

THE FOOT OF SARAPIS

I. PRIMARY MONUMENTS

Anyone who collects the monuments associated with Mithras, as F. Cumont did, or with the "Egyptian" gods, as T. A. Brady is doing, or with the "Syrian" gods, as F. R. Walton is doing, will come upon a curious type of monument—the grotesque, snake-entwined, bust-crowned, gigantic Foot of Sarapis. In no other ancient or modern cult, so far as we are aware, is there anything quite like these objects. The fact that it was a symbol on Imperial Roman coinage indicates that in its own day as well the Foot of Sarapis was felt to be distinctive.

In modern scholarly writings there is no lack of references to these monuments (we have tried to record all references). It happens, however, that no one has had in hand at one time the materials necessary for a passable study of any one of them, let alone a study of all together. The accidental discovery, in 1936, of another Foot, the first and only example known in Athens, and the largest known anywhere, led us to collect evidence on the others.

One would expect to find that numerous examples had survived. Writing in 1820, H. Meyer knew only one example of such feet carved in the round. The number has increased slowly. In the present study we have tried to assemble all the feet in the round which are positively attested as being associated with Sarapis, and we have found only five. Doubtless some few more exist unpublished, but not, we believe, more than a few. In the past, nine lists (*infra*) of known examples have been compiled: interest has not been lacking. Thanks to A. Adriani in Alexandria, and to O. Guéraud in Cairo, we know that we now have all the examples in those museums. A new one from Athens is added, but only one: it is doubtful whether there are more in Athens. Brady's extensive and careful search for monuments related to the Egyptian gods has yielded no others; yet his whole list of extant large monuments associated with the cult (*infra*) runs to 376 items.

Feet of Sarapis, then, were common enough to be familiar, as the coins testify, but examples in marble large enough to bear as well some sculptured representation of the god were never numerous. A prime reason for their rarity, doubtless, was that they were expensive.

NOTE. The authors intended to submit the article, at Signor Adriani's request, and in return for his kindness, to the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*. M. O. Guéraud also gave generous assistance. Mrs. Mary Wallace, in addition to answering inquiries about No. 2 sent to her in Athens, has done all the parts that relate to sandals. Professor A. D. Nock, Dr. F. R. Walton, and Dr. G. M. A. Hanfmann gave valuable help. We are grateful to all these, and not least to Prof. T. A. Brady, who gave us access to his rich materials, and read the typescript beneficially.

The first scholar to point out the need for a study of these monuments was G. Lafaye (article cited *infra*). Soon after, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, LXVIII, 1913, p. 69, note 1, A. J. Reinach announced that he had long been preparing a study of "Le pied de Sérapis," and asked his readers to furnish information on monuments of that type. He died in the First World War, and the study never appeared. In 1936 S. Dow came upon the foot published below as No. 2, and included mention of it in an article which repeated Reinach's request for information; the replies received are acknowledged separately in the course of these studies. The onset of the present war has prevented the obtaining of as full information about the known examples as ideally ought to be presented. We have tried, however, to exhaust such materials as were available to us; and by suppressing for the present all broader theories, we have attempted to present in useful form merely what is given. It seems to us that a precise conception of the ideas behind these dedications, of their place in the history of religion and of art, had better wait upon exact knowledge of the monuments. In a second installment we hope to collect the (more numerous) minor monuments: reliefs, coins, related objects, and the like.

The following lists of Sarapis feet have been drawn up. These lists are referred to *infra* by the authors' names alone:

- C. Jahn, *Berichte der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Classe, VII, 1855, p. 103, note 310.
- W. Drexler in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. II, part I (1890-1894), cols. 526-528.
- J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum* (Athens, 1908), pp. 489-490.
- S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, vol. II, part I (ed. 2, Paris, 1908), p. 20.
- G. Lafaye in C. Daremburg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, IV (1909), p. 1251.
- H. P. Weitz in Roscher, *op. cit.*, vol. IV (1910), col. 382.
- S. de Ricci, *Revue archéologique*, IV série, vol. XVI (1910, II), pp. 96-100.
- O. Weinreich, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, XXXVII, 1912, pp. 37-38, especially 37, note 1.
- T. A. Brady, *Repertory of Statuary and Figured Monuments Relating to the Cult of the Egyptian Gods* (a preliminary but indispensable check list, published December, 1938, in mimeographed form by the author; address, Chairman, Department of History, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri), pp. 25-26.

Since their relative dates are mostly unknown and probably unknowable, the monuments are herein presented in the alphabetical order of their present or last known locations: (1) Alexandria, (2) Athens, (3) [Cairo], (4) Florence, (5) Turin.

1. Figs. 1-4. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain, inventory no. 3915.

Found in Alexandria in the Σεβαστεῖον. In December, 1873, it is described as "recently acquired" (*Bull. Inst. Egy.*, XII, p. 160).

Present length, 0.38 m.; present height, 0.33 m. Original length, *ca.* 0.39 m.; original height, probably *ca.* 0.45 m.

White marble (E. Breccia).

Bibliography. T. D. Neroutsos, *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, XII, 1873, pp. 166-167; Ἀθήναιον, III, 1874, pp. 86-87, no. 4; the latter is said to be reprinted in his Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας (1875; *non vidimus*), p. 35, no. 4. M. G. Demitsas, Ἱστορία Ἀλεξανδρείας, p. 763 (*non vidimus*). C. Schmidt, *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1896, pp. 93-94. G. Botti, *Catalogue des Monuments d'Alexandrie* (1900), p. 217, no. 184 (*non vidimus*). Amelung, *Rev. arch.*, II, 1903, p. 190, no. 6. Svoronos, p. 489, fig. 231. Reinach, p. 20, no. 4. Lafaye, p. 1251. Weitz, col. 382. De Ricci, p. 99, note 1. M. Bieber, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, XXXV, 1910, p. 8, note 2. E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie, Vol. 57: Cairo, 1911)*, no. 128 and pl. 28. Weinreich, nos. III and IV. E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* (Bergamo, 1922), p. 210, no. 33. Brady, no. 363.

A curious problem is provided by Reinach's drawing (Fig. 2), which shows the head of Sarapis as if preserved on the bust. The drawing was based on a photograph sent to Reinach by Maspero. The head appeared in the photograph and was certainly not invented by Reinach's draughtsman; the photograph was sent by Reinach to Amelung and Amelung entered the monument in his list of heads conforming to the type of Bryaxis. Now apart from this photograph (the present whereabouts of which is unknown) and Reinach's drawing based upon it, the monument in question, as a piece distinct from any other, is altogether unknown. All references (as, e. g., in Weinreich) are to republications of the drawing. Adriani reports that this piece (as distinct from 3915) is not now in the Alexandria Museum. Reinach first published his drawing in 1898. Maspero, although he first went to Egypt in 1880, *may* have received the photograph from Egypt before then, but it seems more likely that he secured the photograph during his many years in Egypt and that he sent it to Reinach for the special purpose of having it included in the *Répertoire*.

In 1873, i. e., some years before Maspero went to Egypt, Neroutsos first published the foot which, as the inscription proves, is the one now preserved as no. 3915 in the Alexandria Museum (Figs. 1 and 3). When Neroutsos published it, it was, he says, headless. It is headless now.

Did it acquire and then lose a head? Rather than believe such a theory, the reader will doubtless be inclined first to inquire whether the foot of Maspero's photo-



Fig. 1. No. 1. View from Side



Fig. 2. No. 1. From
Reinach, *Rep. stat.*,
II, p. 20, no. 4



Fig. 3. No. 1. View from Rear

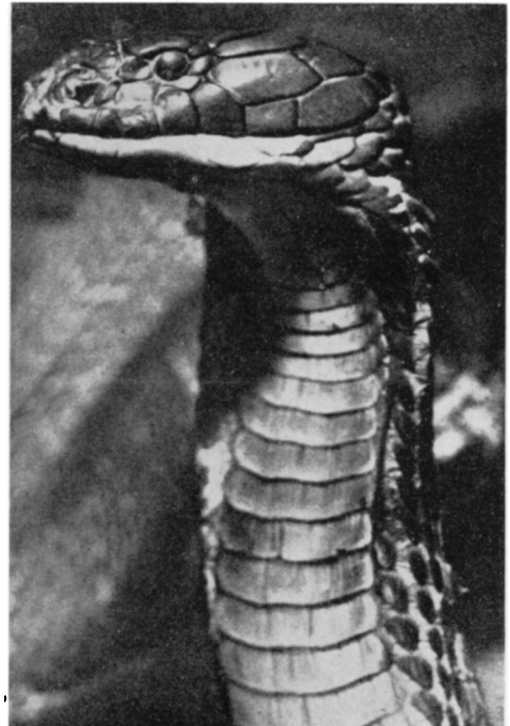


Fig. 4. King Cobra, *Naia Hannah*.
From R. L. Ditmars, *Reptiles of the World*

graph may not be a different foot from Alexandria 3915. Comparison of the drawing with the photographs will show the reader how the question stands. It is unlikely in the extreme that two monuments were carved to look exactly alike in every other particular, and notably in that the sandal on each is shown without a sole; and that subsequently they each broke so as to give a similar configuration at the toe and apparently also on the tongue. Instead, Reinach's drawing would seem to be an accurate version of 3915, insofar as 3915 is now preserved.¹

This view, viz., that the two feet are in reality one and the same, is confirmed by De Ricci, since he expressed no doubt that the Maspero foot is identical with Alexandria 3915. In *Rev. arch.*, II, 1903, p. 190, note 1 he remarks, "Selon Néroutsos, la tête manquerait. La tête actuelle serait-elle rapportée?" In *Rev. arch.*, XVI, 1910, p. 99 he listed only the one foot in Alexandria.²

An explanation might be that the real head was in fact recovered perhaps from some storage bin, was photographed, and subsequently got lost; or that at the time Maspero's photograph was taken, someone had tried to fit onto the bust a head which did not belong.³

Be the explanation what it may, the monument has had some rough usage since the time of Maspero. The right serpent is apparently complete in Reinach's drawing, whereas with respect to this serpent the photograph shows the loss (through breakage) of the head and forepart, and of a middle section.⁴

Assuming the two feet to be one, then, we may proceed to a description. The foot is a right foot, surmounted by a draped bust of Sarapis which extends down below the armpits and breasts. The bust rests as a separate thing, so to speak, on the ankle; there is no attempt to mask the transition, but instead a short portion of the leg is shown above the sandal. Reinach's drawing shows a head of the type of Bryaxis, though the locks on the forehead are more orderly, and less distinct from each other, than in No. 4. A modius should doubtless be restored on the head. Reinach's

¹ Mrs. Wallace has noticed that in respect to sandals the drawings in Reinach, possibly through no fault of his, are not always reliable—some statues which have sandals are shown in Reinach bare-footed, and vice versa—and that in respect to all sorts of attributes and the like, the draughtsmen restore freely.

² Weinreich in 1912 listed the two feet as different, but we suspect, from the fact that he fails to discuss De Ricci's question, that he had not studied the matter. Reinach in his second edition, that of 1908, had already perceived that the two pieces were identical, since he adds in that edition "Cf. [Neroutsos] 'Αθήναιον, 1874, p. 86."

³ No one who has had experience with museums and excavations would find either explanation surprising. It may be noted that there are several small heads of Sarapis in Alexandria, apparently of the right size (*Rev. arch.*, II, 1903, p. 180, no. 5 might do).

⁴ Conceivably the draughtsman in his drawing restored these parts from a photograph which showed them as missing. This is highly unlikely, however, since a frontal photograph of what exists at present would not prove that a *cobra* was to be restored. The only possibility is that the draughtsman was able to make restorations from a second photograph which showed the back.

drawing shows the eyeballs outlined as if by incision in the marble: this too is doubtless a reliable detail,—at any rate his other drawings on the same page lack any indication of eyeballs.

At the rear of the foot there is developed a symmetrical composition the interest of which is in the balancing of the left serpent, powerful and bizarre, in the left half of the space, against the little rounded form of the infant Harpokrates in the right half. Beneath, as a base for this design, two strong serpent-loops bend symmetrically away from each other. Above, the drapery over the shoulders of the bust frames the whole; the sides are rounded off by two other folds of serpent just under the shoulders. The center was accented at the bottom by the heel with its inscription, at the top by the head of Sarapis, crowned by a modius, and in the middle by a vertical fold of the left serpent. It is evident from this highly elaborate composition, as well as from the position of the inscription, that the rear was intended to be observed, in fact was intended to be just as interesting as the front view.

In the photograph of the rear, the whole mass appears to lean awkwardly to the left. It will be noted that the unbalance would be cured by the restoration of the right serpent's head and the large fold of his body as seen in Reinach's drawing.

The left serpent terminates as a cobra with the ouraios crown on the head (a crown which should doubtless be restored on the right serpent also). On the left serpent there can be observed a drape-like fold of skin, as it were, covering the shoulders and extending down the sides; broken away on the outer side, an end can nevertheless be seen on a lower fold of the serpent (side view). It is to be remarked that the serpents have serpents' heads, not human heads as in No. 5: the reason is doubtless that although one serpent might have been shown with a head of Isis, it was not fitting that the other, her companion, should be a mere snake, or alternatively should be shown with the head of Sarapis, whose head already surmounted the bust.

The carving of the folds of the serpents was a delicate task, and in fact the serpent on the proper right of the foot broke and was repaired, presumably in classical times. The rear view shows holes bored to receive pins for fastening in place a piece cut separately. The piece thus restored was not straight, but was rather a fold or loop; further to determine its shape from the photograph is impossible, but the Reinach drawing suggests a very elaborate loop with the serpent's head cut on the same piece of stone. If the drawing can be trusted, then it was this piece, broken off and repaired in ancient times, which has broken off again and been lost in modern times,—a not unusual happening.

The tail end of this serpent is also broken away. The photograph seems to show no trace of it attached (as on the other side) to the sandal; the last bit preserved suggests that it hung loose, but the Reinach drawing shows a rough area, as if it had in fact been attached to the sandal.

A fold of the left serpent has also been broken away. There is no sign of a repair. Hence the break occurred after the statue was finished, probably in post-classical times. As seen from the front, the missing fold was needed to balance the prominent forepart of the right serpent.

Above the uppermost fold of the right serpent, the drapery over the right shoulder of the bust is broken away. Two holes show here as if another repair had been made in ancient times; but the matter is uncertain, since the holes are smaller, less regular in outline, and apparently not well placed for a repair. No other explanation, however, will account for these holes.

Of the child Harpokrates the lower half is preserved. The figure is seated in one of the poses conventional for Harpokrates when shown as a child, with the right leg straight, the left bent.⁵ The left leg is damaged; but the shape of the break indicates that something more than the knee is missing. The object in question, of which part is preserved, is the cornucopia (cf. No. 2). As almost always with Harpokrates, the right arm should be restored with finger on lip (No. 2).⁶ Technically the notable fact about the figure of Harpokrates is that no part of it above the waist was attached to the marble behind; it was cut in the round for greater prominence, and as one more display of technical virtuosity.

The pin or peg which fastened the tongue of the sandal was enriched by a raised design of some sort. Its nature we cannot determine, except that clearly it is not a Kerberos such as appears on the tongue of No. 2.

The inscription may be thus transcribed:

Σαραπίωνι ἐπ' ἄγα
θῷ
Π(όπλιος) Ἀκείλι(ο)ς Ζώσιμος
σὺν ΑΙΜΟΕΙ Δορυφόρῳ ἐποίει

The three lines are all by the same hand. It has not been realized, however, that line 1 was the last to be inscribed: this is shown by the fact that it is crowded into too small a space, so that the last two letters had to be written underneath. If line 1 had been the first to be inscribed, it would have been cut where line 2 now stands.

As to the date: the lettering of the inscription, the fact that the eyeballs are shown, and the fact that the bust extends well down, all assure a late date, almost certainly Antonine.⁷

⁵ E. g., Carl M. Kaufmann, *Aegyptische Terrakotten* (Cairo, 1913), p. 52, fig. 29 (cf. p. 46); cf. Reinach, *Rép. stat.*, II, pp. 485-487.

⁶ A few exceptions: notably some examples of *Harpokrates chernibopastes*, with no finger to lip, Kaufmann, *Aeg. Terra.*, pp. 55-57, and fig. 31; left arm raised with finger of left hand to lip, Kaufmann and Reinach, *loc. cit.*, *passim*.

⁷ On the date of the lettering, there seems to be no reason for not accepting the opinion of those who have worked in Alexandria, Neroutsos and Breccia; from them no one has dissented. Incised

2. Figs. 5-7. Athens, Ἐθνικὸν Μουσεῖον; now shelved with numerous fragments of sculpture in the storeroom opening at the ground level on the west side of the court. Not recorded in the museum inventory.

Date of discovery unknown, but probably some decades earlier than 1936. Place of discovery also not recorded, but there need be no doubt that it was found in Athens, since a piece so unwieldy and considered so little notable would not have been transported to Athens from elsewhere. Probably it was dedicated in the Sarapieion in Athens.⁸

Length (original), 0.64 m.; width (original), 0.295 m.; present height, *ca.* 0.32 m. The original height may have been (cf. No. 1) well over twice as great, say *ca.* 0.80 m. Details: thickness of sole on the left (inner) side, 0.07 m.; on the outer side, 0.075 m.; present distance from top of sole to break at crocodile's snout, 0.20 m.; length of dog, 0.055 m.

White Pentelic marble.

Hitherto unpublished; its existence was first noted in *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXX, 1937, p. 225 and fig. 3. The commentary there given is supplanted by what follows herein.

A right foot, sandalled, with figures and decoration in low relief, and a serpent in high relief. The surface in general is somewhat rubbed, and the (broken) surface of the present top is worn more or less smooth; lesser chippings occur at the big toe, at the rear of the sole, in the serpent, etc.

In the preliminary notice, the question was hesitantly raised whether this might not be a fragment of the cult statue of Sarapis in the Sarapieion in Athens, though the possibility was also suggested that it might be a separate "Sarapis foot." The scale is suitable for a cult statue, and the position of the break at the top would certainly be more natural in a complete statue than in a separate foot. The bottom, however, so Mrs. Wallace reports, was not smoothed to form a good contact surface, but was left fairly rough; and there is no cutting for any attachment. Equally decisive is the scale of the serpent, which would be a mere worm in contrast to a statue of two to three times life size; further, the head of the serpent would almost certainly be concealed beneath the god's robe. Undoubtedly therefore the foot was a separate dedication.

The heel, or counter, of the shoe lacks floral decoration. The middle of the back is occupied by a crocodile; the rest of the space is left blank. Just on the corners, two

eyeballs can be as early as Hadrian: Henry Stuart Jones, *Companion to Roman History* (Oxford, 1912), p. 382. Size of bust, *ibid.*, p. 381.

⁸ Somewhere between the present Metropolitan Church and the North Slope of the Acropolis: Pausanias, I, 18, 4; W. Judeich, *Topographie* (ed. 2, 1931), p. 380; S. Dow, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXX, 1937, pp. 187-188, 209, 226-227, 230, note 156. A new inscription concerning the cult of Sarapis in Athens in Roman times is to be published by T. A. Brady.



Fig. 5. No. 2. From Above



Fig. 6. No. 2. From Right Rear

rather small and crowded figures appear, one of which, on the outer corner, is recognizable as Anoubis; the other, on the inner corner, is Harpokrates. The figures of Anoubis and Harpokrates belong, that is, rather to the side views, not to the back; Anoubis definitely faces away from the crocodile. The crocodile, which therefore is not bound to them in the composition, nevertheless is not a mere space-filler, since a

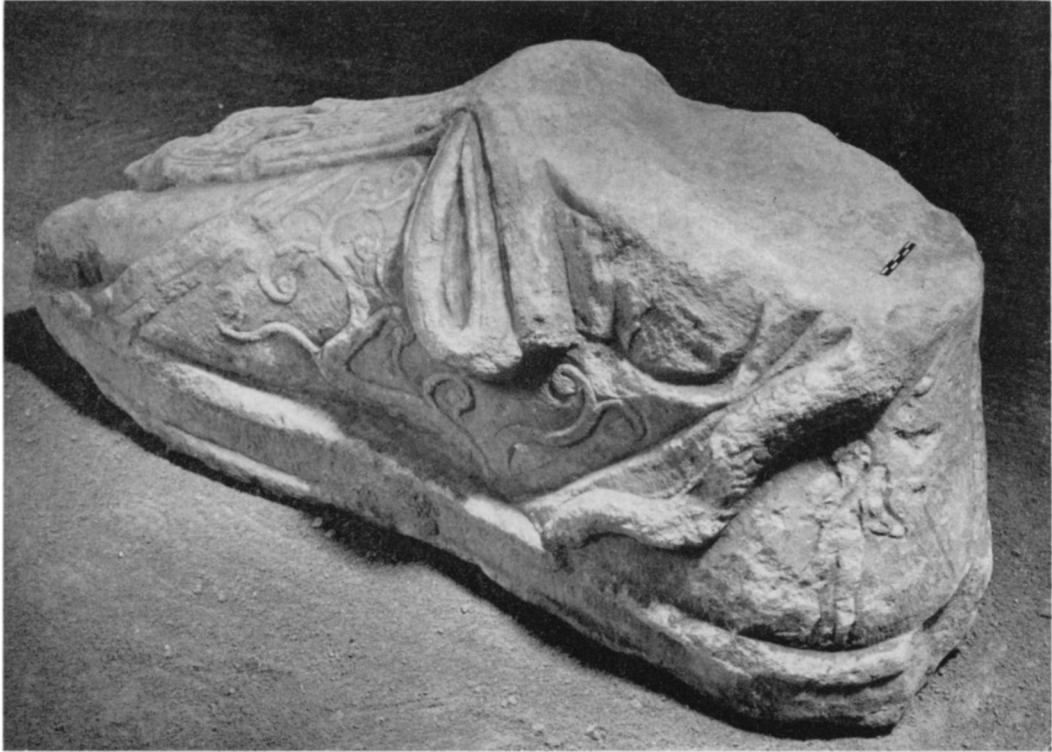


Fig. 7. No. 2. From Left

floral ornament would have served as well or better. The designer evidently *wanted* a crocodile there, presumably because of its association with Egypt;⁹ no part was played by the crocodile, so far as we know, in the cult of Sarapis in Greece, and of course there need be no thought of the crocodile god which was so popular in contemporary Egypt. In Greek art crocodiles are rare.¹⁰

⁹ It may be noted that *if* the Apis bull had any connection with Sarapis in the popular mind outside Egypt, here was a capital chance to express it. The area would accommodate a bull much more nicely than a crocodile. On a dubious sculptured bull allegedly connected with the cult in Athens, see *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXX, 1937, p. 226.

¹⁰ Reinach, *Rep. stat.*, I, 535; II, 272; III, 225; IV, 528; V, 456, 465, 532. (For meanings only II, 272 is important, a woman with her foot on a crocodile's head: the woman may symbolize Egypt, the crocodile being a sort of local attribute, exactly as is the crocodile on the foot of Sarapis.) Add: A. de Longpérier, *Notice des bronzes antiques du Louvre* (Paris, 1879), p. 210, no. 978 and

The figure of Harpokrates has approximately the same height in the relief as Anoubis, but doubtless the designer did not intend to be realistic in this respect. Still, Harpokrates appears as a youth, not as in No. 1 where he is an infant. The pose is conventional—right arm with finger to mouth, left arm holding the “cornucopia”;¹¹ as usual, the figure is nude, and also as usual, the hair is intended to appear as a curly mass. The gesture of the finger on the lips was considered by the Greeks, at least in late periods, to be a gesture of silence.¹²

Anoubis is shown partly draped and, as always, with an animal head; the right arm is raised to the chest, the left carries a palm branch. The palm branch probably derives from the felt kinship of Anoubis with Hermes Psychopompos, and possibly (?) symbolizes victory over death,¹³ (and, in view of the fact that he was *νικηφόρος* in the games,¹⁴ his power of bestowing agonistic victory?). The most interesting feature is the animal head. In general the Greeks had an aversion to animal deities.¹⁵ It should be remembered, however, that for the deities at Lykosoura, Damophon could chisel anthropoid figures with animal heads.¹⁶ This to be sure was in Arkadia, where a horse-headed Artemis was worshipped;¹⁷ but even in Athenian Delos in the second century B.C. the cult statue of Anoubis had (as always, Brady tells us) a jackal head.¹⁸ However, that statue had disappeared long before the present foot was carved, and the artisan obviously had no very exact idea of a jackal; apparently he conceived that it should look like a dog, but he chose a mastiff-like type, whereas some other breed was called for.

On the lower fold of the tongue, just inside the triple raised border, there appears a small dog with a body not unlike that of a Dachshund. There are at least two heads, one pointing forward, one backward; a third may look up toward the spectator, but that cannot be determined. This little beast is of course Kerberos, who in the great Alexandrian statue by Bryaxis stood on the god's right side, a symbol (together with the unearthly gray-blue color of the marble from which the god was carved,¹⁹ and the

references. On a relief in Egypt, with a Greek inscription, E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* (1914), p. 171, and fig. 45 (crocodile god).

As to the crocodile god among the Greeks in Egypt, see T. A. Brady, *Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks* (*University of Missouri Studies*, X, 1, Jan., 1935), pp. 14-17.

¹¹ The cornucopia is the Greek rhyton.

¹² F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (ed. 4, Paris, 1929), pl. VI. The origin of the gesture was pre-Greek Egyptian (C. M. Kaufmann, *Aeg. Terra.*, p. 44, fig. 27).

¹³ F. Cumont, *op. cit.*, pl. VI.

¹⁴ P. Roussel, *Cultes égyptiens à Délos* (Nancy, 1916), p. 277.

¹⁵ Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 f. and note 11; pl. VII.

¹⁶ References to the Damophon group and also to terracottas from Lykosoura with animal heads, A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, p. 121.

¹⁷ Various evidence on this and related matters: G. Dickins, *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, XIII, 1906-7, p. 394.

¹⁸ Roussel, *Cultes*, pp. 32, 276-277.

¹⁹ A fine color plate made from a head of Sarapis in blue stone in A. B. Cook's *Zeus* (Vol. III,

reminiscence of Plouton in the countenance) of the underworld connections of Sarapis.

The sole of the sandal is notable for its two mouldings, a type of sole favored earlier by Damophon. The sandal is really a shoe with the toes left bare, a favorite design in late Hellenistic times, and capable of infinite variety. In the present form, the shoe would be kept on comfortably by a strap between the large and second toes, a strap which presumably would be attached to the under part of the tongue. The tongue goes up the instep and falls back over the bow; it is on the lower end of the tongue that the dog Kerberos is shown. Since there is no strap across the toes, such a shoe would certainly be a "dress" shoe rather than a "street" shoe; and generally on ancient statues the more elaborate the footgear, the less practical it seems to be. The present shoe would extend up to just above the ankle, where the tie would go through a loop on each side before the tongue was brought down over the bow. At the heel heavy lines mark off the counter from the rest of the shoe. Just behind these lines, thongs hang down on either side; the purpose of the thongs is unknown.

The construction of the shoe demands that at least a few more centimeters of marble be restored above the present break at the top. Even allowing for wear, the break is, as we have remarked, at a curious level—it would be expected to come higher—and we therefore suggest that above the shoe the leg showed as in No. 1; and that atop this section of leg there was carved a heavy bust, again as in No. 1, or an entire seated figure, as in No. 5. The bust or figure would of course represent Sarapis.

This theory of a considerable height to the monument fits well also with the necessary restoration of the serpent. The serpent, unlike the other figures, is in high relief, and hence *qua* snake doubtless was conceived as a representation of reality, not a figure merely decorating a surface. To judge by its diameter, the preserved part of the serpent can hardly be more than half the length or less. The serpent doubtless terminated with the cobra's forepart, and either a head of Isis or more probably (since Sarapis was evidently on top of the ankle and was doubtless in human guise) an ouraios serpent symbolizing Isis. Isis can hardly have been absent when the other three of the quartette were present.

The floral ornamentation is free and graceful on the two sides, but it is less vigorously organic on the tongue. In floral designs the Ara Pacis had long since pointed the way, and doubtless any tyro could achieve a passable effect. Mrs. Wallace doubts whether the floral decoration (or the other figures) were thought of by the craftsman as embroidered on the surface;²⁰ more likely they were conceived (except for the serpent, of course) as reliefs on the marble surface.

Part II [Cambridge, 1940], pl. LXXIV at p. 1071) probably brings us as near as we can come to the effect of the original body. The face of the original, however, may have been gilded (T. A. Brady, *Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.*, LI, 1940, pp. 61-69).

²⁰ For an example of true embroidery on footwear, she instances the closed shoe from Pergamon in *Pergamon*, vol. VII, part I, fig. 47 b.

As a whole, the modelling, though not incompetent, is slight and hasty; the surface was left somewhat rough; the whole is not of a "good" period. The breadth of the somewhat flattish and not very comely foot, Mrs. Wallace writes, is another late feature.

3. Figs. 8-9. Once in the Harris Collection in Cairo. Apparently last examined by Prisse in 1844; present location is unknown. O. Guéraud reports that it is not now and undoubtedly never has been in the Cairo Museum; that it was presumably sold



Fig. 8. No. 3

From *Rev. arch.*, VII, 1850-51, pl. 152



Fig. 9. Copy of Bryaxis' Sarapis

From E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*,
p. 112, fig. 45.

with the rest of the Harris Collection. We believe its whereabouts as late as 1905 can be plausibly conjectured. De Ricci (p. 99) overlooks Maury's and the other discussions of the foot in the Harris Collection. On the other hand, he writes (*ibid.*) of a foot of Sarapis, "de grande dimension, que j'ai aperçu au Caire, chez M. Philipp en mars 1905." De Ricci had earlier referred to this same foot as follows (*Rev. arch.*, VIII, 1906, p. 380), "J'ai vu un autre pied analogue [to No. 5 of Turin] dans le commerce au Caire en février [sc. mars ?] 1905." The analogy to the foot in Turin consists in the fact that both feet have serpents or a serpent, and that both are dedications to Sarapis; but this surely is close enough. It seems therefore altogether likely, in view of the now apparent rarity of feet of Sarapis, that the foot from the Harris Collection found its way into the hands of the dealer Philipp.

Found in the excavations of the Caesareum in Alexandria (Prisse d'Avesnes), sometime before 1845.

Somewhat larger than life size (Maury), "de grande dimension" (De Ricci, *supra*).

White marble (Prisse).

Bibliography. Panofka, *Asklepios und die Asklepiaden* (*Abhandlungen der könig. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1845 [published in 1847]), p. 344, note 1. Prisse d'Avesnes, *Rev. arch.*, II, 1845-46, p. 752. A. Maury, *Rev. arch.*, VII, 1850-51, pp. 600-602, pl. 152. Jahn, p. 103, note 310. Drexler, col. 528. Svoronos, p. 489, fig. 233. Reinach, p. 20, no. 7. Weitz, col. 382. Weinreich, no. II.

It is unfortunate that Maury's drawing should be the only surviving image of this foot. Clearly it was a right foot, sandalled, and surmounted by a "human" figure flanked by subsidiary figures. That the main figure represented Sarapis is demonstrated by the perfect similarity in detail to a copy in Alexandria of the great archetype (by Bryaxis ?) in Alexandria (Fig. 9). The head with its modius is missing, and also the left arm, doubtless with a scepter in the hand.²¹

Prisse d'Avesnes was the first to describe it (in four lines only), and we are not sure that any scholar has ever really studied the original. Prisse d'Avesnes says that the seated figure is flanked by a dolphin [on its left] and by an ouraios serpent [proper right].

In considering this matter we may note first that Sarapis in the archetype had Kerberos on his right side, seated near the front corner of the throne. No one has said so, but there need be no doubt that Kerberos appeared also in the present monument,²² in approximately the same position. Sarapis' hand seems to rest on his back (or on one head), and this detail is vouched for by the Bryaxis original.²³ Maury's draughtsman and Maury both failed to discern Kerberos. Now as to the ouraios serpent, that seems clear in the drawing.²⁴ A serpent appeared in the Bryaxis statue, and in No. 1 there is an ouraios serpent the forepart of which appears just as here. It is the dolphin which raises a question. The drawing seems indisputably to show on Sarapis' left something quite unlike a dolphin, something resembling rather folds of a serpent. Sarapis was of course in part a marine god, and the sea can be symbolized by a dolphin;²⁵ but no dolphin actually appears in any representation of Sarapis known to us. We therefore conjecture that on the left there appears either

²¹ As in the original by Bryaxis: Amelung, *Rev. arch.*, II, 1903, p. 196.

²² Kerberos is present in all the statues of Sarapis seated shown in Reinach, *Rep. stat.*

²³ Amelung, *Rev. arch.*, II, 1903, p. 196.

²⁴ Drexler called it a snake or an eagle (!), but the bird would have a precarious perch.

²⁵ Because of the dolphin, Maury rejected the identification of the central figure as Sarapis.

part of the serpent whose head is on the right, or part of a second serpent. This does not explain all that the drawing shows on the right; but a broken section of serpent could easily be mistaken for a dolphin.

Maury notes that there is an inscription on the back, but he is ignorant of its content.

4. Fig. 10. Florence, Uffizi (Brady reports that he was unable to locate it).

Found before 1817.

Length (original), 0.33 m. (Duetschke).

Greek Marble (Duetschke).

Bibliography. G. B. Zannoni, *Reale Galleria di Firenze illustrata* [Uffizi], Serie IV, Vol. I (Florence, 1817), pp. 113-118, pl. 38. H. Meyer in C. A. Boettiger's *Amalthea, oder Museum der Kunstmythologie*, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1820), p. 288, no. 38. H. Duetschke, *Die Antiken Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, Vol. III (1878), p. 242, no. 542. G. Lafaye, *Histoire du Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1884), p. 273, no. 27. W. Drexler, col. 527. W. Amelung, *Rev. arch.*, II, 1903, p. 193, no. 26. Svoronos, p. 489, fig. 232. Reinach, p. 20, no. 6. De Ricci, p. 99. Lafaye, p. 1251, fig. 6369. Weitz, col. 382, fig. 232. Weinreich, p. 37, no. 1. Hans Haas, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*, 9-11 Lieferungen (compiled by J. Leipoldt, Leipzig, 1926), fig. 15. Brady, p. 26, no. 365.

A right foot, naked, cut in the same block of marble as the oblong base on which it rests and (also part of the same block) a bust of Sarapis, draped and wearing a modius. For a bare foot a base is practically a necessity. The front corners of the base are cut back slightly (Duetschke) leaving a bulge in the middle. Amelung lists the head as conforming to the type established by Bryaxis. The eyeballs seem to have been indicated, if at all, by paint. The drapery appears not to be unusual. On the modius, Amelung notes three branches: the modius of the Alexandrian original by Bryaxis was decorated with olive trees in relief.²⁶

This piece stands in contrast to the others for its restraint and simplicity. The reason is *not* its moderate size: since the shoulders are wider than the base, the block must have been large enough for, e. g., a serpent to be carved about the foot.

The comparatively small extent of the bust would suggest the Flavian period or a little later. The fact that eyeballs are not incised also suggests a date earlier than Hadrian. These indications, taken together with the absence of a sandal and of all other accessories, point plainly to a date for this foot earlier than the date of the other feet.

²⁶ Amelung, *loc. cit.*, p. 197.



Fig. 10. No. 4

From G. B. Zannoni, *Reale Galleria di Firenze*, Serie IV, Vol. I, pl. 38.

5. Figs. 11 and 12. Turin, Museo di Antichità. Date of discovery unknown; earlier than 1855.

Length (original), 0.71 m.; height (original), 0.43 m.

White (Heydemann) Greek (Duetschke) marble.

Bibliography. *Coll. Drovetti*, Mon. no. 27; *Doc. inéd.*, III, p. 291 (these two cited by Svoronos; *non vidimus*). P. C. Orcurti, *Catalogo dei monumenti egizii del R. Museo di Torino*, Vol. I (Turin, ca. 1855 ?), no. 67 (cited by Weinreich; *non vidimus*). O. Jahn, *Ber. d. S. G. d. W.*, 1855, p. 103, note 310. F. Wieseler, *Gött. Nachr.*, 1877, p. 655. H. G. D. Heydemann, *3te Hall. Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1879, p. 38, no. 3. H. Duetschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, IV (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 66-67, no. 103. Gerhard, *Prodromus* (text to *Ant. Bildwerke*), p. 146, note 8. W. Drexler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, i, cols. 510 and 528. S. de Ricci, *Rev. arch.*, VIII, 1906, pp. 379-380, no. 38. Svoronos, 489. S. de Ricci, p. 99. Weinreich, no. V. Brady, no. 366.

A right foot, sandalled, the heavy sole being prolonged to form a base for a statuette of Harpokrates; serpents, one on each side, terminating as Sarapis and Isis. Above, the ankle is cut off smooth (except apparently for a bevelled edge); no figure was set atop the whole. Curiously, this smooth top surface is not horizontal, but slopes down toward the outer side, *perhaps* because the original block of marble sloped thus and could not be evened off horizontally without leaving the modius of Sarapis projecting upward awkwardly by itself.

The design allowed no more space to the serpents than the length and height of

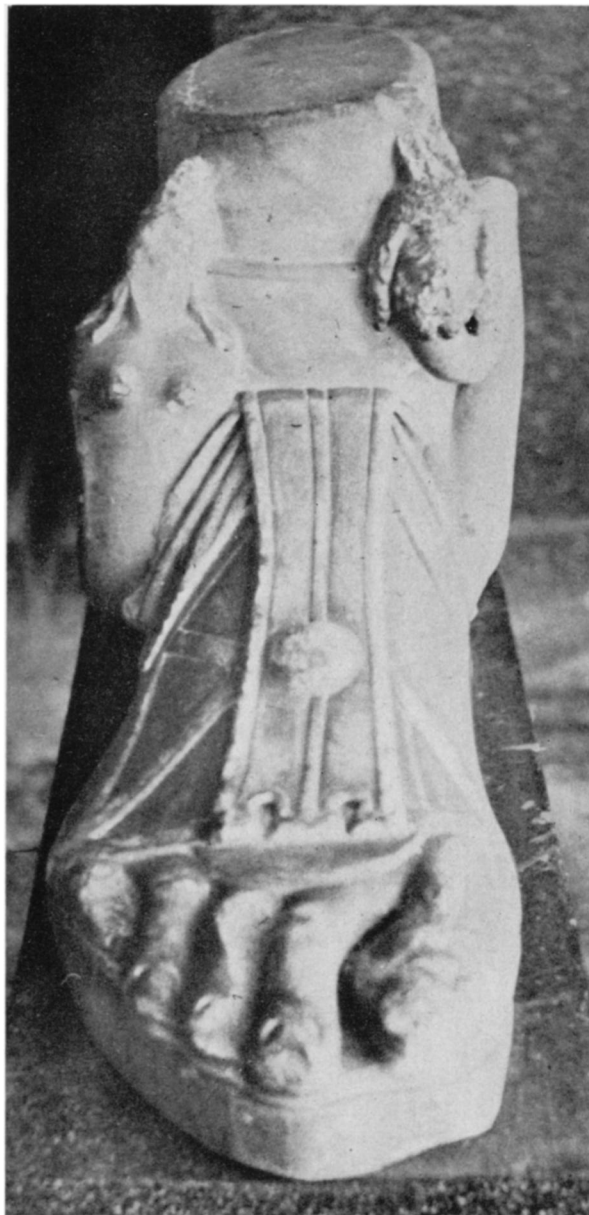


Fig. 11. No. 5. From Front

the ankles: the tails were therefore not shown at all, and the serpents' bodies wriggle out from behind Harpokrates. As snakes they are of different species, Isis being conceived as a cobra (but more as a woman than in Nos. 1 [and 3?]); Sarapis is much the longer; behind, a fold of his serpent body reaches to the level of his head; the head itself, with its beard and high modius, is the larger of the two and (as befitted the male deity) the more prominent. The type of face was clearly that of Bryaxis.²⁷



Fig. 12. No. 5. From Rear

Much of the monument is well preserved: one suspects that the chief injuries, viz., to the right leg and arm and to the cornucopia of Harpokrates, and particularly to all three heads, were the work of some not very energetic Christian vandal. Isis wore some sort of head-dress: the Pschent (? Heydemann).

Anubis and Kerberos are entirely omitted. The notable figure is that of Harpokrates, to include which the designer made the special effort of awkwardly prolonging the sole of the sandal for a base, even giving the prolongation a bulge on the outer side to accommodate a tree stump for the god to lean on. Harpokrates, a sturdy youth (cf. Nos. 2 and 1) rests his left elbow and cornucopia on the stump, and his chlamys covers the left shoulder, falling over cornucopia and left arm down the stump to the base itself. "Der rechte Arm," says Heydemann, "lag aber nicht am

Munde, da keine Spur vom Arm auf der Brust zu sehen ist." The arm is preserved to the middle of the biceps, however, and this part of the arm, i. e., the upper arm, clearly extended downward; unless the hand was joined to the mid-thigh in some almost unexampled pose, it must have been carried to the lips in the almost invariable gesture for the right hand of Harpokrates.²⁸ The photograph, moreover, seems to

²⁷ For Sarapis and Isis together as serpents, see Brady, nos. 370-376. Sarapis, as well as Isis, appears as a cobra with hood distended. Cf. also section on "Schlangengöttin" in W. Weber, *Terrakotten*, pp. 42-47, and fig. 23.

²⁸ The only exceptions known to us, i. e., where the right hand touches the thigh, are Reinach, *Rep. stat.*, vol. I, p. 448, no. 2; and vol. III, p. 142, no. 2.

show some marble missing from the chest just where the right forearm ought to lie on or near it. Evidently Heydemann did not check his final draft with a photograph or with the original.

The pose of the figure as a whole is "statuesque," and it forms an addition to the foot which, as we have seen, was not knit into the design of the whole. Is the Harpokrates really a small copy of some famous statue? The tree-stump is certainly not just an accessory unnecessary and absent in a bronze original, here imported to fit the necessities of a version in marble; instead the tree-stump here, as also (we feel sure) in the Praxitelean Hermes, is a necessity to the composition, a firm support which permits the figure, though holding a weighty object on the left arm, to be languid. The pose of the present figure descends of course from that invented by Praxiteles.

In over-all length this is the largest of the Sarapis feet, but without the addition of Harpokrates' base, the length would be the same as that of the foot in Athens, No. 2. As to the date, there is no evidence except of the style of the sculpture, which appears to be compatible with a date in the second century after Christ. Duetschke reports that the marble is "Greek," but it seems doubtful whether that is an argument against, e. g., an Alexandrian origin; certainly it has no affinities of style with No. 2.

SUMMARY. All are right feet, but the absolute similarities end there: no fixed type existed, and probably no one famous prototype, such as Bryaxis' statue was in relation to all other statues of Sarapis. All are large feet: there are two principal sizes, one size slightly larger than nature (Nos. 1, 3, 4), the other size twice nature or larger (Nos. 2 and 5); but intermediate sizes would hardly be precluded. Four feet are sandalled, one (No. 4) is not. Three feet are surmounted by busts of Sarapis (Nos. 1, 2, 4), one foot by a copy of Bryaxis' whole figure (No. 3); one foot is cut off flat at the top (No. 5). The Bryaxis type, which was standard generally, was followed in the heads (Nos. 1, 4, 5). Harpokrates seems to have had his finger to his lips, and a cornucopia on the left arm (Nos. 1, 2, 5), as usual, but as in Egyptian terracottas²⁹ (and doubtless in their prototypes also) his age varies. Apart from the one unshod foot, all the feet have one serpent (Nos. 1 and ? 3) or two (Nos. 2 and 5), regularly of the cobra species (except one in No. 5); at least one serpent regularly faces forward (Nos. 1, 3, 5; No. 2 is to be so restored). In the arrangement of the serpent or serpents, the craftsman was offered his only chance to display ingenuity in design. Judged by this criterion, No. 1 is superior to the rest; its technique too is the boldest. No. 2, amongst the feet which have serpents, is the meanest, the reliefs being uniquely low, and the serpent small; No. 2 is set apart also by the breadth and general ugliness of the foot itself.

²⁹ C. M. Kaufmann, *Acq. Terra.*, p. 46.

Sure criteria for dating are not numerous, but we have seen that No. 1 is almost certainly Antonine, and the others also may well be of that period, except that No. 4 appears to be Flavian. Feet of Sarapis appear on coins in the Antonine period—but that, along with dedicatory feet not positively attested as being associated with Sarapis, and along with other secondary evidence, is matter for another study.

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