honneur de C. Minicius Italus, préfet de l'Égypte" (A.D. 105); (2) "Torse d'une statuette d'Antinoüs Hermès"; (3) "Inscriptions des vétérans de la onzième légion en l'honneur de Septime Sévère" (A.D. 193-211); and (4) "Aigle romain en marbre".⁵ Still another object is the torso of a marble statue of Mithras found in 1905/6. The god was lion-headed and wears a kind of tunic adorned with stars, a crescent, scarabs, Apis bulls, a serpent, and so forth. In his right hand is a flail or key.⁶ Finally may be mentioned a fragment of slab of the time of Caracalla (A.D. 211-217).⁷

¹ *WGIS*, pp. 25 f. I take this opportunity of thanking Professor Wace for publishing the inscriptions we found in the Serapeum. The details of them given in the present article are based on his work.

² *PP*, p. 138, Pl. XXVII, Fig. 3.

³ *PP*, p. 144.

⁴ *DTEs*, coloured frontispiece, pp. 49, 67 ff. For provenance, cf. Pl. XIII.

⁵ *L'Acropole d'Alexandrie et le Sérapeum*, pp. 29 ff.

⁶ *AA*, p. 216, No. 50; ; *PP*, pp. 131, n. 2, 159, Pl. XLII, Fig. 4.

⁷ *IGL*, No. 85. Other Roman inscriptions from the site are Nos. 150, 155.

The archaeological evidence we have given about the Roman Serapeum may now be compared with the following brief résumé of the informative but not altogether correct accounts of Pseudo-Callisthenes, Aphthonius and Rufinus.¹ A monumental flight of steps, we are told, led up to the plateau on top of a rocky hill. Here stood a colonnaded enclosure in the center of which was the great temple adorned with columns of precious materials and built with magnificent marbles. The interior walls of the shrine were covered with plates of gold, of silver and bronze, and there was a bronze frieze representing the combats of Perseus. There was also a window cleverly arranged so that at every season of the year the first rays of the sun fell on the lips of the god. (The description of the statue, by Rufinus, has been already given.) In the temple were dedicated many rich offerings. The capitals of the columns were covered with gilt bronze. The porticoes and the exedras of the enclosure were adorned with statues and works of art. There was also in the enclosure a building with a hundred doors, each bearing the name of some ancient divinity, and rooms in which lived the priests and devotees. In addition, there were two obelisks of granite, a column of Helios (= Serapis), a monumental fountain, and, of course, the great Library of the Serapeum. We further learn that there were statues of the twelve demiurges² of the Acropolis. These statues,³ it seems to us, on the analogy of the twelve or so statues of philosophers and others found in the exedra of the dromos of the Memphite Serapeum,⁴ might well have portrayed the same or other sages. In support of this idea must be mentioned the fact that Mimaut, about the middle of

¹ For references see *PP*, pp. 124 ff. ; *WGIS*, pp. 4 ff.

² Wace calls them "creators". Cf. *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1950), p. 265.

³ Botti suggests they represented Claudius I, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius (A.D. 41-161), but there are no grounds at all for this suggestion (*PP*, p. 127).

⁴ Cf. J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *Les Statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis*, p. 153, for the following list : "(1) Pindare, (2) Démétrios de Phalère, (3) x (?), (4) Orphée (?) aux oiseaux, (5) Hésiode, (6) Homère, (7) x (?), (8) Protagoras, (9) Thalès, (10) Héraclite, (11) Platon, (12) Aristote (?)." Statues Nos. 2, 4, 7, 9, 11 are standing ; the rest are seated.

the nineteenth century, saw in our Serapeum nine standing statues holding rolls in their hands,¹ reminding one of a type of philosopher holding a *volumen* (comparable with the statue of Plato of the Memphis exedra) shown in a mosaic at Naples.² In the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, and in the Museum at Cyrene, are several standing statues of so-called "orators", each with a *capsa* or case containing rolls. Some of the Memphite Serapeum statues are seated on chairs with lion's legs, and, as we found part of a white marble chair of this type in the Alexandria Serapeum, it seems that this chair could have seated one of the very twelve local statues to which we have referred.³ Well might Ammianus Marcellinus write of this Serapeum that "it possesses such vast halls with columns, and is decorated with figures in such high relief as to appear alive, and has so many other works of art, that *nothing in the world is considered more sumptuous than it except the Capitol*, which is the eternal pride of the august city of Rome."⁴

IV. EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD AND LATER

It seems that although the Alexandria Serapeum was closed in July of A.D. 325,⁵ probably on the orders of Constantine, it remained more or less intact till A.D. 391, when religious riots broke out in the city. "The Serapeum", says Professor Wace, "was the last stronghold of the pagans who fortified themselves in the temple and its enclosure. The sanctuary was stormed by the Christians. The pagans were driven out, the temple was sacked, and its contents were destroyed. In this struggle the Library presumably perished also."⁶ However, although the walls of the enclosure and temple were razed to the ground,⁷

¹ AA, p. 115. The statues were just possibly Roman copies of originals.

² Cf. J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *op. cit.* p. 146, Fig. 85.

³ PP, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 2, right.

⁴ *Res Gest.*, xii, 16, 12.

⁵ J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *op. cit.* p. 72, n. 1.

⁶ *WGIS*, p. 5.

⁷ "The foundations alone were not removed owing to the difficulty of moving such large blocks of stone" (Eunapius, *Vita Ædefi*, 77-8). It is stated that the exterior courts appear not to have been destroyed. Cf. *Evagr. Hist. Eccles.* ii. 5.

parts of the colonnades, as well as the Column of Diocletian, were left intact. An illustrated manuscript of the fifth century actually shows the patriarch Theophilos, who was mainly responsible for the destruction, trampling under foot, in an attitude of triumph, the ruins of the Serapeum.¹ Socrates, in referring to the demolition of the temple, says that the "bronze statues [were] melted down to make domestic vessels", and records the discovery in the building of stones with hieroglyphic inscriptions.² Theodoret says that the great statue of Serapis, which was mainly of wood, was hacked to pieces, and the fragments burnt on the spot; the head was dragged around the city.³

Soon after the destruction of the Serapeum by the Christians a monastery was installed on the site and a church was built there in honour of St. John the Baptist, later known by the name of Angelium or Evangelium.⁴ The church fell in ruins about A.D. 600, was restored under the patriarch Isaac (A.D. 681-684), and was finally destroyed about the tenth century.⁵ We were fortunate enough to discover what may be the remains of this very church; see map, near upper left-hand corner. These remains consist of parts of walls of masonry; a large brick floor; some floor mosaics (badly broken); two shallow tanks for baptism, complete with steps leading down into them; a cruciform cistern for holy water; an underground storeroom; another cistern, with four crosses incised on its walls; many parts of amphoræ of the fourth-fifth century, some bearing the simplified *Chi-Rho* monogram; and, finally, a black opaque-glass Early Christian weight—for incense (?)—measuring 5.5 cm. by 5.1 cm., and 1.6 cm. thick. This bears the impressed signs ⁵ CNΩ, which indicate what its weight is supposed to be, namely, 2 ounces and 1 solidus = 59.10 gr. (actually the object

¹ *DTEs*, p. 43, Fig. 11 (from *Chronique Alexandrine*). Cf. Cabrol et Leclercq, *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, iii, Pl. opp. cols. 1551 f.

² *Hist. Eccles.* v. 16.

³ *Hist. Eccles.* v. 22.

⁴ *AA*, p. 119. It is said there was another church somewhere in the area, "SS. Cosmas and Damian", sometimes called "Honorius" (*PP*, p. 132).

⁵ *PP*, p. 132.

weighs 60 gr.). Above the center sign is a small +.¹ In a neighbouring pit we came across part of a white marble slab with inscription reading: . . . RIMONIVM. PRAEF. ANN. . . . The last two words are to be restored to *Præfectus annonæ*, which refers to an Alexandrian Prefect of Alimentation of about the fourth century A.D. M. O. Guéraud informed us that the office is first attested for Egypt in A.D. 349 (*Cod. Theod.* 12.6.3); it was subsidiary to that of the *Præfectus urbi* of Constantinople.² Some baths and a small fishpond we found inside the area of the almost destroyed Roman enclosure seem to be Early Christian.

During the succeeding centuries the Serapeum area became gradually covered with debris, practically all that remained of the older structures, at least on the surface, being the Column of Diocletian. This Column has always excited the admiration and imagination of travellers. "Cyriac of Ancona (1412) and Leo the African (1491-1517) have spoken of its height and size; Pellegrino Brocardi (1557) declares that he has never seen anything like it, either in Rome or anywhere else. . . . The name 'Pompey's Pillar' must have been invented" by the Crusaders. "Their not very deep learning confused it with the place where Pompey's head was buried (Nemesion) and transformed the cupola, which . . . Abd el-Latif (1162/3-1231) declares he saw upon the capital, or the sphere which according to XVIth century designs was placed on the capital, into 'the precious urn which contained the head of Pompey'".³ In 1737, in a report sent to Louis XV (and in an earlier one sent to Louis XIV), it was proposed to remove the Column to France. It was in 1832, when Eugène of Savoy was in Alexandria, that twenty-two [sic] people are said to have lunched on the top of the capital.⁴

¹ *DTES*, pp. 48 f., 67, Fig. 14, Pls. XIII, XIV, XVIII. The *Chi-Rho* monogram is the "croix monogrammatique" of M. Sulzberger, in *Byzantion* (*Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines*), ii (1925), (1926), pp. 337 ff. It appeared in this form a little before the middle of the fourth century.

² *DTES*, p. 49 (with bibliography). Cf. also J. G. Milne, *A Hist. of Egypt under Roman Rule* (1898), p. 227, note on *Annona*.

³ *AA*, pp. 117 f.

⁴ *AA*, p. 117. The works of G. Botti and Et. Combe cited on p. 486 of the present article may be consulted for further information on the later period. In

Coming down to more recent times we find that Arab houses, now removed, covered part of the area, while the Bâb Sidra Moslem cemetery was constructed over much of the N.N.W. end of the ancient enclosures ; see map. During the last world war a splinter from an enemy bomb slightly damaged the shaft of the Column.

V. HISTORICAL RÉSUMÉ

I. PHARAONIC PERIOD

For the various objects belonging to this period (1970-360 B.C.), see Appendix A.

II. "OLDER PTOLEMAIC TEMPLE OF SERAPIS"

Alexander the Great, Ptolemy I, or Ptolemy II. One of these rulers probably erected the above-mentioned temple and made its passage for the oracle, as well as, perhaps, the dromos. Cf. map ; pp. 491 ff. ; PART II.

Ptolemy I (305-283/2 B.C.) Gold coin found on the dromos, p. 493 ; Appendix C.

Ptolemy II (283-245 B.C.). Traditionally said to have founded the Serapeum Library and to have kept there the *Septuagint* made during his reign. Appendix D. Statue dedicated to his wife Arsinoe ; hollow altar dedicated to the king and queen. Appendix C. Statue dedicated to Serapis by Asclepiodoros and Euboulos ; said to date from first half of third century B.C., p. 494. Wace adds that this statue " may well antedate the reign of Ptolemy III and consequently the building of the great Serapeum. This then may be taken as supporting Tacitus' statement that a sanctuary of Serapis and Isis stood on this site, then called Rhacotis, before the construction of the great Serapeum." *WGIS*, p. 18. [Archagathos, *epistates* of Libya, and his wife dedicated to the king a Sacred Enclosure for Serapis and Isis ; inscription found in an eastern suburb of Alexandria—not in Rhacotis, p. 492.]

Note.—There is of course no direct evidence to show that the coin, the two statues, and the altar originally belonged to the " older temple ", but they may well have done so. The statues themselves came from the " Library " end of the Ptolemy III enclosure.

1818 was published the *Description de l'Égypte (Antiquités, Description)* ii, the Alexandria section of which (pp. 88 ff.) gives references to the Serapeum compiled by Napoleon's savants. It is to be noted that the respective chronologies cited in our article are after E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (1952), pp. 627 ff. ; E. Bevan, *A Hist. of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927) ; and J. G. Milne, *A Hist. of Egypt under Roman Rule* (1898). Other chronological systems for the Ptolemaic period are mentioned in *BULLETIN*, 38, p. 153, n. 3.

III. SERAPEUM OF PTOLEMY III AND PTOLEMY IV

Ptolemy III (247-221 B.C.). Built the great " Temple and Sacred Enclosure of Serapis " (var. " Temple of Serapis in Rhacotis "), as well as, no doubt, the adjacent Temple of Isis (?). He included in the enclosure, near the " Library " end, the " Older Ptolemaic Temple of Serapis ". The statues of the two deities must have been of marble. [The king and his queen, Berenice, dedicated a Sacred Enclosure to Osiris at Abukir, outside Alexandria, p.509.]

Ptolemy IV (221-203 B.C.). Dedicated a temple to Harpocrates in the Serapeum. [He dedicated a temple to Serapis and Isis in another part of Alexandria —also in Rhacotis, p. 509.]

Ptolemy V-VI (203-145 B.C.). Stone water-clock used in the Serapeum. Appendix B. [From a street north of the Serapeum came the upper part of a column bearing the names of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II, his wife; associated details suggest that the object was from a local temple of Osiris, or even from the funerary temple of the king. Still another object from in or near Alexandria (exact provenance unknown), consisting of part of a statue of Ptolemy VI, contains an inscription stating that the " Living Apis " and " Mnevis " Bulls were installed in their sanctuaries, obviously at Memphis and Heliopolis, respectively. The king was born about the same time as the Apis bull.¹]

C. Minicius Italus, Prefect of Egypt (A.D. 105), p. 500.

Trajan. In A.D. 116 much of the Serapeum was probably destroyed in the great Jewish revolt, p. 496. For coin see p. 499.

IV. SERAPEUM AND ISEUM OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

Hadrian (?) (A.D. 117-138). It was perhaps this emperor who rebuilt and enlarged the Serapeum, erecting a great temple to Serapis over the remains of the Ptolemaic temples of Serapis, Isis (?) and Harpocrates at the N.N.W. end of the enclosure. In it was placed a colossus of Serapis evidently made of various woods and metal, and also, on behalf of Hadrian, a black granite statue of Osiris-Apis, the Memphite Serapeum bull-god. The " Older Temple of Serapis " was perhaps converted into a Temple of Isis. The sacred area was generally known in the Roman period as " The Serapeum and The Iseum ".

Commodus. Damage done by fire (A.D. 181), p. 499.

Septimus Severus (A.D. 193-211), p. 500. For coin of wife see p. 499.

Caracalla (A.D. 211-217), p. 500.

Diocletian (A.D. 284-305). The Prefect Postumus (?) erected the great Column in honour of the emperor, p. 498.

V. EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD

Constantine (A.D. 313-337). *Oraculorum defectio!* Serapeum closed in July, A.D. 325, p. 502. The Serapeum cubit transferred to a church, p. 492.

¹ For full details cf. Alan Rowe, " New Light on Ægypto-Cyrenæan Relations ", etc., in *AS*, Cahier No. 12 (1948), pp. 42 ff., Fig. 8, Pl. IV.

Julian (A.D. 361-363). Cubit transferred back to the Serapeum, p. 492.

Theodosius I (A.D. 378-395). Serapeum destroyed by the patriarch Theophilus, A.D. 391, pp. 502 f.

Arcadius (?) (A.D. 395-408). A monastery installed on the site and a church built there in honour of St. John the Baptist, later known as the Angelium or Evangelium. Destroyed in A.D. 600, p. 503. Still another local church was "Honorius", loc. cit.

APPENDICES

A. EGYPTIAN OBJECTS FROM THE SERAPEUM

Unless indicated to the contrary the objects are (a) of stone, and (b) complete or parts of royal statues. For measurements cf. *PP*, p. 156. The *asterisks* in this Appendix and Appendix B indicate objects found by the writer.

I. PHARAONIC PERIOD (INSCRIBED)

Dynasty

XII Senwosret I (?) (1970-1936 B.C.). Statue usurped by Merenptah, XIXth Dyn. (1234-1224 B.C.). *PM*.

Senwosret II (1906-1888 B.C.) or Senwosret III (1887-1850 B.C.). Block in substructure of Diocletian's Column. *PM*; *PP*, p. 129.

XVIII Horemheb (d. 1314 B.C.). Sphinx. *PP*, pp. 133, 154, Pls. XXXIII, D. 1 and XXXVI, Fig. 1.

* Unknown official. Statue, lower part of which is missing, representing the official in squatting position. He was a "hereditary prince, local prince, judge, 'He of the Curtain' (title of a vizier), great in his dignity . . . , beloved real royal scribe, bearer of the standard at the right hand of the king", etc. *PP*, pp. 138 f., Pl. XXVII, Figs. 1, 2.

XIX Sety I (1312-1298 B.C.). Block in above-mentioned substructure. *PM*; *PP*, pp. 129, 153 f., Pl. XXXIII, B. 2.

XIX Rameses II (1301-1235 B.C.). Loose block. The text, of which much is missing, gives prenomens of the king, and mentions the word *mekhat*,¹ the meaning of which is obscure. Its determinative shows a vaulted hall with three columns. *PP*, pp. 133, 153, Pl. XXXIII, A.

Rameses II. Loose block found near base of Diocletian's Column. *PM*.

¹ For the plural form, cf. P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, i, Pl. XIV, line 11 (wrongly translated, p. 19, as "altar-bases"), also Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, ii, p. 131 ("custom-houses?").

Rameses II. Two statues. *PM*; *PP*, pp. 133, 155 f., Pls. XXXIII, D. 3 and XXXVI, Fig. 2; *PP*, pp. 133, 156, Pls. XXXIII, D. 4 and XXXVI, Fig. 2.

Rameses II. Statue of Sekhmet. *PM*.

Unknown. Colossal scarab. Text, broken, indicates the king to be the son of Kheperi and of Amen. *PP*, pp. 133, 154, Pl. XXXIII, C.

XX Rameses IX (exact date uncertain). Offering-table. *PM*.

Rameses IX. Statue. *PM*.

XXV * Ra-meny (small ruler of Lower Egypt; date of dynasty, 751-656 B.C.). Ushebty-figure, i.e. model of funerary field-worker. Unglazed brown pottery. *RFF*, pp. 35, 37, Fig. 2.

XXVI Psammetichus I¹ (663-609 B.C.). Statue. *PM*; *PP*, pp. 133 f., 154 f., Pls. XXXIII, D. 2 and XXXVI, Fig. 2.

Psammetichus I. Block in above-mentioned substructure. *PM*; *PP*, pp. 129, 153, Pl. XXXIII, B. 1.

* Amasis II (568-526 B.C.). Fragment. *DTES*, p. 31, n. 2.

XXX Nectanebo I (378-360 B.C.). Fragment of sphinx. Black basalt.²

II. PHARAONIC PERIOD (UNINSCRIBED)

The monuments in this section date from the New Kingdom and later. *PP*, pp. 133 f., p. 157 (measurements), Pl. XXXVI, Figs. 1-3.

Colossal statue group showing a deity supporting a pharaoh. Red granite.

Two large sphinxes found south of the area. Red granite. Probably, like the inscribed sphinxes, as well as the marble siren mentioned on p. 495, from the dromos of the Serapeum.

Falcon. Black granite.³

Head of unknown pharaoh. Basalt.

¹ We found a ushebty-figure of this king near the neighbouring Roman catacombs of Kôm el-Shukâfa (*RFF*, pp. 33 ff.) Other ushebtys of the Saitic era were discovered in 1891 near Kôm ed-Demas (for this site see *BULLETIN*, 38, p. 150). One bore the name of the "King of the South and North, Psammetichus", another the name of a hereditary prince and mayor Nefer-ib-ra-em-akhet, and still another the name of an overseer of the scribes Paef-ṭau-em-aui-khensu. (E. Sieglin, *Die Nekropole von Kôm esh-Schukâfa*, Text vol. (1908), p. 343, No. 70; *Expedition Ernst Sieglin*, band II, teil 2 (1924)—Pl. vol., tafel I; Text vol., pp. 83 f., Nos. 6, 4, 5). Professor Wace found part of another ushebty in his excavations at the Government Hospital, Alexandria.

² *Rapport du Musée 1900-1901 (Alexandrie)*, p. 15.

³ This is possibly the "sparrow-hawk of granite, having the *pschent* (crown) on the head", of Mahmoud el-Falaki, *Mémoire sur l'Antique Alexandrie*, p. 54.

B. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD (HIEROGLYPHIC TEXTS)

* Ptolemy III (247-221 B.C.). Foundation plaques placed in sets of ten below corners both of the enclosure of the Serapeum and of the contemporary Temple of Serapis (near pylon). Gold, silver, bronze, opaque glass and mud. Bilingual inscriptions. The Egyptian text states that Ptolemy III "made the Temple and the Sacred Enclosure for Serapis". The Greek one reads: "King Ptolemy [III], son of Ptolemy [II] and Arsinoe, the Brother-gods, [dedicates] to Serapis the Temple and the Sacred Enclosure". Found in 1943. *DTES*.

* Ptolemy IV (221-203 B.C.). Foundation plaques placed in sets of ten below the walls of the Temple of Harpocrates, the son of Serapis and Isis. Gold, silver, bronze, opaque glass and mud. Bilingual inscriptions. The Egyptian text, which is in enigmatical form, follows the Greek one, which reads: "King Ptolemy [IV], son of Ptolemy [III] and Queen Berenice, the Gods-benefactors, [dedicates this temple] to Harpocrates, according to the direction ¹ of Serapis and Isis." Found in 1945. *DTES*.² (The queen herself is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription discovered in 1895 at the Serapeum. *IGL*, No. 13. A marble head representing her came from the same site. *AA*, pp. 115, 178.)

Pa-sheri-en-ptah (lit., "The son of Ptah"). Two statues. This man, the son of Harmachis and grandson of An-em-her, held many priestly offices,

¹ Possibly received by means of an oracle or a dream. Ptolemy I, who is said to have brought back from Sinope the statue which was identified in Egypt as one of Serapis, had seen it in a dream (*WGIS*, pp. 2 f.). Vespasian saw a vision in the Serapeum (*DTES*, p. 47). The Pharaonic word for "oracle" was *hrtw*. Cf. Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, III, p. 318; *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 41, pp. 84, 88.

² Other local foundation plaques—not discovered by us—may be mentioned here: (a) One of gold and two of opaque glass from the Osiris Temple at Abukir, near Alexandria. Inscribed in Greek: "King Ptolemy [III], son of Ptolemy [II] and Arsinoe, the Brother-gods, and Queen Berenice, his sister and wife, [dedicate] the Sacred Enclosure to Osiris". (b) Four of gold, silver, bronze and opaque glass, respectively, from a cavity below a foundation stone of a building, probably a temple, discovered under the Old Bourse, Alexandria. Inscribed in Greek and hieroglyphs. The former text reads: "[The Sanctuary] of Serapis and Isis, the Saviour-gods, and of King Ptolemy [IV] and Queen Arsinoe, the Father-loving gods", and the latter: "It belongs to Serapis and Isis, the Saviour-gods, and to the King of the South and North, 'Ptolemy [IV], living for ever, beloved of Isis', and Queen Arsinoe, the Father-loving gods". (*DTES*, pp. 10 ff.) To my provisional list of foundation deposits published in op. cit. pp. 14 ff. should be added a few mentioned in E. A. W. Budge, *The Mummy* (1925), pp. 450 ff. as well as many others which, I understand from Professor Fairman, are incorporated in a fuller list now being prepared in Liverpool.

including "Chief of the Mysteries in the Temple of Ptah in Ra-setau¹ and of the Temple of Osiris-Apis (Serapis) in Rhacotis." The latter temple is of course the Serapeum in Alexandria. *PM*; *DTES*, p. 9 and n. 2; *BSA*, 35, pp. 3, f. and n. 2; *PP*, pp. 135 f. Statues dated by Professor H. W. Fairman to about time of Ptolemy V-VI (203-145 B.C.).

- * Unknown ruler. Fragment of stone clepsydra (water-clock), used to determine the hour-intervals for the temple-watches of priests. It shows part of the figure of some king making an offering to Ptah, god of the IIInd Month; the eleven other month-deities are on the missing fragments. Behind the god, that is to say inside the clepsydra, is a broken section of a vertical row of twelve small holes forming the twelve-hour scale for the IIInd Month. The accompanying text (much missing) apparently mentions the name of the VIIth Nome of Lower Egypt, *Rehwy-[imenty]*. Found in 1943. *DTES*, pp. 40 f., 50, and Fig. 10. For similar water-clocks, see in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xvii, pp. 174 ff.; *Ancient Egypt* (1924), pp. 43 ff., etc.²

C. CLASSICAL OBJECTS FROM THE SERAPEUM BEARING ROYAL NAMES ANTERIOR TO THE TIME OF PTOLEMY III

- * Ptolemy I (305-283/2 B.C.). Gold coin (*pentadrachm*).³ Found in 1943. Cf. p. 493; *DTES*, p. 66, and Fig. 13.

Arsinoe Philadelphos, sister and wife of Ptolemy II (283-245 B.C.). Pedestal of statue dedicated to the queen by the Alexandrian, Thestor, son of Satyros. In substructure of Diocletian's Column. *AA*, p. 116; *PP*, pp. 129, 156.

Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoe. Hollow altar dedicated in honour of the king and queen. Found by the Sieglin Expedition. T. Schreiber, *Studien über d. Bildniss Alexanders d. Gr.* (1903), p. 251, Fig. 29; *AA*, pp. 115, 128; *I GL*, No. 6; *WGIS*, p. 18, n. 1 (Wace says the altar "apparently dates from the reign of Ptolemy II"). The photograph published by Schreiber seems to show that the altar was lying, not in the center of a small sacred enclosure to the north of the column, as Breccia states, but on the floor of the dromos. The wall in the background, mainly concealed by debris, belongs to the modern Arab cemetery.⁴

¹ Evidently the Alexandrian suburb of Necropolis, for *Ra-setau* means "Cemetery".

² An uninscribed green glazed Egyptian figurine of Isis (or Cleopatra)—lower part missing—was found by us in the Serapeum. *PP*, pp. 158 f., Pl. XLI.

³ For analogies, cf. J. N. Svoronos, *Ta Nomismata ton Ptolemaion*, i, p. 36, Nos. 210/211; iii, Pl. VII, No. 4; iv, p. 405 (gold coins of Ptolemy I from Tukh el-Qaramus, in the Delta) = *AS*, VII, p. 208.

⁴ Cf. also the dedication of Asclepiodoros and another to Serapis, found in the Serapeum, and mentioned before, p. 494. Date, c. 300-250 B.C.

D. THE "SERAPEUM" OR "DAUGHTER" LIBRARY OF ALEXANDRIA¹

We have already seen in our account of the PTOLEMAIC PERIOD, p. 488, that the floor as well as the lower part of the whole of the S.S.E. end of the enclosure of the Serapeum is sunk in a deep trench in the rock. On the *outer* part of this trench are nineteen rooms,² the doors of which, now missing, opened into a corridor originally paved with marble. On the *inner* part were still another paved corridor (which was divided from the other one by means of a colonnade) and three large niches, perhaps for statues. Cf. p. 488. Both corridors were roofed over. In the Roman period, when the S.S.E. end of the enclosure was still in use, the E.N.E. parts of the two corridors were divided by walls of additional rooms, nine in number. At the same time two fireplaces with hot air ducts³ and an altar of sacrifice (or ash-pit) were installed. See map.

It seems very probable that in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods the various rooms in the trench were used both in connection with the cults of various deities and also for storing the volumes of the Serapeum Library, the fireplaces, etc., being added for the purpose of keeping out the damp. The Library at Pergamum and that at Ephesus had double walls to keep the papyri dry.

The following is a brief résumé of certain early accounts, trustworthy or otherwise, of the Serapeum Library :

1. According to Tzetses the Serapeum Library was founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphos (283-245 B.C.).⁴ If this statement is accurate the Library must have been one attached to the "Older Ptolemaic Temple of Serapis" (cf. map), for the supposed antiquity of which see p. 491.
2. The Hebrew Scriptures are traditionally said to have been translated into Greek (the *Septuagint*) under Ptolemy II and deposited in the Serapeum Library ; in that event the Library would have been the one belonging to the "older" temple of Serapis.⁵ Cf. Rylands Greek Pap. 458.

¹ According to Wace, the "Serapeum Library was perhaps a *reading library* for the general public, while the Mother Library [situated in another part of the city] remained the *main research library* for the scholars of the Mouseion". The former Library held nearly 50,000 books (*WGIS*, pp. 5, 13). A granite box from one of the Alexandrian libraries is inscribed: "Three volumes by Dioscurides" (*BULLETIN*, 38, p. 155).

² These rooms recall the twenty or so "schools" which Benjamin de Tudela (c. A.D. 1160) indicated were inside a great and beautiful edifice "hors de la ville d'Alexandrie".

³ The ducts were connected with the furnaces by means of pottery flues.

⁴ Syncellus refers the foundation of the Serapeum Library to the 132nd Olympiad.

⁵ For handles of amphoræ bearing (as we were informed) Hebrew seal-impressions—they came from a drain in one of our "Library" rooms—see *BULLETIN*, 38, pp. 154 f. Cf. *Hesperia*, Supp. VIII (1949), pp. 182 f. Ptolemy III took a great interest in literature (*DTES*, p. 25, n. 2).

3. The Serapeum Library, the supposed remains of which we found, was made by Ptolemy III (247-221 B.C.), who would naturally have transferred the contents of any older library on the site to his own magnificent one.
4. The Serapeum Library perhaps received some of the volumes from the Pergamum Library which Antony gave to Cleopatra after the " Alexandrian War " of Julius Caesar (48 B.C.).
5. The Library must have been largely destroyed in the Jewish revolt under Trajan (A.D. 116), and restored under Hadrian (?).
6. It was probably damaged by fire in the time of Commodus (A.D. 181).
7. The Library and the Serapeum as a whole were closed in the time of Constantine (A.D. 325).
8. It was possibly as a result of this closure that George of Cappadocia removed the Library in A.D. 361 (?).
9. Anyhow, the Serapeum itself, as a whole, was finally destroyed under Theodosius I in A.D. 391, and if any of the Library volumes were still there, they must have perished.
10. Paulus Orosius, a Spanish presbyter, appears to be a witness to the non-existence of the Library in A.D. 416.
11. The stories of Abd el-Latif (A.D. 1162/3-1231) and Abu'l Faraj Barhebraeus (A.D. 1226-1286) to the effect that the Serapeum Library was burnt by Amr ibn el-Asi (c. A.D. 641) are certainly without any foundation.¹

A. R.

ADDENDA TO WESTERN DESERT ARTICLE NO. III (BULLETIN, VOL. 38, No. 1)

P. 159, line 16. Read " Schiess ".

P. 164, line 11, for " same " read " east ".

Pp. 156 ff. In view of doubts which have been raised in a certain quarter about the location of Alexander's tomb suggested in the article (a quarter which unkindly neglected to refer to my mention of the important inscription of the stela of the official Pa-sheri-en-ptah), it may be added that Professor H. W. Fairman, to whom I again wish to express my thanks for all his help so generously given, lends the weight of his authority as an expert on the Ptolemaic Period to my proposed identification. And, it may be stated, that great Hellenist, the late P. Jouguet, agreed with my suggestion about the site of the Rhacotis tomb.

A. R.

¹ The references in this Appendix are mostly from *DTEs*, pp. 22 ff., quoting, among other sources, J. White, *Ægyptica* (1801), pp. 41 ff.; A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (1902), pp. 402 ff. For excavation notices, see Wace, in *JHS* (1945), pp. 106 ff.; Jouguet, in *CRAI* (1946), pp. 680 ff.; Picard, in *REV. ARCH.* (1947), pp. 71 f.; etc.

PART II

THE LITERARY AND OTHER EVIDENCE

By B. R. REES

MR. ROWE'S investigations have proved beyond doubt that it was Ptolemy III who built both the Sarapeum of Alexandria and its Temple of Sarapis¹ near the Pylon Gate, that he incorporated within his enclosure an already existing temple, and that his Sarapeum was itself enclosed and rebuilt in Roman times. It is the purpose of this note to review briefly the main literary and non-literary evidence for the introduction of the cult of Sarapis into Alexandria and for the building of the great Sarapeum, and to consider what fresh light is thrown on this evidence by the new archaeological discoveries.

The evidence for the origins of the cult of Sarapis is scattered and varied, and much of it is of dubious value. The literary sources² are, for the most part, late and based upon earlier tradition often accepted without verification and then transmitted parrot-fashion. Though their foundations are often pure legend, they are not altogether worthless, provided that their limitations are acknowledged, and the classic discussion of Ulrich Wilcken³ has enabled his successors in the field to make real progress. Modern scholars generally are now prepared to accept that the cult had its origins in the worship of the Egyptian composite deity, Osiris-Apis of Memphis, and was introduced into Alexandria by Ptolemy I, rather than Ptolemy II, largely, if not solely, as an instrument of propaganda. To the bibliography appended to the articles in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *RE* I a, 2 (Roeder) and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Brady) the following works should now be added as the fruits of the detailed

¹ As this note deals primarily with the cult of Sarapis in Hellenistic times, the forms Sarapis and Sarapeum are used throughout.

² They are to be found in Th. Hopfner, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae* (1922-5).

³ In *UPZ*, i, Introduction, pp. 7-95.

researches of the last twenty-odd years: A. Momigliano, "Giuramento di *Σαραπιασταί*?", in *Aegyptus* XIII (1933); T. A. Brady, "The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (330-30 B.C.)", in *The University of Missouri Studies*, x (1935); H. C. Youtie, "The *κλίνη* of Sarapis", in *HTR*, xli, no. 1 (1948); E. Kiessling, "La genèse du culte de Sarapis à Alexandrie", in *Chron. d'Ég.*, xxiv, no. 48 (1949); P. Jouguet, "Les premiers Ptolémées et l'Hellenisation de Sarapis", in *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont* (1949); A. J. B. Wace, "Recent Ptolemaic Finds in Egypt", in *JHS*, lxxv (1945), a summary of Mr. Rowe's earlier announcements of his finds.¹

The earliest centre of the worship of Sarapis was, as the Greeks themselves held,² the Sarapeum at, or rather outside, Memphis, consisting of an elaborate complex of buildings which included a Greek and an Egyptian Sarapeum. The fundamental work on its excavation was done by Mariette between 1851 and 1854, and the so-called Sarapeum papyri found in its vicinity and now housed in seven different museums present a fascinating picture of the lives and affairs of the dwellers in, and around, the Sarapeum between the years 169 and 152 B.C. But if, as is now believed, it was Ptolemy I who established the cult at Alexandria, it would be natural to assume, even if there were no evidence to prove it, that he either found, or built, a Sarapeum there to accommodate it.

Now there is support in the tradition for the idea that there was a *pre*-Ptolemaic temple at Rhacotis. For example, Tacitus³

¹ More general works of recent years which also discuss the problem of the origins of Sarapis are: C. E. Visser, *Tempel und Kulte des ptolemäischen Ägyptens* (1938); P. Jouguet, *Trois études sur l'hellenisme* (1944); H. I. Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* (1948) and *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1953); W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation* (3rd edn.) (1952); J. Černý, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (1952).

² Pausanias I, 18, 4; for ancient descriptions, etc., Herodotus III, 28 f., Strabo XVII, 1, 32, Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 43, and Ammianus Marcellinus XXII, 14, 7. See also *UPZ* i, pp. 7 ff. and now J.-Ph. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *Les Statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis, passim*.

³ *Hist.* iv. 84; for the suggestion that Tacitus was using a Greek source or sources, possibly a treatise on Sarapis, see U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, ii. p. 340, n. 1

tells us that a temple to Sarapis, proportionate to the grandeur of the city of Alexandria, was erected by Ptolemy I in the Rhacotis, or native, quarter, where there had previously existed from ancient times a smaller shrine to Sarapis and Isis. Pseudo-Callisthenes¹ credits Alexander the Great with building a temple to Sarapis at Alexandria and commissioning Parmeniscus, the popular diminutive by which the architect Parmenion was known, to provide a statue for it; Arrian² mentions that Alexander had marked out a temple to Isis in the native quarter (i.e. Rhacotis); Aphthonius³ maintains that the "Acropolis", as he called the Sarapeum he saw *circa* A.D. 314-315, was founded by Alexander; and Malalas⁴ says that Alexander built a temple to Sarapis at Alexandria.

But clearly it would be unsafe to presume the existence of a pre-Ptolemaic Sarapeum at Rhacotis on such a farrago of half-legend and half-fact. Meanwhile, Tacitus also implies that a new temple to Sarapis was built to accommodate the statue of Pluto which Ptolemy I had brought from Sinope in Pontus and which, *teste* Plutarch,⁵ was identified with Sarapis on arrival. At the same time, Tacitus admits that others held Syrian Seleucia to have been the home of the image, others again Memphis, and that they believed it to have been introduced by the third Ptolemy, Euergetes.⁶ This is evidence of the most chaotic kind, but although the derivation of the cult from Sinope, or anywhere else except Memphis,⁷ is no longer generally accepted, and even the story of the importation of the image from Pontus is suspect except as a device of propaganda, it would seem probable that Ptolemy I, in order to present Sarapis in a favourable light to Greeks as well as Egyptians, installed a cult-statue, essential if the cult was to be popular with Greeks, either in an already existing shrine at Rhacotis or in one built by himself.

¹ i. 33.

² *Anab.* iii. 1, 5.

³ *Prog.* 12.

⁴ *Chron.* p. 192 A.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 28.

⁶ Cf. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protr.* iv. 28 (Migne, *PG*, viii. 138); Cyrillus, *Contra Julianum* i. 12 (*PG*, lxxvi. 521); Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 7, 14.

⁷ The most interesting suggestion is undoubtedly that of Eustathius (*ad Dionysius, Perieg.* 254)—explaining *Zeὺς Σινωπῆτης* as being Zeus, i.e. Sarapis, of Mt. Sinopium near Memphis; it has been taken up by Bouché-Leclercq and Letronne among modern scholars. Cf. *GGM*, ii. 262; *Steph. Byz.*, 571.

In fact, the traditional sources of greater respectability have always tended to connect the foundation of the Sarapeum at Alexandria with Ptolemy I. Its design is usually attributed to the architect Parmeniscus, as he was popularly known, and its cult-statue to the sculptor Bryaxis, said to have been a pupil of Scopas. Of the latter tradition all that can really be said is that if Bryaxis was responsible for the famous statue of Sarapis, then he may well have made it, together with another with which tradition also credits him, late in the fourth century B.C.¹ On the subject of the architect Parmeniscus the papyrus from the Zenon archives which Mr. Rowe has already cited,² though highly suggestive, must be held to be finally inconclusive. It is a draft of a statement concerning a loan and is dated in 243 B.C. : Zenon and his debtor, Philon, have exchanged pledges, in accordance with the instructions of their arbitrators, in the Sarapeum of Parmeniscus—ἐ[ν] τῶι Παρμ[ε]νίσκου Σαραπιείωι (lines 102-3, cf. also line 128). Jouguet pointed out,³ and Mlle. Cl. Préaux has reiterated,⁴ that the reference to the Sarapeum of Parmeniscus as well-established in the fourth year of Ptolemy III's reign makes it improbable that it is Ptolemy III's Sarapeum which is being referred to by that name. On this view Parmeniscus' Sarapeum would be an earlier temple than Ptolemy III's. One is naturally led to ask the question : In that case, was it the temple which Ptolemy I is said to have built when he introduced the cult of the god to Alexandria?

We have seen that tradition normally associated these two events : both cult and temple are usually attributed to Ptolemy I.

¹ See J. H. Jongkees, "New Statues by Bryaxis", in *JHS*, lxxviii (1948), pp. 38 f. and n. 55, with Fig. 8 referred to on p. 34. Lauer and Picard, *op. cit.* p. 35, n. 2, maintain that the first statue of the Graeco-Egyptian Sarapis could only have been installed at Memphis ; but it is clear that they either are ignorant of the existence of an earlier temple at Rhacotis than that of Ptolemy III (see, e.g., *op. cit.* p. 33) or have overlooked it in their anxiety to establish the priority of the Memphite Sarapeum, which few would wish to dispute.

² P. Cairo Zen. III, 59355. Any attempt to date Parmeniscus starts off with a consideration of the date of his Sarapeum ; see, e.g., Riemann in *RE*, xviii. 4.

³ *Hommages Bidez-Cumont*, p. 161.

⁴ *Chron. d'Ég.*, xxiv, No. 48 (1949), p. 362, in a review of Rowe's *DTEs*.

Hieronymus¹ gives the date of the introduction of the cult as 286 B.C., i.e. at the end of Soter's reign; but Clemens Alexandrinus and Cyrillus² place it in the beginning of the reign of Philadelphus, the latter dating it in 280 B.C., and the Armenian version of Eusebius gives the date as 278 B.C.³ The epigraphic evidence, such as it is, tends to support the claims of Ptolemy I for the introduction of the cult,⁴ and it has the backing of, e.g., the Artemisia papyrus,⁵ probably the earliest document in Greek written on papyrus, and of the literary evidence for knowledge of the cult long before Philadelphus succeeded his father.⁶ But the fact remains that acceptance of the introduction of the cult to Alexandria by Ptolemy I does not necessarily involve acceptance also of his foundation of a Sarapeum there, if it so happens that there was already a temple in Rhacotis which could house the cult-statue. We are therefore faced with the dilemma that while Tacitus, in the passage cited above, implies that a temple was built by Ptolemy I at Rhacotis when he introduced the cult into Alexandria, the same author in the same passage is also our only creditable source for the existence of an earlier temple on the site. Perhaps the most we should try to extract from Tacitus is that he believed Ptolemy I to have introduced the cult but knew of the existence of two temples to Sarapis, an earlier and a later, at Rhacotis. We might then go on to suggest, for that is the strongest verb we could use, that his anxiety to link up the introduction of the cult with the Sarapeum of Alexandria led him to confuse the issue.

It is on this point that Mr. Rowe's discoveries have enabled us to write with a more precise knowledge than Tacitus himself possessed. Thanks to them we now know not only that there was an earlier temple at Rhacotis but also that the great Sarapeum

¹ According to Eusebius, *Chron.* ii. 119.

² *Locc. cit.*

³ In Hopfner, *op. cit.* p. 486.

⁴ See Wilcken in *UPZ*, i. p. 35 and *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, iii. p. 316 (on *OGIS*, i. 21); but *OGIS*, i. 16 is now best placed after the death of Arsinoe Philadelphus in 270 B.C. (so L. Robert, *REG*, 63 (1950), p. 213, following N. Greipl, *Philologus*, p. 85 (1930), pp. 159 ff.).

⁵ *UPZ*, i. 1 (= *PGM*, ii. 40); the best authorities date it well before 300 B.C. The earliest *dated* document is, of course, P. Berol. 13500 (311 B.C.).

⁶ See Brady, *op. cit.* p. 9, n. 11, for references.

was built under the aegis of Ptolemy III Euergetes.¹ Thus we are in a position to envisage at least two possible identifications of the earlier temple: (i) it may be the pre-Ptolemaic *sacellum* of Tacitus, or (ii) it may be the temple of Ptolemy I. If it is (i), then Ptolemy I did not build a temple to Sarapis but used the one which he found there; if (ii), then either there was no pre-Ptolemaic shrine at all or every trace of it has vanished. These alternatives must now be reviewed in the light of the papyrus from the archives of Zenon.

First, it must be recognized that Jouguet's objection to identifying the "Sarapeum of Parmeniscus" with that of Euergetes is not valid. This objection, reasonable enough in itself, is based on the assumption that even if Euergetes laid the foundation-plaques on the first day of his reign, as he might well have done, it was altogether too vast and complex a structure to have been completed and ready for use by Zenon and his debtor in three years' time. Agreed; but should we assume that the reference in the papyrus necessarily implies that the "Sarapeum of Parmeniscus" had been completed? Zenon and Philon would go for this purpose to a *temple* of Sarapis but they might well describe their rendezvous by the name of the Sarapeum of which it was now part. Presumably the earlier temple would remain in being and in use whilst the work of constructing the great enclosure of Ptolemy III was still going on around it—at the least until the new temple near the Pylon Gate was finished. While the work was in progress, it would be a well-known fact that Parmeniscus was the architect of the new Sarapeum and so it would be natural to refer to the whole site by his name, even if the specific reference were to the older temple. The whole enclosure might not be completed in his lifetime, yet still be attributed to him. Thus the evidence of the Zenon papyrus by itself in no way justifies our dissociating Parmeniscus from the Sarapeum of Ptolemy III.² On the other hand, neither does it

¹ The Sarapeum which stood in Tacitus' time was certainly that of Ptolemy III Euergetes, but it is the Roman foundation which is described in Aelius Aristides, *εἰς Σάραπιν*, 45; Avienus, *Descr. Orb.* 354; *Ammianus Marcellinus*, xii. 16; Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23; Aphthonius, *loc. sup. cit.*

² Wilcken was the first to identify the "Sarapeum of Parmeniscus" (in the Zenon papyrus) as the great Sarapeum in a review of M. Rostovtzeff, "A Large

bring us any nearer to an identification of the earlier temple. In fact, it adds new complications of its own. For example, the earlier temple might be that referred to as the "Sarapeum of Parmeniscus", perhaps in an attempt to distinguish it from newer buildings like the temple by the Pylon Gate, and this name might have been transferred at a fairly early stage of the tradition to the Sarapeum itself—the earlier temple, by the way, is scarcely on the scale traditionally associated with the architect's foundation. Or, again, we might suppose the "Sarapeum of Parmeniscus" in the papyrus to be the new and, before Roman times, smaller temple to Sarapis near the Pylon Gate, which may well have been completed by 243 B.C., but if we did so, we should be leaving the identity of the earlier temple still in doubt.

The proliferation of hypotheses resulting from our efforts to combine Mr. Rowe's finds with the other evidence, especially that of Tacitus and the Zenon papyrus, makes it clear that it is still an open question whether Soter (or Philadelphus, for that matter)¹ did build a Sarapeum at Rhacotis when he introduced the cult of Sarapis to Alexandria, or merely accepted and used an already existing shrine for its accommodation; whether the great Sarapeum of Euergetes had a predecessor later in time than the *sacellum* mentioned by Tacitus; whether, in fine, the earlier temple identified by Mr. Rowe is pre-Ptolemaic or the work of Ptolemy I. Not for the first time Tacitus has provided the awkward piece which refuses to be fitted into the tidy jig-saw puzzle historians so love to put together. But, at the risk of appearing too venturesome, the present writer would like to express his opinion that the Sarapeum attributed to Ptolemy I by Tacitus—*templum pro magnitudine urbis*—was in fact that of

Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C." (in *Archiv.* vii (1924), pp. 77 ff.), but he did not then know that the latter was built by Ptolemy III or that a temple of earlier date would be discovered in the enclosure, and so he could not anticipate Jouguet's objection.

¹ Mr. Rowe's records, listed in Appendix C, of dedications to Philadelphus and Arsinoe within the enclosure prove no more than that the site was in use in their time. The only trace so far found of Ptolemy I's reign is a gold coin bearing his inscription, which is inconclusive.

Ptolemy III,¹ and that the earlier temple might well be the *sacellum* of Tacitus but actually built by Parmeniscus to house the statue of Bryaxis in the time of Ptolemy I, perhaps even before the latter became King of Egypt. But it remains equally possible that Ptolemy I built no temple at all at Rhacotis and that the mysterious Parmeniscus was Euergetes' architect, in which case we should be left with the embarrassing question, "Who then did build the *sacellum*?" Unfortunately, the weakness of our sources does not permit us to answer, as we might like to answer, "Alexander the Great".

¹ Others, e.g., Jouguet and now Lauer and Picard, have come to a similar conclusion, but without a proper consideration of the new evidence and its implications in the light of the passage in Tacitus. I am grateful to Mr. Rowe for allowing me to add this note on the new evidence and for reading and criticising it from the archaeological point of view.