

CASAE 2

SUPPLÉMENT  
AUX  
ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

CAHIER N° 2

DISCOVERY  
OF THE  
FAMOUS TEMPLE AND ENCLOSURE OF SERAPIS  
AT ALEXANDRIA

BY

ALAN ROWE

CONSERVATOR, GRAECO-ROMAN MUSEUM, ALEXANDRIA:

REPRESENTATIVE OF SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS IN ALEXANDRIA AND WESTERN DESERT

WITH

AN EXPLANATION OF THE ENIGMATICAL INSCRIPTIONS  
ON THE SERAPEUM PLAQUES OF PTOLEMY IV

BY

ÉTIENNE DRIOTON

DIRECTEUR GÉNÉRAL, SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS



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IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS  
D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

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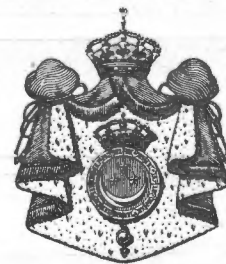
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it proved for the first time (1), not only that the site in question is indeed the famous Serapeum—of which Ammianus Marcellinus, *Reg. Gest.*, XXII, 16, 12, said that “nothing in the world is considered more sumptuous than it except the Capitol, which is the eternal pride of the august city of Rome”—but (2), that it was the above mentioned ruler who constructed it and (3), that the Ptolemaic Temple and Sacred Enclosure for Serapis were built simultaneously. The plaques were unearthed in the presence of H. E. the Director General of the Municipality, Ahmed Kamel Pasha.

1903; p. 251. It is a great pity that the evidence afforded by archaic-looking Greek masons' marks recently found on certain limestone blocks in the Ptolemaic Serapeum (see SECTION VI below) is not clear enough, at least in the light of our present knowledge, to justify an assertion that such blocks originally came from a local Greek building older than the time of Ptolemy III. Tacitus implies that the new temple to Serapis was built after Ptolemy I brought to Alexandria from Sinope the statue of Pluto. Also, Plutarch refers to the transport of the statue from Sinope and states that on arrival at Alexandria it was identified with Serapis which was the name the Egyptians gave to Pluto (cf. fig. 8). Possibly Ptolemy I actually did bring the statue from Sinope and put it in an already existing small sanctuary of Serapis and Isis at Rhacotis, where later his grandson, Ptolemy III, constructed a magnificent temple to celebrate both the greatness of Serapis and the splendour of Alexandria. TZETZES, XIII<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D., says that Ptolemy II founded the “Daughter Library” in the Serapeum, but he may

well have confused him with Ptolemy III. It seems that J. G. FRAZER, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, II, 1919, p. 118, note 2, hits the nail fairly on the head when after stating that the oldest sanctuary of Serapis was at Memphis (PAUSANIAS, I, 18, 4) adds that although in after years the introduction of the worship was attributed to the Ptolemy (I or II) who imported the statue from Sinope, “all that the politic Macedonian monarch appears to have done was to assimilate the Egyptian Osiris to the Greek Pluto, and so to set up a god whom the Egyptians and Greeks could unite in worshipping”. Cf. further the el-Mahmudiya Canal inscription (mentioned in SECTION IV of this article) stating that Archagathus and his wife had dedicated for Ptolemy II a Sacred Enclosure—site unknown—to Serapis and Isis. There is at present no positive archaeological evidence to support the above statements of Arrian, Aphthonius, Malalas, Plutarch and Tzetzes; compare, however, the observations on the date of the Serapeum great niche in SECTION VI of this article. [Cf. also CYRILLI, *Alexandriæ Patriarchæ, Opera*, t. VI. Contra

Another similar set of ten plaques of Ptolemy III was found in the south-west angle of the older part of the site on the 31st December, 1944, and was removed in the presence of H. E. the Acting Director General of the Municipality, Amin Khairat el-Ghandour Bey.

Our researches during the last year or so have shown clearly for the first time that there were two Sacred Enclosures in the Serapeum, the one (rectangular) dating from the Ptolemaic era and the other (also rectangular—Cf. SUPPLEMENT No. I) dating from the Roman period<sup>(1)</sup>. See Pl. XVII, also the coin representations of a temple within the Serapeum (ADDENDA,—No. 6). The older Enclosure consisted of outer walls and inner parallel colonnades<sup>(2)</sup>, the foundations for all of which were sunk in the

Julianum, p. 13; CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, t. I, p. 42, edit. Potter; and MACROB., *Saturnal.* (PRIDEAUX'S *Connect.*, vol. II, p. 12, edit. fol.). All these authorities—quoted in J. WHITE, *Aegyptiaca*, 1801, pp. 54 ff.—refer to the bringing of the statue from Sinope and to the supposed building of the Serapeum under Ptolemy II. Cf. further, R. S. POOLE, *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria, etc.*, 1892, pp. 1x f.] Anyhow, the fact that it was Ptolemy III who constructed the great Serapeum is particularly interesting because it is in a papyrus dating from the reign of this ruler (actually 243 B. C.) that we meet the first known mention of Parmenion, popularly called Parmeniscos, the famous architect who built a Serapeum supposed by some to be the great Alexandrian one. See C. C. EDGAR, *Zenon Papyri* (in *Cat. Gén. du Musée du Caire*), III, 1928, p. 89. It is by the way instructive to note that under Ptolemy III is first found the “Royal Oath”—an oath by the kings, “by Serapis and Isis and all other gods and god-

desses”. For further details on the Serapeum the reader is referred to A. CALDERINI, *Dizionario dei Nomi Geografici e Topografici dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*, Cairo, 1935, pp. 140 ff.; and F. GUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*, 1929, pp. 69 ff.

<sup>(1)</sup> It is not absolutely clear from Strabo's language (xvii. I § 10) that the Alexandria Serapeum was rather neglected in his time as were obviously some of the older shrines which he mentions. In fact, by mentioning the Serapeum specially and by separating it from the old shrines he may indeed mean that the Serapeum was still frequented in contrast to the shrines partly neglected.

<sup>(2)</sup> The three columns of grey granite (two complete and one broken) on the far side of the atrium of the underground passages a little west of Diocletian's column, perhaps belonged to the Roman colonnade. The columns vary between 7.10 m. to 7.15 m. in height, and have a maximum diameter at the base of 1.06 m. (The standing column is not in its original position).

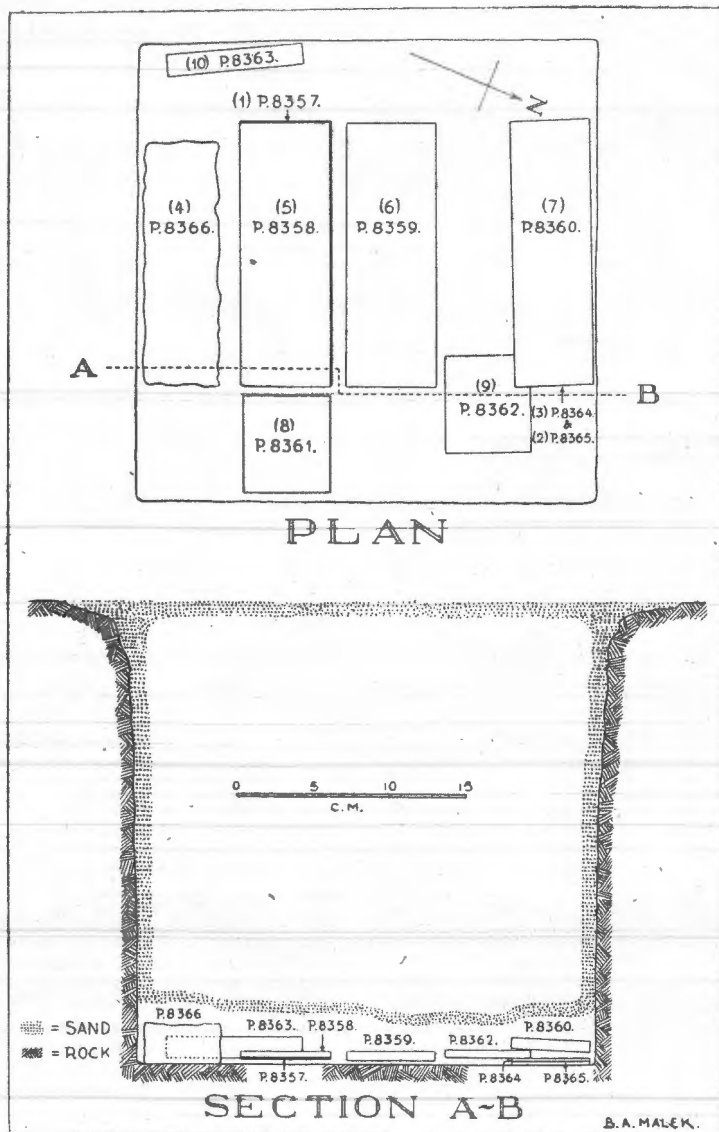



Fig. 1. — Plan and Section showing ten foundation deposits *in situ* (discovered 27-8-1943). S.-E. angle of Alexandria Serapeum of Ptolemy III.

rock. It was actually in a hole in the rock below the junction of the east and south outer walls that the first set of plaques was discovered; the second set came from a similar position under the outer walls at the south-west angle. See Fig. 1; Pls. I, VII, IX, X and XI. The holes themselves were filled with sand after the plaques had been laid at the bottom and then covered over with limestone foundation blocks which were later removed by unknown persons who little realized that there was anything of value just below them:

Among the other important or interesting finds recently made by the Graeco-Roman Museum is the discovery of the long sought for value of the hieroglyph  which, at least in the Ptolemaic era, is now seen to have had the value of *rhwy* (cf. SECTION VI below, and Fig. 10).

## II.—DESCRIPTIONS OF PLAQUES FROM S.-E. ANGLE (PL. II).

Before going on to describe the inscriptions on the plaques I first of all give a detailed description of the objects themselves :

No.	MATERIAL.	LENGTH.	WIDTH.	THICKNESS.	MUSEUM REG. NO.	DETAILS OF INSCRIPTIONS (ALL ON ONE SIDE UNLESS INDICATED TO CONTRARY).
1	Gold <sup>(1)</sup> .	cm. 17.3	cm. 5.9	cm. 0.05	P. 8357	<i>Greek text</i> :- 3 horizontal lines; letters consist of punched dots made with pointed instrument on the front of the plaque. <i>Hiero. text</i> (parts missing) :- 3 vertical lines; painted in black ink to left of Greek text. Fig. 2.

<sup>(1)</sup> Weight is 48 grammes. The silver and bronze plaques (Nos. 2, 3) were cleaned by Zaki Effendi Iskander, Chemist of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; he also solidified the mud plaque (No. 4). With regard to the plaster originally covering the silver and bronze plaques Zaki Effendi informs me that the plaster on the first plaque is of gypsum composed of calcium sulphate and contains, as impurities, small quantities of calcium carbonate, sodium chloride, aluminium and iron oxides, quartz sand and magnesium carbonate. The plaster on the other plaque is likewise of gypsum composed mostly of calcium sulphate and contains, as impurities, very little quantities of calcium carbonate, aluminium and iron oxides, magnesium carbonate, quartz sand and sodium chloride. (There was no plaster on any of the plaques in the second set).

DESCRIPTIONS OF PLAQUES (contd.).

No.	MATERIAL.	LENGTH.	WIDTH.	THICK- NESS.	MUSEUM REG. NO.	DETAILS OF INSCRIPTIONS (ALL ON ONE SIDE UNLESS INDICATED TO CONTRARY).
2	Silver.	17.3	5.8	0.2	P. 8365	<i>Greek text</i> :- details similar to those of No. 1. <i>Hiero. text</i> to left (obviously in black ink) :- vanished. Plaque originally coated with white plaster.
3	Bronze.	17.5	5.9	0.3	P. 8364	<i>do. do. do.</i>
4	Nile (?) mud.	16.0	5.0	2.7	P. 8366	No traces of texts, but perhaps had signs once stamped or painted on it.
5	Opaque glass; green.	17.2	5.8	0.4	P. 8358	<i>Greek text</i> :- 3 horizontal lines. <i>Hiero. text</i> to left :- 3 vertical lines. Both in black ink, and almost faded away.
6	Opaque glass; brown, violet, etc.	17.2	5.9	0.6	P. 8359	<i>Greek and hiero. texts</i> (in black ink) :- faded away.
7	Opaque glass; faded green.	17.2	5.5	0.8	P. 8360	<i>Greek text</i> :- 3 vertical lines. <i>Hiero. text</i> to left :- 3 vertical lines. Both in black ink and almost faded away.
8	Opaque glass; green.	6.3	Height. 5.7	0.6	P. 8361	<i>Greek text</i> (only on one side) :- 4 horizontal lines. <i>Hiero. text</i> (on opposite side) :- 3 vertical lines. Both in black ink. Fig. 3.
9	Opaque glass; green.	6.3	Height. 5.7	0.6	P. 8362	<i>do. do. do.</i>
10 <sup>(1)</sup>	Faïence (?); faded green.	6.9	—	1.4	P. 8363	<i>Greek text</i> :- 2 lines on each of two long sides <sup>(2)</sup> . <i>Hiero. text</i> :- 1 line on each of other two long sides <sup>(3)</sup> .

<sup>(1)</sup> Box-like. — <sup>(2)</sup> The second line on the first of the long sides ends with "Arsinoe". —  
<sup>(3)</sup> The first line contains the royal names only.

DESCRIPTIONS OF PLAQUES (concluded).

Mr. Alfred Lucas, Honorary Chemist of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, has kindly sent me the following notes on the glass plaques :

"P. 8358. The colour is now largely yellowish-green with light green patches and slight iridescence in places. What the original colour was cannot be determined.

"P. 8359. The colour is largely light green with one large patch of violet blue. What the original colour was cannot be determined.

"P. 8360. The colour is largely bluish white and light green, but there are numerous small areas of a beautiful iridescence-green, blue and violet. This iridescence, as also that on No. P. 8358, is purely an optical effect produced by the breaking up of the white light as it is reflected from the numberless small colourless scales, that result from surface decomposition.

"P. 8361 and P. 8362. These two plaques are identical, the colour being largely green on the outside with red patches. A small fracture at one corner of P. 8361 shows a dark, opaque, sealing-wax-red colour. Both these plaques originally were entirely of this same dark, opaque red colour, the present green surface colouration being due to decomposition. This change in colour of ancient Egyptian glass from red to green is fairly common and is the result of chemical decomposition, the original red being due to red copper oxide, which under the influence of moisture and carbon dioxide becomes gradually converted into green copper carbonate"<sup>(1)</sup>.

With regard to the ten plaques from the south-west angle (Reg. Nos. P. 9431-9440) these are about the same as regards material, size, and inscriptions as the other set; but as they had not been cleaned at the time of writing this SECTION it was not possible to give full details of them here. But cf. Pl. X.

III.—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE SERAPEUM PLAQUES

FROM THE S.-E. ANGLE.

1. *The Hieroglyphic Texts.*

Details of the present condition and of the various ways in which the hieroglyphic texts are arranged are indicated in the section above on

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. A. LUCAS, *Glass Figures*, in *Annales du Service*, XXXIX, pp. 227-235, also glass plaques mentioned in SECTION V below.



“Descriptions of Plaques”. As regards Fig. 2 which gives a facsimile of the gold plaque, the hieroglyphic texts—actually nearly worn away on

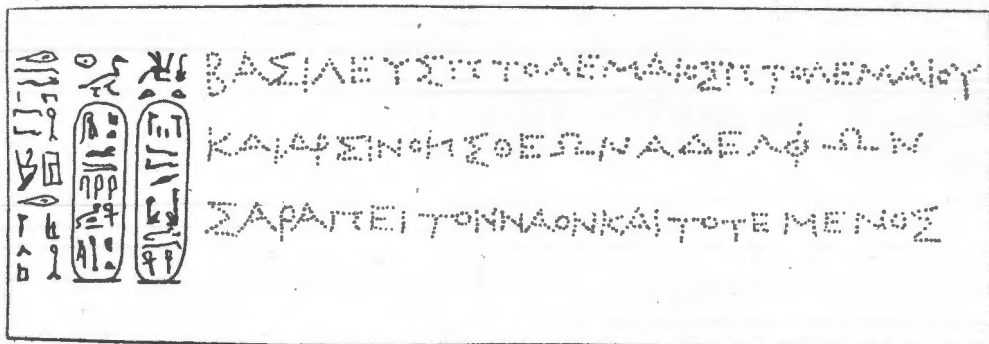


Fig. 2. — Facsimile of texts on gold foundation plaque from Alexandria Serapeum, discovered 27-8-1943 (Reg. No. P. 8357). Ptolemy III.

the original—have here been restored by me from other plaques in the series so that the reader may gain an idea of the appearance of the plaque before it was deposited in the foundation hole.

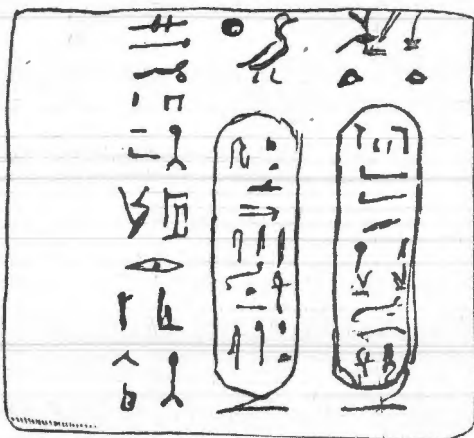
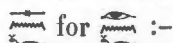
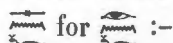
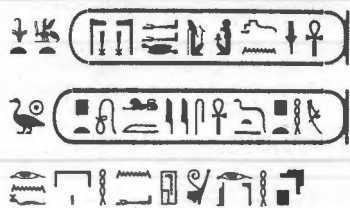




Fig. 3. — Facsimile of the hieroglyphic text on opaque glass foundation plaques from Alexandria Serapeum, discovered 27-8-1943 (Reg. Nos. P. 8361, 8362). Ptolemy III.


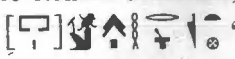
“The king of the South and North, ‘Heir of the Brother-gods, chosen of Amen, powerful is the life of Ré’; the son of Ré, ‘Ptolemy [III], living for ever, beloved of Ptah’. He made the Temple and the Sacred Enclosure for (or, of) Serapis”.


These texts, so far as they are visible, are the same in all cases, that is to say, with the exception of those on plaques Nos. 8 and 9 (Fig. 3) where the scribe has written  for  :-



The hieroglyphic texts on the second set resemble those on the first set.

It seems clear from the Greek text, which was perhaps drawn up first, that we are correct in translating  by «Temple» and  by “Sacred Enclosure”.

We know from the inscriptions on the two statues of the Ptolemaic priest  Pa-shere-[en]-ptah found in the area of “Pompey’s Pillar” many years ago, and now in the Graeco-Roman Museum, that the full name of the Serapeum of Alexandria was  “The Temple of Serapis of Rhacotis”<sup>(1)</sup>.

In passing, it may be mentioned that Pa-shere-en-ptah held priestly offices both at Alexandria and at Memphis, which reminds us that a certain Pa-shere-en-ptah mentioned on a hieroglyphic stela in the British Museum had also associations with these two cities, for at Alexandria he crowned Ptolemy XI and at Memphis performed the office of high priest<sup>(2)</sup>. “I betook me”, he says, “to the residence of the kings of the Ionians (i. e., the Ptolemies) which is on the shore of the Great Sea to the west of Rhacotis<sup>(3)</sup>. The King of the South and North... was crowned in his royal palace. He proceeded to the Temple of Isis, the Lady of  Iat-wedjat<sup>(4)</sup>”.

Whether or not the priests named on the two statues and on the British Museum stela are one and the same person is not certain<sup>(5)</sup>, but it is evident, I think, from his titles that even if the Pa-shere-en-ptah of the statues of the Graeco-Roman Museum were not the actual priest



<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. BRECCIA, in *Annales du Service*, VIII, pp. 64 ff.; H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. des Noms Géographiques*, II, p. 71; Alan ROWE, in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d’Arch. d’Alex.*, XXXV, pp. 3, 4.

<sup>(2)</sup> See E. BEVAN, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 1927, pp. 346 ff. (reading XI for X in lines 12 and 16); M. L. STRACK, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, 1897, p. 163.

<sup>(3)</sup> The statement that the palace of Ptolemy XI was to the west of Rhacotis

is interesting.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. H. GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, I, p. 24. Could this temple have been the Iseum of the Alexandria Serapeum, *Iat-wedjat* (literally, “The Place of the Eye”) being that part of it in which the Iseum stood?

<sup>(5)</sup> The father of the priest to whom the statues belonged was  Harmachis (the son of  An-em-her), while that of the priest named on the stela is not given (at least in any publication I can lay my hands on).

who crowned Ptolemy XI he at all events belonged to the same family as the man who performed this important event, a priestly family some of whose members held the office of high priest of Memphis from the time of Ptolemy I until the days of Augustus<sup>(1)</sup>.

2. *The Greek Texts.*

As in the case of the hieroglyphic texts details of the way in which the Greek texts are arranged are also given in the section "Descriptions of Plaques". The visible texts on the plaques in both sets all conform to the following wording :

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ  
ΚΑΙ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ  
ΣΑΡΑΠΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ

"King Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and of Arsinoe, the Brother-gods, [dedicates] to Serapis the Temple and the Sacred Enclosure".

The "Brother-gods" are of course Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his wife and sister Arsinoe. Thus the builder and dedicator is certainly Ptolemy III Euergetes. Professor Alan Wace draws my attention to the fact (which he is referring to in a publication mentioned below) that the form of the dative ΣΑΡΑΠΕΙ used in the Greek appears to be employed nowhere else. Incidentally, there was discovered in 1895 at the Serapeum a fragmentary inscription of Berenice, wife of Ptolemy III<sup>(2)</sup>.

IV.—NEIGHBOURING ANALOGIES TO THE PLAQUES.

Analogies to the plaques from the Serapeum are already known in the shape of :

a) One plaque of gold and two of opaque glass(?)—made for Ptolemy III—discovered in 1818 A. D. "on (*sic*) a foundation stone" [of the Temple of Osiris] at Canopus (Abukir)<sup>(3)</sup>; and

<sup>(1)</sup> See E. BEVAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 183, 188.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. G. BOTTI, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 1898, p. 43, and E. BRECCIA, *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, 1911, p. 7, No. 13.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. M. LETRONNE, *Recueil des Inscrs. Grecques et Latines de l'Égypte*, I, 1892, pp. 1 ff.; E. BRECCIA, *Monuments de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine*, I, 1926, p. 52, pl. XVIII, 3.

b) Four plaques of gold, silver, bronze and opaque glass(?), respectively—made for Ptolemy IV—found in 1855 A.D. in a cavity under one of the corner stones of a Ptolemaic building, doubtless a temple, unearthed in connection with the reconstruction of the old Bourse, Alexandria<sup>(1)</sup>.

*The Canopic Plaques.* Only the whereabouts of the gold one is now known. This is in the British Museum and bears (in Greek alone) four horizontal lines of text, the letters of which consist of dots made with a

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ  
ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ  
ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΝΗ ΑΥΤΟΥ.  
ΤΟ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ ΟΣΙΡΕΙ

Fig. 4. — Facsimile of text on gold foundation plaque from Canopus (after Letronne). Ptolemy III.

pointed instrument, but whether the dots are punched from the front or the back of the plaque is unrecorded. Fig. 4 gives facsimile of the text taken from M. LETRONNE, *Recueil des Inscrs. Grecques et Latines de l'Égypte*, Atlas, Pl. V (a), a transcription of which is as follows :

Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου καὶ  
Ἀρσινόης Θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ βασίλισσα  
Βερενίκη ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ  
τὸ τέμενος Ὀσίρει

"King Ptolemy [III], son of Ptolemy [II] and Arsinoe, the Brother-gods, and Queen Berenice, his sister and wife, [dedicate] the Sacred Enclosure to Osiris"<sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> The actual site is that of the Cercle Mohammed Ali and Cook's Office in the Rue Rosette, recently renamed Rue Fouad. The gold plaque is described by M. N. TOD, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXVIII, pp. 53 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. also M. N. TOD, *op. cit.*, p. 55; H. GAUTHIER, *Livre des Rois*, IV, p. 257; W. DITTENBERGER, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 1903, p. 114, No. 60; E. BEVAN, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 214; H. B. WALTERS,



*The Bourse Plaques.* Of these apparently only the gold one (actually a leaf of pure gold) now exists; it is in the possession of H. M. King Farouk I, Who has graciously allowed the photograph seen in Fig. 5 to be published. This bears three lines of Greek and two lines of hieroglyphic texts arranged horizontally, all the characters and signs consisting of dots made with a pointed instrument on the back of the plaque. Another photograph of the object is given by M. N. Tod, in



Fig. 5. — Gold leaf foundation plaque of Ptolemy IV in collection of H.M. King Farouk I. Found in 1855 A.D. below corner of Ptolemaic building under the old Bourse, Alexandria.

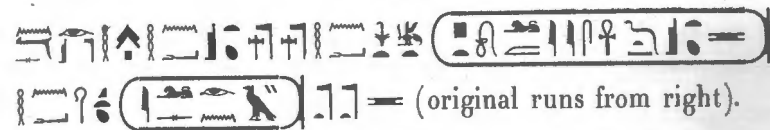
*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXVIII, Pl. VI, with a description on pp. 53 ff<sup>(1)</sup>. The texts are as follows, the Greek version being above the hieroglyphic one :

Σαράπιδος (καὶ) Ἰσίδος Θεῶν Σωτήρων  
καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασίλισσης  
Ἀρσινώης Θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων

“[The Sanctuary] of Serapis and Isis, the Saviour-gods, and of King Ptolemy [IV] and Queen Arsinoe, the Father-loving gods”.

*Guide to the Dept. of Greek and Roman Antiquities (Brit. Mus.)*, 1928, pp. 108, 109. Incidentally, a Roman gold band, bearing the name Tiberios Claudios Artemidoros, is published by W. M. F. PETRIE, *Naukratis*, I, 1886, p. 43, pl. XXVII.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. also H. GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 271; E. BEVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 241; PORTER and MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts*, etc., IV, p. 4 (plaque wrongly stated to be from the Arsinoeion).



“It belongs to Serapis and Isis, the Saviour-gods, and to the King of the South and North, ‘Ptolemy [IV], living for ever, beloved of Isis’, and Queen Arsinoe, the Father-loving gods”<sup>(1)</sup>.

The wording of the first of the two inscriptions on the Bourse gold plaque indicates that unlike the plaques from the Alexandria Serapeum and Canopus, where the dedications were made actually by the Ptolemies themselves, the plaque in question was given by a dedicator not belonging to the reigning house. Parallel dedications (some from Alexandria) on behalf of the Ptolemies are cited by E. Bevan<sup>(2)</sup> and M. N. Tod<sup>(3)</sup>. Also, a slab of marble (Museum Reg. No. P. 8597) recently found on the south side of the el-Mahmudiya Canal, opposite the Antoniadis Garden, bears an inscription recording that Archagathus, *epistates*<sup>(4)</sup> of Libya, and Stratonice his wife, had dedicated for Ptolemy II a Sacred Enclosure to Serapis and Isis<sup>(5)</sup>.

#### V.—PROVISIONAL LIST

#### OF FOUNDATION DEPOSITS ELSEWHERE<sup>(6)</sup>.

It is important to note the following details which show that foundation deposits were more common in Egypt than in other countries. Thus it

<sup>(1)</sup> Hieroglyphic text after amended copy by B. Gunn in M. N. Tod’s article.

<sup>(2)</sup> E. BEVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>(3)</sup> In *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXVIII, p. 55.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. BEVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 143, where the *epistates* of a nome is said to have been a superintendent concerned with the administration of justice.

<sup>(5)</sup> The inscription is being published by M. B. GRDSELOFF, in *Annales du Service*. The Sacred Enclosure to which it refers seems to have belonged to a

small Serapeum outside Alexandria.

<sup>(6)</sup> This list is by no means complete. For instance, there are other foundation deposits (plaques), some Ptolemaic and Roman in date, as yet unpublished in the fine collection of antiquities presented by H. M. the late King Fouad I to the Egyptian Museum. See also the foundation deposits of Amenophis IV at Sesebi (in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXIV, pp. 130, 153). Others have been found by Mr. O. Myers at Armant.

would appear that the foundation plaques under the corner stones of the Ptolemaic Enclosure of the Alexandria Serapeum were placed there in accordance with Egyptian rather than Greek custom. This would mean apparently that the Alexandria Serapeum was regarded as an Egyptian more than a Greek sanctuary.

A.—EGYPT <sup>(1)</sup>.

DYNASTY.	RULER.	SITE.	BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF DEPOSIT.
IV.	Seneferu.	Meydum.	Valley temple. Pottery. W. M. F. PETRIE, <i>Meydum and Memphis (III)</i> , 1910, pp. 2, 36, Pl. XXV.
XVIII.	Hatshepsut.	Deir el-Bahri.	Below temple of the queen. Models of hoes with bronze blades bearing cartouche of Hatshepsut. W. M. F. PETRIE, <i>Naukratis</i> , I, 1886, p. 32. Other deposits are published in the records of the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum between the years 1921 to 1927.
do.	Tuthmosis III.	North of Naqada.	Pits in middle of Nubt (town of Seth) temple area. Alabaster vase, model shell, pair of corn-grinders, model axe of thin copper (all inscribed with name of king); etc. W. M. F. PETRIE, <i>Naqada and Ballas</i> , 1896, p. 68, Pl. LXXIX.

<sup>(1)</sup> For sake of convenience Professor Petrie's spelling of site-names has been retained.

A.—EGYPT (contd.).

DYNASTY.	RULER.	SITE.	BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF DEPOSIT.
XVIII. <sup>(1)</sup>	Tuthmosis IV.	Memphis.	Side of pond west of temple of Ptah. Green glazed tablet, two alabaster hemi-discs and a pointed piece (all with king's name); models of implements and vases; etc. W. M. F. PETRIE, <i>Memphis</i> , I, 1909, p. 8, Pls. XIX, XX, 1-20.
XIX.	Rameses II and prince Khâ-em-wast.	do.	Under destroyed building of king now occupied by above mentioned pond. Block of alabaster, tablets of black granite and green glazed pottery, respectively (all with two royal names mentioned). W. M. F. PETRIE, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 8, Pl. XIX.
XXVI.	Psemthek I.	Tell Defenneh.	Under corners of fort ("Kasr el-Bint el-Yehudi"). Plaques of gold, silver, lead, carnelian, green felspar, lapis lazuli, jasper, "green glazed ware" (all with king's name), and copper; mud brick; etc. W. M. F. PETRIE, <i>Nebesheh and Defenneh</i> , 1888, pp. 54, 55, Pls. XXII, XXIII.

<sup>(1)</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, *Naukratis*, I, p. 32, refers to a literary record of deposit by Amenophis III, XVIIIth Dyn., of a stone (showing cycle of the twelve Theban deities) beneath a temple at Thebes. Rubrics of the following Chapters or Spells of the Theban "Book of the Dead" state that No. LXIV [long version] was discovered in the foundations of the shrine of the Henewboat (of the god Sokaris) in the time of a king of the Ist Dynasty (No. CXXX was found in a temple at the same time); while Nos. XXXB and LXIV [short version], written upon a slab in the time of Mycerinus and placed under a statue of the god (Thoth) at Hermopolis Magna, were discovered later on by a son of Cheops. (No. CXXXVIIA was recovered by the same prince from a hidden chest in the Temple of Hermopolis). Further, a rubric to another long version of No. LXIV states the Chapter was found in Hermopolis upon a slab placed beneath the statue of the god (Thoth). Cf. E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Book of the Dead*, Translation Vols. I-III, 1909.

A.-EGYPT (contd.).

DYNASTY.	RULER.	SITE.	BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF DEPOSIT.
XVXI.	Amasis II.	Tell Nebesheh.	Inside corners of retaining wall of temple and below its centre part. Plaques of gold, silver, green glaze (all with king's name), lead, copper, lapis lazuli, carnelian, limestone, green felspar, and bitumen; also pottery. W. M. F. PETRIE, <i>op. cit.</i> , pp. 14, 15, Pls. V, VI.
do.	(?)	Gemaiyemi.	In corners and below centre of temple. Plaques of alabaster, red glass (now dark green), light-blue glass, yellow decomposed glass, bronze, alabaster, lead (?), tin (?), gold (all uninscribed); models of implements; pottery; etc. W. M. F. PETRIE, <i>op. cit.</i> , pp. 40, 41, Pls. XIX, XXI. From the corners of the gateway of the temple Enclosure came two plaques of green porcelain (uninscribed); small limestone mortar, and models of corn-rubbers also in limestone. <i>Op. cit.</i> , p. 42.
Persian (?) or Ptolemaic (?)	(?)	Tell Nebesheh.	In corner of destroyed chapel (?) in cemetery. Plaques of red, blue and green glass, gold, calcite (all uninscribed); corn-rubbers; etc. W. M. F. PETRIE, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 25, Pls. VI, XIX.

A.-EGYPT (concluded).

DYNASTY.	RULER.	SITE.	BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF DEPOSIT.
Ptolemaic.	Ptolemy II.	Naukratis.	Inside outer corners (and below corners of supposed central hall) of the "public building" erected by Ptolemy II on west side of the "Great Enclosure" <sup>(1)</sup> . Cartouche of lapis lazuli (with king's throne name in hieroglyphs on two sides); plaques of green glazed pottery, turquoise, jasper, lapis lazuli, and agate (all uninscribed); ingots of gold, silver, lead, copper and iron; models of mud brick, libation vases, offering-cups, implements, etc. W. M. F. PETRIE, <i>Naukratis</i> , I, pp. 28 ff., Pls. XXV, XXVI.
do.	Ptolemy IV.	Tanis.	Below north-east and north-west corners of the pavement of the temple or palace of the king. Plaques of gold and pale blue faience inscribed with king's name, etc., in hieroglyphs; and various other objects. P. MONTET, <i>Les Nouvelles Fouilles de Tanis</i> , 1933, pp. 145 ff., Pls. LXXXIV-LXXXVI. (On p. 146, <i>op. cit.</i> , is a reference to bronze plaques—foundation deposits—of Psousennes, XXIst Dynasty, discovered by Mariette in the great temple <sup>(2)</sup> ).

<sup>(1)</sup> D. G. HOGARTH, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXV, p. 112, does not believe the Great Enclosure (*Temenos*) existed at all. — <sup>(2)</sup> Cf. also SUPPLEMENT No. II (A).



B.—GREECE.

Professor Alan Wace has kindly forwarded me the following note :  
 " At present the evidence about foundation deposits made when a Greek temple was built is unsatisfactory. No certain case is known and as a rule it has not been the practice of excavators of Greek sites to look for foundation deposits in connection with Greek temples. In two cases what would appear to have been intended as foundation deposits have been found in Greek temples, both in Asia Minor. At Priene in the temple of Athena the statue base was pulled to pieces by treasure hunters and a considerable number of silver tetradrachms of Orophernes of Cappadocia were found (cf. B. HEAD, *Historia Numorum*, 1911, p. 750). At Ephesus under the statue base in the Croesus temple of Artemis the British Museum excavators led by Dr. Hogarth found a deposit of precious objects, such as coins in gold, electrum, ivory statuettes, gold and silver jewellery; the find is described in the British Museum publication by Dr. D. G. HOGARTH, *Excavations at Ephesus*. Perhaps it was a Greek custom to make a foundation deposit under the statue base, for the remains of such a possible foundation deposit were found in the earlier Nike temple on the Acropolis at Athens, but in few excavations, scientific or otherwise, so far as is known, has the statue base been examined to see if a foundation deposit had been laid beneath it" (1).

C.—PALESTINE.

At Beisân (Beth-Shan), in Palestine, I discovered a faience finger-ring bearing the cartouche of Amenophis III below the north wall of the local

(1) See also ADDENDA,—No. 14. Incidentally, the Graeco-Roman Museum found no deposits below the two statues in the lower vestibule of the great Roman catacomb of Kôm el-Shuqafa; these statues are published in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, p. 18. When each statue was removed it was observed that the statue

itself, the obelisk behind it and its base were made out of one piece of stone. Below was a rectangular block forming a pedestal. When the Museum replaced the monument a thick lining of asphalt was inserted between the base and the pedestal so as to prevent excessive moisture entering the statue.—A. R.

temple of that king, also several faience cartouches of Rameses I below the walls of the temple of Sety I. Further, in the Southern Temple of Rameses III (perhaps the " Temple of Dagon" of I *Chronicles*, X, 10), I came across the following foundation deposits :— (1) *Against a column base on the south side of the hall*,—a pot containing silver ingots and jewellery (weight of ingots, 5 pounds, 2½ ounces, avoirdupois; weight of jewellery, 3⅜ ounces), and (2) *Against a column base on the north side of the hall*,—a pot filled with gold and silver ingots, and jewellery (weight of gold, 17 ounces; weight of silver, 5 pounds, 5½ ounces). Cf. ALAN ROWE, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan*, 1940, pp. 9, 10, 26, Pls. XXIX, 5, 12-44, XXXIX, 15.

VI.—THE SERAPEUM

IN THE LIGHT OF THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS.

A concise account of what was known of the great Serapeum previous to the discoveries of the last few months is given by myself in the *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, pp. 124 ff., and Pls. XXVII-XLIV. The following notes, which bring this account up to the time of writing (end of December, 1944) (1), are added so that the reader may appreciate the full importance of the newly-discovered plaques.

PTOLEMAIC SACRED ENCLOSURE (*Temenos*). Like all the Ptolemaic structures in the Serapeum the walls and the accompanying inner colonnades surrounding the Enclosure (Pl. XVII) had their foundations laid in trenches cut in the rock; part of a large Ptolemaic white marble Ionic capital, the only one ever found here, was lying in the inner trench at the west of the site. These *temenos* trenches, the outer ones deeper than the inner parallel ones, are to be seen clearly on the west side of " Diocletian's Column" and on the south-west part of the Enclosure and still contain some of the original heavy foundation blocks. Compare Eunapius (*Vita Aedeffi*, 77-8) : " *The [Serapeum] foundations alone were not removed [by the Christians in 391 A. D.] owing to the difficulty of moving such large blocks of stone* " ! The east and west walls on the exterior of the Enclosure seem each to have been about 173.70 m. in length

(1) But cf. ADDENDA and SUPPLEMENT No. I, for details to end of October, 1945.

PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (contd.).

from south to north<sup>(1)</sup> which, I suggest, was an Alexandrian short *stade*-length at the time the Serapeum was built; *this is exactly a thousand times as long as the length of our gold and silver plaques, namely, 17.3 cm.* As the *stade* contained 600 Greek *feet* this would make the length of the local short *foot* (*πούς*) 0. 289 m.<sup>(2)</sup> The width of the Enclosure from east to west, as shown by the positions of the two sets of plaques, is 77.00 m.

It may be noted here that certain ancient authorities have described the Roman Serapeum as being square in plan instead of rectangular as it actually was. For instance Aphthonius, the Greek rhetorician of Antioch who visited the sacred area about 315 A. D., states

<sup>(1)</sup> Details of the northern limits of the Ptolemaic and Roman Enclosures (which are now below the Bâb Sidra cemetery) have been added on our plan (pls. VII, IX) according to the following measurements given by Mahmoud el-FALAKI, *Mémoire sur l'Antique Alexandrie*, 1872, pp. 54, 55: "Cinq... murs de fondation furent découverts, par les mêmes fouilles du côté Nord; le premier se trouve à 54 mètres du centre de la base de la colonne [Dioclétien]; les quatre autres sont à 62, 79, 83 et 94 de la même colonne." Until one is able to control these measurements the approximate figure of 173.70 m. must stand for the north-south outer walls of the earlier Enclosure.

<sup>(2)</sup> MAHMOUD EL-FALAKI, *op. cit.*, p. 25, thought that the length of the Alexandria *stade*, according to measurements taken in the remains of the ancient streets of Alexandria, was 165.00 m., while DAREMBERG, SAGLIO et POTTIER, *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*,

VIII, p. 1456, write that the Alexandrians adopted a *stade* of 6,000 Ptolemaic *feet* with a value of 184.8375 m. But it has to be remembered that even in the same region the length of the *stade* varied. For instance, at Olympia we find a short *foot* of 0.2977 m. (= a *stade* of 178.20 m.)—this was in the Heraeum—and a longer *foot* of 0.3205 m. (= a *stade* of 192.27 m.); cf. A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Atlas pour servir à l'Histoire Grecque*, 1888, pp. 92 ff. According to H. H. Prince OMAR TOUSSOUN, *Mémoire sur les Anciennes Branches du Nil (Époque Ancienne)*, 1922, pp. 3 ff. it was the *stade* of 192.27 m. that was employed by Strabo for his measurements in Lower Egypt. Professor Petrie (*Naukratis*, I, p. 27) estimated that a Greek *foot* equal to the English foot (a little over 0.30 m.) was used at Naukratis for the "public building" of Ptolemy II and for the older Greek many-chambered structure, both belonging to the presumed Great Enclosure.

PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (contd.).

(translation of Sacy) that when one enters the site "on trouve un emplacement borné par quatre côtés égaux, en sorte que la figure de cet édifice est celle d'un moule à faire des briques". The type of mould to which he refers is evidently the one used for making the square "tile-bricks"

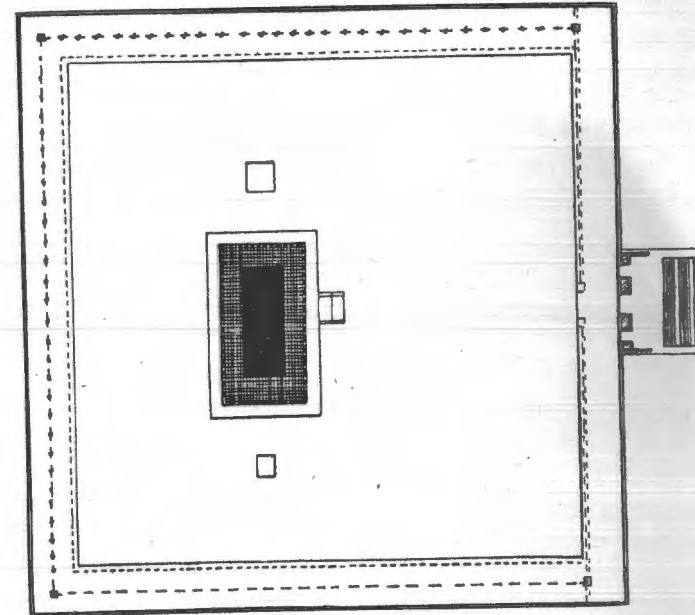


Fig. 6. — Plan of Roman Temple and Sacred Enclosure of the god Bêl, Palmyra, for comparison with Alexandria (Roman) Serapeum as described by classical writers. After T. FIFE, *Hellenistic Architecture*, 1936, p. 33.

of which we have found examples in the Serapeum and Kôm el-Shuqafa. Rufinus a Christian priest who assisted at the destruction of the sacred place, near the end of the ivth century A. D., says that the Serapeum « rises in the midst of the air upon a mass of constructions... and extends itself in all directions in the form of a square of great dimensions »<sup>(1)</sup>. Fig. 6

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. also G. BOTTI, *L'Acropole d'Alexandrie et le Sérapeum*, 1895, pp. 14, 15—referring to the statements of certain more recent visitors that the re-

mains of the old foundations and constructions "formaient un carré d'une assez grande proportion".

PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (*contd.*).

gives a good idea of an already existing Roman temple and its square Enclosure—the Sanctuary of Bêl in Palmyra.

On the south side of our older Serapeum the space *between* the exterior wall and the colonnade inside opens out into a wide and deep rock-cut trench; here the wall in question rests against the face of the southern side of the trench while the colonnade is outside of and on top of the high rock just to the north of the trench (see Pl. IX). In addition to the exterior wall there are on its inner side (*i. e.*, in the great trench) and in the following order from south to north the remains of :

1) *A row of rectangular chambers* (Pl. III), the doors of which, now missing, opened into

2) *An outer corridor*, originally paved with marble;

3) *A centre colonnade*, which supported a roof covering both the outer corridor and

4) *An inner corridor*, also once paved; and, lastly,

5) *A wall* built against the rock face along the north side of the trench.

Three more chambers, one with part of its door remaining, are in an 18-metre wide niche cut in the north rock face of the trench (Pls. III, VIII); their walls are covered with a thin layer of cement. The chambers opening into the outer corridor extended all along the south side and seem to have been nineteen in number; compare Pl. IX. The chambers remind us of the twenty or so "schools" which Benjamin de Tudela (about 1160 A. D.) said were in the Serapeum area in his time : "Hors de la ville d'Alexandrie est l'École d'Aristote précepteur d'Alexandre, qui est un grand et bel édifice orné de colonnes de marbre entre chaque école. Il y a environ vingt de ces écoles, où l'on venait de tous les endroits du monde pour entendre la sagesse du philosophe Aristote." See G. BOTTI, *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne*, 1897, p. 12.

All the chambers recently excavated together with what appear to be other chambers to the east of the niche (doubtless, like the corridors, originally paved with marble) may well be among the "secret vestibules" which were in what apparently Rufinus calls the "lower part" of the Serapeum. He writes : "All the lower part (of the Serapeum), up to the

PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (*contd.*).

level of the pavement<sup>(1)</sup>, is vaulted<sup>(2)</sup>. This basement which receives its light by means of great openings from above, is divided into secret vestibules, separated between themselves, which served for mysterious functions". This description reminds us of certain temples referred to by Plutarch (*Isis and Osiris*, 20) which, he says, "in one portion are expanded into wings and into uncovered and unobstructed corridors, and in another portion have secret vesting-rooms in the darkness under ground, like cells or chapels".

As to the great niche itself it will be noticed that it is not in the centre of the south part of the *temenos* (cf. Pl. IX). This means, as suggested by Dr. Drioton, either that it was part of an older building which Ptolemy III respected—compare footnote in first page of this article—or that it was later added to the original design. In considering either of these suppositions consideration has to be taken of the fact that the western end of the southern colonnade on the plateau top ends just short of the niche. (Of the buildings on the plateau inside the *temenos* only the temples are centralized). Lying down in the niche was discovered a red granite column broken in two about 9.00 m. long, with a diameter at the base of 1.26 m. and at the top of 1.18 m. (Pl. III). To the south-east of the niche are remains of a similar column and also two almost complete red granite bases (one overturned) for the columns<sup>(3)</sup>; each

<sup>(1)</sup> The "pavement" may well be the plateau top itself. But G. Botti, who did not know of the existence of the great trench thought, on the contrary, that the "lower part" mentioned by Rufinus is to be identified with the underground passages leading off from the atrium to the west of the great column. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 27.

<sup>(2)</sup> The vaulted basement reminds us of that of the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek. Cf. T. WIEGAND, *Baalbek*, Plate Vol. I, 1921, pl. XXVII. Our

Serapeum southern basement was used in Ptolemaic and Roman times.

<sup>(3)</sup> Remains of another similar column and of a square base have been found in the east end of the great trench (see pl. VII). The three columns doubtless formed part of the colonnades surrounding the Sacred Enclosures or the temple on top of the plateau; columns of this style are usually considered to be Roman but there is no proof in the present instance whether they are actually Roman or late Ptolemaic. Two



PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (contd.).

base is 0.55 m. high and has the lower part square, measuring about 1.67 m. on each side (Pl. IV).

In front of the niche are the remains of two fireplaces, evidently Roman in date, for heating air which was conveyed in an easterly and westerly direction along the corridors by means of masonry-lined channels. The fireplaces (one shown in Pl. V) actually had ashes in them when found, the hot air entering the channels through pottery flues. Over the eastern fireplace is a broken mass of "compressed masonry"<sup>(1)</sup>, in the southern face of which are still the impressions of two of the columns of the central colonnade thus showing this latter to have been in position when the fireplace was built<sup>(2)</sup>. On the tops of the existing limestone blocks which once supported the colonnade are visible three of the mason's constructional marks for placing the columns in position; running from west to east the first of the three marks is in front of the eastern column impression in the fireplace. Each mark, chiselled in the stone, consists of a thin north-south line with a rather deep cross at each end, the distance between the centre of the crosses being 0.77 m., equalling of course the diameter of the lower part of the column itself. Every set of line and crosses is enclosed in an oval. The space between each axis line is 1.84 m., which indicates the columns were placed about 1½ diameters apart. We may assume that the columns were stucco-coated limestone

other complete columns of the same style, but of grey granite and smaller (7.10 m. and 7.15 m., respectively, high), are to be seen about 65.00 m. to the west of "Diocletian's Column"; these have already been referred to in last footnote of SECTION I.

<sup>(1)</sup> This is made of small stones and cement placed between boards, the last being removed when the "masonry" had solidified. Cf. DAREMBERG, SAGLIO et POTTIER, *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques*

*et Romaines*, VIII, p. 1544, fig. 6666. We shall see later on that this "masonry", at least in the Serapeum, mainly dates from and after the 11th cent. A. D. Cf. further E. B. van DEMAN, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 1912, pp. 230 ff., 387 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> When the fireplace was made some of the high rock of the floors of the two corridors was cut away to take the masonry of the channels.

PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (contd.).

or marble rather than granite. It seems probable that the chambers in the trench were used both for the cult of various deities and for storing some of the books of the "Daughter Library", the fireplaces being added in Roman times for the purpose of keeping out the damp<sup>(1)</sup>. This Library, as we have already suggested above, doubtless was placed in the Serapeum by Ptolemy III<sup>(2)</sup> and not by Ptolemy II as Tzetzes (and Epiphanius) believed<sup>(3)</sup>. A little after the "Alexandrian War" of Julius Caesar (48 B. C.) when the "Mother Library" is said (perhaps without foundation) to have been damaged, Antony gave to Cleopatra 200,000 simple volumes from the Pergamum Library which, if the story is correct, may have been placed either in the main Library or in the "Daughter" one, or even have been divided between the two. It is therefore not improbable that the fireplaces for the library (if such it was) date from the time of the presumed gift. Anyhow, it will be remembered that Cleopatra had a special interest in the Serapeum where, dressed as Isis, the great goddess of the site, and seated upon a golden throne, she had presented to her by Antony the royal captives brought back from the Armenian War of 34 B. C. Also, what appears to be part of a figurine representing the queen as Isis was unearthed recently in the Serapeum, and later published by me in the *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, pp. 158 f., Pl. XLI. Botti (*L'Acropole d'Alexandrie et le Serapeum*, p. 12) says it follows from the description of Aphthonius, "qu'au

<sup>(1)</sup> The library at Pergamum and that at Ephesus had double walls to keep the papyri from damp. Cf. D. S. ROBERTSON, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*, 1929, p. 291.

<sup>(2)</sup> The interest shown by Ptolemy III in literature is indicated (1) by an order which the king is said to have given that all travellers disembarking at Alexandria were to deposit, against copies to be handed them later, the books that they had with them, and

(2) by the story that he is said to have borrowed from Athens, against deposit, but failed to return, the state rolls containing the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. He did, however, send copies and ask the Athenians to return the deposit.

<sup>(3)</sup> Tzetzes says that the "Daughter Library" of Ptolemy II. (sic) contained 42,800 volumes, or rolls, granted by the "Mother Library".

PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (*contd.*).

commencement du quatrième siècle de notre ère la bibliothèque publique d'Alexandrie était à l'Acropole, à côté des chambres des dieux d'autrefois. Il y avait aussi des savants qui la fréquentaient; elle rendait encore de grands services". Aphthonius seems to indicate that the "Daughter Library" was in the exterior buildings<sup>(1)</sup>; it must have perished when the Serapeum was destroyed.

REFERENCES TO SERAPEUM LIBRARY ACCORDING TO CLASSICAL AND OTHER AUTHORITIES, ETC.

(Nos. 1-3 after J. WHITE, *Egyptiaca*, 1801, pp. 41-50;

Nos. 6-9 after A. J. BUTLER, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 1902, pp. 402-423).

1. Daughter or Serapeum Library said to have been founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus (EPIPHAN. de Pond et Menf. edit. Par. 1722, tom. ii, p. 168). Tzetzes says the same thing; cf. E. BEVAN, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 125.
2. Syncellus (CHRONOGRAPHIA, edit. Goar. p. 273) refers the foundation of the Serapeum Library to the 132nd Olympiad.
3. The Hebrew Scriptures said to have been translated into Greek (the Septuagint) under Ptolemy II and deposited in the Serapeum Library. See :
  - a) TERTULL. Apol. c. xviii, p. 182. Edit. Havercamp ("Hodie apud Serapæum, Ptolemæi Bibliothecæ cum ipfis Hebraicis literis exhibentur"); cf. HODIUS, de Bibl. Text. Orig. p. 225 ("Verborum istorum, Hodie apud Serapæum Ptolemæi Bibliothecæ cum ipfis Hebraicis literis exhibentur, hunc fenfum esse puto : in Bibliotheca Ptolemæi, quæ apud Serapæum est, afferuntur Scripturæ Judaicæ ab Interpretibus lxxii. conversæ").
  - b) CHRYSOST. Edit. Fronton. Ducæi, tom. i, p. 443.

<sup>(1)</sup> See Abbés SUARD et P. SOURICE, *Essais sur l'Identification des Monuments d'Alexandrie*, 1895, p. 18; A. J. BUTLER, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 1902, p. 415, footnote 2.

PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (*contd.*).

- c) EUTYCHII, Annales, tom. i, p. 296.
  - d) PHILASTRIUS BRIXENSIS, Haeref. 90.
  - e) EPIPHAN. tom. i, p. 524.
4. The Serapeum Library, however, was doubtless actually founded by Ptolemy III, as the evidence of the plaques seems to indicate. It is possible, of course, that Ptolemy II did establish the Daughter Library, which was transferred by his successor from its original home to the Serapeum when the latter had been completed.
  5. Serapeum Library perhaps received volumes from the Pergamum Library which Antony gave to Cleopatra.
  6. George of Cappadocia is said to have removed the Serapeum Library in 361 A. D.
  7. More probably, however, it was destroyed in 391 A. D., when the patriarch Theophilus demolished the Temple of Serapis.
  8. Paulus Orosius, a Spanish presbyter, appears to be a witness to the non-existence of the Serapeum Library in 416 A. D.
  9. The stories of 'Abd al-Laṭif (who wrote about 1200 A. D.) and Abū'l Faraj (who wrote in the latter half of the XIIIth cent. A. D.) to the effect that the Serapeum Library was burnt by 'Amr ibn al-'Aṣī—about 641 A. D.—are therefore apparently without any real foundation. Anyhow, they were recorded more than five hundred years after the supposed event to which they refer! Compare the important arguments against the burning made by Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 424 f.
- Immediately to the west of the fireplaces, and in a rock trough 1.10 m. deep, was found a broken Roman altar of sacrifice (Pl. XI), made of small stones covered with plaster; it is rectangular in form, with a slight depression on its top, and is 0.25 m. high. Around it was a considerable quantity of ashes. To the east of the altar is a large pit 5.80 m. deep with a small niche in its north side; in the centre of the floor of this pit is another but smaller one. This latter has been cleared to a depth of 6.70 m., at which point water was reached. Near the bottom of the pit is a narrow passage leading to the south. Behind the altar and

PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (contd.).

pits, and in the face of the high rock is an apse-like niche (for a statue?). The whole unit may have formed part of a Roman shrine, now destroyed.

Behind the north-west corner of the great niche is a pit, with footholds, leading down from the plateau top into an underground system of vaulted passages cut in the rock and lined with square red tile-bricks set in very hard cement. Traces of a coloured chequered pattern are visible in places in the cement covering of the walls, while horizontal lines are painted along the lower part of the actual vaults themselves. Three constructional holes (one shown in lower figure in Pl. III) open into the sides of the system from the niche, these being filled in with bricks, stones and cement when no longer required. Whether or not the system, which certainly originally served as a reservoir (a little to the north of it are the remains of a brick-built *piscina* (?) with which it may have been associated), was later used for some other purpose—hardly for a treasury<sup>(1)</sup>—we do not know at present. Its bricks<sup>(2)</sup> are of the type usually regarded as Roman, while the chequered pattern is reminiscent of that seen in the Ptolemaic tombs at Anfushy.

Rufinus after speaking of the lower vaulted basement (which as we have seen answers to the description of the corridors and rooms in the

<sup>(1)</sup> For treasuries of the Roman people situated below temples, cf. R. CAGNAT et V. CHAPOT, *Manuel d'Archéologie romaine*, I, 1916, p. 135. On Greek treasuries see L. DYER, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXV, pp. 294 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> These tile-bricks have a thick layer of cement between them, and the lining into which they are arranged consists of a double row placed thin end to thin end. So far as can be ascertained the bricks average 0.27 m. in length each way on the face and about 0.03 m. in thickness. An account of Roman tile-bricks is given by H. B.

WALTERS, *History of Ancient Pottery*, II, 1905, pp. 330 ff., and E. B. van DEGMAN, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1912, pp. 230 ff., 387 ff. The principle to be followed in dating Roman brickwork is the thicker the cement the later the period of the work. W. M. F. PETRIE, *Nebeshek and Defenneh*, p. 19, says that red (baked) bricks were used in Egypt as early as the XIXth Dynasty, also that baked brick was introduced into the Delta in Ramessidé times. Sizes of Hellenistic and Roman bricks in Egypt are given by the same author in *Naukratis*, I, p. 89.

PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (contd.).

great trench at the south of the site) adds that "on the upper floor, the extremities of all the sides of the platform are occupied by lecture halls and cells for the shrine-bearers, and still more elevated are rooms for the guardians of the temple, and for priests who have taken the vow of chastity. Behind these buildings, to the inside, are colonnades arranged in a square all around the plan, and in the centre rose the temple, ornamented by colonnades of precious materials and built with magnificent marble which had been profusely used. It contained a statue of Serapis..." These statements clearly indicate that at least in the Roman period the colonnades, and so forth, surrounding the plateau were double storied; it may be mentioned that 'Abd el-Latif (1161-1231 A. D.) in referring to the destruction of the colonnades of the Serapeum<sup>(1)</sup> adds that the remains of these existing in his time indicated that the area between the columns had once been covered over<sup>(2)</sup>. In the Ptolemaic Enclosure the upper rooms which we assume existed between the colonnade and the outer wall at the south must have been built over the very basement which we have just unearthed. At this part there may have been an exedra<sup>(3)</sup> over the great niche seen in Pls. VII, VIII.

The following are marks incised on limestone blocks (as a rule not *in situ*) in the Serapeum :

Aη, B. → E . H . Π . γ . ε .  
V . X . XX . ρ . ρ . Ι . Ι .

<sup>(1)</sup> Many of the columns were removed in 1167 A.D. by a Nubian vizier of Sultan Yussef Salah ed-Din and thrown into the sea in order to strengthen the defences of the city. Existing remains of granite columns in the Serapeum show traces of the holes made by wedges when the columns were split.

<sup>(2)</sup> See also the roofed-in colonnade of

the court of the Temple of Edfu (founded by Ptolemy III) and also that of the temple of Jupiter at Baalbek (T. WIEGAND, *Baalbek*, Plate Vol. I, pl. XVI—republished in my article in the *Bull. de la Soc. royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, pl. XXXIX).

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. the two exedrae on each side of the court of the Baalbek Temple. T. WIEGAND, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV.



PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (*contd.*).

These are probably mostly from the Ptolemaic Serapeum and may be quarrymen's or even contractors' emblems; the correct way up (and consequently the actual value) of some of them is unknown. If they were made by quarrymen perhaps each represented a particular gang of labourers. Some of these marks (for example the fifth one in the lower row = Ω) are not only like Ionic alphabetic letters<sup>(1)</sup> found at Naukratis in inscriptions—on pottery—which are said by Dr. E. A. Gardner to date from 650-520 B.C. (cf. in W. M. F. PETRIE, *Naukratis*, I, p. 54), but also like letters in other old Greek alphabets. More early alphabetic signs from Naukratis are seen in inscriptions published by E. A. GARDNER, *Naukratis*, II, 1888, Pls. XX, XXI, and by D. G. Hogarth and others, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXV, p. 116. There is no evidence to show that Dr. Gardner's dating applies to the Ionic-like marks of the Serapeum thereby suggesting the possible existence on that site of reused blocks from local Greek buildings<sup>(2)</sup> as early as those of Naukratis. One thing appears probable however, namely, that the workmen who made the Serapeum marks were Greeks and not Egyptians. More marks found in Alexandria are published by A. ADRIANI, in *Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano* (1932-1933), 1934, p. 27, and in *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain* (1935-1939), 1940, p. 26, fig. 6. Cf. also ADDENDA, —No. 11.

At Scythopolis (Beisân) in Palestine I discovered a good number of basalt stones in the walls of Byzantine buildings which had painted on them in red certain letters of the Greek alphabet, each stone, as in the case of the Serapeum, bearing a single character. More marks are on walls which I saw at Ptolemais in Cyrenaica, in the year 1943<sup>(3)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> For forms of Ionic and other Greek alphabets see especially E. S. ROBERTS, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, I, 1887, pp. 382 ff., and *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, 1925, table opp. p. 432. Incidentally, F. W. G. FOAT, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXV, pp. 364 f., says that the

Ionic alphabet is shown by reliable deduction to be Semitic in origin.

<sup>(2)</sup> As for instance the small Ptolemaic sanctuary referred to by Tacitus.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. Alan ROWE, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan*, 1930, I, p. 52, and G. OLIVERIO, *Cirenaica*, II,

PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (*contd.*).

The walls of the Serapeum, and also the under parts of architraves, and so on, all of limestone, were covered with plaster decorated in various colours. Bright blue seems to have been the favourite colour for the under parts. On the east slope of the «Acropolis» are the remains of what appears to be a rock-cut Ptolemaic stairway leading up the top of the plateau (see Pl. VII). No traces of a gate have been found in the Ptolemaic Enclosure, but it is probable that it and the stairway leading to it were erected over the rooms and so forth at the south of the Enclosure.

The Temple of Serapis itself, which is associated with the local Iseum in late writings, has been proved by us to be identical with Botti's so-called Iseum, to the north-west of the great column<sup>(1)</sup>. The large rectangular structure with a secret passage to the south of the column (Pl. VII) might have been a Ptolemaic mausoleum or cenotaph—hardly a temple<sup>(2)</sup>.

The famous Nilometer of the Serapeum<sup>(3)</sup>, at least the one existing in

fasc. 2, 1936, p. 258. For details of Roman marks on stones see especially R. CAGNAT at V. CHAPOT, *Manuel d'Archéologie romaine*, I, pp. 10 ff.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. the suggested restoration of the Temples of Serapis and Isis at Rome as seen in G. LAFAYE, *Histoire du Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie*, 1883, pl. opposite p. 224.

<sup>(2)</sup> Fully described in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, pp. 144 ff. For Roman rectangular mausoleums see R. CAGNAT et V. CHAPOT, *Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine*, pp. 347 ff. HERODOTUS, II, 169, indicates that royal tombs were sometimes placed inside temple enclosures: "The Saites buried all the kings who belonged to their

canton inside this temple (of Athena)" at Sais. Incidentally, a *ushebtj*-figure of Psammetichus I of the Saitic Dynasty has recently been found in Kôm el-Shuqafa (Reg. No. P. 9212), and still another, but of Rê-meny, of the XXVth Dynasty, at the Alexandria Serapeum (Reg. No. P. 5931). These are being published by me in the *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXVI. Further, a fragment bearing the lower part of what appears to be the "Son of Rê" name of Amasis II of the XXVIth Dynasty was unearthed a little while ago in the Serapeum (Reg. No. P. 9449).

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. J. G. FRAZER, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, II, p. 217; *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités*, II, XXVI, p. 89, and

PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (*contd.*).

the Ptolemaic period, is identified by us with the rock-cut square hole, with a flight of twelve rock and twenty-nine masonry steps (originally under a vaulted roof) leading down to its lower part, situated at the base of the east side of the plateau. The lower part, on its east side, connects by means of a passage with the neighbouring aqueduct (cf. Pls. VII, XII) which received its water from the great "Canal of Alexandria" (now el-Mahmudiya) situated some 570.00 m. away to the south<sup>(1)</sup>. Recent measurements have shown that the level of the water in the Serapeum aqueduct and the canal are about the same, a fact which was obviously known to the ancient priests. In the Roman era this particular Nilometer was filled in and a large stairway built over it. The position of the Roman Nilometer is as yet unidentified.

In the debris from the huge rock trench at the south of the Ptolemaic Enclosure we found parts of two marble bases for holding statues. These bases bear inscriptions which are being fully published by Professor ALAN WACE in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University, 1944*. One of the bases (Museum Reg. No. P. 8834) has two inscriptions in Greek, one Ptolemaic in date and the other Roman. The older inscription (first half of IIIrd cent., according to Professor Wace) indicates that Asclepiodoros and Euboulos dedicated [a statue] to Serapis in fulfilment of a vow, while the later one records the repair of the statue, probably that of Harpocrates, by Harpocraton, son of Polemon, and his children as a thank-offering. The other base (Reg. No. P. 9025),

Appendice thereto, pp. 60, 61. The Nilometer occurs on Roman coins from Alexandria; see for example R. S. POOLE, *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria, etc.*, p. LXXVI.

<sup>(1)</sup> In Ptolemaic times water was also conveyed from the plateau top into the aqueduct; cf. the sloping water passage indicated in pl. VII. A Nilometer exists in the temple of Edfu (founded by

Ptolemy III); this consists of a round well encircled by a spiral staircase. On the walls of the latter is the scale, with demotic numbers. The well has a subterranean communication with the river. It was Constantine who removed the Nilometer from the Alexandria Serapeum (SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. xviii*).

PTOLEMAIC ENCLOSURE (*concluded*).

Ptolemaic in date, bears an inscription indicating that Aristodemus, son of Diodorus (or, Diodotus), an Athenian<sup>(1)</sup>, dedicated a statue, not named, to Serapis and Isis. From elsewhere on the site came an open shell-like Ptolemaic lamp of pottery (Reg. No. P. 9199) with the following inscription in ink: ΥΠΕΡΤΟΥΟΙΚΟΥΤΟΥΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ, "On behalf of the household of the Archon". It is the first time that a lamp of this type has been found to be inscribed.

ROMAN SACRED ENCLOSURE. As the excavations on the east side have shown, this is here bounded by three parallel foundations of "compressed masonry"<sup>(2)</sup> (cf. Pls. IV, XVII), Roman in date, for supporting two colonnades (or colonnade and inner wall) and an outer wall; compare the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek which has an outer wall with exedrae but two inner colonnades<sup>(3)</sup>. No trenches were cut to receive the "compressed masonry" which was placed directly on the rock surface. Traces of the blocks of limestone which once rested on the "masonry" are visible in places. As already pointed out above, the northern limits of the Roman Enclosure (see Pls. VII, IX), are added on our plans from measurements given by Mahmoud el-Falaki; these measurements indicate that at this side the Enclosure was 32.00 m. longer than the older Enclosure. Assuming the same thing applied at the south, the total over-all length from north to south of the later Enclosure, would be about 237.70 m.

<sup>(1)</sup> The implication of E. BEVAN, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 99, that there was an "Athenian" deme in Alexandria is incorrect.

<sup>(2)</sup> According to R. CAGNAT et V. CHAPOT, *Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine*, I, p. 23, this type of "masonry" (*opus incertum*) characterizes Roman construction, in Italy, of the 1st and IIIrd cent.

Cahier n° 2.

B. C. (see also A. CHOISY, *Histoire de l'Architecture*, I, p. 520). But as we shall see in SUPPLEMENT No. I we may attribute most of the earliest Serapeum "compressed masonry" to about the IIIrd cent. A. D.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. T. WIEGAND, *op. cit.*, Plate Vol. I, pl. XIV. For Serapeum west side see our pl. XVII.

ROMAN ENCLOSURE (*contd.*).

From Aphthonius and Rufinus we learn that in Roman times a monumental staircase of a hundred steps led up to the plateau top; at the top of the steps was a propylon closed by a bronze grille with four columns behind it. It was on these steps that Origen stood and withstood the multitude who urged him to join in their rites (ΕΡΙΦΑΝ. tom. i, p. 524). There was an *æcus* which seems to have been roofed with a cupola. During the recent excavations we discovered the remains of two Roman side staircases on the east part of the Serapeum, the one in the centre being about 3.30 m. wide and the other at the south end (Pl. V) 5.30 m. wide. These remains are of "compressed masonry" and once supported steps made of slabs of stone, doubtless marble. The lower parts of the staircases are still under debris, which it is impossible to move for the present. Whether the central staircase once led up to the Lower Terrace (cf. Pl. VII) on which there are some fragments of a large red granite entrance door<sup>(1)</sup> is not certain.

Other important remains belonging to the Roman era are the *piscina*, which may have been associated with the cult of Isis<sup>(2)</sup>; and the *atrium* with its long underground passages. The exact purpose of the great underground complex, which Botti thought might be Ptolemaic in origin, is as yet uncertain. This scholar records two Roman graffiti (epoch of Tiberius (?)), now vanished, on its walls<sup>(3)</sup>, and also lists<sup>(4)</sup> the following objects, obviously also Roman, found in the *atrium*

<sup>(1)</sup> See my article in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, p. 143, fig. 8.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 142.

<sup>(3)</sup> *L'Acropole d'Alexandrie et le Sérapéum*, 1895, pp. 24, 25, and *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne*, 1897, pp. 112 ff. One of the graffiti reads: "[C'est] l'acte de dévotion de Dorothée et de toute sa famille", and the other "[C'est] l'acte de dévotion

d'Ammonius" (Botti). The texts are:

ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ  
ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ  
ΠΑΝΤΩΝ  
and  
ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ  
ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ

<sup>(4)</sup> *Catalogue des Monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie*, 1900,

ROMAN ENCLOSURE (*contd.*).

and passages:— Fragments of white marble statuettes of Hermanoubis, Serapis and Venus; pottery lamp showing bust of Isis; the letter H painted in red on a slab of white marble; gold jewellery; tiny plaquette of gold with Latin inscription; and a white marble votive stela bearing the inscription:

ΕΡΜΑΝΟΥΒΙΔΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΙ  
ΕΠΗΚΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩΙ ΣΑΡΑΠΙ  
ΩΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΕΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ  
ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑ Η ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΗ ΚΑΙ  
ΓΥΝΗ ΥΠΕΡ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ  
ΙΒ Λ ΑΘΥΡ Η

"A Hermanoubis, le grand dieu qui nous écoute et nous fait grâce, Sérapion, fils de Denis, du Dème des Sarapidées, avec Eucleia, sa sœur et femme, pour Denis son fils [a dédié cette stèle] l'an XII, le huit de Athyr" (Botti). The stela was found at 4.50 m. north-east of the vestibule of the passages at the west. Elsewhere<sup>(1)</sup> Botti mentions as having come from the passages in general lamps bearing figures of Iris-Kore (*sic*), and Helios embracing Serapis, also a Christian lamp decorated with cross and lamp. The lamps, at least the Roman ones, were perhaps placed in the small lamp-receptacles over niches made in the lower part of the passages. Each niche had originally a rectangular coffer of limestone and a sloping libation-table with a groove in it (Fig. 7). Smaller niches, but with sloping tables of rock, are in the upper parts of the walls. Botti believed that sacred animals were buried in the coffers<sup>(2)</sup>. On the other hand, of course, cremated human remains might well have been placed in the coffers, the libations poured on the grooves in the masonry tables

pp. 10, 36, 94, 459, 463, 580 f. The stela of "Denis" is also published by Botti, in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, II, p. 63, and E. BRACCIA, *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, 1911, p. 74, No. 120, pl. XXXI, No. 75. An Alexandrian temple of Hermanoubis is

figured in R. S. POOLE, *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria, etc.*, pl. XXVIII, No. 1197 (time of Antoninus Pius).

<sup>(1)</sup> *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne*, pp. 112, 119.

<sup>(2)</sup> The underground passages are fully described in Botti, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 ff.



ROMAN ENCLOSURE (contd.).

running down over the remains just as at Carthage (Fig. 7), where by means of a pottery pipe, water passed over a certain type of sepulchral altar, ran into an urn inside holding calcined bones and then penetrated into a lower part of the altar containing lamps, bowls, jars, and money<sup>(1)</sup>.

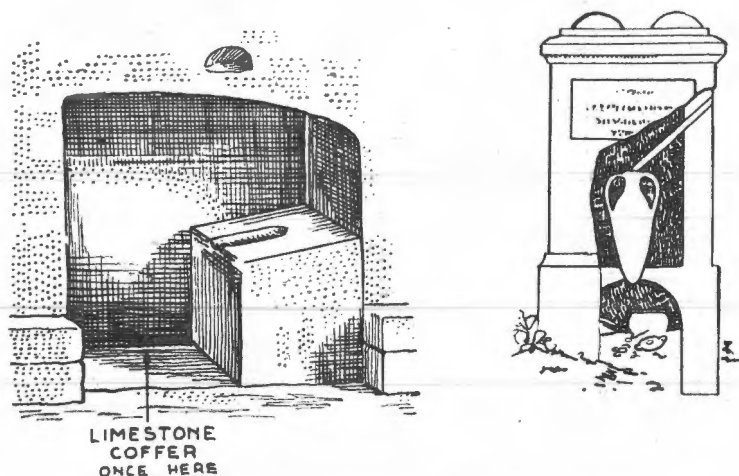


Fig. 7. — Left : Niche in underground passage of Alexandria Serapeum (west of Diocletian's Column). — Right : Sepulchral altar at Carthage.

Hermanoubis is mentioned by Plutarch (Isis and Osiris, 61) and Diodorus (lines 18, 87), and is a later form of the old Egyptian Horus-em-Anubis<sup>(2)</sup>. The former writer referring to Osiris as the “common Reason which pervades both the superior and inferior regions of the universe”, adds that it is, moreover, called “Anubis, and sometimes likewise Hermanoubis; the first of these names expressing the relation it has to the superior, as the latter, to the inferior world. And for this reason they

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. R. CAGNAT et V. CHAPOT, *Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine*, I, p. 340.

<sup>(2)</sup> The Alexandrians in adopting the name Hermanoubis, by a slight change

actually made it a compound of Hermes and Anubis, the Greek and the Egyptian Psychopompi.

ROMAN ENCLOSURE (contd.).

sacrifice to him two Cocks, the one white, as a proper emblem of the purity and brightness of things above, the other of a saffron colour, expressive of that mixture and variety which is to be found in those lower regions<sup>(1)</sup>. Now one of the titles of Pa-shere-en-ptah of the Serapeum statues was “Chief of the Mysteries (𓆎) . . . of the [Cult-]Chest of



Fig. 8. — DEITIES OF THE ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM. Serapis as Pluto; Isis and Harpocrates (after DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, VIII, p. 1250, V, p. 580); and Hermanoubis (after the Ras el-Soda statue).

Anubis Who-is-on-his-Hill (𓆎 | 𓆎 𓆎)”, so it may well be, in view of the fact not only was Anubis :-

1) Part of the pantheon of Alexandria where he ministered to Serapis the father-god, Isis the mother-god and their child Harpocrates (Fig. 8); and also

<sup>(1)</sup> For the god in general, cf. V. CHAPOT, in G. HANOTAUX (ed.), *Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne*, III, 1933, p. 348; R. S. POOLE, *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria, etc.*, pp. LXVIII f; E. BEVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 195. On Anubis, see G. LAFAYE, *Histoire du Culte des Divinités*

*d'Alexandrie*, p. 18. A fine white marble statue of Hermanoubis found at Ras el-Soda, near Alexandria, is published by A. ADRIANI, in *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain (1935-1939)*, 1940, p. 142 f., pl. LV (right). See fig. 8 of this article.

ROMAN ENCLOSURE (contd.).

2) An integral part of the compound local god Hermanoubis; that the district "[Cult-]Chest of Anubis" was in the Alexandrian Serapeum rather than in Memphis<sup>(1)</sup>. The statement of Plutarch that one of the attributes of Hermanoubis was an "inferior world" one is particularly interesting in view of the fact that the Hermanoubis objects mentioned above were discovered in underground passages of the Serapeum<sup>(2)</sup>. A beautiful white marble bust of Serapis of the Imperial Roman era (Reg. No. 22158) was found long ago in the Serapeum<sup>(3)</sup>, while recently parts of figurines of Isis (Reg. No. P. 9104) and Harpocrates (Reg. No. P. 9156) have come to light in the same place. Also, in the Louvre, there is a bas-relief fragment from Alexandria showing the divine triad accompanied by Dionysus; the relief dates the 1st cent. A. D., and is reproduced by M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *A History of the Ancient World*, II (Rome), 1927, Pl. XC.

From the debris in the great rock trench in the southern side of the Ptolemaic Enclosure many parts of inscriptions in Greek, but Roman in date, have come to light. Three of these are being included by Professor Wace in his forthcoming article (referred to above) on the Ptolemaic base-inscriptions from the same site. The first of these (Reg. No. P. 8735), cut on nummulitic limestone, mentions Serapis and refers to a *dromos* or temple-approach; the second (Reg. No. P. 8892), on grey marble, is a dedication to Zeus, Helios the Great, Serapis, and the Gods in the same temple<sup>(4)</sup> for the safety of some emperor; and the third

<sup>(1)</sup> Where H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques*, IV, p. 5, regards it as having been situated.

<sup>(2)</sup> I had previously suggested (in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, p. 159) that the cult of Mithras, essentially an underground one, was carried out in these passages, for a statue of this god was found in the Serapeum in 1905-1906.

<sup>(3)</sup> Published by E. BRECCIA, in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXVI,

p. 260 f., pl. XXVI.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. also the inscription on the life-sized statue of the Apis bull of Hadrian found in the Serapeum which mentions "Serapis and the Gods in the same temple". The expression "the Gods in the same temple" is a common one in the Græco-Roman inscriptions of Egypt. See for example M. LETRONNE, *Recueil des Inscr. Grecques et Latines de l'Égypte*, I.

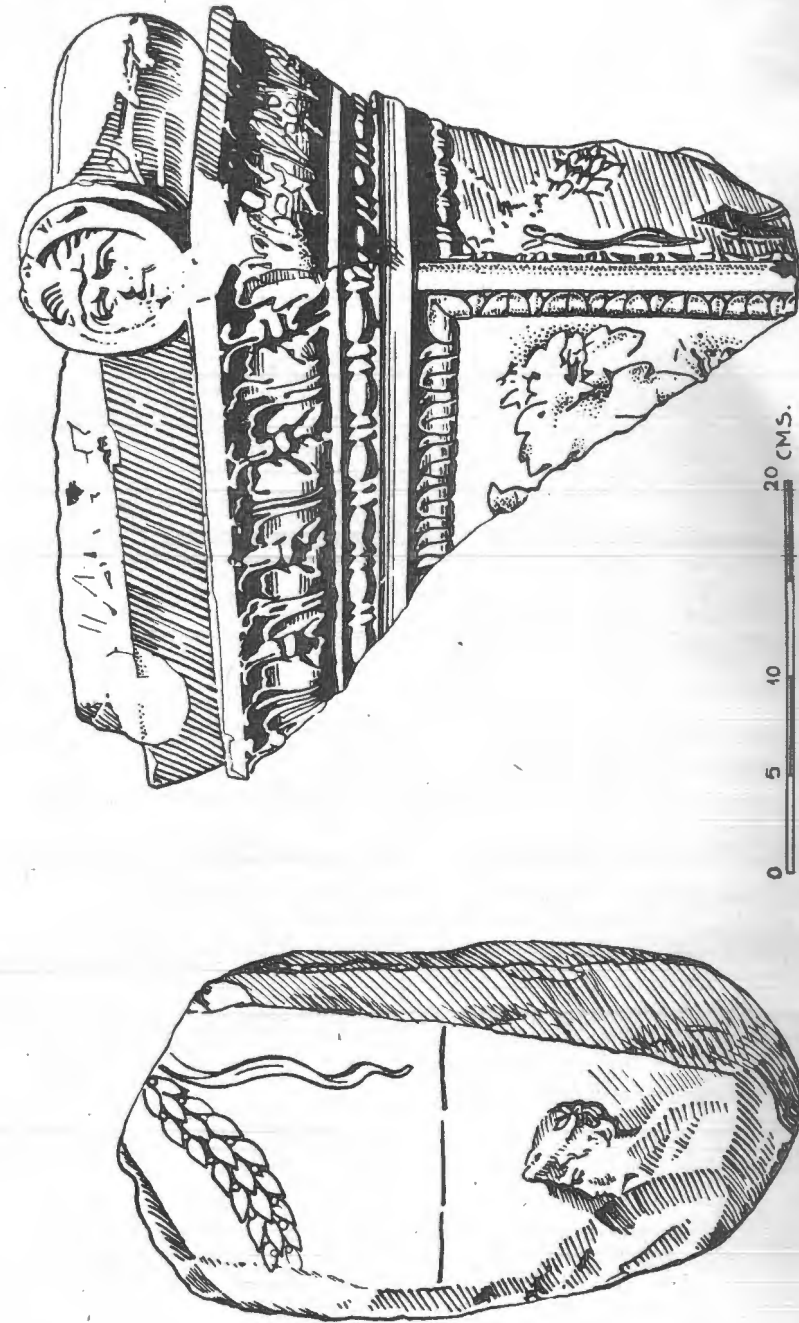


Fig. 9. — Parts of white marble altar (Reg. Nos. P. 9110, 8676) found in Alexandria Serapeum. Early 1st cent. A. D. On left fragment are garland, ribbon, and head of ministrant; and on right fragment, Medusa-head, plane-tree leaves, garland, ribbon, and head of sacrificial axe.

ROMAN ENCLOSURE (*contd.*).

(Reg. No. P. 9026), on black granite, another dedication to the same deities. Near these fragments we discovered parts of a beautiful white marble altar (Reg. Nos. P. 8512, 8540, 8676, 9110, 9157, 9502) which, by analogy, I believe to have been dedicated to the Genius of a Roman emperor of the early part of the 1st. cent. A. D.; see Fig. 9<sup>(1)</sup>. On the rock above and to the north of the great niche was unearthed recently part of a black granite clepsydra (Reg. No. P. 9161), a sketch of which is given in Fig. 10. In the upper register, to the left, is Ptaḥ with a king in front making offerings to the god. The text reads: "...his father, given life". In the lower register is written: "...the great [god], lord of Reḥwy..." On this locality see H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des Noms géographiques*, III, pp. 124, 137. The totem-sign  $\text{𓆎}$  above the standard—sign, hitherto rendered *nefer* (?), is used in the names of the following districts of Lower Egypt :- (1) Part of the Vth Nome; (2) The VIIth Nome—where it is followed by ḥ «West», and (3) The VIIIth Nome—in this case followed by \* «East». Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 87, 88, 121. Unfortunately, the text on our vase is broken so that it is impossible to determine whether ḥ or \* followed the sign above the standard one. There is no doubt that *rhwy* was the value of the totem-sign in the Ptolemaic era. (The name of the chief god of the VIIth Nome was  $\text{𓆎}$  ḥw; cf. E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 1904, p. 99). Dr. Ét. Drioton has kindly sent me the following note on the clepsydra: "Ce fragment de vase en granit noir,

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. the somewhat similarly-shaped altar, dedicated perhaps to the Genius of the living emperor Vespasian, illustrated by DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, I, p. 352, and referred to by E. STRONG, *La Sculptura Romana*, I, 1923, pp. 125, 126. See also W. ALTMANN, *Die Römischen Grabaltäre, etc.*, 1905, pp. 9 ff.; S. REINACH, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*

*Grecque et Romaine*, I, 1897, pp. 119 ff.; and E. STRONG, *Roman Sculpture*, 1907, pp. 57-59 (Augustan altars), pp. 126-131 (Flavian altars), pl. XXI (plane-tree leaves resembling those seen on our altar). The Serapeum altar fragments are being published by Professor WACE in the *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXVI.

ROMAN ENCLOSURE (*concluded*).

à inscription gravée, est certainement un morceau de *clepsydra*. Cf. *J. E. A.*, XVII, pp. 174 ff., *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, pp. 43 ff.

Le détail du pied avec orteils permet de le dater de l'époque ptolémaïque. La mention  $\text{𓆎}$  [ḥ] est extrêmement intéressante. Elle

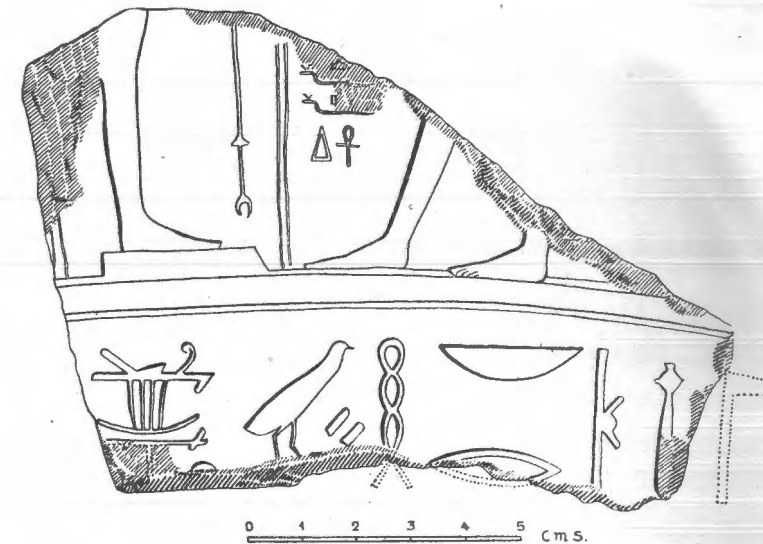


Fig. 10. — Fragment of Ptolemaic black granite clepsydra (water-clock) used to determine the hour-intervals of the night for the temple-watches. Found in Alexandria Serapeum. (Reg. No. P. 9161). Cf. ADDENDA, — No. 12.

donne certainement une lecture de  $\text{𓆎}$  à l'époque ptolémaïque, et montre qu'à cette époque on identifiait le nome dont la capitale était *rhw* avec le  $\text{𓆎}$  des anciennes inscriptions. Mais cette constatation, loin d'éclaircir la question, la rend encore plus obscure :

— *rhw* est certainement (GAUTHIER, *Dict. des noms géogr.*, III, p. 137) la capitale du XV<sup>e</sup> nome de B. E., Hermopolite.

—  $\text{𓆎}$  [ḥ] désigne certainement le VII<sup>e</sup> nome de B. E., Métélite".



VII.—GENERAL.

Owing to the fact that the debris in the Serapeum area has generally been turned over and over again no reliable evidence for dating levels is to be obtained from it in most cases. As to the pottery found during the recent excavations, this ranges from about the IVth cent B. C. to the XIVth cent. A. D., and will be dealt with elsewhere.

With reference to the remains of a porphyry statue—about 3.36 m. high—said to have been found before 1778 A. D. at the base of the great “Column of Diocletian” (the so-called “Pompey’s Pillar”)<sup>(1)</sup>, and which may or may not have surmounted the column, I draw attention to the fact that there is in the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, a colossal seated statue of porphyry (representing Diocletian according to some), the head and feet of which are missing. Its present height is 2.82 m; at the base, the present side length is 1.20 m., and the front 1.30 m. It was found in 1870 A. D. in front of the Attarine Mosque, Alexandria. Museum Reg. No. 5934. See CABROL et LECLERCQ, *Dict. d’Archéologie Chrétienne*, II, cols. 1568 f., VII, cols. 2436 f., also E. BRECCIA, *Alexandria ad Egyptum*, ed. 1922, pp. 103, 235. Further, an Arab writer of the VIIIth cent., Yussef Negm ed-Din el-Maandub, writes as follows: “A statue of stone crowned the column elevated in the middle of the ground which was formerly the court of a pagan temple that the Christians had destroyed in part in order to transfer it into a citadel”<sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. G. BOTTI, *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne*, pp. 49, 87 (= *Description de l’Égypte*, V, p. 475; M. LETRONNE, *Recueil des Inscr. Grecques et Latines de l’Égypte*, I, p. 177, and D. BOIS, *Cat. de la Collection Choiseul-Gouffier*, p. 117; the remarks are in Paris). BOTTI, *op. cit.*, p. 87, refers to still another porphyry statue («la statue Cassas») from Alexandria, which is about 7.00 m. high. He says it had probably been erected

in some public place or even on the Heptastade. Its present position is unknown. It will be noticed from our plan that the column is in the space between the two Enclosures. The site chosen for its erection is the highest part of the plateau. Cf. pl. VI.

<sup>(2)</sup> See Abbés SUARD et P. SOURICE, *Essais sur l’Identification des Monuments d’Alexandrie*, p. 12.

It is recorded that in 1733 A. D. one foot and ankle of the statue were still *in situ* on top of the column (cf. J. WHITE, *Ægyptiaca*, 1801, p. 118, quoting E. IRWIN, *Voyage up the Red Sea*, p. 370).

According to the plan in *Description de l’Égypte, Antiquités*, V, Pl. XXXIX, a great stadium lay partly south of the above mentioned column, but there is something not clear about this plan for if the details given by the French Expedition are correct part of the stadium must have overrun the south side of the Serapeum which is of course impossible. On the other hand if the stadium really existed and was in the position indicated (we have found no traces of it) it must have been made after the Serapeum was destroyed in 391 A. D. by the Christians, that is to say, it was Byzantine in date. An illustrated manuscript of the VIIth cent. (*Chronique Alexandrine*) actually shows the patriarch Theophilus, who was mainly responsible for the destruction (*EUNAP. Vita Ædefii*, p. 64), trampling under foot, in an attitude of triumph, the ruins of the Serapeum (Fig. 11)<sup>(1)</sup>. The exterior courts appear not to have been destroyed (*EVAGR. Hist. Eccles. ii, 5*). Socrates (*Hist. Eccles. v, 16*), in referring to the demolition of the temple, states that the “bronze statues [were]



Fig. 11. — The patriarch Theophilus standing on the ruins of the Alexandria Serapeum. (*Chronique Alexandrine*, VIIth cent.) Cf. ADDENDA,—No. 13.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. V. CHAPOT in G. HANOTAUX (ed.), *Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne*, p. 436 and fig. A coloured facsimile of the scene is given in CABROL et LECLERCQ, *Dict. d’Archéologie Chrétienne*, III, plate opposite cols. 1551, 1552. It must be noted that as Christianity gained

ground the Acropolis of the Serapeum was used as a kind of fortress for the black-robed pagan priests of Serapis and their followers. A. J. BUTLER, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 413. Some of the cisterns in the area doubtless date from this period.

melted down to make domestic vessels”, and records the discovery in the building of stones with hieroglyphic inscriptions. Theodoret (Hist. Eccles. v, 22) says that the great statue of Serapis, which was mainly of wood, was hacked to pieces, and the fragments burnt on the spot; the head was dragged around the city. Shortly afterwards Christian churches were erected over the ruins. As late as the xith century A. D. there appear to have been remains of considerable importance on the Serapeum site, the last of them (great columns) being removed in 1167 A. D. by Karâjâ, the vizier of Sultan Yussef Salah ed-Din, and thrown into the sea in order to strengthen the defences of the city. From that time to this only the great “Column of Diocletian” has remained as the most imposing witness to the past glories of the Serapeum.

And now in that world-famous area once covered with beautiful buildings and from which cries of “Great is the Name of Serapis”<sup>(1)</sup> reached to the heavens above, the excavations of the Graeco-Roman Museum are slowly but surely bringing to light a more or less clear picture of the Sacred Enclosures, and, as we shall see in SUPPLEMENT No. I, also of the great Temples of Serapis themselves<sup>(2)</sup>.

My best thanks are due to the scientific members of the staff of the Graeco-Roman Museum (Victor Girgis Eff., Banoub Habashi Eff., Badie Abd el-Malek Eff.) for the way in which they have assisted in various directions in connection with the work of recording and so forth. The last named made all the plans and drawings with the exception of Figures in the Text Nos. 6-9, 11, which are the work of Ezzat Ibrahim Eff., Restorer of the Museum. I have to thank Professor Alan Wace for certain suggestions, which have been added in this article.

<sup>(1)</sup> ΜΕΓΑ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΟΣ. See G. LAFAYE, *Histoire du Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie*, pp. 252, 306, where also is given another common saying: ΕΙΣ ΖΕΥΣ ΣΕΡΑΠΙΣ “Serapis alone is Zeus” (or similar). Cf. also G. BOTTI, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 1898, p. 41.

<sup>(2)</sup> Incidentally, there are the remains

of foundations (roughly-hewn stones set in hard cement) of some large Roman building to the south of the great column; these remains are to be seen to the west of the supposed mausoleum (?), or cenotaph (?), on its south-east side, and on the high rock mass inside it. Cf. pl. VII (“R”).

ADDENDA.

1.—“The earliest literary evidence that we possess concerning the Greek temples in Egypt, is the passage of Athenæus (xv. 18)..., describing the existence of a temple of Aphrodite at Naukratis as early as 688 B. C. The next passage which bears on the subject is that of Herodotos (ii. 159), mentioning that Neqo, in 608 B. C., dedicated his corslet to the Milesian Apollo, in the mother temple of Branchidæ; showing that the Milesians had already familiarised the Egyptians with the worship of their great deity; and pointing therefore to the existence of a Milesian temple to Apollo in Egypt before that time. The last and most general evidence is that of Herodotos (ii. 178) which shows that at the latest the Greeks of Naukratis had in the time of Amasis, temples of Zeus, Hera, and Apollo, besides the sacred temenos of the Pan-Hellenion<sup>(1)</sup>. But the passage does not exclude an earlier age for these foundations, before 570 B. C.”

—W. M. F. PETRIE, *Naukratis*, I, p. 11.

2.—The statue head of the Pharaoh and the statue of the falcon of Horus, once on the plateau top of the Serapeum (cf. *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, p. 134, Pl. XXXVI, figs. 1, 2), are now in the Graeco-Roman Museum. Reg. Nos. P. 9191, 9190.

3.—The Serapeum “vase” mentioned in *op. cit.*, p. 152, Pl. XLII, fig. 5, is actually a pyxis.

<sup>(1)</sup> With regard to Naukratis, E. A. GARDNER, *Naukratis*, II, p. 9, later wrote: “From ancient literature we know of five early religious foundations at Naukratis; four of these are mentioned by Herodotus: first the Great Hellenion, then the precincts separately dedicated by the Æginetans to Zeus, by the Samians to Hera, and by the Milesians to Apollo. Of a fifth foundation, apparently as early and as important as any of these, we hear from Athenæus, who

tells a story, to which we shall have to recur, about the favour shown by Aphrodite to a Naukratite in danger at sea, and about a Cypriote image dedicated by him to the goddess in her temple at Naukratis... Another temenos, not mentioned by classical authors, was also discovered, and was proved by the evidence of inscriptions to be sacred to the Dioscuri; but their temple still remained buried”.

4.—For further observations on the history of the (Roman) Serapeum, the great staircase at the east, the dimensions of the Acropolis, the centre court and peristyle, the Temple of Isis (*sic*), a Ptolemaic

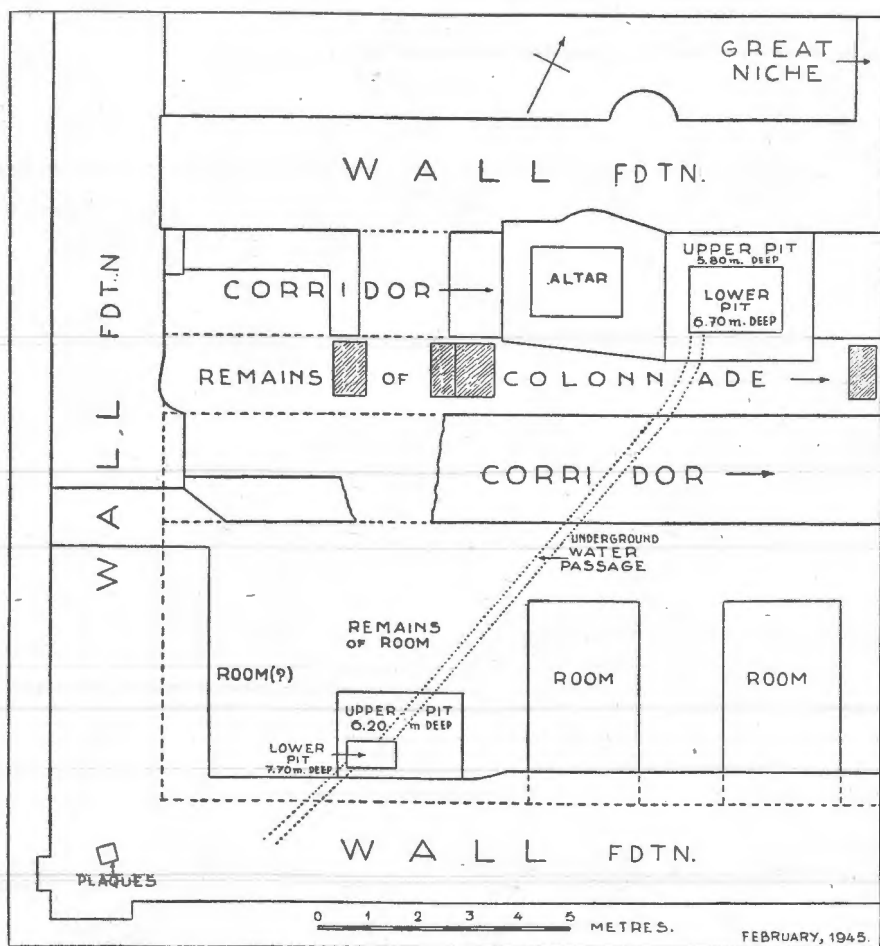


Fig. 12. — Shows final details of S.-W. corner of Ptolemaic Serapeum. — Not completely excavated when Pl. XI was made.

inscription from the Serapeum referring to Apollo<sup>(1)</sup>, the *piscina*, the “*Megarum* of the West” (= the great underground passages with

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. BRECCIA, *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, 1911, p. 98, No. 168, whose copy of the text differs from that of Botti in the above mentioned *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*.

inscriptions of Hermanoubis), etc., see G. BOTTI, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 1898, pp. 29 ff.

5.—In my previous article referred to in No. 2 above I omitted to add that Vespasian saw a vision in the temple of Serapis; TACIT. Hist., lib. iv. § 81, 82. ed. Brotier. In the same article (p. 157),—the inscription copied by Sandys is actually from another so-called “Pompey's Pillar” in the Bosphorus.

6.—For Alexandrian coin representations showing:— (1) Serapeum Temple with figure of Serapis; (2) Temple within the Serapeum—the Adrianon or Hadrianum (?); and (3) The Sacred Barge of Serapis, see R. S. POOLE, *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria, etc.*, pp. xc-xciv.

7.—Plates XIII, XIV, and XV, have been added to this article in order to include the results of the excavations made in the area to the west of the Ptolemaic Enclosure up to the middle of September, 1945.

8.—The large late Roman (?) or Early Christian (?) cistern seen in left centre of Pl. IX, and in detail in Pls. XIII (B), XIV, consists of four cement-faced brick tanks built inside a lining of masonry<sup>(1)</sup> which surrounds the lower parts of the walls of a great rectangular rock-cut open trench<sup>(2)</sup>. The tanks are connected at the base by a pottery pipe in each, the westernmost one of which opens into a short rock passage leading westwards into a long underground passage also in the rock, but running roughly at right angles to the north-west. This passage (commencement indicated in Pls. IX, XIII (A), XIV) has been examined for a length of 130.30 m. (= 427 feet); but how much longer it is, it is impossible to ascertain, as it runs below a modern cemetery at the north of the site<sup>(3)</sup>. The ceiling of the passage is usually horizontal but in places in  $\wedge$ -shaped;

<sup>(1)</sup> The ends of some of the masonry blocks are inserted in holes specially cut in the rock; this made a good bond. The masonry was originally much higher than the cistern (see section on pl. XIV).

<sup>(2)</sup> It is uncertain if the trench were made specially for the cistern or if it were originally excavated for some other

purpose.

<sup>(3)</sup> This long passage is obviously contemporary with the cistern. Neither passage is cement-lined. The present excavated northern part of the long passage is about 26.70 m. west of the west outer wall of the Ptolemaic Enclosure. See pl. XVIII.



a few of the walls are lined with crude masonry. The passage width averages 0.80 m., while the height varies between about 2.30 m. to 3.50 m. The floor of the passage, at the south, is 8.50 m. below the rock surface above, and at the north (where the surface is much lower than at the south), only 4.30 m. Above the rock surface over the passage there is a layer of debris varying in thickness from 2.40 m. at the south to 5.90 m. at the north. There are about seventeen pits leading down at intervals to the top of the passage, the first (in order from south to north) being just west of the large cistern itself<sup>(1)</sup>. The top of the sixteenth pit from the south is covered over with large slabs of limestone, and has broken walls of small stones and mortar on its east side, the significance of which is not yet clear. Cf. Pl. XVIII.

A little distance to the south of the covered-in pit have just been found the remains of an Early Christian structure of about the late 14th cent. A. D. These remains (see above Plate) consist chiefly of part of an enormous wall of some kind—or just possibly a road—made of irregular stones set in mortar; some of the pits mentioned above actually run through this “wall”. Built inside the east face of the “wall” is a long narrow water channel; this had the upper parts of many 14th-15th cent. A. D. amphoræ in it, some bearing that type of the sacred monogram of Christ (compare Fig. 14) which was common after 355 A. D. and during the next century. Cf. *Guide to the Early Christian Antiquities* (British Museum), 1921, p. 80. This structure is therefore contemporary or even associated with the famous Monastery and Church dedicated to St. John the Baptist which were built on the site shortly after the destruction of the temple of Serapis in 391 A. D. Although the structure is at present far from being cleared it may be added that a two-metre wide mosaic path, running up to its west side, has recently been found. Near the path was discovered a black opaque-glass Early Christian

<sup>(1)</sup> There is a short passage, 2.80 m. long, on the south side of this pit. Another short passage, 1.70 m. long, is high up on the east side of the great rock trench. Between the third and

fourth pits from the south, and on the east side, is a small upper passage, roughly semi-circular in plan; its two ends open into the long passage.

weight measuring 5.5 cm. by 5.1 cm., and 1.6 cm. thick (Reg. No. P. 9665). This bears the incised signs  $\text{C}\omega\text{C}$ , which indicate what its weight is supposed to be, namely, 2 ounces and 1 solidus = 59 gr. 10 (actually the object weighs 60 gr.). Above the centre sign is a small cross +. Cf. FIGORONI, *I piombi antichi*, Rome, 1740, II, Pl. XX, 24 (reference from Dr. Ét. Drioton)<sup>(1)</sup>. See Fig. 14.

9. — From about half way down in the great pit H west of the Serapeum (cf. Pl. XIII) was found part of a white marble slab with latin inscription—Reg. No. P. 9836—reading  $\text{RIMONIVM.PRAEF. ANN}$  (the last two words to be restored to *Præfectus annonæ*), which refers to an Alexandrian Prefect of Alimentation of about the 14th cent. A. D. Cf. L. HOHLWEIN, *L'Égypte Romaine*, 1912, pp. 99, 215, 225, 235, 254. M. O. Guéraud informs me that the office is attested for the first time in 349 A. D. (Cod. Theod. 12.6,3); it was subsidiary to that of the *Præfectus urbi* of Constantinople.

10.—From the lower part of a rough hole out in the rock west of the Serapeum—cf. Pl. XIII, upper right corner—were brought to light some parts of a bowl of light-brown pottery beautifully decorated in colours with figures of birds and branches of trees (Reg. No. P. 9856). The birds are depicted in a most realistic manner and are certainly the work of a first class artist. This unique bowl dates from the Roman era, and is somewhat reminiscent of the late style of Pompeii<sup>(2)</sup>. See Frontispiece, made by Badie Abd el-Malek Eff., also SUPPLEMENT No. II (D).

11.—Since SECTION VI has been in print still another quarrymen's mark has been found in the Serapeum; this is a *swastika* and is incised on a block *in situ* in the west wall of the Ptolemaic Enclosure, and on a loose block on the floor of the *atrium* west of the great column. Cf. also SUPPLEMENT No. I for additional marks. More marks are recorded by NEROUSTOS BEY in *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, No. 13, 1875, p. 171;

<sup>(1)</sup> In the latter example, however, an anchor is shown in place of the cross.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. also the “Pompeian” frescoes from our Serapeum temple mentioned in a footnote in SUPPLEMENT No. I; also

the frescoes of later date in a Roman tomb near Ascalon published by J. ORY, in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, VIII, pp. 38 ff.

these were on blocks below the Maison Débané on the Boulevard de Ramleh, Alexandria, and are : □□ and  $\frac{Y}{\square}$ .

12.—With regard to the clepsydra fragment seen in Fig. 10, this shows (in upper register, to left) part of the figure of Ptah, god of the 11th Month; the eleven other month-deities are on the missing fragments. Behind the god, that is to say, *inside* the clepsydra, is a section of a vertical row of twelve small holes forming the 12-hour scale for the month referred to. For other water-clocks cf. G. DARESSY, in *op. cit.*, Tome IX, 1915, pp. 5 ff.

13.—For the full publication, in colour, of the Chronique Alexandrine (cf. Fig. 11), see A. BAUER and J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Eine Alexandrinische Weltchronik*, 1905. It may here be noted that Cynegius the prætorian prefect actually co-operated with Theophilus in the occupation of the Serapeum (J. G. MILNE, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, 1924, p. 220).

14.—With further reference to foundation deposits discovered in Greece (see SECTION V (B)), at Perachora underneath the statue base in the 7th century temple of Hera Akraia were brought to light five Corinthian coins and a few small pieces of gold jewellery. Since, however, the coins are of the late 7th or early 8th century B.C. this deposit is not contemporaneous with the building of the temple. The statue base does not bond with the floor of the temple and so a new cult statue may have been erected in the early 8th century. The treasure should then be regarded as a foundation or dedicatory deposit made on the occasion of the setting up of the new cult statue of the goddess. See H. PAYNE, *Perachora*, I, 1940, pp. 81 f., 108.

15.—The writer craves the indulgence of the reader for the somewhat unclassified arrangement of the plates, which is due to the fact that circumstances made it necessary for them to be sent to the printer not altogether but in different lots as they were prepared from time to time by the artist. In fact, the plates together with the text of the main part of the article and that of the succeeding ADDENDA and SUPPLEMENT No. I roughly indicate chronologically the progress of the excavations.

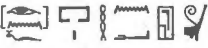
## SUPPLEMENT No. I.



### ACCOUNT OF THE ACTUAL DISCOVERY OF THE TEMPLES OF SERAPIS AND SHRINE OF HARPOCRATES (EXCAVATIONS OF OCTOBER, 1945).

TEMPLE OF SERAPIS (founded by Ptolemy III).—Since the above article has been in page-proofs<sup>(1)</sup> the Graeco-Roman Museum has been fortunate enough to identify the actual remains of the famous Alexandrian Ptolemaic and Roman Temples of Serapis and a Ptolemaic Shrine of Harpocrates. The Ptolemaic Temple, as is proved by part of a foundation deposit in a small hole cut in the rock discovered on 30th October, 1945, is none other than the building wrongly assumed by Botti to be the Iseum, and is situated inside the Ptolemaic Enclosure (cf. Pls. VII, IX, XVI, XVII). The deposit (Reg. Nos. P. 10049-10052), actually in the south-east corner of the building—see Pl. XVI; No. 6—consists of the following<sup>(2)</sup>:—(i) Fragments of a plaque of mud; (ii) a plaque of greenish opaque glass, 5.95 × 5.95 cm.; (iii) a plaque of greenish opaque glass, 11.35 × 6.95 cm.; and (iv) a plaque of dark green and red opaque glass, 6.80 × 5.10 cm., with two black ink inscriptions, namely, Greek on one side and hieroglyphic on the other. The thickness of the plaques varies between 0.55 to 0.60 cm. Fortunately, the fourth plaque has just been cleaned, enabling us to see that its hieroglyphic text is exactly the same as that of the plaques of Ptolemy III previously

<sup>(1)</sup> The author has endeavoured to bring these pre-supplement proofs up to date as far as possible without upsetting the pages; descriptions of certain plates also have been revised where necessary.

<sup>(2)</sup> The gold, silver, bronze and other opaque glass plaques had been removed in ancient times; there must have been ten plaques in all as in the *temenos* corners. The deposit hole was not covered by a stone when found.

found in the south-east and south-west corners of the Ptolemaic Enclosure; in other words, it records of this monarch that  (1), ‘‘He made the Temple and the Sacred Enclosure of Serapis’’. Further, the Greek version is identical with that on the two other sets of plaques of Ptolemy III (2). The finding of this third set of plaques is most important as the site of the Temple of Serapis is now firmly established for the first time. Like the Edfu Temple, also founded by Ptolemy III, the building has its main axis from south to north and is at the north end of a colonnaded Enclosure. Near the temple, the Ptolemaic Enclosure has an overall width from east to west of 76.00 m.—a metre less than at the north end—and an inside width of 55.00 m. This latter width is narrower than we had previously thought, because we have just discovered another parallel foundation trench at 4.30 m. east of the innermost of the two trenches at the west of the Enclosure indicated in Pl. IX; the newly-discovered or third trench is shown in Pl. XVII (3). Also, as it has been discovered that the two outer trenches have traces of small cross trenches (4) at more or less regular intervals between them, and for all their length, it now seems evident that all these particular connecting trenches were for the foundations of a series of rooms running completely along the west side of the Enclosure (5). The third or innermost long

(1) The signs in brackets are worn away in the original text. The inscription is preceded by the  and  names of Ptolemy III, parts of the signs for which are missing.

(2) When the Temple of Serapis is completely excavated Professor Wace (who was with me at the time of the discovery of the four temple plaques), and myself, hope to make a joint publication on it.

(3) The overall width of the three trenches is 13.40 m.; while that of the foundations of the outer wall and colonnade at the east of the same Enclosure is 7.60 m.

(4) Some of the cross trenches have masonry in them.

(5) Compare the small rooms in the southern part of the Enclosure. According to Rufinus (already quoted above) it seems that around the plateau top there were, apart from lecture halls, rooms in which lived the temple guards, the priests vowed to chastity, and the shrine-bearers. Aphthonius says that certain [other] rooms—doubtless chiefly those in the southern part of the Enclosure—were used for the books of the Library, for the study of philosophy, and for the cult of ancient deities.

trench (and not the second one from the outside as believed before) would thus have supported the foundation blocks of the colonnade (1).

As will be seen from the provisional plan in Pl. XVII the excavated part of the Ptolemaic Temple as a whole may be divided conveniently into three sections:—

1) *Centre Section*; for details see Pl. VII. This is 16.20 m. (maximum) in width from east to west. The deposit of three plaques already mentioned above came from its south-east corner and shows that this section, at least, was erected by Ptolemy III to Serapis. No other deposits have so far been found in this part of the temple which, incidentally, is in some degree covered by the remains of what is evidently the Roman Temple of Serapis.

2) *Western Section*; details seen in Pl. VII. This is 19.15 m. (maximum) in width from east to west, and its face is set back 4.50 m. to the north of that of the centre section. Two limestone blocks of this section bear the quarrymen’s marks ΣA; another block has Σ with I (= Z) crossing the Σ.

It must be noted that if we regard the centre and western sections as a unit, this unit is exactly centered in the interior part of the Ptolemaic Enclosure, there being about 10.00 m. between it and the long north-south colonnade on either side. There are three chief possibilities concerning the western section, namely, (i) That it was a building erected by an earlier king—cf. footnote on first page of this article (2); (ii) that it formed part of the actual temple of Serapis of Ptolemy III, or (iii) that it was the Temple of Isis, which, at least in the writings of the

(1) In Roman times a parallel wall of small stones set in hard cement was added on either side of the lower blocks in this trench (cf. pl. XVII), thus making, with the masonry inside, a solid foundation 2.90 m. in width, upon which no doubt columns larger than the older or Ptolemaic ones were erected. It may be that the three columns of grey granite (two complete

and one broken), now remaining just west of the atrium, actually formed part of the Roman colonnade; their dimensions are given in a footnote in INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

(2) If this particular possibility is correct perhaps the Γ-shaped trench to the south of the supposed mausoleum (cf. Pl. XVII) is actually part of an unfinished Enclosure for this building.



Roman era, is bracketed with the Temple of Serapis : Τὸ Σεραπείων καὶ τὸ Ἴσεϊον<sup>(1)</sup>.

3) *Eastern Section*; details seen in Pl. XVI. This is a shrine erected to Harpocrates; its description is now given.

ADJACENT SHRINE OF HARPOCRATES (built by Ptolemy IV).—It was on the 28th October, 1945, that the Museum discovered the rock-cut foundations of the small rectangular shrine which shortly afterwards turned out to be one dedicated to the god Harpocrates, son of Serapis and Isis; this is 8.80 m. in length from south to north and 5.00 in width from east to west. Its rock floor is 1.30 m. below that of the great temple. The descending steps cut in the rock at its south end (cf. Pl. VII) show traces of having been partly destroyed by the builders of the shrine, and therefore must originally have been connected with the centre section of the temple. Part of the foundations of the east wall of the Roman Temple of Serapis run over the long axis of the shrine. Cf. Pls. VII (made before shrine was cleared), XVI, XVII. The presence of the shrine is interesting because it confirms inscriptions found elsewhere in the Serapeum area which refer to “Serapis and the Gods who are with him in the Temple”<sup>(2)</sup>. There were originally eight separate deposits in the shrine, each consisting of ten plaques, which were placed in pairs of two in every corner as seen in the plan in Pl. XVI. No plaques were found in holes Nos. 8, 9, 10 and 11 (if indeed this last is a deposit hole), which had been completely plundered in ancient days.

*Deposit No. 1.*<sup>(3)</sup> (Reg. Nos. P. 10026-10035) consists of the following:—(i) Fragments of a plaque of mud; (ii) a plaque of bronze, broken in pieces, 6.40 cm. in width—doubtless once bearing dotted Greek and hieroglyphic texts like No. x below, but all now disappeared; (iii)

<sup>(1)</sup> The centre and western sections of the temple, at the north, are below a modern cemetery. Botti's fantastic map of the area is republished in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, p. 126.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. SECTION VI above. p. 1339

<sup>(3)</sup> Contained in a rock cut hole measuring 27.00 × 18.00 cm. with a depth of 8.00 cm. The rest of the deposits to be described below were in holes of about the same size as this one.

a plaque of greenish opaque glass, 12.00 × 6.00 × 0.65 cm.<sup>(1)</sup>; (iv) a plaque of bluish green opaque glass, 10.10 × 5.90 × 0.30 cm.; (v) a plaque of greenish opaque glass, 10.00 × 5.70 × 0.30 cm.; (vi) a plaque of dark green opaque glass, 12.80 × 5.60 × 0.45 cm.; (vii) a plaque of light green opaque glass, 12.90 × 6.00 × 0.60 cm.; (viii) a plaque of bluish opaque glass, 14.20 × 6.40 × 0.95 cm., with traces of Greek and hieroglyphic texts on one side in black ink; (ix) a plaque of silver, 11.20 × 5.50 cm.—with two dotted texts like No. x below, and (x), a plaque of gold, 10.85 × 5.15 cm., weight 13.40 gr. See Pl. XVI. The last plaque has Greek and hieroglyphic texts on one side consisting of signs made from a series of dots punched in from the front. The former text, which is above the latter, is as follows (cf. Pl. XVI):—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ  
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ  
ΘΕΩΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ ΑΡΠΟΧΡΑΤΕΙΚΑΤΑ  
ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑΣ ΑΡΑΠΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΣΙΔΟΣ

“King Ptolemy [IV], son of King Ptolemy [III] and Queen Berenice, the Gods Benefactors : To Harpocrates, according to the direction of Serapis and Isis”. This text therefore indicates that the shrine was made by Ptolemy IV (221-203 B.C.), perhaps as a result of a dream or an oracle<sup>(2)</sup>. The hieroglyphic text is in enigmatical form and is being dealt with in an article following the present one by Dr. Ét. Drioton, who kindly informs me that the inscription practically follows the Greek phraseology but omits the title  $\uparrow\uparrow$  “Gods Benefactors”. The deposit was covered by a rectangular block of limestone measuring 95.00 × 66.00 × 50.00 cm. (height). On the under side of the block was an incised quarrymen's or contractor's mark, xx<sup>(3)</sup>. The south part of the block was covered by foundations of the Roman Temple.

<sup>(1)</sup> The last measurement is of course the thickness.

<sup>(2)</sup> Professor Wace draws my attention to the passages of Suetonius and Tacitus (cf. our ADDENDA, —No. 5) saying that when Vespasian had to make the most important decision of his life he

went alone to the Temple of Serapis to take the auspices.

<sup>(3)</sup> None of the other deposits mentioned in this SUPPLEMENT had covering stones at the time of discovery. All holes were filled in with earth or sand after the plaques had been placed in them.

*Deposit No. 3* (Reg. Nos. P. 10037-10046) is similar in contents to Deposit No. 1 and consists of the following:—(i) Fragments of a plaque of mud; (ii) a plaque of greenish opaque glass, 12.20×5.75×0.40 cm.; (iii) a plaque of brownish green opaque glass, 10.00×5.60×0.40 cm.; (iv) a plaque of greenish opaque glass, 9.40×5.30×0.40 cm.; (v) a plaque of bluish opaque glass, 9.95×5.80×0.35 cm.; (vi) a plaque of greenish opaque glass, 9.80×5.80×0.35 cm., with traces of Greek and hieroglyphic texts in black ink on one side; (vii) a plaque of greenish faience, 14.50×6.30×0.60 cm.; (viii) a plaque of bronze, 12.60×6.10 cm., with traces of dotted texts on one side; (ix) a plaque of silver, 11.20×5.40 cm.,<sup>(1)</sup> also with dotted texts; and (x), a plaque of gold, 10.85×5.10 cm., weight 13.05 gr. The last one has punched-in dotted Greek and hieroglyphic texts similar to those of gold plaque of Deposit No. 1, but the spacing of the Greek is not the same in both cases. See Pl. XVI. This particular deposit was once enclosed in a kind of plaster box, remains of which we found (Reg. No. P. 10047).

*Deposit No. 2* (Reg. No. P. 10036) consists of small fragments of plaques of silver, bronze, opaque glass, and mud.

*Deposit No. 4* (Reg. No. P. 10048) consists of small fragments of plaques of bronze and opaque glass.

Reference has already been made above in SECTIONS IV and V to other foundation plaques from Egypt naming Ptolemy IV, that is to say, from underneath the old Alexandrian Bourse, and from below two corners of the pavement of a building of the king at Tanis. It is possible that the statue of Harpocrates, the inscribed base of which was unearthed recently in the southern part of the Serapeum Enclosure (see SECTION VI), actually may once have stood in the newly-discovered shrine. At Alexandria also, a certain Apollonius and his family dedicated a statue on behalf of Ptolemy IV and Queen Arsinoe to Demeter and

<sup>(1)</sup> The silver and bronze plaques were adhering when found and had not been taken apart at the time of writing. No Greek text is visible in

No. viii; both Greek and hieroglyphic texts appear in No. ix. All texts are dotted in from front. No. iii has traces of hieroglyphs on each side.

Kore and Justice while Diodotus, of the same city, made a dedication on behalf of the king and queen to Serapis and Isis<sup>(1)</sup>. Another interesting Alexandrian inscription is one dedicated by Ptolemy IV to Euhodia (the Goddess of Good Journeying), apparently just before he started on his Syrian campaign in the spring of 217 B. C. On October 12th of the same year the king returned as a victor and shortly afterwards married his sister Arsinoe<sup>(2)</sup>. As the newly-found plaques of the king from the shrine of Harpocrates do not mention Arsinoe it must be presumed that they date from the time the king was single<sup>(3)</sup>. Now the famous Pithom Stela recording a decree passed by a synod of Egyptian priests at Memphis in November, 217 B. C.—and in which Ptolemy IV is mentioned as the husband of Arsinoe—refers to statues which the king brought back from Asia whither they had previously been taken from Egypt by the Persians, and adds that in order to commemorate the victory he gave on his return extra revenues to the temples of Egypt; he also restored or renewed the statues of the gods, presenting gold and precious stones for this and other purposes; and made temple equipment out of gold and silver<sup>(4)</sup>. Thus it is not impossible that the foundation

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. E. BEVAN, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 1927, p. 241.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 228, footnote 1; and 230.

<sup>(3)</sup> Likewise, the Serapeum plaques of Ptolemy III do not mention the queen of this particular king (Berenice). She is named, however, with her husband on the gold plaque from Canopus (see SECTION IV).

<sup>(4)</sup> The Canopic Decree, dating from the time of Ptolemy III and Queen Berenice (actually 237 B. C.), after stating that this royal couple "are continually performing many great benefits to the national temples, and increasing the honours of the gods, and in every respect take good care of Apis and Mnevis and the other renown-

ed sacred animals", adds that the king brought back some of the robbed statues from Asia. The decree orders that a gold statue of Berenice, the little daughter of the king and queen, who died at an early age, as well as a copy of the decree itself, was to be set up in the chief temples of Egypt which of course must have included the one he made for Serapis in the Alexandrian Serapeum, where later on no doubt a copy of the Memphite Decree of Ptolemy IV was erected. What is supposed to be a statue group representing the queen-mother Berenice with her little daughter is contained in the Graeco-Roman Museum (Reg. No. 14942); it came from Alexandria. Cf. E. BRACCIA, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, 1922, p. 314.

plaques of the Shrine of Harpocrates, as well as evidently the shrine itself, were actually part of the general thanksgiving donations, the plaques themselves being made in the short period between the return from Syria and the marriage to Arsinoe. However that may have been the synod ordered that as Ptolemy IV had greatly assisted the temples a statue of himself and of his queen, both in Egyptian style, were to be erected in all the important temples of Egypt, an image of the local god, in addition, being set up at the table of offerings at which the king's statue stood<sup>(1)</sup>. The famous Alexandrian Temple of Serapis would of course have been among those to have benefitted by the decree. In concluding this account of the Shrine of Harpocrates it must be mentioned that its founder, Ptolemy IV, is said in later times to have made an important building in Alexandria consisting, if the story is correct, of a large mausoleum (compare the supposed great Ptolemaic mausoleum with its secret entrance passage, south of our Serapis Temple)<sup>(2)</sup>, in which he collected together or enclosed all the tombs or remains of his ancestors, including Alexander the Great, his own successors being buried in neighbouring tombs; the ashes of this same Ptolemy and his wife Arsinoe are stated to have been contained in silver funerary urns<sup>(3)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> See E. BEVAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 232, 388 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. Pl. VII of this article. The supposed mausoleum is fully described by myself in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, pp. 144 ff., and Pl. XXXI. Against the argument, sometimes put forth, that more or less contemporary tombs were not placed inside late Temple Enclosures are the words of Herodotus, II, 169 (partly quoted before): "The Saïtes buried all the kings who belonged to their canton inside this temple (of Athena); and thus it even contains the tomb of Amasis, as well as that of Apries and his family. The latter is not so close

to the sanctuary as the former, but still it is within the temple, It stands in the court. . . ." (Tr. G. Rawlinson). Cf. further Clement of Alexandria (born about 150 A. D.) who, after referring to the setting up by Ptolemy II of the famous statue from Sinope, "upon the hill which they now call Rhacotis, where stands the honoured Temple of Sarapis", adds "and the spot is close to the burial-places. And they say that Ptolemy had his mistress Blistiche, who had died in Canopus, brought here and buried under the before mentioned shrine" (*Exhortation to the Greeks*, chap. 14).

<sup>(3)</sup> See in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, pp. 149, 151.

SHRINE OF ANOTHER DEITY (?). Immediately to the north of the Harpocrates shrine (cf. Pl. XVI) the Museum found the rock-cut holes for two other deposits which, if they do not actually belong to the Harpocrates building, are from what eventually may prove to be the southern part of an adjacent Ptolemaic shrine. Of the two deposits, No. 5 had been completely robbed in ancient days while No. 7<sup>(1)</sup>, also robbed, consisted at the time of discovery of a small piece of blackish opaque glass (Reg. No. P. 10053).

The question why ten plaques should have been placed in every foundation hole made for Ptolemy III and his successor in the Serapeum is an interesting one. Perhaps each plaque represented a particular deity of a group of ten worshipped in the temple, namely, Serapis, Isis, Harpocrates, Anubis, and six others.

CONTEMPORARY OBJECTS FROM THE PTOLEMAIC SERAPIS TEMPLE. From this area have come in the past a votive altar apparently erected in honour of Ptolemy II and his wife (doubtless made after their death)<sup>(2)</sup>, and the lower part of a colossal statue of red granite said to be of a Ptolemaic prince or princess<sup>(3)</sup>. Among the contemporary objects found outside the Ptolemaic Temple, but which perhaps originally belonged to it, are the statue pedestal, now forming one of the foundation blocks of "Diocletian's Column", with an inscription stating that the statue had been dedicated to Arsinoe Philadelphus, wife of Ptolemy II, by a certain Alexandrian, Thestor son of Satyrus<sup>(4)</sup>; the two statues of Pa-shere-en-ptah,

<sup>(1)</sup> All the deposits or deposit holes mentioned in this SUPPLEMENT (Nos. 1-11) are numbered according to the order of their discovery. Zaki Effendi Iskander of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, is kindly cleaning and solidifying (where necessary) the plaques mentioned in this SUPPLEMENT; his work in this respect is beyond all praise.

<sup>(2)</sup> Reg. No. 56. Cf. reference in first footnote of this article, also E. BRECCIA, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, 1922,

p. 115, and *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, 1911, pp. 3 f.

<sup>(3)</sup> Reg. No. 14941. G. BOTTI, *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne*, 1897, p. 126 c (here called "statue colossale d'Isis"); but cf. his *Catalogue des Monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain*, 1900, p. 217, No. 182 ("princess lagide"), and E. BRECCIA, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, 1922, p. 169, No. 1.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. Alan ROWE, in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, p. 129.



an Egyptian priest of the Serapeum (*tempus* Ptolemy XI?)<sup>(1)</sup>; a fragment of a white marble inscription mentioning that Berenice, wife of Ptolemy III, had accomplished some act, perhaps of devotion<sup>(2)</sup>; also three objects recently unearthed by us and referred to in SECTION VI above, namely, the base of a statue dedicated by Aristodemus to Serapis and Isis, the fragment of a clepsydra or water-clock, and an inscribed lamp of the household of an Archon<sup>(3)</sup>.

**THE ROMAN TEMPLE OF SERAPIS.** In the Roman period a new temple—identified by us in October, 1945—was erected over the remains of the older one which for some reason or other had been destroyed. The temple is rectangular in plan and was built of masonry laid over heavy foundations of small stones set in hard cement. In certain places—for instance on its west side and also above the Harpocrates shrine—the builders of the new temple had placed the foundations around and over certain blocks of the Ptolemaic temple which still remained *in situ*. The overall width from east to west of the Roman temple foundations is 21.10 m.; the building is centered almost exactly between the east and west inner walls of the Roman *temenos*, the separating distance at the east being 28.50 m. and that at the west 27.30 m.

The Enclosure itself was considerably larger than the Ptolemaic one, its east to west width being 105.55 m. overall and 76.90 m. inside, as against the 77.00 m. (or, 76.00 m.<sup>(4)</sup>) and 55.00 m., respectively, of the older Enclosure. The details in Pl. XVII show that in the Roman era the western part of the older Enclosure was still used although, as

<sup>(1)</sup> Reg. Nos. 17533, 17534. Cf. in *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 136; in *Annales du Service*, VIII, pp. 64-67, and SECTION III of this article.

<sup>(2)</sup> Reg. No. 32. Cf. G. BOTTI, *Catalogue des Monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain*, p. 572, No. 411, and end of SECTION III above.

<sup>(3)</sup> Remains of mural paintings, of the so-called Third Pompeian style, came from east of the actual temple. Cf.

G. BOTTI, *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne*, pp. 79 ff. (Museum Reg. Nos. 3186-3190); also our ADDENDA, No. 10,—bowl depicting birds in supposed Pompeian style. The Rev. Père L. H. VINCENT, of Jerusalem, suggests the Second Pompeian style for the bowl decoration.

<sup>(4)</sup> As stated above the Ptolemaic Enclosure is about a metre less in width near the Temple than at the south end.

we have already seen above, the foundations of the colonnade were widened somewhat in order no doubt to take columns larger than those previously existing. At the eastern side, however, three parallel foundations walls of material similar to that of the Roman Temple foundations were added outside the older Enclosure<sup>(1)</sup>. There is no evidence at present to show whether or not there was, as at the west, a series of rooms running along this part of the Enclosure; if there were, there would not have been two colonnades as suggested in Pls. VII, IX, but only one (cf. Pl. XVII). A *side gateway* to the Temple area at the east is indicated by the Roman stairway and the Lower Terrace (upon which rest some red granite blocks of a portal) seen in centre of the former plate<sup>(2)</sup>. The *main entrance* to the sacred area, both in Roman and Ptolemaic times must of course, as stated above, have been at the south where a gigantic south-to-north stairway of marble was evidently built over the centre rooms and so forth sunk in the great trench cut in the rock.

Although the actual date of the Roman Temple itself has not yet definitely been ascertained it has to be recorded that the Graeco-Roman Museum has just discovered in the four corners of the deep rock-cut *piscina* belonging to this temple (cf. Pl. XVII) some foundation deposits consisting altogether of fifty-eight bronze coins and three silver ones. Above each deposit was a huge block of limestone concealed in the thick floor of the *piscina*, the floor being exactly of the same material as the foundations of the Roman Temple itself. Though some of the coins await cleaning<sup>(3)</sup>, Professor Wace, who is kindly publishing these Roman

<sup>(1)</sup> The Ptolemaic colonnade and accompanying outer wall at the east seem to have been removed when this work was done.

<sup>(2)</sup> What is another side stairway entrance is seen to left of lower part of pl. VII.

<sup>(3)</sup> The coins (Reg. Nos. P. 10091/94) are being cleaned through the courtesy of Messrs. A. and E. Anawati of Alexandria. They were actually embedded in a layer of plaster about

two centimetres thick which separated the rock floor from the blocks. It may be mentioned that the length of the *piscina* floor from north to south is 10.58 m. and from east to west 10.82 m. From the top of the floor (its thickness is 0.70 m.) to the highest part of the rock surrounding the *piscina* is 2.70 m. The four corner blocks vary in length from 1.11 m. to 1.17 m.; in width from 0.67 m. to 0.84 m.; and in height from 0.52 m. to 0.55 m.

deposits for us, informs me that the coins already cleaned date from the time of Trajan (98-117 A.D.) until that of Julia Domna wife of Severus (193-211 A.D.)<sup>(1)</sup> as well as Geta. Therefore if no later ones are discovered when the balance of these valuable historical objects has been chemically treated we may assume that the *piscina* dates from about 215 A. D., when Caracalla came to Alexandria. The temple itself may possibly be a little earlier, perhaps of the time of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.). Coins are known elsewhere which show this emperor standing in front of the god Serapis and pointing to a small portico inscribed with his own name—doubtless a conventional representation of the great temple of the god—thus evidently indicating that he had something to do with its erection<sup>(2)</sup>. Also it was in the reign of Hadrian that was sculptured the magnificent black granite bull of Apis dedicated to the god which was brought to light many years ago in the Serapeum. Therefore, if the Hadrianic dating for the later temple in the Serapeum can be confirmed, it may be, as suggested by Professor Wace, that the older or Ptolemaic one was destroyed by the Jews, who at the end of the reign of the previous emperor, Trajan<sup>(3)</sup>, caused a great deal of damage to

<sup>(1)</sup> BOTTI, *L'Acropole d'Alexandrie et le Sérapeum*, 1895, pp. 29 f., refers to certain monuments found in the Serapeum of the times of Trajan and Severus or Caracalla. The first is a statue base erected in honour of C. Minicius Italus, Prefect of Egypt under Trajan and officer of the II<sup>nd</sup> Legion. A second inscription is dated from the time of Severus or Caracalla, while a third mentions veterans of the XI<sup>th</sup> Legion of the time of Severus.

<sup>(2)</sup> See J. G. MILNE, *op. cit.*, p. 42. It has been suggested that the portico refers to the Adrianon or Hadrianum (see ADDENDA,—No. 6), but the presence of Serapis rather suggests the temple of this famous deity.

<sup>(3)</sup> Botti points out that it was evi-

dently in our Serapeum that Trajan erected the Column of Serapis which, as he says, is seen on coins of year XIII of the reign; coins of year XVI show the column surmounted by the sacred basket while those of year XVII show a statue in place of the basket. The Pseudo-Callisthenes (mid cent. A. D.) mentions a column of Helios (= Serapis) and two obelisks before the Serapeum. Cf. *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne*, pp. 11, 40. The existing huge red granite column, although it bears an inscription in honour of Diocletian (after 297 A. D.), may be earlier in date than this emperor but this is not certain. The story of E. W. Montagu, given in a letter dated 1767 A. D., to the effect that he found

buildings in Alexandria during an insurrection which was not suppressed until after Hadrian came to the throne<sup>(4)</sup>. The Roman Temple, as we have already seen above, was itself overthrown by the Christians in 391 A. D., and the church dedicated to St. John the Baptist built on the site. Some account of ancient writers' descriptions of the Roman Temple will be found in my article in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, pp. 124 ff.; see also SECTION VI of the present article.

I have to thank Professor Alan Wace for kindly giving me the following note on the Roman Temple :—

“Mr. Rowe as a result of his patient research has been able to trace the walls both of the Ptolemaic and of the Roman *temenos*. Further, as he points out, the oblong Roman foundations, which overlie the site of the Ptolemaic temple of Sarapis erected by Ptolemy III, are placed symmetrically between the east and west walls of the Roman *temenos*. The extension of the Roman *temenos* to the east was evidently due to a desire to centre the temple of which the concrete foundations survive. Since the Roman temple is built over the Ptolemaic temple, it would presumably have been the Roman temple of Sarapis. As is pointed out by Calderini and emphasized by Mr. Rowe, this temple with its *temenos* must be that of which we have descriptions, for most of the detailed accounts which we possess are those of 1<sup>st</sup> century writers<sup>(5)</sup>. It is curious that none of the records which have come down to us speak of any damage caused on any occasion to the Serapeum sufficiently extensive to necessitate its reconstruction. A fire in the reign of Marcus Aurelius or more likely that of Commodus seems to have caused damage. Though great destruction was done to the city by the fighting within it during the revolts of Aemilianus, Firmus, and Achilleus (Domitianus), in the first of which the Brucheion quarter was almost completely destroyed<sup>(6)</sup>, there is no mention of the

a coin of Vespasian (69-79 A. D.) in the cement between the shaft and base of the column, is strongly doubted by J. WHITE, *Aegyptiaca*, 1801, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. J. G. MILNE, *loc. cit.* Incidentally, A. CALDERINI, *Dizionario dei Nomi Geografici e Topografici dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*, 1935, p. 144, writes that although certain ancient authorities state that two fires were supposed to have occurred in the Serapeum, one in the time of Marcus Aurelius (161-

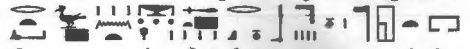
180 A. D.) and one in the time of Commodus (180-192 A. D.), yet these authorities seem to have been in error for apparently only a single fire occurred and that in the time of the latter emperor. Another fire is stated fancifully to have taken place under Caracalla (211-217 A. D.).

<sup>(2)</sup> The references will be found in A. CALDERINI, *op. cit.*, p. 140 ff.


<sup>(3)</sup> The references are given by J. G. MILNE, *op. cit.*

Serapeum having been affected. During the revolt of Achilleus the city was besieged by Diocletian for eight months and a large part of it was destroyed. After that revolt 'Pompey's Pillar' was dedicated to the victorious emperor by Postumus, Prefect of Egypt. The inscription on the base of the Column of Diocletian shows that it faced westwards, that is to say towards the way leading northwards through the *temenos* to the centre of the temple front. Was there any connection between the Roman temple and the column? In view of the symmetrical arrangement of the Roman temple and *temenos* a single column seems odd. It is just possible that there might have been a second column erected on the west side of the *temenos* to balance the other. As the plan (pl. XVII) shows, just at the spot where the position of such a second column should have been, if it was symmetrical, there is a cutting in the rock with one or two foundation blocks which might be the remains of the base of a corresponding column. Aphthonius, however, writing in the 17th century A. D., says there was one column and two obelisks. Could his column be that of Diocletian? Could the column have been erected before the time of Diocletian and be that seen on coins of Trajan and later have been usurped for Diocletian by Postumus whose inscription is on the base? The Nemesion was destroyed in the great Jewish revolt under Trajan and since that sanctuary seems to have been west of the tomb of Sidi Abu Dirdâ and so not far from the Serapeum it is not unlikely that the Serapeum also was wrecked at the same time and subsequently rebuilt under Hadrian, who, as is well known, restored many of the buildings ruined in the Jewish revolt. If so the coins recently discovered by Mr. Rowe in the foundations of the *piscina* might indicate repairs to the suggested Hadrianic Serapeum carried out after the fire of 181 A. D. in the reign of Commodus. Thus the descriptions of Ammianus, Aphthonius and other late writers may well describe the Hadrianic Serapeum."

## SUPPLEMENT No. II.

A) Other foundation deposits have been found at el-Madamûd (excavations of Institut français d'Archéologie orientale), and also in the temple of Toukh el-Qaramous (C. C. EDGAR, in *Annales du Service*, VII, p. 206, quoting E. NAVILLE, *The Mound of the Jew*, etc.). Mr. H. W. Fairman informs me that the texts of Edfu temple mention foundation deposits of various materials. He quotes, for instance, É. CHASSINAT, *Le Temple d'Edfu*, II, p. 32, line 7 (TITLE), a scene referring to  "Placing of tablets of gold upon the stones in the four corners of the Temple<sup>(1)</sup>". See also *loc. cit.*, lines 9-10, 13-15; VII, p. 47, lines 4 (TITLE — referring to seventeen tablets), 4-8; II, p. 60, line 16 (TITLE), p. 61, lines 1-2; VII, p. 48, lines 5 (TITLE), 5-9. Mr. Fairman adds "Note that Edfu appears consistently to speak of the plaques being at the corners of the building. I myself would suspect the existence of two or three sets, (1) At the corners of the original nucleus (excluding the Pronaos); (2) Perhaps at the corners of the girdle wall [the list in *Edfu*, VII, seems to refer to these]; (3) Perhaps at the corners of the Pronaos, since this was added later; but though the texts of the added part bear foundation lists they do not contain any reference to foundation deposits." Mr. Fairman remarks that the reference to seventeen tablets is interesting as in *Edfu*, XII, Pl. 375, a king is shown offering a similar number of tablets.

B) In certain Graeco-Roman temples, when the number of bronze votive figurines became too large to be kept in the temple the priests buried them in some part of the sacred area. For instance, at the Serapeum of Memphis, great quantities of such objects were placed beneath the pavement of the *dromos* or road leading to the Serapeum. Cf. A. ERMAN, *La Religion des Égyptiens*, 1937, p. 422 (= U. WILCKEN, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, I, p. 10). All these must not of course be confused with

<sup>(1)</sup> But note that in our Serapeum "Sacred Enclosure" (*Temenos*) and not texts *hwt-ntr* is certainly to be translated "Temple", the latter being .

foundation deposits. Likewise, in various parts of the Serapeum Enclosure, Alexandria, were recently discovered quantities of shell-form open Ptolemaic lamps (one inscribed for the household of the Archon). With three of them was a beautiful gold coin (*pentadrachm*) of Ptolemy I Soter (see Fig. 13<sup>(1)</sup>). For analogies see J. N. SVORONOS, *Ta Nomismata ton*



Fig. 13. — Above: Gold *pentadrachm* of Ptolemy I. Dia., 2.15 cm.; weight 17.75 gr. (Reg. No. P. 10076). Below: One of 3 Ptolemaic reddish-brown pottery lamps found with the coin. Length, c. 8.7 cm. (Reg. Nos. P. 10079-10081).

*Ptolemaion*, I, p. 36, Nos. 210/211; III, Pl. VII, No. 4; IV, p. 405 (gold coins of Ptolemy I from Toukh el-Qaramous) = *Annales du Service*, VII, p. 208.

C) Quarry marks on blocks of marble of the Roman period are dealt with by R. CAGNAT, *Cours d'Épigraphie latine*, 1898, pp. 306 ff. These marks contain: (a) the extraction number of block from same part of quarry since beginning of the year; (b) the Consular date determining year of extraction; (c) details of the stone yard or part of the quarry which furnished the block; and (d) often also the names and titles of the employees who ordered or surveyed the work.

Compare the following inscription on marble block No. 65, from quarry section No. 80, right, from Carystus:

On one side.	On face.	On other side.
NLXV	AVGVRIN COS	L · LXXX R
C Æ N	L · LXXX R	

namely, *Augurin(o) co(n)s(ule)*; *l(oco) LXXX, r(ecta), N(umero) LXV. Cae(saris) n(ostris)*.

<sup>(1)</sup> The coin and three lamps were actually found about forty-nine metres south of the Column of Diocletian, immediately below a cement floor near

the top of a water pit between the Ptolemaic eastern enclosure wall and colonnade.

D) With regard to the coloured Roman bowl fragments shown in Frontispiece (cf. also p. 49), Mr. D. R. Mackintosh of Shell House, Cairo, kindly writes me as follows:

“There is little doubt that the artist was drawing on this pottery vessel the Rosy Pastor (*Pastor roseus*), a member of the starling family. This bird is to be found

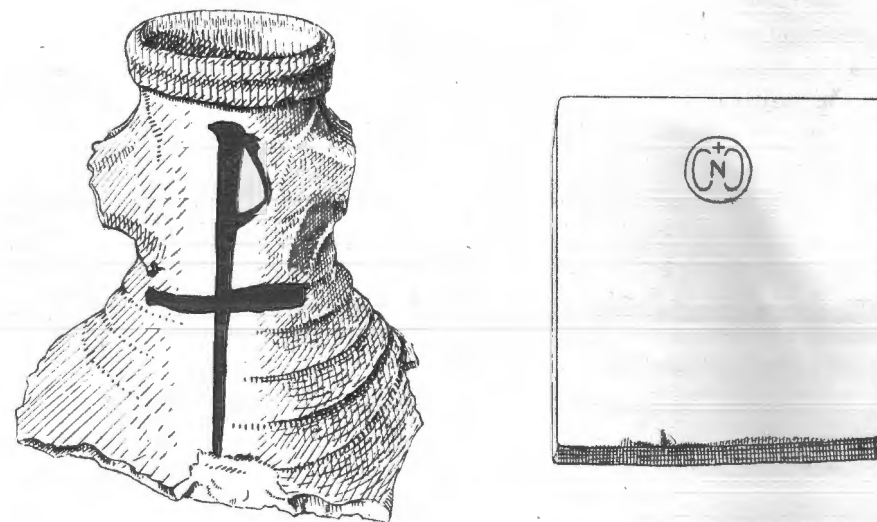


Fig. 14. — Left: Upper part of 2-handled amphora, light yellow pottery, with Chi-Rho emblem (= *Χριστός*) in red. Height 12.7 cm. (Reg. No. P. 9637). Right: Early Christian weight. For both objects cf. *ADDENDA*,—No. 8.

from South Eastern Europe through Asia Minor, Iraq, Iran to India. There is only one record of it having been found in Egypt west of the Suez Canal, but it is not unknown in Palestine and commoner still in Syria<sup>(1)</sup>. The closest nesting quarters

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. Nicoll's *Birds of Egypt*, I, 1930, p. 101, for further notes on the bird (the *Turdus roseus* of Linn., *Syst. Nat.*, ed. X, p. 170). The author writes “The Rose-coloured Starling breeds from the Balkans and South-eastern Europe through Asia Minor to Turkestan, and probably in Afghanistan. In autumn and winter they wander

about south of their breeding range in enormous flocks... Such flocks have visited Palestine, but there is no record from Sinai except an immature bird obtained by Meinertzhagen from near Rafa on August 10, 1917. In Egypt the only record is Heuglin's, also an immature bird shot near Giza on August 25th, 1864... Often feeds in trees,



to Egypt are probably the Anti-Lebanon. Mr. Kinnear of the British Museum of Natural History, to whom I wrote to obtain confirmation on this subject, has replied to me as follows : — ‘I think you are right about the bird being meant for a Rosy Pastor and I do not quite see what else it could be. The crest in a Rosy Pastor appears often very disintegrated, not like that of a lark. The tail is drawn in the usual way of many of these early artists. The bird on the left is a young example but no doubt the artist considered it the female. The distribution of the species has not changed but it is an erratic breeder, sometimes nesting in a place in very large numbers and then disappearing again. According to D’Arcy Thomson it is the *theleukias* of the Greeks and was known to them as a great devourer of locusts in the spring and a devourer of fruit in the autumn. For remarks as to the bird’s name among the Greeks see *Bull. of School of Oriental Studies*, 1931, p. 555 and 1903, p. 1103. The Rosy Pastor is found in south-east Europe as far west as Dalmatia and sometimes wanders to Italy and Dalmatia to breed. Its main breeding haunts are North Syria, Asia Minor, Persia and parts of Central Asia. It winters principally in India and there is apparently a west to east migration in the autumn from Persia, etc., to North India. Before the birds leave India in the spring they become very fat and are much sought after to eat. They are often found in large flocks and if one is sufficiently near to distinguish the colours it is a remarkable sight to see them rise like Starlings in a cloud. I think their colour, remarkable appearance in a flock, delicacy as food, and usefulness in destroying locusts are sufficient to make them suitable for depicting on pottery, etc.’ ”

I am indebted to Dr. H. R. Maurer, of Alexandria, for the following references to the bird :

“Brehm’s *Tierleben, Encyclopaedia of Natural History*, 1891, Voegel-, vol. I, pp. 385-389. An extensive description of this species is given in this ornithological work, parts of which I give here in translation from the German. *Pastor Roseus* and *Peguanus*, *Sturnus Roseus* and *Asiaticus*, *Turdus Roseus* and *Seleucis*, *Psaroides*, *Acridotheres*, *Pecuaris*, *Thremmophilus*, *Nomadites Roseus*, *Merula*, *Boscis* and *Gracula Rosea*. This lovely bird is called ‘Gypsy Bird’ owing to its habit of varying continuously its breeding localities and its migrations. The principal breeding place is in the Central Asiatic steppes. From there it spreads out over a tremendous area. To the East into Mongolia and China, then to Southern Russia and west,

eating flowers”. The bird is mentioned as follows in *List of Birds of Egypt (Supplement to the Zoological Society of*

*Egypt.*), *Bull.* no. 3, 1941, p. 2 : “*Pastor Roseus*; Rose-Coloured Starling : *سمرمر*”.

to all over Europe as far as the Faroer Islands, to Asia Minor, Syria, India, Ceylon, Burma, but *seldom to Africa*. Within a century it has migrated 16 times into Switzerland and 37 times into Germany. The *Pastor Roseus* is omnivorous in its habits of feeding. It is known as the greatest enemy of the locusts as it destroys enormous quantities of these voracious acridians. It is known from observation that it destroys much more of these insects than it can eat and funny tales are spun about this particular habit. The Armenians and Tartars consider the appearance in great numbers of these birds as the forerunner of a locust invasion and organize praying processions to divert the evil. In Smyrna the bird is called ‘holy bird’ in the month of May when it feeds on the parasitic insects of the trees but it is called the ‘devil bird’ in July when it starts to invade the fruit orchards and the vineyards where it is a greedy feeder on man’s produce. The bird has the same habits in its winter breeding localities in the Central Asiatic steppes where it keeps always in close company with the farm animals as it frees them of their parasitic insects ; but in the meantime it becomes very destructive to the large paddi fields of India as it feeds there principally on rice. For the latter reason it is usually controlled there by special measures. *Pastor Roseus* is a very lively bird and is sometimes kept in captivity but it is said that it loses its beautiful pink colour when it is kept in captivity. The bird keeps always in the vicinity of brooks, rivers, lakes and is very sociable in its habits, living in large flocks and migrating the same way. A complete description of the bird is given in this volume and a non-coloured plate is shown. [Also mentioned in C. WHYMPER, *Egyptian Birds*, 1909, p. 211, No. 196 ; G. E. SHELLY, *Handbook to the Birds of Egypt*, 1872, p. 157, No. 129 (= *Pastor roseus* of Linn.); Von HEUGLIN, *Orn. N. Afr.*, p. 531; also figured in Gould’s *Birds of Europe*, Pl. 212.]”

In conclusion I must add that the Græco-Roman Museum is very greatly honoured to have received the congratulations of highly authoritative circles and personages for the recent finds, which appreciation encourages all concerned in their scientific work. Also, it is to the everlasting credit of the Municipality of Alexandria that it has so generously supported in the past five years the excavations of the Museum thus enabling rich and historical finds to be made not only in the Serapeum

but also at Kôm el-Shuqafa. Moreover, I have to thank H.E. Mustapha Pasha Fahmy, the present Director General of the Municipality, both for the kind message he sent the Museum on the occasion of the discovery of the famous Temple of Serapis, which occurred at the commencement of his term of office, and also for his welcome promise of support for future work in the area of the Temple, of which building Ammianus Marcellinus justly wrote : *ut post Capitolium... nihil orbis terrarum ambitiosius cernat!*<sup>(1)</sup>

ALAN ROWE.

<sup>(1)</sup> Reg. Gest., XXII, 16, 12.



Fig. 1. — Foundation plaques of Ptolemy III, as discovered in hole in rock, 27+8-1943 (S.-E. angle of Serapeum Enclosure).

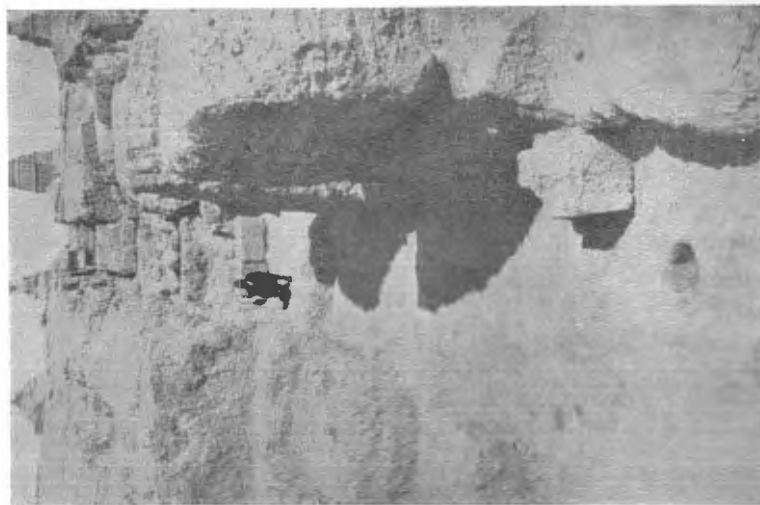
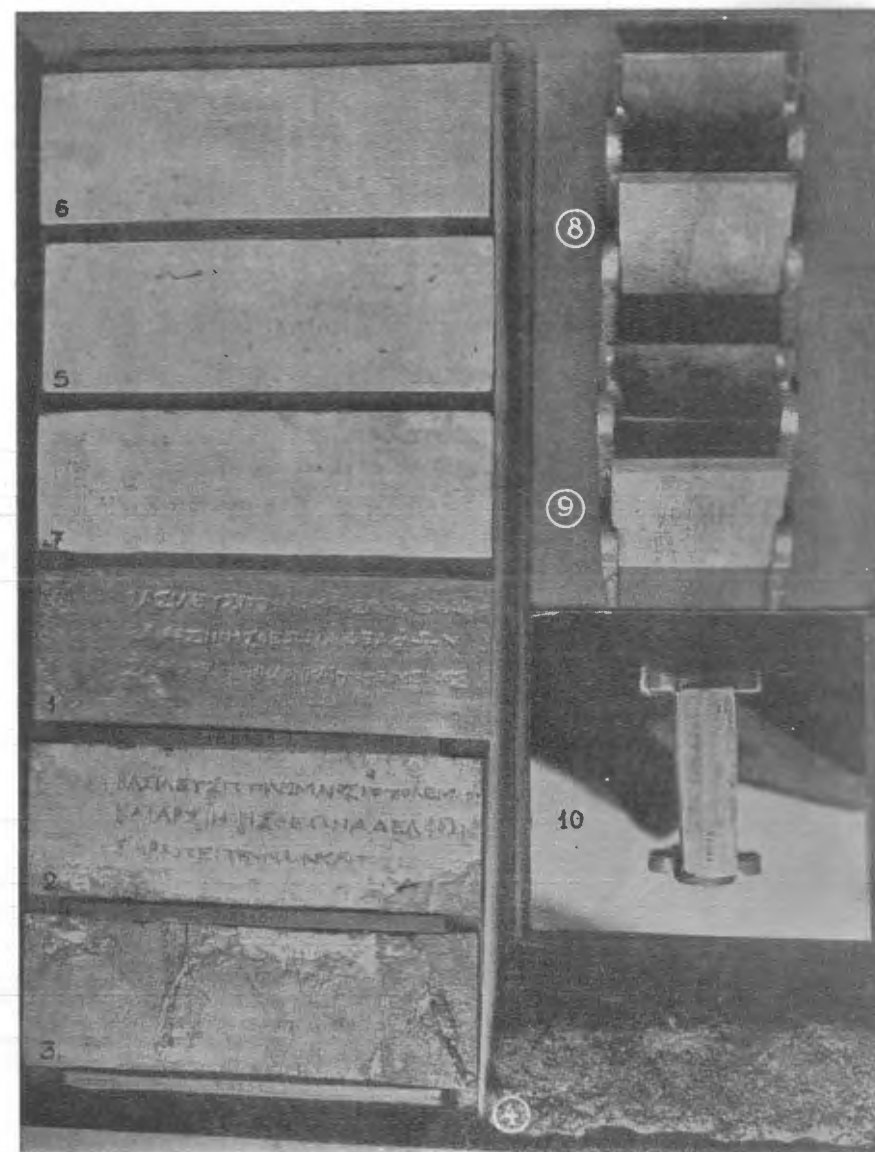


Fig. 2. — View of foundation trench of east outer Ptolemaic Enclosure wall, looking north. In foreground is hole for plaques seen in Fig. 1.

ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM.



Ten Foundation Plaques of Ptolemy III, discovered 27-8-1943 in S.-E. angle (after cleaning and in Exhibition Case). No. 8 and 9 have mirrors behind them to show text on reverse.

ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM.



Fig. 1. — General view of great niche in deep trench in south part of Ptolemaic Enclosure. Looking north-west. In foreground are rock floors of small chambers and in background the niche itself with Roman fireplace facing it.



Fig. 2. — Details of great niche in south part of Ptolemaic Enclosure. Looking west. In background is one of the three "constructional" holes of the underground cistern behind niche. To left is red granite column, 9.00 m. in length.

ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM.





Fig. 1. — Bases (one to left upturned). They belong to columns like that seen in lower figure of Pl. III; all of red granite. Lying near east outer part of great niche.



Fig. 2. — Part of "compressed masonry" wall, forming foundation of inner colonnade at east of Roman Enclosure. Looking south-east. A little behind end of wall (in background) is the great staircase seen in Pl. V.

ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM.



Fig. 1. — Foundations ('compressed masonry') of Roman staircase leading up to east side of Serapeum (near south-east angle of Ptolemaic outer Enclosure wall). Looking north-west.



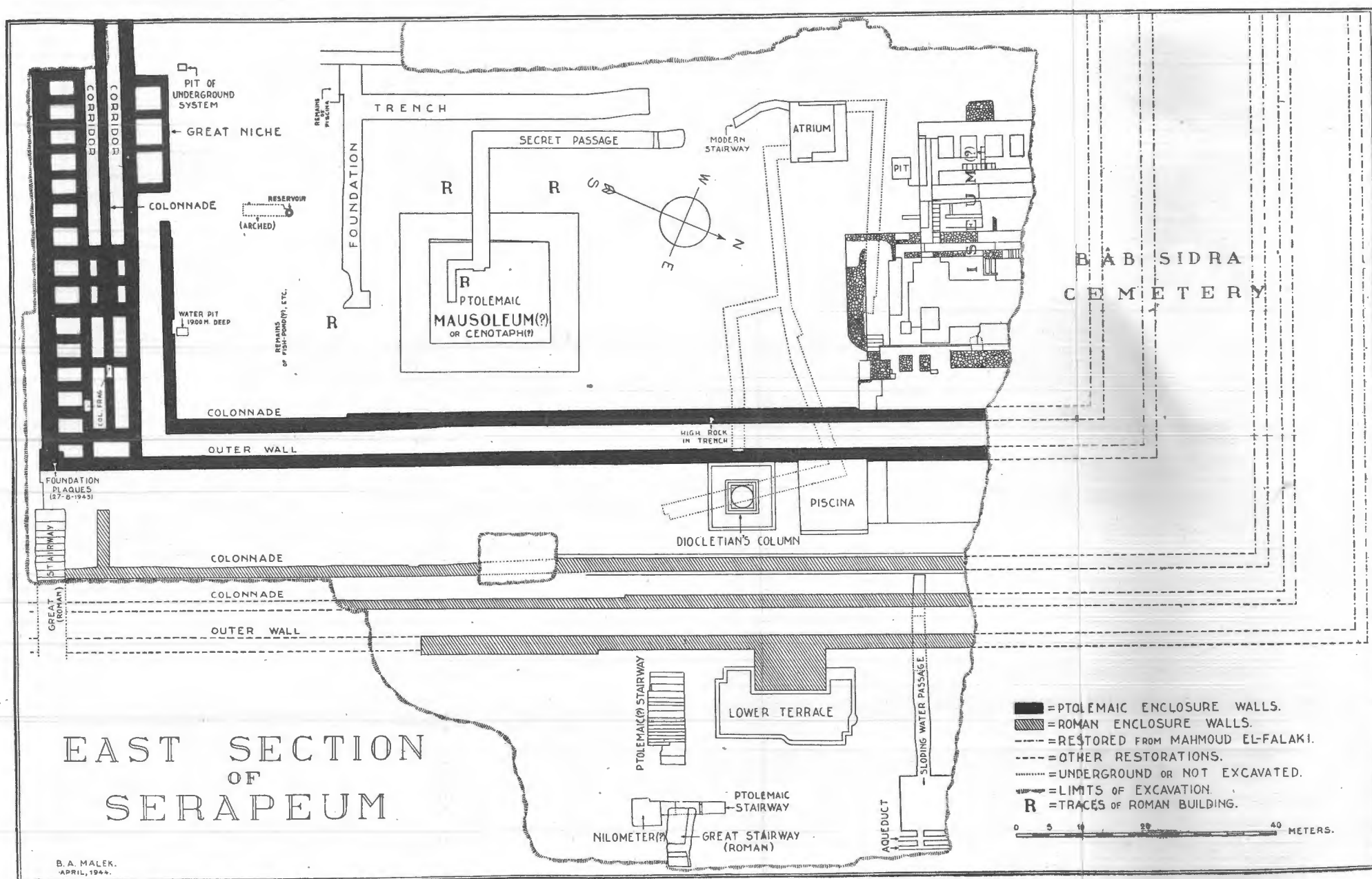
Fig. 2. — Roman fireplace with channel for hot air (in front of great niche in south part of Ptolemaic Enclosure). Looking west.

ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM.



View showing foundation trench, with some blocks *in situ*, of Ptolemaic outer Enclosure wall at east of Serapeum. The southern part of the same trench is seen in Pl. I, Fig. 2. In background is "Diocletian's Column", the inscription on which (west side of base) is as follows : — ΤΟΝ[ΟΣ]ΙΟΤΑΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΤΟΝΠΟΛΙΟΥΧΟΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΝΤΟΝΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΝΠΟΣ[ΤΟΥΜ]ΩΣΕΠΑΡΧΟΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ, «To the most pious Emperor, Protector of Alexandria, Diocletian the Invincible, Pos[tum]us, prefect of Egypt, [has erected this column (?)»». The inscription, at least, was made after 297 A. D. (Note:—When this view was taken the foundation trench of the colonnade — to left of wall trench — was not cleared). Looking roughly north.

ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM.

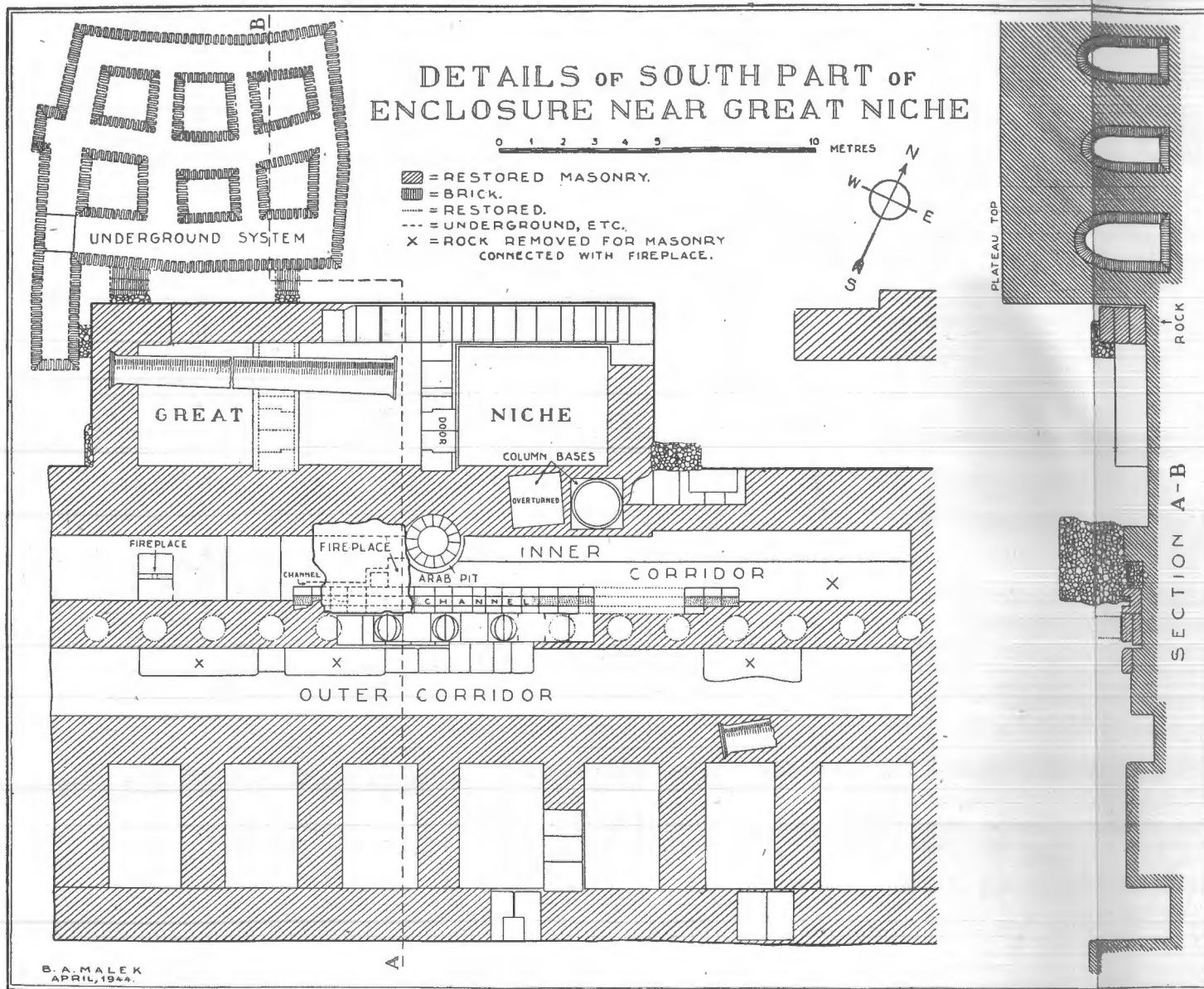


EAST SECTION  
OF  
SERAPEUM

B. A. MALEK.  
APRIL, 1944.

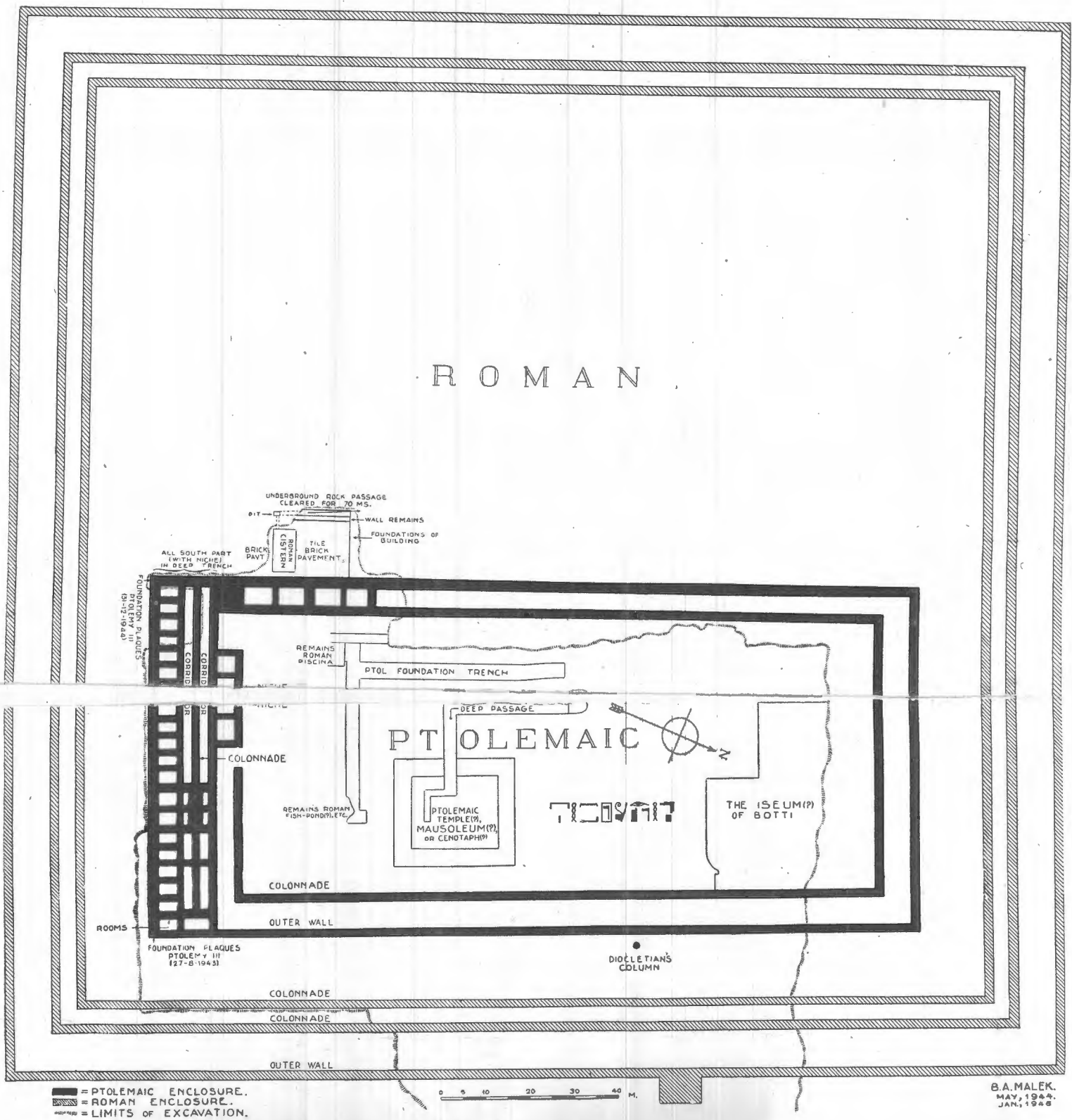
ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM — EXCAVATIONS OF 1943-44.  
(South-west part omitted — see Pls. IX, XI and Fig. 12). For "Iseum (?)” read "Serapis Temple".



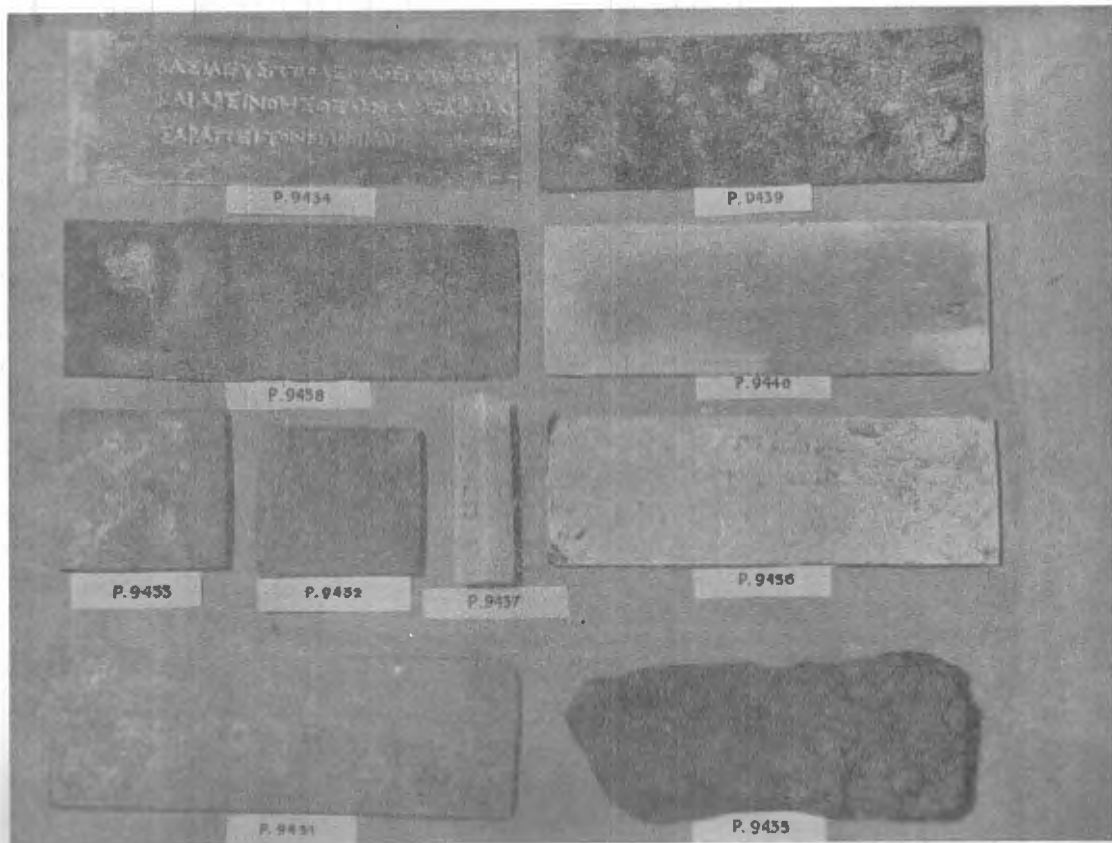


ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM — EXCAVATIONS OF 1943-44.

Ptolemaic Enclosure near Great Niche at South. (For details to west see Pl. XI and Fig. 12).  
 The underground system was originally a cistern—perhaps afterwards used for some other purpose (?).

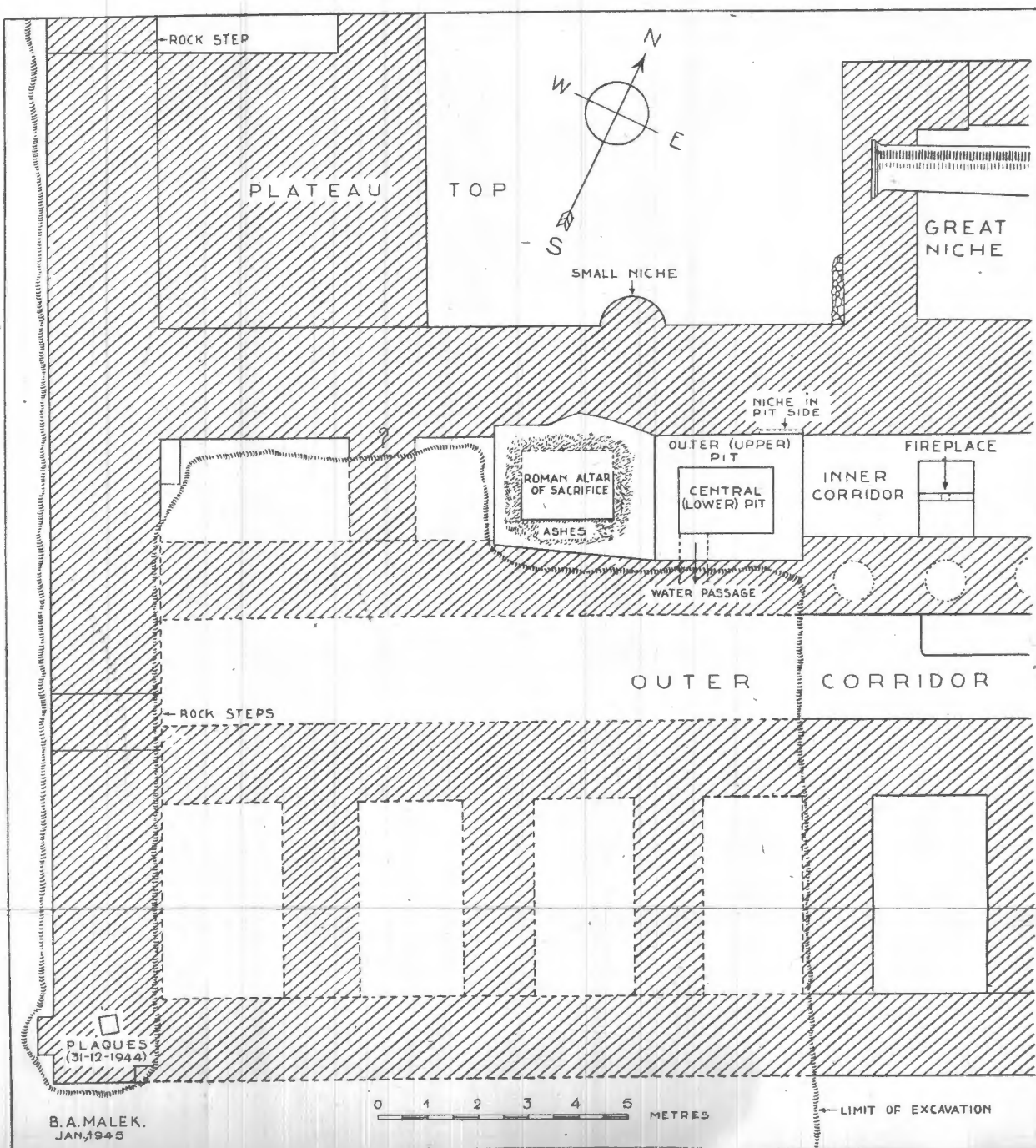


**RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM**  
 According to Excavations of 1943-44, and statements of IVth cent. A.D. writers  
 that the *Roman* Enclosure was square.  
 The five Northern Walls and Colonnades on plan are added from details given by Mahmoud el-Falaki.  
 For details of excavations made since this Plate was drawn see Pls. XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII (this plate shows that  
 Roman Enclosure instead of being square, was actually rectangular), XVIII.  
 Read "Serapis Temple" for "The Iseum (?) of Botti".



Ten foundation plaques of Ptolemy III discovered 31-12-1944 in S.-W. angle of Serapeum Enclosure (view before cleaning). Nos. P. 9434, gold; 9438, silver; 9439, bronze; 9437, faience; 9435, mud; 9431-9433, 9436, 9440, opaque glass.

ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM.

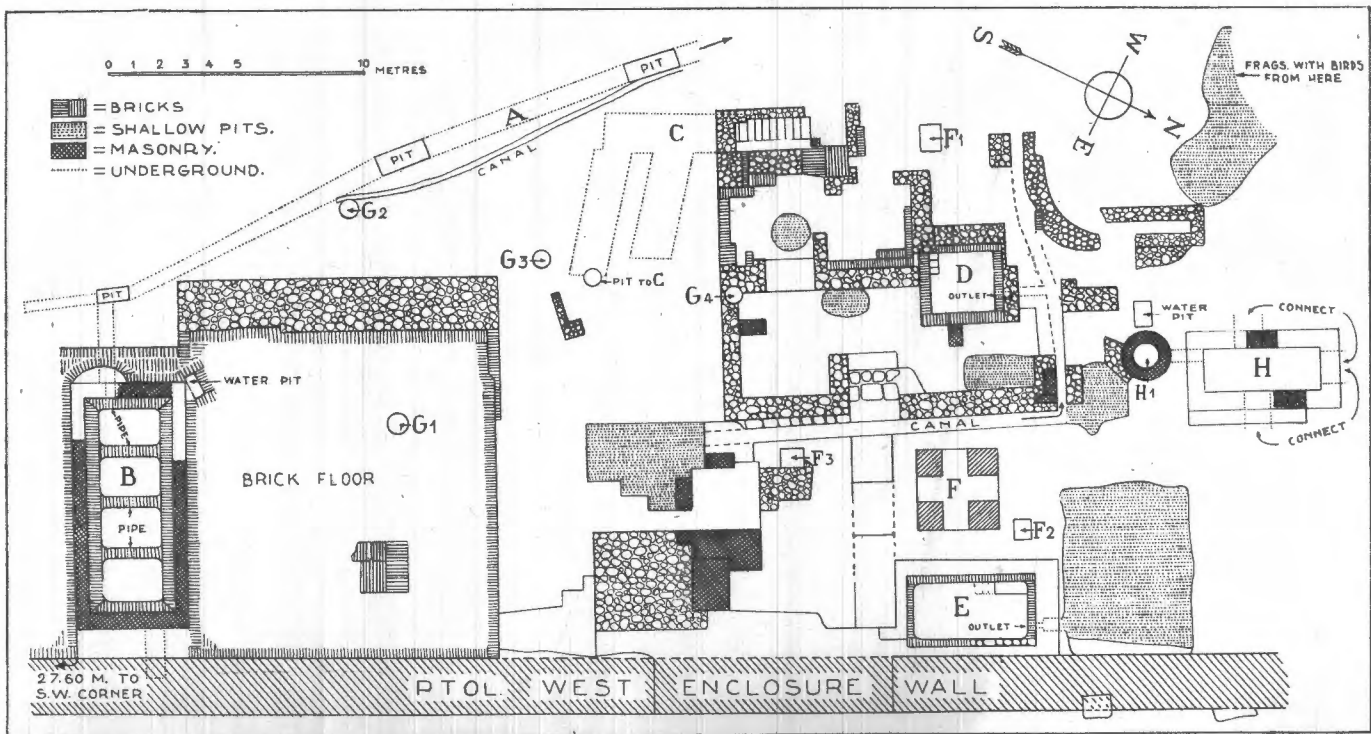


ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM — EXCAVATIONS OF 1943-44.  
 South-west angle of Ptolemaic Enclosure (For remains to east see Pl. VIII),  
 Cf. Fig. 12 for details of parts unexcavated when this Plate was made.



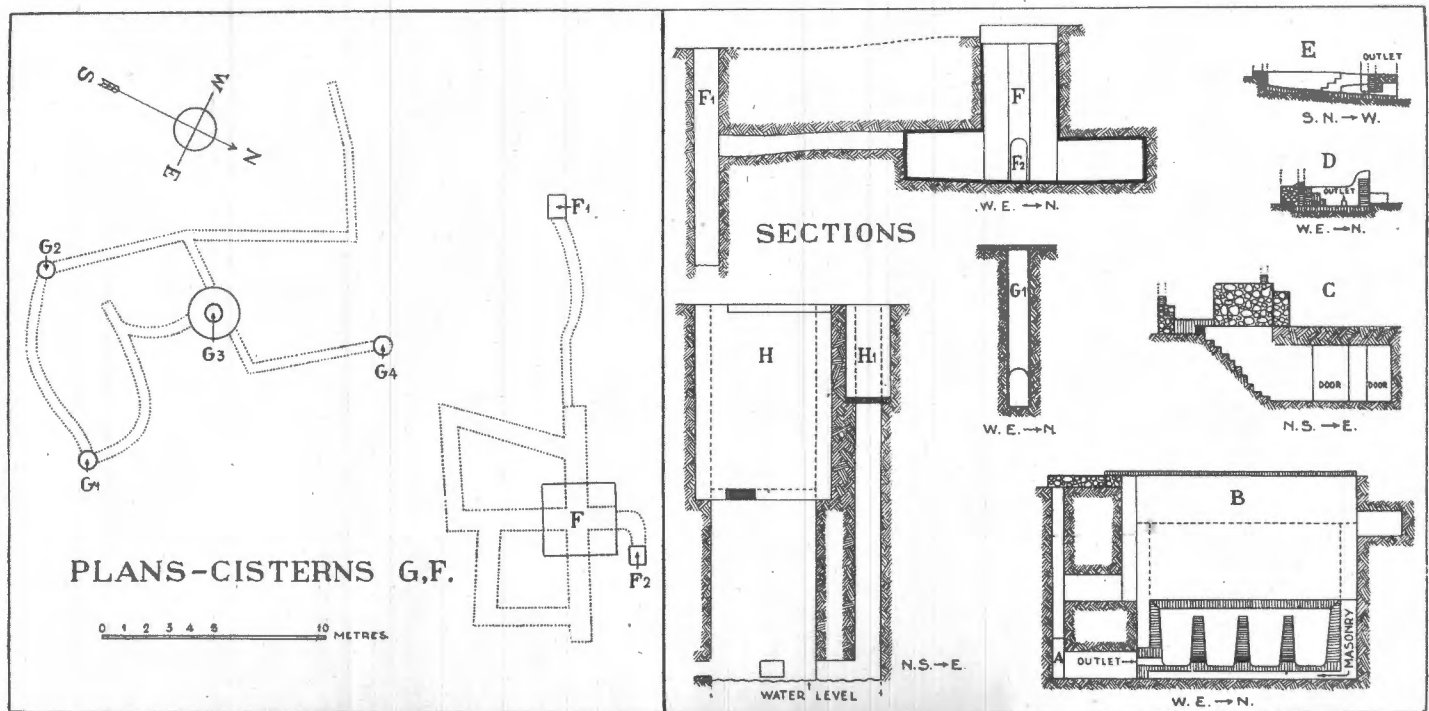


The supposed Ptolemaic Nilometer. Looking north-west.  
Cf. Pl. VII (bottom).  
ALEXANDRIA ΣΕΒΑΣΤΕUM.



ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM—EXCAVATIONS OF 1945  
(to middle of September).

A, drainage-passage of cistern B; C, underground store-room (?); D, E, baptisteries or baths; F, F1 (not completely cleared owing to bad rock), F2, F3, pits of cement-lined cistern; G1, G2, G3, G4, pits of another cement-lined cistern; H, large rectangular pit with adjoining circular pit H1 (the west, east, and north doors at bottom connect by passages—impossible to measure because of water).  
Dates :— A, B, G, Late Roman or Early Christian; C, D, E, F, Early Christian; H, Ptolemaic. Pit F1, perhaps Roman in origin.  
For details to right (north) see Pl. XVIII. (For B cf. also Pl. IX.)



ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM—EXCAVATIONS OF 1945  
 (to middle of September).

Left :— Plans of cisterns G, F, pits of which are seen in Pl. XIII.  
 Right :— Sections of plans of these cisterns and of other details seen in Pl. XIII. The directions indicated are approximate.  
 (The dotted lines inside *pit* of F should have been drawn as full ones).



Fig. 1. — Two gold foundation plaques of Ptolemy IV discovered on 28/10/45 and 29/10/45, respectively, in Shrine of Harpocrates. Reg. Nos. P. 10035, Deposit No. 1 (above); and P. 10046, Deposit No. 3 (below).

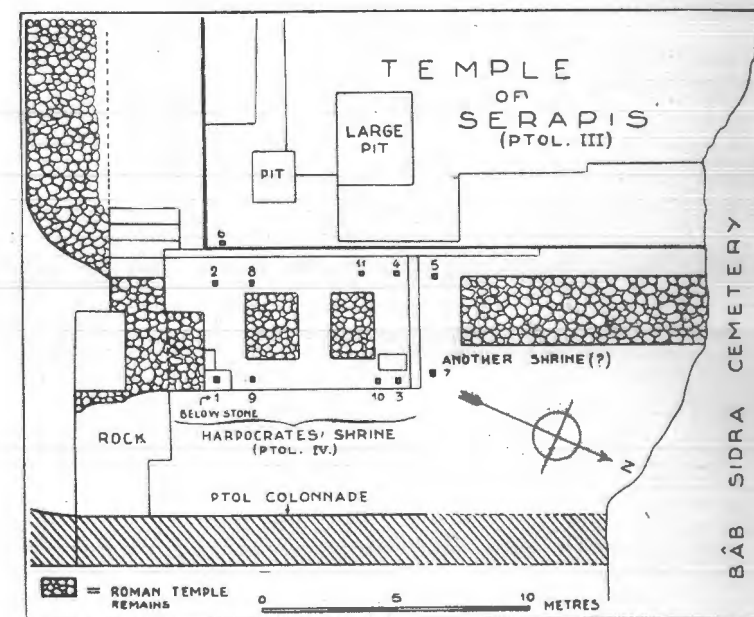
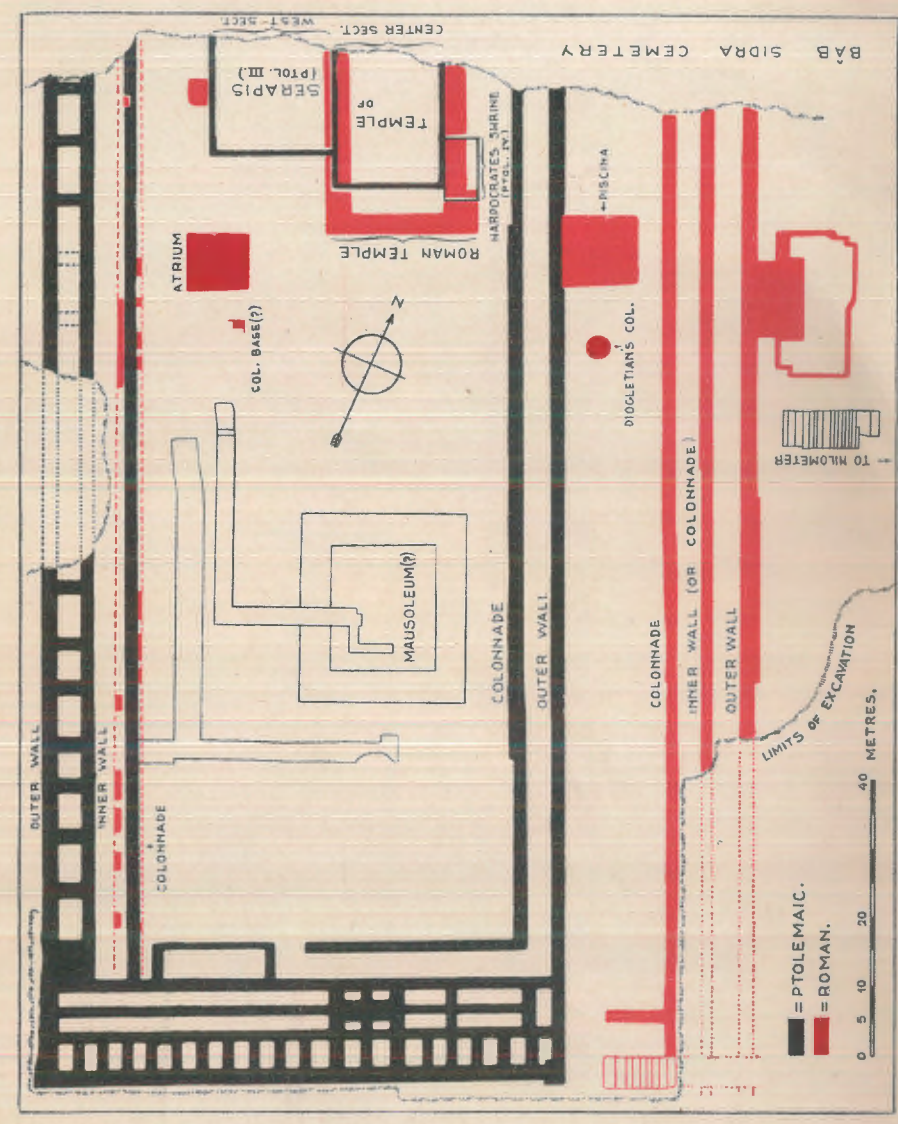


Fig. 2 — Plan showing positions (Nos. 1-11) of foundation plaques in newly-identified Temple of Serapis and Shrine of Harpocrates. October, 1945.

ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM.





ALEXANDRIA SERAPEUM—EXCAVATIONS OF OCTOBER, 1945.

Plan showing recently identified Temple of Ptolemy III, Shrine of Harpocrates (Ptolemy IV), Roman Temple (of Hadrian?), and newly-discovered Roman colonnade foundations on west side of Enclosure. Details of Roman period are in red. Limits of excavations indicated by hatched lines.







PART II



# PLAQUES BILINGUES DE PTOLÉMÉE IV

PAR

ÉTIENNE DRIOTON.

Les plaques dédicatoires récemment découvertes à Alexandrie par M. Alan Rowe <sup>(1)</sup>, dans les fondations du sanctuaire d'Harpocrate ajouté par Ptolémée IV au Sérapéum, portent toutes la même inscription bilingue, grecque et égyptienne. Mais la version égyptienne est exprimée en écriture cryptographique.

Sur les plaques de verre, le tracé d'encre a disparu à peu près complètement. Par contre les plaques en or et en argent ont conservé un texte très net, écrit en pointillé, qui se trouve ainsi attesté par les témoins :

- A<sup>1</sup> = Plaque en argent du dépôt n° 1..... Intacte.
- A<sup>2</sup> = — — — n° 2..... Brisée, mais complète.
- O<sup>1</sup> = Plaque en or du dépôt n° 1..... Intacte.
- O<sup>2</sup> = — — — n° 2..... Intacte.











L'inscription peut donc être établie en toute sécurité :






ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ  
 ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ  
 ΘΕΩΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ ΑΡΠΟΧΡΑΤΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΙΔΟΣ




<sup>(1)</sup> Voir le rapport de M. Alan Rowe, qui précède.









- a) Net sur A<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>2</sup> et O<sup>2</sup>.
- b) Le premier  est cursif sur O<sup>2</sup>.
- c) Le signe † est assez mal venu sur A<sup>1</sup> et O<sup>1</sup>, mais il est parfaitement reconnaissable sur A<sup>2</sup> et O<sup>2</sup>. Il a le même tracé que la tête du signe † dans toutes les inscriptions.
- d) Le signe , difficile à exécuter en pointillé, n'est reconnaissable que sur les plaques du dépôt n° 2, O<sup>2</sup> :  et A<sup>2</sup> : . Sur celles du dépôt n° 1, A<sup>1</sup> et O<sup>1</sup> il est simplifié en quatre traits à peu près égaux en hauteur et parallèles : .
- e)  est mal venu sur O<sup>2</sup>, où on pourrait le lire , mais il est clair sur A<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>2</sup> et O<sup>1</sup>.
- f) , qui avait été omis par le graveur, se trouve ajouté partout au-dessous de la ligne. Une flèche †, qui le surmonte, indique la place où il faut le lire, entre la fin du cartouche et .
- g) O<sup>1</sup> : .














Il n'y a pas de doute que, comme il est d'usage dans cette sorte de documents bilingues <sup>(1)</sup>, le texte égyptien soit la traduction plus ou moins serrée du libellé grec. Certaines équivalences d'ailleurs sautent aux yeux. Sans parler des trois noms royaux inscrits dans les cartouches, les groupes  † et  , qu'on trouve deux fois aux places correspondantes, représentent sûrement ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ et ΚΑΙ;  a toutes chances d'être la finale *hrd* du nom ΑΡΡΟΧΡΑΤΕΙ, et le dernier signe, , traduit certainement ΙΣΙΔΟΣ.

Ces jalons posés, le texte cryptographique se décompose et s'interprète comme suit :


1.  † = ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

Le second signe, la plante héraldique du Midi, est une variante matérielle de , déjà relevée dans   =    (Wb., IV, 58). On serait tenté de le transcrire *sw*, mais son emploi, on le verra plus loin, en finale de la deuxième équivalence de ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ prouve qu'il a simplement, dans ce document, la valeur de *s*. La finale *w* n'est pas écrite, suivant un procédé cryptographique depuis longtemps reconnu (*Annales*, XL, 406).










<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. TOD, *A bilingual dedication from Alexandria*, dans le *Journal of Egyptian archaeology*, XXVIII (1942), p. 53-56, et le rapport de M. Rowe.




Dans ces conditions, l'  initial a certainement la valeur de *n*. C'est apparemment par acrophonie de   *nhn* « enfant », qui désignait aussi les petits d'animaux, comme le prouve l'orthographe            



de la place pour loger ce qui suit, la fin du cartouche resterait inexplicable. Comme il est certain, dans une inscription aussi homogène dans ses modes de transcription<sup>(1)</sup>, que le signe  sert à lui seul à exprimer le nom d'Isis, les quatre signes qui restent ne sont pas assez nombreux pour représenter 'nh d-t mry, mais ils le sont trop pour écrire seulement mry.



La façon la plus satisfaisante de résoudre le problème est de poser tout uniment l'équation :

 = p	
 = t	 = m
 = w	 = r
 = r(l)	 = y
 = m	
 = y	 = S.t
 = s	

On verra par la suite que la valeur w de  est sûre d'après le second cartouche. Les transcriptions  = y et  = s doivent aussi trouver un peu plus loin leur justification.

Ces équivalences appellent les remarques suivantes :

 = p.



L'objet  est certainement la mèche, comme M. Fairman l'a admis sur la suggestion de M. Grdseloff (*Annales*, XLIII, p. 309, n° 11). La comparaison des meilleurs spécimens de cet hiéroglyphe avec les torches trouvées dans la tombe de Toutânkhamon est convaincante. Puisqu'il n'existe pas de mot commençant par p pour désigner cet objet, la valeur ne peut être tirée que d'une appellation par métonymie. La plus vraisemblable est alors  « ce qui est consumé » (*Wb.*, I, 510, 6). Le mot,


<sup>(1)</sup> En effet la variété, dans ce document, n'affecte que le choix des signes. Le texte est une transposition systéma-





tique en caractères unilatères, interrompue seulement par l'insertion de quatre signes-mots.


il est vrai, n'est connu jusqu'à présent que dans la XII<sup>e</sup> heure de l'Am-Douat, mais l'auteur d'un cryptogramme aussi alambiqué que celui-ci n'a pas dû reculer devant l'utilisation d'un terme rare, si même il ne l'a pas recherchée.

 = t.






C'est par acrophonie de   (τωπε : τωπ) « ce qui goûte », opération caractéristique de la bouche représentée.

 = w.

Cette valeur, qui est évidente dans le second cartouche « Ptolémée », a déjà été relevée au tombeau de Ramsès VI (*PiANKOFF, Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, p. 107, 10). Je l'ai alors expliquée par   wpš « le déchirant », épithète du lion (*Annales*, p. XXXIX, 77) : mais on peut aussi songer à un autre vocable, w'ty « le solitaire » qui, dans un texte de Philæ, sert à désigner le lion avec l'orthographe   (*Wb.*, I, 279, 9).

 = r(l).

On trouve déjà le signe avec cette valeur dans un cryptogramme de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie<sup>(1)</sup>. Il sert aussi plus loin à exprimer r dans la transcription wsr-hp de Σδραπισ.





Cette valeur est tirée, par acrophonie, de   « ce qui pousse ». Pour en saisir la raison, il faut remarquer que, selon une très ancienne convention de l'écriture hiéroglyphique, le signe a été employé pour symboliser la végétation quelle qu'elle fût. Ainsi le mot « steppe »<sup>(2)</sup>, dans *Pyr.*, 486 b et c (P), est déterminé par la chaîne montagneuse  qui porte un signe  planté sur chacun de ses sommets, bien qu'en réalité ces roseaux à panaches ne croissent qu'au bord des cours d'eau, dans le fond des vallées. L'hiéroglyphe visait seulement à exprimer que la steppe était couverte de végétation. Le nom du dieu T:-sp-f (*Wb.*, V, 342, 12) est déterminé par un taureau sur un pavois dont la mangeoire est garnie de deux  : ce serait maigre chère pour un dieu s'il ne fallait les prendre

<sup>(1)</sup> *Mélanges Maspero*, I, *Orient ancien*, Le Caire 1935-1938, p. 701.



zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten, II, p. 318.

<sup>(2)</sup> SETHE, *Uebersetzung und Kommentar*

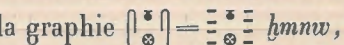



pour le signe d'herbages plus frais et plus délicats, mais moins faciles à figurer clairement en quelques traits. De même le signe , qui sert à écrire *sh.t* « champ », et la plupart du temps « champ cultivé », ne montre que ces roseaux dont la destruction était le premier objectif de la culture; il en va de même de , *sm*, qui désigne les plantes fourragères, et même celles dont l'homme se nourrit. Dans toutes ces graphies, le roseau , qui prolifère spontanément sur la terre d'Égypte dès qu'il y sourd un peu d'eau, n'est pris que comme emblème de la fécondité végétale, par opposition à l'aridité du désert. On ne pouvait manquer de l'enseigner aux scribes pour peu qu'on leur expliquât la composition des hiéroglyphes. La signification générale de « végétation », attribuée ici au signe  conformément à la pratique des hiéroglyphes, reflète sans doute cet enseignement scolaire.


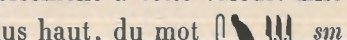
 = *m*.

C'est par acrophonie de *mnh*, valeur reconnue du signe (FAIRMAN, *Bulletin de l'Institut français*, XLIII, 106). Les diverses valeurs attribuées dans ce texte au signe  sont toutes fondées sur les épithètes traditionnelles du dieu Thot. Celui-ci reçoit entre autres le qualificatif de  « d'excellent conseil », BOYLAN, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, p. 214.



 = *y*.

Ainsi qu'on le sait depuis longtemps par la graphie , *hmnw*,  est à la basse époque une forme du chiffre 4 (LORET, *Manuel de la langue égyptienne*, 131, n° 715), tirée de l'écriture hiératique, FAIRMAN, *Bulletin de l'Institut français*, XLIII, p. 115. C'est à ce titre qu'il prend ici la valeur de *i* (*y*), par acrophonie de *ifd*.


 = *s*.

Le signe a sûrement cet emploi dans les orthographes , *shp* « lumière », et mot dérivés, enregistrées par le *Wörterbuch* (IV, 282-284) et dont M. Fairman cite un exemple (*Bulletin de l'Institut français*, p. XLIII, 113) sans conclure expressément à cette valeur. Elle est tirée, d'après les explications données plus haut, du mot  *sm* « végétation », par acrophonie.


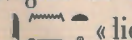

 = *m*.


C'est une *pars pro toto* du signe  = *m*, par acrophonie de  *mr* « taureau » (Cf. FAIRMAN, *Annales*, p. XLIII, 221, n° 145 a).

 = *r*.

La chouette, rapace nocturne, mérite le qualificatif de  « celle qui reste éveillée ». Je suppose qu'il est ici à l'origine de la valeur *r*.

 = *y*.


Les noms des cordes étant nombreux, sans que l'on sache encore quelles différences ils expriment, on peut hésiter, pour l'origine de cette valeur, entre les acrophonies de  « corde » ou de  « lien », à moins qu'il ne faille la dériver de  « ce qui enveloppe », désignation métonymique du lasso représenté.

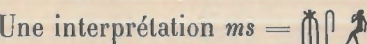

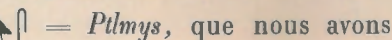
 = *S.t*.


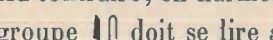

On retrouvera ce signe, avec la même valeur, à la fin de l'inscription. Comme dans la plupart des bas-reliefs de cette époque, c'est le type iconographique d'Hathor qui est devenu celui d'Isis.

Transcription : *Ptwlmys mry S.t* « Ptolémée, aimé d'Isis ».

3.  = ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.


Le génitif grec exprimant ici la filiation, c'est un terme de ce genre qui se dissimule sous l'élément cryptographique .

Une interprétation *ms* =  « enfant » serait séduisante à première vue. En fournissant une équivalence  = *m*, elle redonnerait de la vraisemblance à la transcription  = *Ptlmys*, que nous avons écartée. Toutefois elle est impossible : le mot *ms* « enfant » n'est jamais employé dans les libellés de protocoles royaux, et il n'existe guère ailleurs qu'au pluriel.

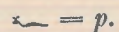
Au contraire, en harmonie avec l'interprétation  = *Ptwlmys*, la groupe  doit se lire *si*. C'est la transcription phonétique de  *si*, le mot qui convient exactement à cette place.

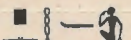


Transcription : *si ns(w)* « fils du roi ».

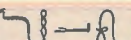
4.  = ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ.

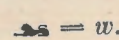
Les caractères cryptographiques se trouvant au nombre de sept, la correspondance signe par signe avec *Ptolmvs* est assurée.

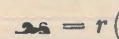
 = *p*.


Ce n'est certainement pas en vertu du nom de cette vipère, mais par dérivation d'une métonymie. Il est alors naturel que ce soit par acrophonie de  « celui qui mord », si l'on songe aux multiples conjurations contre toutes « les gueules qui mordent », dont la plus redoutée était sans contredit celle du céraste.

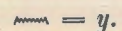
 = *t*.

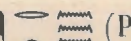

C'est sans doute par acrophonie du vieux mot  (Pyr. 1021 c et 1464 b) « lasso ».

 = *w*. Cf. plus haut, n° 2.


 = *r(l)*, en clair.

 = *m*, en clair.

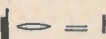
 = *y*.




Si le sens d'« eau (?) » donné à  (Piankhi, 102) par le *Wörterbuch* (I, 106, 3) était assuré, il faudrait sans doute voir dans ce mot l'origine de cette valeur. Mais il ne l'est pas et, d'ailleurs de toute façon, je préfère proposer une dérivation par acrophonie de  *i'i* « ce qui lave ».

 = *s*.


Ce signe est la partie supérieure du  , soit une fleur de lis. Ne jugeant pas avoir la place suffisante pour écrire distinctement en entier le grand signe vertical, le cryptographe a eu recours à la *pars pro toto*. Sa valeur, on l'a vu au n° 1, est *s*.


Transcription : *Ptolmvs* « Ptolémée ».



5.  = KAI.



Le second signe est en clair. Il s'agit dès lors, sans aucun doute possible, de la préposition conjonctive  , fréquente dans les textes ptolémaïques, quelles qu'en soient par ailleurs l'origine et la véritable prononciation. Le premier élément  a évidemment la valeur de *h* par acrophonie de  *htm·t* « un siège », qu'il représente.

Transcription : *hr* « et ».


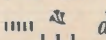
6.  = ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ.

La dernier signe  est un symbole depuis longtemps connu (BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, p. 942, 8) comme écriture de *nsw-bit* « roi de Haute et Basse Égypte », cf. FAIRMAN, *Bulletin de l'Institut français*, XLIII, p. 100.

Mais il sert aussi à exprimer, plus simplement,  = *nsw* « roi », comme par exemple dans ROCHEMONTEIX, *Biblioth. égyptol.*, III, p. 306, 7 :  ... *Je te donne que ta royauté* ... C'est sûrement le cas ici, car *βασιλισσα* ne peut correspondre qu'à *hm·t-nsw*. Ce qui oblige à poser les équivalences :

 = *h*, par acrophonie de  *htr* « câble ».

 = *m* .....  *mdw* « ce qui parle ».

 = *t* .....  *dw* « végétation »<sup>(1)</sup>.

On pourrait objecter que, la cryptographie écrivant les mots tels qu'ils se prononçaient — les graphies de *si* et de *nsw* en fournissent la preuve dans ce texte —, on comprend mal que le *t* final du mot *hm·t* « épouse », lu certainement ΖΙΜΕ, soit écrit ici. Mais si l'on se reporte à la version

<sup>(1)</sup> C'est le sens retenu par le *Wörterbuch*, V, 421, 3 et 4. Plus récemment, dans les *Annales*, XLIII, 263, M. Fairman a attribué au mot une signification : « les 5 sépales ». Mais, comme en réalité le *sšn*, ou *Nymphaea Lotus L.*, dont il

s'agit, n'a que quatre sépales, il vaut mieux, je crois, s'en tenir au sens admis par le *Wörterbuch* et traduire le texte cité : *Le lotus (sšn) sacré, prince du grand Lac au milieu de la végétation duquel tu es sorti à Hermopolis.*







Étant donné que vaut à lui seul pour *hrd* «enfant», comme pour *S-t* et pour *nsw*, le reste du nom d'Harpocrate doit nécessairement être lu :

= *h*

= *r*

= *p*,

l'◀ jouant ici, comme plus haut, le rôle d'indicateur écrit en clair.

La valeur = *h* a déjà été relevée par Devéria (*Biblioth. égyptol.*, V, p. 72, n° 4) dans l'équivalence boiteuse<sup>(1)</sup> du Livre des Cavernes : . Cf. PIANKOFF, *Bulletin de l'Institut français*, XLII, p. 57 et pl. LXXVIII, 21. Cette valeur dérive sans doute par acrophonie de ◀ *hrr-t* «fleur, efflorescence», le cryptographe ayant alors considéré le panicule de roseau pour lui-même, et non plus comme signe de la végétation.

ne peut valoir pour *p* que par acrophonie de (SANDMAN, *Texts of the time of Akhenaten*, p. 94, 15. *Livre des Morts*, LXXVII, 1) «celui qui sort de l'œuf». L'expression donne en effet la caractéristique du signe qui, avec , est le seul oisillon en usage dans les hiéroglyphes.

Transcription : *n Hr-p-hrd* «à Harpocrate».

9. ◀ = ΚΑΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ.

La locution égyptienne construite avec *m* (en clair) qui correspond à la version grecque ne peut être que *m wd* «par ordre de».

est déjà connu avec la valeur de *w* dans la cryptographie du Livre de l'Am-Douat : (BUCHER, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmôsis III et d'Aménophis II*, p. 2, 13). C'est probablement par acrophonie de ◀ *wnb* «fleur, efflorescence».

<sup>(1)</sup> La version primitive en effet semble avoir été , en cryptographie . Une faute de copiste

ayant altéré le en , la transcription cryptographique a introduit un , correspondant à la nouvelle forme du mot, au milieu de sa leçon plus ancienne.

Quant à = *d*, il faut bien sûr se référer pour l'expliquer au mot «siège, trône (d'un dieu)», attesté pour l'époque gréco-romaine (*Wb.*, V, 574, 2). Sa rareté n'est pas, dans une écriture aussi sophistiquée, une objection à la vraisemblance de son emploi.

Transcription : *m wd* «par ordre».

10. ◀ ◀ ◀ = ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΟΣ.

La lettre initiale a la valeur *w*, fréquente à l'époque ptolémaïque, et l'équivalence = *p* a déjà été reconnue plus haut (n° 4). Pour obtenir, entre ces deux termes, le nom d'*Ws(i)r-Hr* correspondant à *Σάραπισ*, il ne reste qu'à placer dans l'intervalle :

= *s*, par acrophonie de ◀ si: «le Sage», épithète de Thot cf. BOYLAN, *Thot*, p. 103-106.

= *r*. Cf. n° 2.

= *h*, par acrophonie de *Hr* «Horus».

Transcription : *Wsr-Hr* «de Sérapis».

11. ◀ = ΚΑΙ ΙΣΙΔΟΣ.

Cf. n° 2 et 5.

Transcription : *hr S-t* «et d'Isis».

L'inscription égyptienne de ces plaques est donc la traduction exacte du texte grec, moins la mention *dieux Évergètes*. Par contre le cartouche de Ptolémée IV régnant est plus développé que celui de son prédécesseur Ptolémée III. Ces légères différences n'affectent pas l'identité substantielle des deux versions.

\* \* \*

On possède donc enfin, avec ce document bilingue, un texte cryptographique bien établi dont le sens est indiscutable, et qui de plus est contemporain des inscriptions sculptées dans les temples ptolémaïques, auxquelles il s'apparente par plusieurs graphies : = *i*, = *n*, = *w*.



Les conclusions à tirer de son analyse doivent donc éclairer la controverse qui s'est récemment élevée sur la nature de l'écriture dite ptolémaïque et, d'une façon générale, sur la cryptographie plus ancienne avec laquelle elle est en relation.

Ces conclusions sont les suivantes.

L'écriture cryptographique de ce document est artificielle et elle a un caractère de jeu.

Il est impossible en effet d'expliquer autrement les aspects différents donnés, dans deux cartouches voisins, au nom de Ptolémée, qui est d'une orthographe si constante dans l'écriture normale.

La même volonté d'énigme est également évidente dans la multiplicité de valeurs attribuée aux mêmes signes :

⌋ = w, r, h, s, t  
⌋ = i, w, h, t  
⌋ = i, m, s,

aussi bien que dans la multiplicité de signes exprimant les mêmes valeurs :

i = ⌋, ⌋, ⌋, e, ⌋  
h = ⌋, ⌋, ⌋, ⌋  
p = ⌋, ⌋, ⌋

Ce dernier exemple fait apparaître en plus, dans le choix des signes une prédilection pour l'attribution de valeurs différentes aux caractères unilitères qui, dans l'écriture normale, ne prêtent jamais à des confusions de ce genre :

i = ⌋, ⌋, e      r = ⌋, ⌋  
w = ⌋              h = ⌋  
p = ⌋, ⌋, ⌋      s = ⌋  
m = ⌋              t = ⌋, ⌋  
n = ⌋

De si nombreuses interférences de valeurs ne peuvent pas résulter de l'application normale d'un principe quelconque, consonantal ou autre.

Toute écriture honnête — je veux dire qui vise loyalement à signifier — les éviterait d'instinct. Même si le principe consonantal devait aboutir (ce qui n'est pas) à toutes ces possibilités de signification, le fait de ne pas en élaguer l'exubérance et de se servir délibérément d'un système amenant des confusions aussi inextricables supposerait, chez celui qui s'en sert, une volonté de poser des énigmes.

Mais on doit aller plus loin, et admettre que l'origine de toutes ces valeurs est à chercher, non pas dans l'application du principe consonantal, mais dans l'acrophonie.

Quatre indices clairs en sont donnés. Ce sont les équivalences :

⌋ = h  
⌋ = g  
⌋ = h  
⌋ = ;

Le fait que la valeur de ces quatre signes est la première articulation de leur lecture normale, *htm*, *gm*, *hr* et *;tf*, vient s'ajouter aux autres constatations déjà faites dans le même sens<sup>(1)</sup>. Leur nombre ne permet plus

<sup>(1)</sup> *Annales*, XLIII, p. 355. A cette liste d'acrophonies indiscutables, il faut ajouter les valeurs  $\text{---}$  = s et  $\text{+}$  = s, tirées par acrophonie de *snhm* « saute-relle » et de *shym* « casse-tête ». Ces signes sont employés dans les mots  $\text{---}$  } *nhs* et  $\text{+}$  } (le  $\text{+}$  étant superposé au  $\text{---}$ ) *sgb*, parfaitement visibles sur la photographie publiée par M. Fairman dans le *Journal of Egyptian archaeology*, XXV, pl. XIV, 4. Il y a là, en frise, une courte inscription énigmatique du temps de Ramsès II, dont M. Fairman a bien voulu me rapporter la copie complète de son dernier voyage au site de 'Amārah, au Soudan. J'en fis alors

le déchiffrement et le communiquai à M. Fairman, par lettre du 29 décembre 1944, que je lui demandai la permission de publier en la faisant suivre des observations qu'il voudrait bien formuler. M. Fairman n'a pas cru pouvoir autoriser la publication d'un texte appartenant à l'*Egypt Exploration Society*, commanditaire des fouilles dirigées par lui à 'Amārah. Je m'incline devant ce scrupule et me borne à citer ici la phrase que tout le monde peut lire sur la planche publiée : *nhs-sn m sdm-w sgb ntr pn nfr* « Ils restent éveillés d'entendre continuellement le rugissement de ce beau dieu ».



de décréter que c'est un effet du hasard, ni qu'il faut nécessairement forger une autre explication.

Un second fait crucial est fourni par l'existence des concordances :

$b = \text{𐀀}$   
 $p = \text{𐀁}, \text{𐀂}, \text{𐀃}$

Le nombre en effet de mots commençant par ces articulations est fort restreint et il est plus facile qu'avec d'autres initiales d'en trouver l'explication adéquate. Or celle-ci ne peut pas être fournie par le principe consonantal. L'acrophonie au contraire les explique parfaitement.

Ce sera du reste, bon gré mal gré, le destin de cette publication que de servir de pierre de touche aux deux thèses en conflit. J'avoue ne pas parvenir à expliquer par le principe consonantal la plupart des valeurs indiscutables fournies par ce document bilingue, mais il se peut que d'autres, plus clairvoyants que moi, moins prévenus par leurs recherches antérieures, ou plus désireux d'aboutir, y réussissent. Dans tous les cas, ce texte, exhumé par M. Rowe au moment le plus aigu de la controverse, va permettre aux égyptologues de décider, pièces en mains, quelle est, des deux explications avancées sur la nature de la cryptographie égyptienne et, par voie de conséquence, sur l'origine des signes dits ptolémaïques — procédé acrophonique ou principe consonantal? — celle qui est en faillite.

La question se pose enfin de savoir quel mobile a déterminé la rédaction en cryptographie de la partie égyptienne de ce document bilingue, destiné à rester éternellement enfoui sous terre. Il ne peut s'agir comme dans d'autres cas, ni d'indiscrétion à conjurer puisque le texte grec est explicite, ni de lecture à provoquer par l'intérêt de jeux graphiques inédits. Une seule explication semble plausible : Ptolémée IV a voulu que son inscription dédicatoire fût rédigée dans l'écriture la plus noble, la plus prisee des scribes de son temps, celle qui était à leurs yeux le *nec plus ultra* de la science des hiéroglyphes et dont ils aimaient faire passer de temps en temps les trouvailles, pour la rehausser, dans l'écriture ordinaire : l'écriture par énigmes.

Étienne DRIOTON.

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<sup>(1)</sup> In connection with St. John the Baptist, a church in honor of whom was erected after 391 A. D. in the Alexandria Serapeum (cf. p. 63), it may be recalled that among the many other countries where this holy man was venerated at an early date was far-off England, where a relic said to be of St. John himself — actually the bone of the little finger — was kept in the Church of the Virgin Mary attached to the Priory of Black Canons of Selborne (the chief rule of the Canons, incidentally, was that of St. Augustine, who was constituted Bishop of Hippo, in North Africa, in 395 A. D.). The relic was evidently brought from Palestine by the Crusader Peter de la Roche, or de Rupibus, who founded the Priory in 1232 A. D.; it is listed in the Catalogue of sacred objects of the Priory Church, made in the reign of Henry VI, and drawn up between John Stepe the Prior, elected in 1411 A. D., and Peter Bernes the Sacrist: «*IDENTURA PRIORIS DE SELBORNE QUORUNDAM TRADIT. PETRO BERNES SACRISTÆ IBIDEM ANN. HEN. 6... UNA CUM CONFESS. EJUSDEM PETRI SCRIPT. HEC IDENTURA FACTA DIE LUNE PROXIME POST FESTUM NATALIUM DNI ANNO REGIS HENRICI SEXTI POST CONQUESTUM ANGLIE V... INTER FRATREM JOHANNEM STEPE PRIOREM EC-*

*clesie beate Marie de Selborne & Petrum Bernes sacrist. ibidem videlicet quod predic-tus prior deliveravit prefato Petro omnia subscripta..... Item: 1 osculatorium cum osse digiti auricular Sti. Johannis Baptistæ.* It may be added that the Priory was suppressed by Papal bull in 1486 A. D., and its revenues and estates handed over to Mag-dalen College in Oxford (founded 1459 A. D.). What eventually became of the treasured relic of St. John which had been *religione pa-trum multos servata per annos* there is no record. The full latin text of the *Identura Prioris, etc.*, is given by Gilbert WHITE, *Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne*, 1884, pp. 475 ff. The author himself was not only the historian of Selborne, his native village, but was among the greatest authori-ties of his time on English Natural History. What was thought of him after his death is thus summed up in his funerary epitaph: «*He was Kind and Beneficent to His Rela-tions, Benevolent to the Poor, and deservedly respected by all his Friends and Neighbours. He was born July 18, 1720, O. S. and died June 20, 1793. Nec bono quicquam mali evenire potest, nec vivo, nec mortuo.*

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