

I.G. XI, 4, 531

File this with RITODIAN  
notes, for the arguments  
with P. Franke

A decree of Delos (ca. 290-270 B.C.) granting  
honors to three sons of Nikodemus. In line  
12 the three sons are called citizens of  
Olynthos (<sup>Ὀλυνθίους</sup>).

(From J. Kent, I believe, — on the subject  
of dating by the destruction date of cities.  
I. e. — one would have supposed a  
handle found at Olynthos would  
necessarily pre-date 348 B.C.,  
but look at this, (they're right  
on living in the ruins.)



Rhodian Melics.

RHODIAN - CORRESP. W. P. FRASER folder has a reference from P.F., dated 10.VII.61, ~~for~~ on "the frequency of Laodiceis at Rhodes (only Antiocheus seem to be more numerous)" — his article on Sarcophagi (Opusc. Antiqu. I<sup>o</sup>, III (1960)) p. 40 and note 6.

i.e. See Nessau Note types on file of Μεγαυρος Λαοδ. and I, with of Μεισος ΑΥΤΙΟΧΕΥΣ. My Aiga chapter has S&D no. 10 a <sup>stamp</sup> ~~note~~ of Μεγαυρος ΑΥΤΙ. (no. 10; comment with ref. to Nessau, p. 103).

Also in folder of CORRESP. W. P. F. are notes on his chapter on Alexandrian commerce, pencil jottings and copy of typescript criticism I gave him (dated 11.VI.61). See p. 5 of pencilled notes, statement of Strabo that Laodicea-on-Sea provides Alexandria with bulk of their wine. P.F. queries whether Laodicean wine was not carried by Rhodian gallees.

Note that Μεισος Λαοδ. is often called εφεργος μέτοικος. I feel as if I have some assembled notes on this somewhere, but don't find them.





FIG. 6. Kourouniotes' drawing (*Eph. Arch.* 1902: p. 161) of a graffito on an amphora not found by us. 1:1.

the first quarter of the first century B.C., to longer handles, steeper shoulders, and a more baggy body.

Finally, it is of some interest to compare the *assortment* of jars from the wreck off Tunisia with that from Antikythera. In the former, probably all but the Koan are from western centers of production, while at Antikythera the reverse obtains. Kourouniotes (*op cit.*) considered that these latter contained not a part of the cargo but simply ship's provisions, noting that olive pits had been found in one of the jars, it is not stated which one. The variety of containers might then just reflect recent ports at which supplies had been taken on board. The small number of amphoras reported from each one of these wrecks favors the interpretation.

One cannot however close a comment on material from the Antikythera wreck without calling attention to the fact that the investigation of its site is far from complete. A fairly recent account in a Greek popular journal (*Naftiki Ellas* of August, 1950) gives some reminiscences of a diver who took part in the original work of salvage. Of the amphoras he says that twenty-seven were lifted, but that there were at least fifty down there. Further exploration might discover a sizable consignment of Rhodian and/or Koan jars. This would put a somewhat different aspect on the amphoras from the wreck as evidence for port of origin.



FIG. 7. Graffito on 12, at 1:1.

# DOCUMENTATION OF AMPHORAS ILLUSTRATED

Fig. 2. Rhodian amphoras from the Antikythera wreck.

1. Intact. Ht. 0.82 m.; diam. 0.33 m.; ht. of handles, *ca.* 0.262 m.; capacity 26,790 cc. (water). Clay like that of 3.

Stamps on both handles (fig. 2, 1a, 1b), of which one (1b) has a cluster of grapes to the right as device; neither type has been identified.

2. Ht. 0.785 m.; diam. 0.312 m.; ht. of handles *ca.* 0.25 m., 0.26 m.; capacity not taken because of cracks in the body. Remains of rather thick surface layer of buff clay, apparently cut away in places, perhaps for the removal of marine deposit, uncovering the darker red clay beneath.

Unstamped.

3. Intact. Ht. 0.805 m.; diam. 0.32 m.; ht. of handles *ca.* 0.25 m., 0.26 m.; capacity 25,410 cc. Clay reddish, darker than that of earlier Rhodian jars.

Traces of rectangular stamps on tops of handles.

4. Half lip gone, and body has holes. Ht. 0.80 m.; diam. 0.321 m.; ht. of handles *ca.* 0.25 m., 0.255 m.; capacity not taken. Clay dark, brownish.

Unstamped.

This is the jar of which the other side (with incomplete lip) appears in pl. H, 2, of Kourouniotes' publication. See also figure 1 of the present article for profile drawing.

5. Bottom gone, also a piece from the shoulder on the unphotographed side. Preserved ht. 0.695 m.; diam. 0.317 m.; ht. of handles *ca.* 0.23 m. Clay dark, brownish.

Slight traces of rectangular stamps on tops of handles.

Fig. 3. Sequence of Rhodian amphoras of the first century B.C., for comparison with Antikythera Rhodian.

A. Agora Excavations SS 8602 + 8691, from well F 19:3, containing debris of the destruction of Athens by Sulla. Restored in plaster. Ht. 0.80 m.; diam. 0.32 to 0.33 m. (as restored; would probably have been a little greater); ht. of handles *ca.* 0.26 m., 0.265 m. Clay reddish brown with worn light surface.

On tops of handles, stamps of the potter Menandros in the term of Archembrotos, month Artamitios. See under D, E, below.

See *Amphoras*, figs. 36 (left) and 62 (middle).

B. Curium Excavations (Cyprus) SH 63, from the upper filling (intruded) of Ayios Ermoyenis Tomb 8. Ht. 0.86 m.; diam. 0.302 m.; ht. of handles *ca.* 0.26 m.; capacity 22,500 cc. (barley). I am obliged to Mr. J. S. Last for these corrected measurements (save the capacity, which is that taken by myself in about 1940).

On tops of handles, rose stamps of the potter Apollonphanes in the term of Aristophylos. See under F, G, below.

See G. H. McFadden, "A Tomb of the Necropolis

of Ayios Ermoyenis at Kourion," *Amer. Jour. Archaeol.* 50 (1946): p. 478, under no. 56; a profile drawing is there given in figure 14. I am grateful to Professor G. R. Edwards and the University of Pennsylvania for permission to republish this jar with photographs.

C. Agora Excavations P 21781, from well R 10:1, filling of the Augustan period. Restored in plaster, toe missing. Preserved ht. 0.834 m.; diam. 0.311 to 0.32 m. (irregular); ht. of fully preserved handle 0.25 m. Unstamped.

On the deposit, see most recently J. Perlzweig, *The Athenian Agora, VII, Lamps of the Roman Period* (Princeton, 1961), p. 228. P 21781 is cited by H. S. Robinson, *op. cit.* in note 16 above, p. 20, under F 94.

D and E. Stamped tops of handles of jar A, of which the stamps read:

D) 'Επι 'Αρχεμ  
βρότου 'Αρ  
ταμίου

E) herm of Halios  
Μενάν(δρου)

A plausible but (as it turns out) invalid argument formerly dated the Rhodian eponym Archembrotos, with numerous others, shortly before 220 B.C., cf. V. Grace, "Stamped Amphora Handles Found in 1931-1932," *Hesperia* 3 (1934): p. 215 and 219, following the works of Bleckmann and Hiller von Gaertringen there cited. The error lay in a failure to take into account the shape-development of the jars and the possibility of repetitions in eponym names. There is at present evidence to indicate the existence of two eponyms Archembrotos perhaps two generations apart, (I) soon after the middle of the second century B.C., and (II) in the early first century B.C. The context (as yet unpublished) of jar A is the best now available for Archembrotos II.

On the herm of Halios in stamps, see recently G. Roux, "Qu'est-ce qu'un Κολοσσός?," *Revue des Et. Anc.* 62 (1960): pp. 17-18; M. Roux suggests this device represents schematically the famous Colossus of Rhodes; this is possible, though the great figure lay in pieces on the ground long before the date of the fabricant of this stamp or of the other fabricants whose names he cites. For Menandros who uses a herm, appearing always on handles of late appearance, there is no context better than that of jar A, and no other fabricant-eponym combination on record. He may however be identical with Μένανδρος Λαοδικεύς, known in stamps in combination with a series of eponyms who should be still later than Archembrotos II according to the more degenerate appearance of the handles bearing the pairs of names. For one of these, see *Hesperia* 3 (1934): p. 232, no. 66, a stamp of Μένανδρος Λαο[δικεύς] (wrongly restored in the text with the name of the month Δα[λίου]) which names an eponym Ζηνόδοτος on a handle that is roughly made and acutely angular. This eponym may be Ζηνόδοτος Διοφάντου τοῦ Ζηνοδότου, a citizen of Lindos known to have been priest

of Halios before 67 B.C. (presumably not many years before), see C. Blinkenberg, *op. cit.* in note 12, p. 24. On the numerous Laodiceans who were residents of Rhodes, see P. Fraser, "The Cults of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World," *Opusc. Athen.* 3 (1960): p. 40, with note 6.

F and G. Stamped tops of handles of jar B, of which the stamps read, respectively:

rose  
(Ἐπι?) ['Ἀριστοφύ]λου (retr.) [X]

rose  
'Ι[πολλο]φάνης (retr.) &

These are both types known in few examples. Since there are two or three other rose types with the name of Apolophanes, all on very late handles, it appears that of the pair he is the fabricant, who probably used rose stamps during the terms of several different eponyms; while 'Ἀριστόφουλος is to be understood as the eponym, named, as seems quite common in the first century B.C., without the preposition. (In another example, Agora SS 614, the beginning of the reading is clear, and certainly there was no preposition.) The *lambda* of the eponym's name is a correction in the die, appearing on a raised place in the impression (visible to the right in fig. 3, F). The *phi*, also a correction, is less obviously so. Two examples of the original die, with name 'Ἀριστώνυμος, have been identified in the Benachi Collection, Alexandria. Neither of the two presumed eponyms is known in other types; a priest 'Ἀριστώνυμος who dates a jar of Δῶρος II in the museum of Paphos, Cyprus, must apparently be some two generations earlier. For the monograms in the two types impressed on jar B, unfortunately hardly visible in these examples, I have no satisfactory interpretation. That in G may perhaps stand for the name of the month Artamitios, especially since one of the other types of this fabricant has a *beta* in place of our monogram, which might then stand for another month, Badromios. The monogram in F remains unexplained.

Another example of the fabricant type (G), Agora SS 9329, comes from the upper filling, of the first century B.C., of Agora well B 21:24; in the earth nearby was found perhaps the other handle of the same jar, SS 9290, bearing a duplicate of our eponym type (F).

Fig. 4. Koan and Roman amphoras from the Antikythera wreck. The handles of 6-9 are double-barrelled. See also figure 5, no. 12 for one more Koan from Antikythera.

6. Toe missing; body has holes. Preserved ht. 0.825 m.; diam. 0.38 m.; ht. of handles ca. 0.20 m. Dull red clay.

Unstamped.

This is the jar of which the other side appears in



## Ethnics with Ptolemaic names

MST now suggests for type of *Ξωσίδης* with  
monē (?) (in ABC) that instead of being a misspelling  
for *Υακίνθιος* or *Ξπίνθιος*, it is actually  
*Ὀδύβιος* \*

This item was found in 1965 and is stored with  
other *Ξωσίδης* handles transported to the Museum.

Assemble other Ptolemaic names with outside  
ethnics:

Ἐππαῖος Καβαδρεύς

Μέγαρος Λαοδικεύς

Μνάσων Ἀντιόχεύς



\* For *Ὀδύβιος*: find the Hellenistic (or later?) inscriptions  
that refer to a man as *Ὀδύβιος* long after there was  
an Olyfthos.

1.XI.66 See M. Gude, A History of Olyfthos,  
Baltimore 1933, pp. 27-28, for a number of such.

ἔγγευσῆς

Manni, Nuova Scholae Epig. di Ptole e Cos (1925)  
p. 102, under 242:

"Sulla natura degli ἔγγευσῆς (figli nati da schiavi) a Ptole: vedi Ig. XII, 1, 483 e Van Gelder, Op. cit., p. 233."

(~~MS~~ has with various refs on one of the first cards  
of type including ἔγγευσῆς.)

# RHODIAN STUDIES

Λαοδικεύς stamps  
 (στρ + μετοίκου)

(For notes for BTID)

[Barbara Turetskaya <sup>model</sup>  
 Stalingrad student]

METICS  
 E.

But see here 10 c no. 5

(Main, Annuaire 8-9, 1925-26) p 322  
 no. 5) called 1st BC (later)

So begin:

Επ' ἱερῆας Δικαίου καὶ ἀρχεραγιστῆ  
Διονυσίου Λαοδικεύς μετοίκου

An association of metics, or contributors  
 to costs of tombs of their associates.

29. V. 68

at Stoa

How are these lines to be translated? BTID  
 had cited this inser. for an ep. <sup>(Heliospriest)</sup> Δικαίος. Is it  
 possibly then an adjective — more probably:  
 "on <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ tomb of the priest Dikaion and of the  
 chief treasurer Dionysios Laodikeus the metics."

Note our Rhodian stamp type: (and same, <sup>retr.</sup>)

Διονυσίος

Λαοδικεύς

Μετοίκος

← Has been taken as ep.

But now, surely the 3

lines are the same person?

Impossible then should not be a connection bet.  
 stamp and inser.

Have to take into consideration the series of  
 exchanges combined with: exchange  
 Μεταστροφές  
 Λογικισμός

Of Ann, our (ABC) has also impression,  
 superfluous, with Itavapor (rel.).

10.V.90

I do not now find any published

text interpreting the text copied for Annuaire

8-9 on previous page, I. d. must try to  
 get ph'copy of that article.



Eggeny's Μετοικος and other late  
endorsements, and the epigrams named  
ep-3

Κλεώδικος

Eggeny's M

Στοικος

Κλεώδικος <sup>VTC T.F. 7</sup>  
and ABC

Ἀρχιπρωτος  
Eggeny's  
Μετοικος

Ἀρχιπρωτος <sup>V1</sup> 2nd (ABC)

Διονύσιος

Eggeny's

Μετοικος

(at ??)

Διονύσιος <sup>V1 or VII</sup>  
(Paphn. Szt. 7)  
(not ABC)

Πτολεμαῖος

Eggeny's Μετοικος

Πτολεμαῖος <sup>as at  
not full</sup>  
(ABC)  
(but so  
mentioned  
in p. 4. 1)  
(VTC as full)

Εγχευίς used without μέτοικος

Ἀγαθόςμος Egg. with herm (her Egg. description fab.)

Ἀγαθόςμος  
pos Egg  
χευίς  
(note)

which  
has a  
metaling  
type

[no plot in COMPS  
anyway]

Ἐπὶ <sup>VT</sup> Μ[η]  
ροφ[ι]  
λου [Αρ]  
Ταμίτιος  
v  
(note)

Agg.  
metaling  
type

Also  
Note he has type with the herm without the title.  
So here Ἀγαθόςμος, described as εργίης, is the fab. — name given.

Ἀριστόβουδος, Egg. with owl — Ulysses

Ἐπίτο[δμος], " " " "  
Ἀριστόβουδος  
Egg owl vrs  
Ulysses

<sup>VT or VII</sup>  
Ἐπίτο[δμος]  
Egg owl vrs  
Ulysses

Agg.

In the above two, apparently a name of  
a fabrunt is not given, he is just, εργίης, with owl  
— Ulysses. (Basis of the two names f.)  
are those of epigrams)

(Has been  
not EYIOZ  
but prob.  
wrong, that  
one is early)



Μέτοικος Λαοδικεύς

<sup>VII</sup>  
Διονύσιος

Λαοδικεύς

Μέτοικος

(auth.)

From Alex. (man?)

and Tell Kufi

2 : variations

Διονύσιος also be again the change  
 as with Ἰσχυρὸς μέτοικος

Μένανδρος Λαοδικεύς

<sup>V</sup>  
Ἀποδανίου

Handle struck

Μένανδρου

also with

4 Ap.

Λαοδικεύς

Πατραμίου  
 with

<sup>VII</sup>  
 Ἐπὶ Διονυσίου

Μένανδρου

Λαοδικεύς

Also, Cyprus,

and SS 9727 (with L.R.  
 signed)

<sup>V</sup>  
Ἐκάντων

Μένανδρου

Λαοδικεύς

Also - single exp.?

(Μένανδρος Λαοδικεύς)

<sup>VI or VII</sup>  
Ἐπὶ Ζηνοδότου  
Μενάνδρου Λαοδικεύς

Alex., Knidos,  
MS 373

<sup>L</sup>  
† Αεγύπτιος  
Μενάνδρος

Alex.

Ἐπὶ Ἰερώνος  
<sup>V</sup>  
Αεγύπτιος (nir)  
Μενάνδρος

Alex.

<sup>VI or VII</sup>  
Τερμοθέους  
Μενάνδρος  
Λαοδικεύς

Alex.



Eponyms in the type of ἔγχ. μετ. and relatives

<sup>epi</sup> Ἀπολλώνιος	<sup>endorant</sup> (Μετ. Λαοδ.) (Μετ. Λαοδ.)
<sup>VI</sup> Ἀριστοβούδος	(ἔγχ. with owl - Ulysses)
<sup>VI</sup> Ἀρχιμήδης (2nd)	(ἔγχ. μετ. Λαοδ.)
<sup>VI</sup> Διονύσιος	(Μετ. Λαοδ.)
<sup>VI</sup> Ἑκατὼν	(Μετ. Λαοδ.)
? <sup>VI VII</sup> Εὐπολῆος	(ἔγχ. w owl - Ulysses)
<sup>VI VII</sup> Κηρύδης	(ἔγχ. μετ. Λαοδ.)
<sup>VI VII</sup> Ζηρόδοτος	(Μετ. Λαοδ.)
<sup>VI</sup> Θουγένης (12p.)	(Μετ. Λαοδ.)
<sup>VI</sup> Κηρύδης	(ἔγχ. μετ. Λαοδ.)
<sup>VI</sup> Μηρόφιδος	(Ἀγαθ. ἔγχ.)
<sup>VI VII</sup> Πτολεμαῖος	(ἔγχ. μετ. Λαοδ.)
<sup>VI VII</sup> Τιμοθένης	(Μετ. Λαοδ.)

These should be compared with other late Rh. epics, e.g. those named by Φίλιππος, Δωρικός, Ἀδριανός, etc. and with those listed as VI-VII, or VII.

Finally, a couple of items less closely related:

⊗ Μυζών / Ἀρτιόχου's / Μ2 (for Μείτοικος?)  
(probably near to same date as  
those on previous page - by look)

Μυζών

Μείτοικος Αἰρέας ~~Α~~ Α (circle) (circle)

rose

(note, but letter / (Single example apparently)  
not note) (Bosadi)

This is - would be - much earlier than  
the groups listed above

30.10.90

⊗ 2 variations, of which in one, do not find  
the ME:

with ME, ex. in Nassau (no. 10 in publ.),  
Kennis, Serra Orlando

without (?): ex. in Alex., Delos, N. Mar.,  
Lauris, Kennis [late 2nd / early 1st] and a  
jar in Pluck, year of Ἀριστομένηος



P. M. F., <sup>1972</sup> more recent on μῆτορες etc.

See Ptolemaios Alexandrinus, <sup>1972</sup> pp. 167, ff., with  
notes. Her (note 276) is quoted in full the passage  
in "Strabo regarding the win of Lacedaemon-~~ad~~-more,  
He says: "This city, provided the Alexandrian with  
the bulk of their win?"

— still p. 167: "May we not suppose that  
Lacedaemon wine was transported in Rhodian amphorae,  
after <sup>the</sup> ~~reshipment~~ <sup>shipment</sup> there?" — it not explain both  
the masses of Rh. SAH in Alex., and also the  
extensive large no. of Lacedaemon resident at  
Rhodes, <sup>noted</sup> in 2nd - 1st c. B.C.



10.V.90

V. G. would like to have  
photocopies?

WI 07

1.)

Annuario 8-9, 1925-26, p. 322,  
no. 5 - more?

Text and any commentary

WI 01

2.)

P. Fraser, "<sup>Studies on the</sup> The <sup>Cult of</sup> Serapis in the  
Hellenistic World," J. Hellenic Stud. 3 (1960) 1-54

all? if short,

or

pp 7-9

anyhow p. 40<sup>-42</sup> (note 6 on p. 40)  
with note 6



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# ANNUARIO

DELLA

## R. SCUOLA ARCHEOLOGICA DI ATENE

E DELLE

### MISSIONI ITALIANE IN ORIENTE

#### VOLUME VIII-IX

(1925—1926)

CON 19 TAVOLE E 619 ILLUSTRAZIONI



8502

BERGAMO  
ISTITUTO ITALIANO D'ARTI GRAFICHE  
1929-VII

di Cos emanato dal κοινὸν τῶν συμπορευομένων παρὰ Δία Ὑέτιον. Trovare in questa iscrizione di Rodi ricordato il sacerdozio a vita in onore di Ὑέτιος fra altri pubblici e solenni sacerdozi quali quelli di Helios e di Athena Lindia, conferma sempre più l'ipotesi del Dittenberger che, non ostante il prescritto del decreto di Antimachia, riteneva dovesse trattarsi di sacre pubbliche del demo di Antimachia e non di sacre di associazione.

N. 5. — Blocco rettangolare in marmo lartio ritagliato da una stele e adattato a soglia con l'incavo del cardine della porta, rinvenuto nei lavori per il nuovo serbatoio d'acqua sul margine della Via «*Macri stenó*»: lung. 0.52, alt. 0.16 spess. 0.11: il testo epigrafico contenente il catalogo dei nomi è fratturato al margine inferiore. Lettere apicate, alquanto trascurate, riferibile al I sec. a. Cr.

Ἐπ'ἱερέως Δικαίου καὶ ἀρχερανιστῆ

Διονυσίου Λαοδικέως μετοίκου.

Τοῖδε εὖνοι [συγκата]κείμενοι ποτὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπαγγείλαν-  
το δώσειν ἀρ[γύριον] δ]ωρεὰν τῷ κοινῷ εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὰν

<sup>5</sup> τῶν τάφων καὶ τοῦ ὕλικοῦ, ἀπόδειξιν ποιούμενοι ἃς ἔ-  
χοντι ποτὶ τὸ κοινὸν εὐνοίας, προαιρούμενοι ἐν παντὶ και-  
ρῷ συνκατασκευάζειν τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ κοινῷ.

Διο[ν]ύσιος [Δ]αοδικεύς, Νικόμαχος Ἐφέσιος, Πα-

.....

È un'associazione di μέτοικοι che rende noti con pubblica affissione presso il recinto stesso del sepolcreto i nomi di coloro che gratuitamente contribuirono alla costruzione ed a tutti i materiali occorrenti per i sepolcri degli associati. Nella lista degli elargitori che s'interrompe alla 2ª linea, figura in primo luogo il nome dello stesso archeranita Διονύσιος Λαοδικεύς. Il nome dello ἱερεὺς eponimo Δίκαιος è da aggiungere alla serie degli eponimi rodii fino ad ora noti.

N. 6. — Ara circolare in marmo di Lartos decorata di bucrani e ghirlande di rozza esecuzione: alt. m. 0.60. Dal cortile di una casa presso la Moschea di Sultan Mustafà a Rodi. Lettere apicate, irregolari, di epoca romana.

Μαρσύα Ἐφεσίου

τειμαθέντος

θαλλῶ στεφάνῳ

ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείστῃν

Ποσειδανιστῶν.

L'associazione degli Ἡρακλείστῃν Ποσειδανιστῆν, unica associazione con duplice denominazione, è da aggiungere alla già cospicua serie delle associazioni religiose di Rodi nelle quali è così frequente l'uso di intitolarsi dal nome di due e più divinità (cfr. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 742 e la mia *Nuova Sylloge Epigrafica*, index, p. 269).

AMEDEO MAIURI.



RHODIAN METICS *etc.*(For publication of Tell Fara-in (Egph. = Butth?))

15.V.90 - 22.V

Tell el Fara-in no. 1028 (KAEYAIKOE)

The stamp belongs to a series of four (as known) similar Rhodian types datable about the first half of the 1st century B.C. The readings start with a name, followed as here by the qualifiers ΕΓΓΕΝΗΣ and ΜΕΤΟΙΚΟΣ, all three words in the nominative. I take the qualifiers to mean: Rhodian born and resident, but not citizens. The names known in these stamp types are ΑΡΧΕΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ, ΚΑΕΥΑΙΚΟΣ and ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ. Except for the last, they can all be seen, in other stamp types, introduced by the preposition <sup>Ε</sup>ΧΙ ("in the term of"). Are we left with the possibility that in the 1st century B.C. non-citizens could be eponymous priests in Rhodes?

A related stamp type, known in two variations, reads: ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ A whole  
 ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΥΣ  
 ΜΕΤΟΙΚΟΣ

amphora bearing one of these stamps <sup>has been found in</sup> Alexandria and is now in Tübingen (unpublished; no. 3660 of the collection there). A photograph shows its shape to be datable about the middle of the 1st century B.C.: it resembles the middle jar in the 1st century sequence illustrated in Grace 1965, p.9, B, F, and G (the amphora with its two stamps). If we knew what was in the stamp on the other hand of the Tübingen jar, much might be cleared up, but so far it has resisted our efforts.

In the meanwhile, an inscription in Rhodes <sup>of the 1st century B.C.</sup> seems to be relevant. The heading reads: 'Επι' ἐπ' ἐκ' αὐτῶν Δικαίου καὶ ἀρχεπρωτοῦ

Διονυσίου Λαοδικεύς μετοίκου

(Annuario 8-9 (1925-1926), p. 322, no. 5)

The year, then, is given by the name of the priest, and Dionysios the Laodicean metic is, during this time, the presiding member of an association of metics. For the large number of Laodiceans resident in Rhodes, see P.M. Fraser, *Opusc. Ath.* III, 1960, p. 40 with note 6. Hiller's published list of eponymous priests of Halios in Rhodes (Pauly-Wissowa, Rhodes, 1941) does not

(22.V.90)

- 2 -

include a ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ. (We owe the Annuario reference to Barbara Turzinski Drushell, received in about 1967.) A ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ occurs on Rhodian amphoras of the 3rd century B.C. as that of a fabricant (unpublished).



17a

SKRIFTER UTGIVNA AV SVENSKA INSTITUTET I ATHEN, 4°, VII  
ACTA INSTITUTI ATHENIENSIS REGNI SUECIAE, SERIES IN 4°, VII

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# Opuscula Atheniensia

III



CWIK GLEERUP · LUND 1960

# TWO STUDIES ON THE CULT OF SARAPIS IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD\*

BY

P. M. FRASER

My purpose in these two studies<sup>1</sup> is to discuss certain aspects of the cult of Sarapis from a secular rather than a religious point of view. In the first part, which is concerned with Egypt, I shall try to discover who worshipped Sarapis, in other words to whom the cult made its main appeal, and at what one period rather than another. In the second part, I shall consider the evidence for the spread of the cult of Sarapis (and, where necessary, of his associated deities) outside Egypt, in the Hellenistic world, and try to discover how this expansion occurred.

## I

The limited nature of this investigation acquits me from the necessity of discussing the origins of the cult, and a brief, categorical statement of my views on this topic will suffice. In a few words, then, like most students to-day<sup>2</sup>, I accept an Egyptian origin for the cult, and consider it demonstrated that the new deity, Sarapis, derived both his nature and his name from the Memphian

\* Figures in the notes in brackets and thick type (1) refer to the texts reproduced at the end of the paper, as Appendix.

<sup>1</sup> This study is in origin the outcome of work on the Ptolemaic inscriptions of Egypt. A less elaborate presentation of the evidence was the subject (in various forms) of lectures in Alexandria, Stockholm and Uppsala. I have tried to write directly from the evidence and the main arguments here developed formed in my mind as I studied it. Some of them have occurred to others before, though I think they have not been developed in this way. If, at one point or another, I have been anticipated by others and have not acknowledged the fact, I can only plead that where the modern literature is so vast, something is bound to escape one. There is a good deal of similarity at times between the conclusions I have reached and those reached by T. A. Brady, in his *The reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (330—30 B.C.)* (Univ. of Missouri Studies, x, 1, 1935), though my own views were formed when the nearest copy of his work was in another continent (so far as I could discover). I have however noted the points where we are in agreement. They are numerous here as well

as in the second part of this paper, though I disagree with him on some major issues.

<sup>2</sup> A discussion of earlier views on this topic will be found in the Introduction of Wilcken's *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, i (1922). Nothing is served here by giving an inevitably incomplete bibliography of earlier views, particularly those which sought to bring the god himself — and not only his statue — from outside Egypt (Sinope, Seleucia (for which, however, see below, p. 40, note 8), Babylon). A full analysis of these latter views will be found in Isidore Lévy's articles in *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 60, 1909, pp. 285—298; *ibid.* 61, 1910, 162—196; *ibid.* 63, 1911, pp. 125—147; *ibid.* 67, 1913, pp. 308—317, (these articles were reprinted in 1913 under the title *Sarapis* (Paris, Leroux), but I have been unable to see this republication). In these articles Lévy accepts the Memphian origin of the god, and analyses the sources of the other versions. The 'Memphian' theory is particularly well stated by Bouché-Leclercq, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 46, 1902, pp. 1—30; Sethe, *Gött. Abh.* 14, 1913 (5), pp. 1—20, and Wilcken, *UPZ*, i, pp. 77—88.

First, their chronology. All except two are of the third century B.C., the majority apparently of the second half. One of the other two pieces is to be dated, on the basis of the lettering, to not earlier than the first century B.C.<sup>1</sup>, and the other is dated to the last years of the dynasty, 52 B.C.<sup>2</sup>. We shall return later to this concentration of the evidence in the third century, which was noted in general terms by Brady<sup>3</sup>.

Secondly, their geographical distribution. Almost all are from Alexandria<sup>4</sup>. Exceptions are: the undated first century piece, which may be from Memphis<sup>5</sup>; a third century piece from Heracleopolis Magna<sup>6</sup>; and three or four pieces from Upper Egypt<sup>7</sup>. In regard to this latter group, however, the dedicants, Greeks, are hardly likely to be permanent residents of the area; they are probably either government officials, or other inhabitants of Alexandria, or (conceivably) Ptolemais<sup>8</sup>. They therefore cannot be regarded as establishing a particular interest in Sarapis in Upper Egypt. Certainly, in so far as the dedications are concerned, they are preponderantly Alexandrian. This is striking in itself and no less so in so far as it affects the Fayyûm.

In the Fayyûm, inevitably, inscriptions play a secondary role to papyri, and a complete survey of the evidence for the cult is not possible here<sup>9</sup>. However certain facts emerge fairly clearly from a study of the major collections of papyri, and these facts seem to agree satisfactorily with the epigraphical evidence.

Papyri of the third century may be divided according to whether they belong to the Zenon-archive, relating to Philadelphia, or not. This division, or distinction, is vital in matters of religious practice. To take the Zenon-archive first. The religious practices, and the cults, mentioned in these papyri represent to a considerable extent the proclivities of the Greek administrative class who were in immediate touch with Zenon and his superior, Apollonius. Consequently we find

<sup>1</sup> CIG 4969 (=SB 6610 [=ibid. 8455]); cf. Wilcken, *UPZ*, i, p. 30. The (bilingual) inscription is dated  $\Lambda\upsilon\tau\eta$ ,  $\pi\alpha\chi\lambda\acute{o}\nu$   $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ . Franz said it could not be earlier than the reign of Philometor on account of the appearance of the name Sarapion (see below, p. 15), and thought it was much later, probably of the reign of Auletes, i.e. 65/4. Wilcken does not discuss the date. Unfortunately, I have been unable as yet to obtain a photograph of the stone. The letter-forms, if reproduced with any accuracy by Franz in CIG (ΘΠω) suggest a date in the first century B.C. or A.D. (cf. *Ausführ. Verzeichnis Ägypt. Samml. Berlin* (1899), p. 334, no. 2304, where it is regarded as Imperial). The stone refers in the hieroglyphic part to Memphis (see Wilcken, *loc. cit.*, Brugsch, *Thes. Inscr. Aeg.* v.p. 992), but there is no indication as to its provenance, which may, of course, be Memphis. It is to be noted here that in the hieroglyphic text Osor, and not Osor-Hapi, corresponds to  $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma$  (cf. Wilcken, *loc. cit.*) This is one of the unmistakable instances in which Sarapis is equivalent to Osiris, and not Osor-Hapi.

<sup>2</sup> OGIS 741 (=Acta Orientalia, 8, 1930, pp. 194 ff. no. II).

<sup>3</sup> *Reception*, pp. 24 ff. esp. p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> SB 5863 may be included as Alexandrian, though Abu el Matamir (Kom Abu Afritu), where it was probably found, is some 45 kms S.E. of Alexandria, since the dedicant is an

Alexandrian.

<sup>5</sup> See above, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Breccia, *Iscriz.* 105 (cf. above, p. 6, note 1, on the provenance of this inscription).

<sup>7</sup> OGIS 62; *ibid.* 87; SB 631a (though the dedicant is not named, so the piece has little evidential value) and SB 4076, all from Philae.

<sup>8</sup> There is however, no evidence for a Ptolemaic cult of Sarapis in Ptolemais (see Plaumann, *Ptolemais*, pp. 89 ff.), so it is perhaps not very likely that the dedicants are from there.

<sup>9</sup> A new and critical survey of the cults of the Fayyûm is badly needed. I have not unfortunately been able to consult the 'repertorio' of temples and priests of Ptolemaic Egypt, published by P. Bottigelli, *Aegyptus*, 21, 1941, pp. 3—54 and 22, 1942, pp. 177—265 (the second part, according to Cl. Préaux, *Les Grecs en Égypte*, p. 70 note 5, deals with the cults of Philadelphia). Otto, however, in *Priester und Tempel* has a great deal of information which is still valuable. For the Zenon-papyri there is an excellent analysis of sources in the above-mentioned work of Cl. Préaux, *Les Grecs en Égypte* (Collection Lebègue, 7ème série, no. 78, 1947). Brady, *op. cit.* pp. 14—17, 34 ff. also has some useful remarks on the religious condition of the Fayyûm, though his evidence is selective.



little trace of any interest in local Egyptian cults. Undoubtedly, their main religious activity centres round the celebration of the eponymous and other festivals of the royal house<sup>1</sup>. Apart from this, there are indications of interest in ordinary Greek cult<sup>2</sup> and also in Isis<sup>3</sup>. Sarapis, however, is barely mentioned. In or about 256/5 Apollonius ordered Zenon to supervise the erection of a Serapeion in Philadelphia, beside the already existing Iseion<sup>4</sup>, and this is almost (but not quite) the only reference to Sarapis in the Fayyûm in third century papyri<sup>5</sup> — though there are other references, which do not concern us here, to the Serapeia of Alexandria and Memphis. Obviously, however, the cult-centre of Apollonius reflects his own interest as a leading figure in Alexandria, and is not directly relevant to the religious life of the Fayyûm.

In the second century the picture is modified, in that several Serapeia appear in native villages<sup>6</sup>. We shall see that at the same time there occurs an increase in theophoric names deriving from Sarapis in the Fayyûm<sup>7</sup>. The bulk of the second century evidence, however, attests the popularity of the local native cults.

This picture is reinforced by the evidence of the inscriptions, both negatively and positively. There are no surviving dedications from the Fayyûm either to Sarapis alone or to Sarapis and Isis. There are one or two later Ptolemaic dedications to local aspects of Isis, but these cannot safely be regarded as representing wholly Hellenized cults<sup>8</sup>. For the rest, there are a few dedications to the old Greek gods<sup>9</sup> and a considerable number of dedications to local Egyptian

<sup>1</sup> See the evidence quoted by Préaux, *op. cit.* pp. 71 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> For references to temples and festivals of Isis at Philadelphia (which must be carefully distinguished from the references to Alexandrian festivals) see Préaux, *ibid.* p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> PCZ, 59, 168 (SB 6806). The dimensions of the shrine, 240 arourai, are given in the interesting *PMich. Zen.* 31, line 5.

<sup>5</sup> A further reference to Sarapis in a third century papyrus (excluding the oath-formula, for which see below, p. 18, note 1) is in PSI 539, which is part of the Zenon archive, where there is an Egyptian priest of Isis and Sarapis, Φεμεννᾶς ἱερεὺς τῆς Ἰσιδος καὶ τοῦ Σαρᾶπιδος, presumably in Philadelphia, perhaps at Apollonius's Serapeum and Iseum. Temples to Isis alone in settlements which existed in the Fayyûm before the Ptolemaic period (e.g. the Iseum in Crocodilopolis, PCZ 59, 218; *PTeb.* 44, line 8, and *ibid.* 89, lines 29 ff.; two small shrines of Isis in Kerkeosiris, *ibid.* 700, line 17 (114–3 B.C.)) cannot be included in the count since they may have existed at an earlier date. As might be expected, there was a Serapeum (or an Ἀπειῖον) in Crocodilopolis in the later third century B.C.: *PLille*, 11, lines 2 ff.: παστ[οφό]ρ[ο]ς [τοῦ τῆς] Κροκοδείλων πόλεω[ς] Σαρᾶπιείου (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, 6, p. 378), where Ἀπειῖον is possible, but hardly likely. Another interesting reference to the cult of Sarapis or of Sarapis and Isis is that in *PPetr.* iii, 97, dated by the editors to Epiphanes or later, but by C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, p. 5, before rather than after Epiphanes (probably of the reign of Philopator, as he tells me). This contains part of a cadastral list of δεῦτερὰ ἱερᾶ, which include a temple of Isis and Sarapis, another of Demeter and Kore, and a third of

the Dioscuri. This group of deities is reminiscent of Alexandria, and it is a pity that the village in which they were situated is unknown. It may have been Crocodilopolis, as in *PLille* 11, as Brady, *Reception*, p. 45, seems to assume.

<sup>6</sup> The Tebtunis papyri, of the latter part of the second century, provide most of the evidence: *PTeb.* 700, line 91, Σαρᾶπιδος θεοῦ ἱερᾶ ἡ (In Tebtynis or Oxyrhynchus? 124 B.C.); *ibid.* 1002, mention of a [Σαρᾶ]πιεῖον (or Ἀπειῖον?) and an Ἀσκληπιεῖον (ii. a.C.) (Tebtynis or Oxyrhynchus?); note also *POxy.* 1639, of 73 or 44 B.C. (or possibly Augustan), with reference to the bank in the Serapeum (see also note *ad loc.*).

<sup>7</sup> See below, pp. 15–16.

<sup>8</sup> OGIS 175, of 104 B.C., a dedication from Socnopaiou Nesos to Isis Soponaces (not otherwise attested) thea megiste, Harpocrates and Premarres, all described as θεοὶ εὐχάριστοι (cf. above, p. 6); *Ann. Serv.* 13, 1914, p. 101, no. xxiii = SB 5801 (ca. 80–70 B.C.).

<sup>9</sup> SEG, viii, 573, a dedication (ii. a.C.) by Ἀρρενίδης Κουδέρδου Συρβενδῆς τῶν πρώτων φίλων to Zeus, Athena and τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν Κυλικῶν; twin architraval dedicatory inscriptions of a gymnasium at Theadelphia, to Hermes and Heracles, *Ann. Serv.* 19, 1920, pp. 63–64 (=SB 6157–8) of 150 B.C.; OGIS 733 (=Breccia, *Iscriz.* 32), a dedication from Magdola by two Macedonian priests to Zeus Soter, the Thea Syria and σύννομοι θεοί; an unpublished dedication by Pamphylians to Artemis Pergaia; and, *Archiv*, 5, p. 165, no. 13 a dedication to Artemis Soteira; the provenance of the last three within the Fayyûm is unknown. References to Greek cults in the papyri, outside the Zenon papyri, are quite

deities<sup>1</sup>. What interest, then, the cult of Sarapis evoked in the Fayyûm seems, in the third century, to have been confined to Greeks whose real environment was Alexandria, while it seems possible that in the second century the cult may have appealed more to the native, or semi-Greek population.

We must now return to the Alexandrian dedications, and consider the racial origin of the dedicants. Names are usually an uncertain guide to race in Egypt, but less so in the third century than later, and less so in Alexandria than elsewhere. We can thus fortunately be reasonably certain of our evidence. Virtually all the dedications to Sarapis and to Sarapis and Isis are made by Greeks in possession of patronymics and sometimes ethnics, or if they possess full Alexandrian citizenship, of demotics. There is no instance of a Greek of low status, and virtually no Egyptian<sup>2</sup>. The only certain exceptions are the two dedications of the first century B.C., in one of which (that from Alexandria) the dedicant is certainly an Egyptian<sup>3</sup>, and in the other (probably from Memphis) he probably is<sup>4</sup>. In one other early piece — of the reign of Epiphanes — the dedicants may be either Egyptian or Greek<sup>5</sup>. In addition there is perhaps one instance of a dedication by a Semite<sup>6</sup>. The worshippers of Sarapis and Isis are thus clearly differentiated in regard to racial origin, from these who worshipped the other main groups of deities — including the Greek gods<sup>7</sup>.

To sum up, the evidence of the dedications and of the papyri seems to suggest that the appeal of Sarapis in Ptolemaic Egypt was very restricted: he appears to have been worshipped more in the third century than at any other time, largely in Alexandria, and largely by Greeks. It is now time to see if we can strengthen this interpretation by reference to wholly independent evidence.

For Alexandria we have no papyri, such as we have from the Fayyûm, to control our conclusions. On the other hand literature supplies us with a different type of control. We may ask what part is played by Sarapis and his associated deities in the literary production of Alexandria. The position of Sarapis in Alexandrian literature has already been analysed by Dr. E. Visser<sup>8</sup>.

numerous, but they are dangerous evidence, since many must certainly be Egyptian cults in which the Egyptian deity is nominally equated with a Greek counterpart. Some, however, are evidently true Greek; for example, *PHib.* 214, of ca. 250 B.C., a list of names of Greek deities; *PPetr.* iii, 97, noted above, p. 8, note 5; *PEnt.* 19, referring to a Θεσμοφόριον Δήμητρος (Euergetes or Philopator) in a wholly Greek context.

<sup>1</sup> I note about fifteen such dedications, and in view of their frequency no purpose is served in recording them here. References to local Egyptian cults in the Fayyûm in the papyri are of course very numerous.

<sup>2</sup> Brady, *Reception*, pp. 51–88 gives a prosopographical analysis according to the nationality of the individuals concerned, of all persons throughout the Greek world in the Hellenistic age, who adopted the worship of the Egyptian gods. This is a useful list, though I cannot agree with the dates he assigns to some of the evidence.

<sup>3</sup> *OGIS* 741 (cf. p. 7, note 2). Note that the dedication is to Isis only.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 7, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> *OGIS* 97 (=SB 8873). The dedicants are Σπάρης καὶ οἱ κομεγέται καὶ οἱ θιασεῖται. Brady, *Reception*, p. 26, says that 'this cult-society was a Greek installation', but Σπάρης is strange as a Greek name, and there is no reason why κομεγέται and θιασεῖται should not be Egyptian.

<sup>6</sup> *Archiv.* 2, p. 560, no. 45 = Breccia, *Monum. de l'Égypte gr.-rom.* i (1926), p. 54, no. 10, of the third century B.C. (Canopus): Βαρθολβᾶς Σάραπι 'Ισι 'Ηρακλεῖ ὑπὲρ Πολιανθοῦς καὶ Βαγγίδος. Littmann, in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*, col. 518, includes Βαρθολβᾶς uncertainly in his list of Aramaic names: 'bar+?', cf. also Wüthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* (1930) p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> Among non-Greek dedicants to Greek gods (cf. above, p. 8, note 9) I note Thracians (*OGIS* 734 = Breccia, *Iscriz.* 37), a Cilician (*SEG*, viii, 573), Pisidians (*OGIS* 86) and Pamphylans (unpublished).

<sup>8</sup> *Götter und Kulte im ptolemäischen Alexandrien* (Amsterdam, 1938) pp. 49 ff. Jouguet, *Hommages Bidez-Cumont* (*Collection Latomus*, ii) p. 165, note 4, observed this fact, but makes no reference to the treatment by Visser. At an earlier date Jouguet maintained that Ptolemy Soter aimed at introducing

evidence against the 'imperialistic' theory. Moreover, the earlier in the third century the Serapeum of Thessalonica was built the less likely such Ptolemaic influence is<sup>1</sup>.

From Syria too there is important evidence in the form of an inscription from Laodicea ad Mare, dated 174 B.C.<sup>2</sup>, which contains a decree of the *Peliganes* (that is, the Elders) of the city granting a request by the priests of a private cult of Sarapis and Isis, who (as was, no doubt, normally the case) owned the land on which the shrine stood, that their ownership should be guaranteed by the state in the event of private persons asking for a site on which to set up an image in the sacred precinct, for which a payment had to be made to the state<sup>3</sup>. The priests, one of whom is named Horus, and who are possibly of Egyptian origin or descent<sup>4</sup>, had either evidently migrated directly from Egypt, like Apollonius at Delos, or else from another city, (like an unnamed man from Cnidus whom we shall shortly meet<sup>5</sup>), possibly Rhodes, which stood in very close commercial relations with Syria<sup>6</sup> and set up a private cult, the priesthood of which had remained in the family<sup>7</sup>. Here, we see very clearly, the continuous rights of the founders of the private cult are recognised. The present inscription may perhaps show a stage in the transformation of a private into a state-cult, or it may be that a state-cult already existed; in any case, the civic authorities were obviously at this time perfectly well-disposed to the cult of the Egyptian gods. Here, in Laodicea, in the heart of the Seleucid kingdom, at the end of the third century, when (as throughout the third century) the Seleucids and Ptolemies were in continual enmity, there can be no question of the cult having been introduced by the Ptolemies. As Roussel said<sup>8</sup>, the cult here penetrated in spite of the hostility between the houses. There is no other Hellenistic evidence from Syria.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tarn, *Antig. Gonat.*, pp. 443—4.

<sup>2</sup> Roussel, *Syria*, 23, 1942—3, pp. 21—32, 'Décret des Péliganes de Laodicée-sur-Mer', with the date corrected (to Jan. 174 B.C.) by Klaffenbach, *Philol.* 97, 1948, p. 376 f.: now republished as *Inscr. Gr. et Lat. Syrie*, 1261 (=11).

<sup>3</sup> See the excellent commentary of Roussel, which gives an essentially correct interpretation of the whole proceeding, and stresses the importance of the inscription from the aspect now under consideration.

<sup>4</sup> The use of Egyptian theophoric names in families, members of which held priesthoods of the Egyptian gods, is attested for Athens, see Dow, *HTR*, 30, 1937, pp. 221—2, who shows that in the Athenian family in which the earliest instance of Sarapion occurs in ca. 250 (cf. below, p. 48), and which later held sacred offices in the Egyptian cults at Delos, Ammonius and Sarapion alternate: cf. also Tod, *BSA*, 23, 1918—9, p. 88, note 5. Evidently, therefore, the Horus of the Laodicean inscription, might be an ordinary Greek who had been given an Egyptian theophoric name, and would therefore not necessarily be from Egypt.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> This is shown by the very large numbers of tombstones of Antiochenes and Laodiceans at Rhodes. It is of course impossible to determine which of many homonymous cities is meant by the ethnics 'Αντιοχεύς and Λαοδικεύς, but it seems reasonable to suppose that the form without distinguishing characteristic refers to the Syrian cities. On this

assumption there are over seventy Syrian Antiochenes and ca. twenty-five Laodiceans: thus considerably more than Alexandrians; cf. Morelli, *Stud. class. e orient.* 5, 1956, pp. 145 ff., s.v. 'Αντιοχεῖς, and p. 158 f. s.v. Λαοδικεῖς: see above, p. 29, note 6.

<sup>7</sup> The cult and shrine were very much a family affair: see lines 3—10.

<sup>8</sup> See Roussel, pp. 26—7. The statement of Libanius, *Or.* xi. 114 (Hopfner, *Fontes*, pp. 542—3) that Seleucus Callinicus received a statue of Isis from Euergetes which he installed at Antioch, is rejected by Roussel as 'au moins suspect'. I agree, but it should be borne in mind in this context that another great city of the Seleucis, Seleucia, was itself under Ptolemaic occupation from ca. 245 to 219: see Polyb. v. 58, 10, and Beloch, *GG*<sup>2</sup>, iv. 2.330. The story that the cult-statue came from Seleucia in the reign of Euergetes, may be connected with this: see Tac. *Hist.* iv. 84 (Hopfner, *Fontes*, p. 288): nec sum ignarus esse quosdam qui Seleucia urbe Syriae accitum regnante Ptolemaeo, quem tertia aetas tulit; Isidor. ap. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* iv. 48 (Hopfner, p. 365): 'Ισιδωρος μόνος παρὰ Σελευκέων τῶν πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν τὸ ἱεῖμα τοῦ Σαράπιδος μεταχθῆναι λέγει (sc. εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν) ἐν σιτοδείᾳ αὐτῶν γενομένων καὶ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου διατραφέντων. It is hard to see at what other time a Ptolemy would assist a Seleucid city. However, since occupation of Seleucia was isolated, it is not material for Laodicea, a hundred miles south of it, which remained Seleucid.



Before turning to a consideration of the diffusion of the cult on the mainland, mention must be made of a very well-known document relating to the spread of Sarapis, the papyrus of the Zenon-archive, dated 257 B.C., in which a certain Zoilus writes to Apollonius<sup>1</sup>. Zoilus, evidently a Greek of the upper classes at the moment in Alexandria but normally resident in an unknown city<sup>2</sup>, recounts to Apollonius a rather involved story. He had, he writes, at an earlier date been ordered by Sarapis in a dream to sail to Alexandria to inform Apollonius of the god's order that a temple should be built for him in the Greek quarter of the town in question. Zoilus tried to avoid this duty, and fell ill as a result. The god then agreed to cure him if he undertook the liturgy. As soon as Zoilus recovered, however, someone arrived from Cnidus and started to build a private Serapeum of his own, until the god stopped him (how, we are not told), and he left the city. Zoilus, for his part, on his arrival in Alexandria, delayed to interview Apollonius on the matter, but discussed some other business with him instead, with the result that he again fell ill, this time for four months. He therefore now writes to Apollonius and requests him to follow the commands of the god, 'so that Sarapis, being gracious to you, will increase your authority with the king, together with your reputation and your health<sup>3</sup>. He adds that Apollonius need not be alarmed at the cost of the undertaking.

This document is important for our purpose in several ways. First, let us note the importance of the rather shadowy individual from Cnidus (not necessarily a Cnidian himself<sup>4</sup>). He entered the city and attempted to establish a private cult. This is an excellent example from an early date, of the private propagation (in this case, attempted private propagation) of the cult, and shows how soon it may have been dissociated from direct contact with Egypt, even if the city involved in this instance may have been Ptolemaic<sup>5</sup>.

Secondly, we may note the language in which Zoilus tells Apollonius the advantages which will fall to him from obeying the god's commands. This shows, or implies unmistakably, that the king would regard Apollonius's assistance in building the Serapeum as an act of loyalty to him and his house. This confirms the conclusion we had reached on the evidence from Alexandria, that, in the Ptolemaic capital, worship of Sarapis was largely a token of loyalty<sup>6</sup>. Thirdly, at the same time, there is no suggestion whatever that the king is encouraging the propagation of the

<sup>1</sup> PCZ, 59, 034. (=12). The bibliography is considerable. The most notable discussion is that of Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 121 ff. Reference to the letter occurs in almost all accounts of the spread of Sarapis published since the appearance of the papyrus (e.g. Nilsson, *Gesch. Gr. Rel.* ii, p. 180; Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Greco-Roman Egypt* (1953), p. 22).

<sup>2</sup> No indication is given in the papyrus. It was a seaport with a Greek and a non-Greek quarter (lines 6—7: τέμενος ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι), and probably a Ptolemaic possession — the evident ease with which Zoilus visited Apollonius, and his natural acceptance of the rôle of the king, surely suggest he is an Egyptian employee, and therefore probably residing in a city controlled by Egypt. If so, Aspendos, suggested by Roussel, *Rev. d'hist. et litt. relig.* 7, 1921,

p. 35 (though he is more cautious in *Syria*, 23, 1942, p. 26, note 4: 'il n'est pas assuré que la ville dont il est question soit Aspendos'), is not likely.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 18 ff.: ὅπως ἂν εὐχαιρῶς σοι ὑπάρχων ὁ Σάραπις πολλῶν σε μεῖζω παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἐνδοξότερον μετὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑγιείας ποιήσῃ.

<sup>4</sup> Line 12, παρεγένετό τις ἐκ Κνίδου. Thus he certainly came from Cnidus, even if he was not necessarily a Κνίδιος.

<sup>5</sup> See above, note 2. There is nothing to suggest that Cnidus was Ptolemaic; see p. 35, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> Wilcken, *UPZ*, i. 36, has, however, shown that this is a quality Isis and Sarapis shared (cf. *UPZ*, i. no. 33 of 162/1: περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων δὲ σοι ὁ Σάραπις καὶ ἡ Εἰσις ἐπαφροδίσιαν χάριν μορφήν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν).

cult — and here if anywhere we surely might expect mention of it. Thus the papyrus confirms, in particulars, the main outlines of the interpretation given above.

The papyrus also raises a very difficult question, that of belief in Sarapis. This is not entirely irrelevant here. The problem is clear: if worship of Sarapis was primarily an act of loyalty, how did Greeks of the type of Zoilus act (apparently) as a result of a lively faith in the god's existence and his power of affecting human actions? And, secondly, if it was an act of loyalty why did the cult spread outside Egypt at all? Evidently, we cannot deny that the cult won some real adherents among Greeks, and it was they who propagated the cult. At the same time, there seems no doubt that the religious experience of the Sarapis-worshipper, particularly outside Egypt, was very largely confined to revelation in dream; this is clear not only from the letter of Zoilus, but also from the numerous dedications to Sarapis and Isis as a result of instructions received in dreams<sup>1</sup>. Whatever may be the explanation of this, it suggests that one appeal of Sarapis to the Greek outside Egypt lay in the belief that the god provided a private revelation for the benefit of the individual. The establishment of a personal and direct relationship with a deity is undoubtedly one of the main trends of religious belief at the time<sup>2</sup>, and Zoilus was probably influenced by this trend<sup>3</sup>. In any case, as a general rule, it appears that the religious factor was far more operative in the Greek world generally than in Alexandria, and this too seems to argue in favour of the private dissemination of the cult.

We now may look at the Greek mainland, which, apart from Athens, Thrace and Macedonia, has not so far engaged our attention. At Athens, it will be recalled, the cult was introduced, at least privately, before 215 B.C., and a public cult may have been established at about the same time<sup>4</sup>. Direct Ptolemaic influence is, as we saw, unlikely here, and the cult was doubtless introduced by individuals, as in the other instances we have examined.

The cults of the Egyptian gods are also found widely spread over central and western Greece,

<sup>1</sup> The criterion lies in the use of such expressions as *κατὰ πρόσταγμα*, *κατ' ὄναρ*, *θεοῦ προστάξαντος*, (cf. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 330—1). In Ptolemaic Egypt (outside Memphis) these are rare. As instances relating to Sarapis and his circle, I note, from the material collected in the first part of this paper, only the dedication by Philopator of the Harpocrates-shrine, 'Ἀρποκράτει κατὰ πρόσταγμα Σαράπιδος καὶ Ἰσιδος' (see above, p. 12). There is also an unpublished dedication to Osiris (if this may be included), *κατὰ πρόσταγμα*. Another instance is PCZ, 59. 426, where Dromon writes to Zenon, *χρεῖαν γὰρ ἔχω πρὸς τοὺς ὑφ' ὀφλ. κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ*, which however refers to a visit to be paid to Memphis. For Memphis, apart from the familiar inscription from there, *ἐνὶ πνιχ κρίνω, τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσταγμα ἔχων* (see Wilcken, *UPZ*, i, p. 13, note 4, and p. 74), there are the frequent references to dreams in the Memphian papyri, Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 33, and esp. pp. 348 ff. introd. to nos. 77—81, a list of dreams kept by Ptolemaios. For deities other than Sarapis and his circle, see OGIS, 187, of 60 B.C., where Petesuchos the crocodile-god appeared to a worshipper. Πετεσοῦχον θεὸν μέγαν τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ φανέντα, and *Coll.*

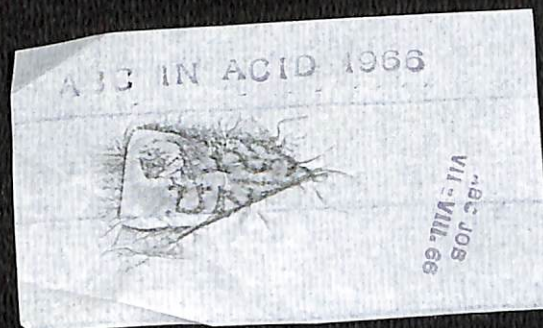
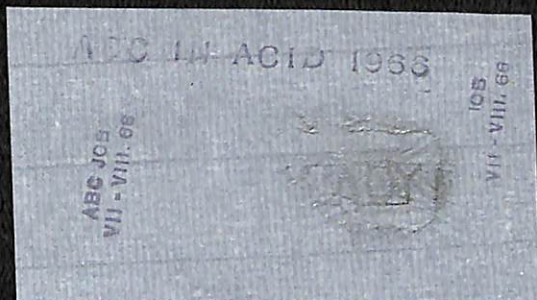
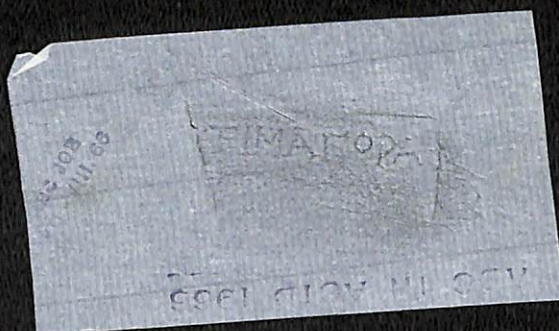
*Froehner*, 71, a dedication on behalf of Euergetes I and his family, *κατὰ πρόσταγμα* of an unnamed god. Outside Egypt the formula is normal in dedications to the Egyptian gods: see *Inscr. Délos*, 2045, 2059, and 2098—2115. It is also not uncommon in dedications to other deities: see *ibid.* 2281 (?), 2294, 2307, 2312, 2321, etc. For instances of dedications *κατὰ πρόσταγμα* to Sarapis and his circle from other places outside Egypt, see the numerous instances quoted in these notes.

<sup>2</sup> See Festugière, *Personal religion among the Greeks* (1954), pp. 39 ff.; cf. also Magic, *AJ.A.*, 57, 1953, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Zoilus's sincerity may obviously be questioned, as by Nock, *Conversion*, p. 280, 'If we should take the piety of Zoilos seriously, we should say that his experience was suggested by the tradition', and by Schubart, *Glaube und Bildung*, p. 15, note 1, who says, referring to Zoilus's assurance to Apollonius in regard to the cost of the building, 'Hier schaut die Gewinnsucht heraus: Z. scheint ein Bauunternehmer zu sein, der am Tempelbau verdienen möchte; deshalb muss Sarapis den Wettbewerb des Mannes aus Knidos ablehnen'. The attitude of Deissmann, *loc. cit.*, is very different.

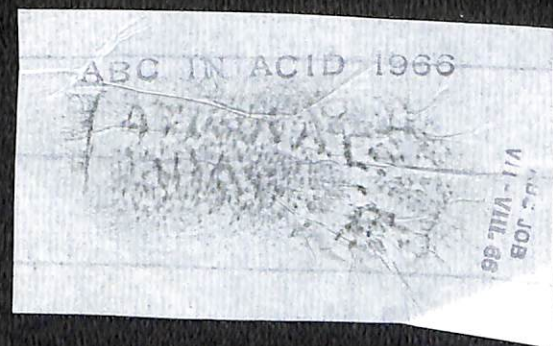
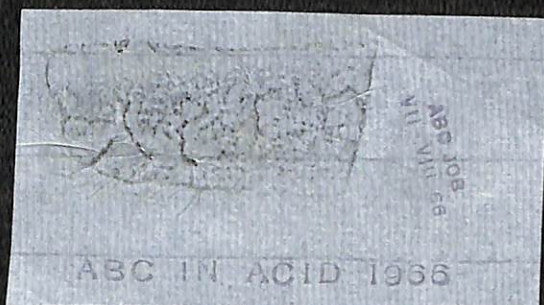
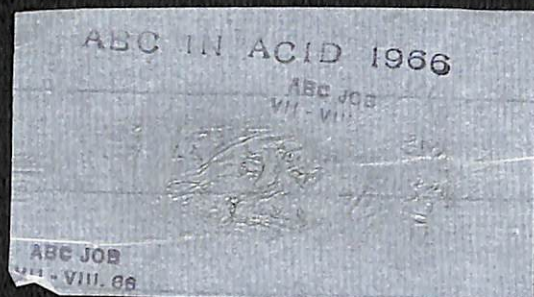
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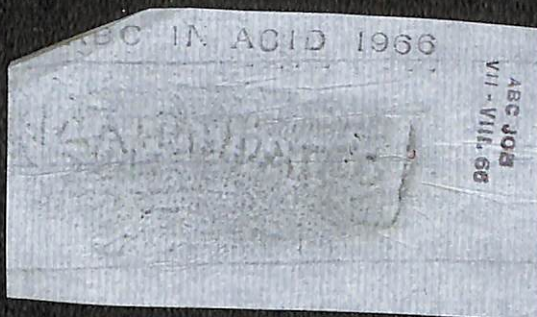
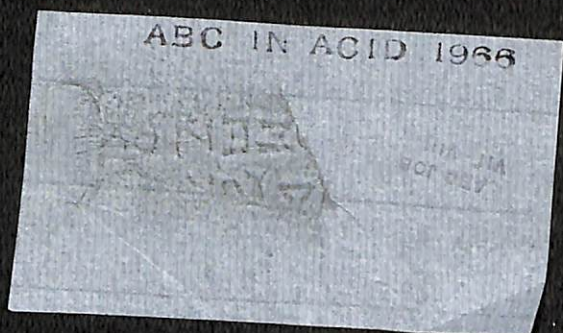
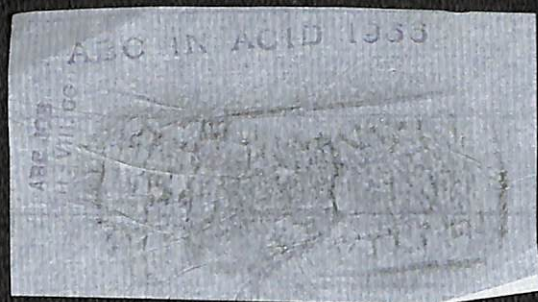
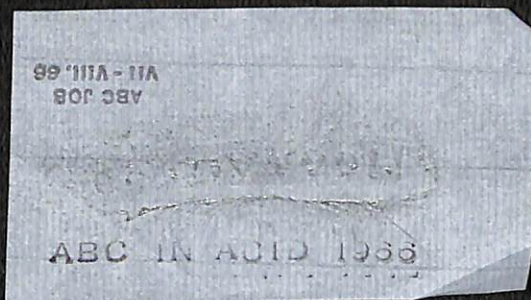
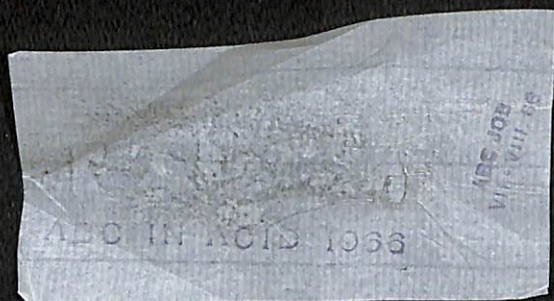




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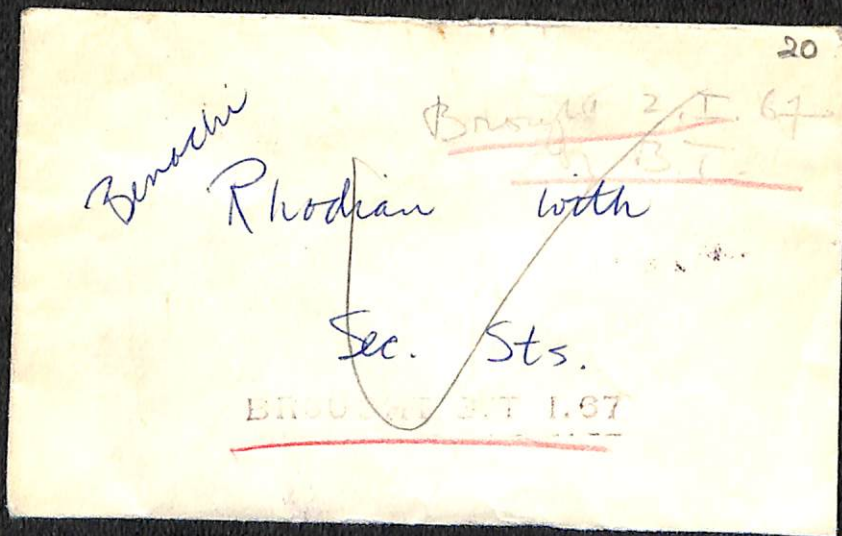
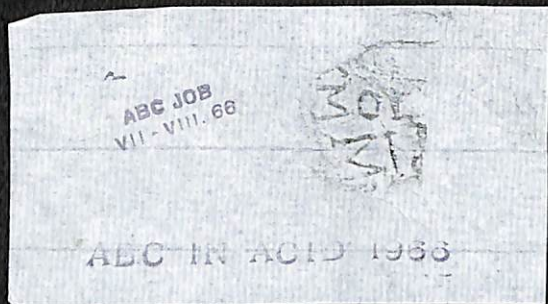
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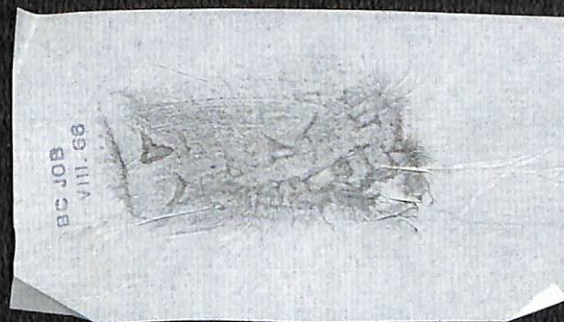
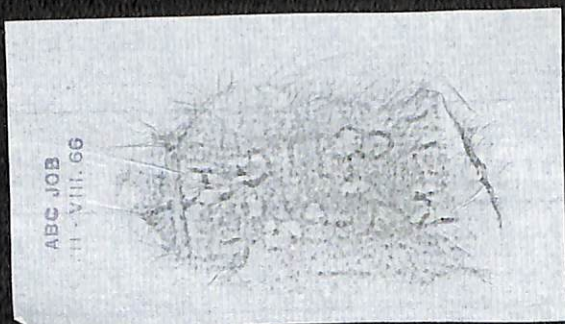
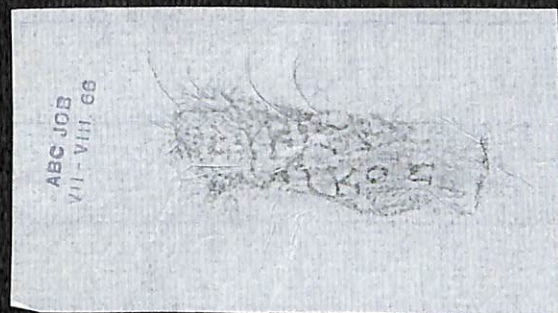
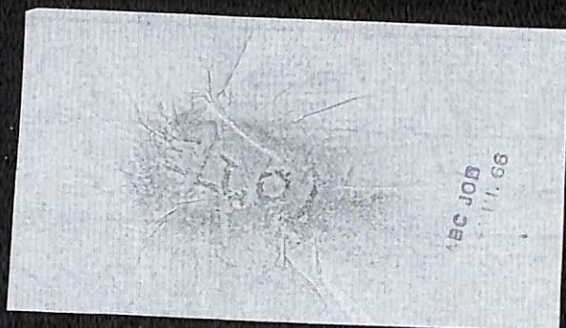


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