

eagerly when the *English* were to enter the city: and being told that some days would elapse before this could take place, they burst into tears. Every individual beneath the Consul's roof exhibited proof of the privation which his family had sustained: fallen cheeks; clothes hanging loose, as if too large for their bodies; and a general appearance of wretchedness and dejection. The Consul said, that his family had tasted neither bread nor meat for many months: that their principal food had been bad rice and onions. Upon the landing of our army, most of the inhabitants were under the necessity of making biscuit for the support of their families; but as soon as this was known to *Menou*, he ordered the whole of it to be seized for the use of the garrison. When we inquired what other measures the *French* had adopted to maintain themselves, we were informed, that they had seized all the specie, plate, and merchandize in the city; and given, in lieu thereof, bills upon their *one and indivisible* Republic; thus having the means of buying up, at enormous prices, whatever article of food might be brought in by the *Arabs*, or appear in the markets of the place².

(2) The following prices were given, upon the day of our arrival, for provisions; which, of course, the merchants were precluded from buying,

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If the capitulation had been prolonged another fortnight, every merchant's family would have been found destitute even of clothing; for, every fortnight, additional exactions were made by the troops; and already every thing else had been seized. It was calculated, that of the *Turks*, then prisoners in the city, upwards of forty perished daily. The *French* had carried their cruelty to these men to the severest extremities; making them work, like horses, at their mills, and in drawing water. All the male inhabitants had been compelled to assist in the duties of the garrison, and to bear arms, upon pain of imprisonment if they refused; a species of oppression which, perhaps, might have been expected from any troops similarly situated; neither would it be altogether fair to judge of

buying, as they had been stripped of every thing likely to be accepted in exchange.

	<i>L. s. d. English.</i>
For One pound of beef	0 10 0
One bottle of wine	1 0 0
One ditto of brandy	1 10 0
One pound of bad rice	0 1 0
One ditto of cheese	0 9 0
A fish (the size of a mackarel)	0 5 0
One egg	0 0 8

Neither bread nor wood could be obtained at any price: the *French* soldiers were then employed in pulling down the houses of the inhabitants for fuel.

Frenchmen in general by the sample which their army in *Egypt* afforded; collected as it had been, from the refuse not only of the *French Republic*, but of all the rovers and banditti of the *Lerant*¹. So desirous were the *French* soldiers of abandoning *Alexandria*, notwithstanding the obstinacy of their General, *Menou*, whom they detested, that they had been seen to seize *Arabs* by the beard, who arrived by stealth with provisions, and beat them, in order that supplies of food might not be the means of protracting the surrender of the place.

We had scarcely reached the house in which we were to reside, when a party of the merchants, who had heard of our arrival from the *Imperial* Consul, came to congratulate us upon the successes of our army, and to offer any assistance in their power, for expediting the entry of the *English* into *Alexandria*. Some of these waited until the room was cleared of other visitants, brought by curiosity, before whom they did not think proper to make further communication. But when they were gone,

(1) The subsequent conduct, however, of the *French* armies, in their treatment of the inhabitants of the countries through which their armies have passed, has been invariably such as to degrade the name of a soldier into that of a robber.

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VII.Discovery
of the Tomb
of Alex-
ander.

speaking with circumspection, and in a low voice, they asked if our business in *Alexandria* related to the subject of contention between Lord *Hutchinson* and *Menou*; namely, the *Antiquities* collected by the *French* in *Egypt*? Upon being answered in the affirmative, and, in proof of it, the copy of the *Rosetta Stone* being produced, the principal person among them said, “Does your Commander-in-chief know that they have the *Tomb of Alexander*?” We desired them to describe it: upon which they said, that it was of one entire and beautiful green stone¹, shaped like a cistern, and taken from the *Mosque of St. Athanasius*; that, among the inhabitants, this cistern had always borne the appellation of *Alexander's Tomb*. Upon further conversation, it was evident that this could be no other than the identical monument to which our instructions from *Cairo* referred. We produced the confidential letter entrusted to us upon this subject. The person to whom it was written was not present: but they offered to conduct us to his house. We had hitherto carefully concealed the circumstance of its being in our possession; and, for obvious reasons, we shall

(1) The fact is, that the stone, being a mass of *breccia*, is variegated, and parts of it only are of a green colour.

not mention, even now, the name of the individual to whom it was addressed. "It relates then," said they, "to the particular object of our present visit; and we will put it in your power to get possession of it." They then related the unjustifiable measures used for its removal by the *French*, upon whom they bestowed every degrading epithet which their indignation could suggest; telling us, also, the veneration in which the *Moslems* had always held it, and the tradition familiar to all of them respecting its origin. Indeed, this tradition had been so long established, that it is marvellous it had been so little noticed among the Academies of *Europe*². *Leo Africanus*, long subsequent to the conquest of *Alexandria* by the *Saracens*, had recorded the tradition³; and *Freinshemius*, in his Supplement to *Livy*, had admitted the authority of *Leo*⁴. That it should particularly excite the attention of *Frenchmen*, is easily explained. Their own countryman, *Rollin*, had

(2) Many were misled by the words of *Juvenal*.

"Cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem

"*Sarcophago contentus erit.*"——

supposing the allusion to be intended rather for *Babylon*, than for *Alexandria*, where *Juvenal* had himself visited the *Tomb*.

(3) *Alexandria* Descript. tom. II. lib. 2. p. 677. *Elzer*. 1632.

(4) Lib. 133. tom. V. p. 637. edit. *Crieger*.

directed their regard towards it, by countenancing the opinion and testimony of *Freinsheimius*¹. So eager were they to obtain it, that the most solemn treaty was infringed, whereby they had guarantied to the *Moslems* the inviolable possession of their sanctuaries. The *Mosque* of *St. Athanasius* was forcibly entered by a party of their pioneers, with battle-axes and hammers; and the "TOMB OF ISCANDER, FOUNDER OF THE CITY," was borne away, amidst the howling and lamentations of its votaries². But we must turn our attention, at present, from the circumstances of its removal by the *French*, to pursue a narrative of events which ultimately placed in our possession a trophy, still destined, in their sanguine expectations, to grace their national *Museum*³. At the moment of our arrival

(1) *Rollin*. vol V. p. 137.

(2) See also the communication made to Dr. *Henley*, by General *Turner*, respecting the last instance of devotion paid to the *Tomb* by many *Moslems* of distinction, at its departure from ALEXANDRIA. *Append to Tomb of Alex.* No. II. p. 144.

(3) Perhaps few of our countrymen have yet attended to the language they hold upon this subject. The following extract from an account of the *French Expedition to Egypt*, by *Charles Norry*, architect, one of the members of the "*Société Philotechnique*," attached to the Expedition, will offer a specimen of the hopes entertained in *France* for the recovery of this valuable monument. "SANS DOUTE CE MONUMENT NOUS SERA APORTE AU MUSEUM DE PARIS! AU MOINS EST IL DEJA DESIGNE POUR L'ORNER UN JOUR"!!! See *Peltier's edit. of Denon's Voyage in Egypt*, tom II. *Append.* p. 129. *Lond.* 1802.

in the city, not a single individual of our army or navy, nor even in *Great Britain*, knew that the monument at which *Leo Africanus* had himself done homage, as a *Mahommedan*, and which had so long been venerated by *Moslems* under the remarkable appellation of the *TOMB OF ALEXANDER*, existed in *ALEXANDRIA*.*

We then visited the person to whom our letter from *Cairo* had been addressed, respecting the communication to be made upon our arrival; and found that every information had been anticipated by the intelligence we had already received, excepting that which related to the place where this valuable relic was now deposited. This, however, they readily gave us. We were told that it was in the hold of an hospital ship, named *La Cause*, in the inner harbour; and being provided with a boat, we there found it, half filled with filth, and covered with rags of the sick people on board*.

(4) This is evident, from the total silence respecting it in all the works published concerning *Egypt* since the campaign; neither was there any thing known concerning the history of this monument after it was deposited in the *British Museum*, until the period of the author's publication upon the subject in 1805.

(5) Mr. *Hamilton* afterwards saw it in the same situation. "We were conducted," says he, "alongside of a large hospital ship, on board of which was the celebrated *Alexandrian Sarcophagus*: it had

It proved to be an immense monolithical *sarcophagus*, or, according to the name borrowed by the *Greeks* from the antient language of *Egypt*, a *soros*¹; converted, in ages long posterior to its formation, into a *cistern*, according to a custom which has been universal in the *East*, wherever such receptacles for the dead have been discovered. The nature of the stone, and the testimonies concerning its history, have been already before the public²: some repetition has therefore now occurred; but to repeat the whole of a detail which was then unavoidably elaborate, would be considered not only as tedious, but altogether as a work of supererogation. The *Soros*¹ is now placed where it is open to the observation of any one who may deem it an object of curiosity. All that the author wishes to insist upon, as conveying indisputable evidence concerning it, is the corresponding testimony afforded by the remarkable

been for several months in the hold, and was intended to be sent to France the first opportunity. This monument was resigned to us not without much regret, as it had long been considered one of the most valuable curiosities in ALEXANDRIA." *Hamilton's Egyptica*, p. 403. Lond. 1809.

(1) See *Jablonski, Bochart, Kircher, &c.*

(2) See "*The Tomb of Alexander*," as published by the author in 1806.

nature of the conditory, with the tradition mentioned by *Leo Africanus*, and preserved among the *Moslems* to the hour of its removal': a species of evidence which may fairly be deemed *internal*; because it is impossible that a set of ignorant barbarians could be aware that the object of their veneration was, in fact, that particular kind of coffin, which *Herodian*, speaking of the *Tomb of Alexander*, has designated by the term *Soros*; still less that the same *Soros*, inscribed with the *sacred writing* of the *priests*, is

(3) The *Arabs* retain both the name and the era of *Alexander* in their calendars; calling him, always, ذو القرنين *bicornis*; and *Gellius* explains the true cause of this appellation. "Arabes eum *Bicornem* vocant, non tam ob partum Orientis et Occidentis imperium, quam à cornuta *Alexandri effigie*, nummis exhibit, ut *Jovis Ammonis filius* agnosceretur." (*Vid. Annot. in lib. ii. Sulpit. Sever. c. 25. p. 343. Edit. Horn. L. Bat. 1654.*) The image of *Alexander*, so expressed, appears upon the medals of *Lysimachus*, and was common to many States after his death, although it is always falsely considered as the head of some other person. His image also appears very commonly covered with the spoils of a lion; when it is improperly considered as a young *Hercules*: sometimes, also, it is seen armed with a helmet, and then it is confounded with the figures of *Minerva*. *Le Brun* has been censured and ridiculed for introducing what has been called a head of *Minerva*, upon the figure of *Alexander*, in his celebrated paintings of his battles; whereas it is, in all probability, a genuine portrait of that hero. *Alexander* is thus alluded to in the *Tailor's Story* before the *Sultan of Casgar*, in the *Arabian Tales*. "Sir," said he, "you will be pleased to know that this day is *Friday*, the 18th of the month *Saffar*, in the year 653 from the retreat of our great Prophet from *Mecca* to *Medina*, and in the year 1320 of THE EPOCHA OF THE GREAT ISKENDER WITH TWO HORNS."

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deified by the Egyptians, as Alexander incontestably was, after his interment¹.

In the evening of the same day, about five o'clock, we waited upon *Monsieur Le Roy*, *Ordonnateur de la Marine*, in consequence of receiving, by *Menou's* Aid-de-camp, an order from the *French General* to see the other *antiquities* which their army had collected to send to *France*, and which they had been compelled to surrender. This gentleman treated us with great politeness, and conducted us to some magazines near the old port: here many of the relics were then deposited which are now in our national *Museum*. A *Soros*, brought from *Grand Caire*, was upon the beach near those magazines, together with part of another from *Upper Egypt*, ready to be shipped off, as soon as

(1) See *Lucian*, vol. I. p. 290. edit. *Amstelot. Blaru*. Marcus Aurelius ALEXANDER Severus was born in a temple sacred to Alexander the Great, and thence received the name of Alexander. See also the various proofs of Alexander's deification adduced in the *Tomb of Alexander*, Camb. 1805; and the additional evidence of the fact, as published by Dr. *Henry*, in the Appendix to that work.—"Ἐνθάδ' Ἀλεξάνδρου θεοῦ τετιοταῖς θύραις ἵσταται. Quandoquidem Alexander vult esse Deus, esto Deus." *Ælian*. lib. ii. *Var. Hist.* cap. 19.—See also *Vossius*, de *Cultu Alexandri Magni*, tom. II. cap. 17. p. 802. *Amst.* 1642, &c.

an opportunity might offer. Near to these was also placed a *granite* fragment, being the hand of a colossal statue discovered by the *French* engineers upon the site of antient *Memphis*², and supposed to have belonged to the *Temple of Vulcan*³. Another fragment, exactly similar to this, is yet lying among some Ruins upon the shore to the east of *Alexandria*, believed by the *French* to denote the site of *Canopus*⁴. An intentional reserve has been carefully maintained by their writers, upon the subject of all the *antiquities* that came in our possession: on this account, the places where some of them were discovered are still unknown in this country. We saw, also, three large *Syenite* statues, each in a sitting attitude, holding the *Crux Ansata* in the left hand: these were representations of the twofold symbol worshipped by the *Egyptians*

(2) Where the villages of *Metrahenny* and *Mohannan* are now situate.

(3) The reader will find this Colossus mentioned in the "*Rapport fait au Premier Consul Bonaparte, par le Citoyen Rapaud*," in the Appendix to *Peltier's* edit. of *Denon's Travels in Egypt*, tom. II. p. 38. Lond. 1802. but without any specific description. Its dimensions alone are stated—"Un Colosse d'environ trente-cinq pieds de proportion."

(4) It is represented, with part of a *Sphinx*, and other broken pieces of sculpture, in one of the plates belonging to the large *Paris* edition of *Denon's Travels*. See tom. II. Plate 3. "*Ruines de Canope*."

with a lion's head'. The largest statues of this form are those of *Thebes*, about four hundred miles to the south of *Cairo*¹, one of which has been commonly called *Memnon's Statue*. From the drawings made of those figures by *Denon*², it is plain that neither of them were represented with human heads; but that they corresponded with the double image of a human figure with a lion's head, common among the antiquities of *Egypt*; the nose and under-jaw of the *leonine* bust belonging to each of them having fallen off, but the rest of the head being similar to that which appeared upon the statues here shewn to us by *Monsieur Le Roy*, and since removed to our national *Museum*³. This is so evident, that it is remarkable none of the travellers who have visited *Thebes* have paid attention to the fact. They were perhaps misled, by expecting to find the image of a human form, as belonging to the supposed statue of

(1) See the Plate representing Antiquities found at *Saccara*.

(2) According to *Norden*, 405 miles, who makes the distance equal to 135 *French* leagues. See *Drawings of some Ruins, &c. published by the Royal Society in 1741*, p. 9.

(3) See Plate 44 of the large *Paris* edition of the *Voyage en Egypte par Vivant Denon*.

(4) See also the Plate of the Antiquities found at *Saccara*, as before referred to.

Memnon. Indeed *Norden*, in the design he made upon the spot, as appears by the etching he afterwards engraved from it⁵, has attempted a faint delineation of the human countenance, by introducing an imperfect restoration of the features, as they were suggested to his imagination by the appearance of the stone. *Pococke* used still greater freedom⁶; but *Denon* accurately delineated the figures as he found them. According to his plate, there is not the smallest trace left of any human countenance; and the back of the head, in each statue, agrees with those figures which have the *leonine* bust. *Strabo*, who was himself at *Thebes*, and mentions these colossal statues, does not say that either of them was a statue of *Memnon*; but that they were near the *Memnonium*; and that a sound issued every day from one of them⁷.

Within the magazine we saw many other

(5) See *Norden's* Etchings, tab. I. as before cited. Lond. 1741.

(6) *Pococke's* Observations upon *Egypt*.

(7) *Strabo*. *Geogr. lib. xvii. p. 1155. Ed. Oxon.* The observation of *Strabo* may remove the difficulty that has always attended any endeavour to reconcile the statue from which the sound issued with that of an actual statue of *MEMNON*. *Memnonis saxen effigies*, as mentioned by *Tacitus*. The persons who heard the sound might attribute that sound to *Memnon*, without considering the statue to be a statue of him.

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antiquities; particularly the head of a colossal image of the *Ram*, or of *AMMON*, whose name and worship, derived from *Æthiopia*¹, became a source of the most absurd and fabulous history among the *Greeks*¹. Also, two oblong slabs of stone, adorned with *hieroglyphical* sculpture, together with an *Egyptian* coffin of stone, adapted to the human form; and the fragment of a *Soros*; both brought from *Upper Egypt*. Also other antiquities, the description of which might afford very pleasing employment: but a volume, rather than a chapter, would be required for the undertaking; and all these relics are now under the guardianship of

(1) See *Jossius de Orig. et Prog. Idol. lib. ii. c. 11. Amst. 1642.* Kircher (*Edip. Ægypt. Synt. 3. cap. 6. Rom. 1652. Pauw Philos. Disc. part. iii. sect. 7. Lond. 1795, &c. &c.* The reader may also consult *Diodorus*, and the *Æthiopica* of *HELIOBORUS*. Kircher has cited a very remarkable communication, made to him by an *Abyssinian*, upon this curious subject, which he has thus translated into *Latin*: "*Quoniam à me petisti tibi dicere aliquid de Dus Æthiopum. Novem quiddam patres nostri cum Gentilibus et Paganis passim commiscerentur, inceperunt discere opera eorum; et fecerunt sibi Deos privatos, et adoraverunt eos, sculpturam manu hominis perfectam. . . . Et ego adhuc multum in Æthiopia in Barnagasech hujusmodi vidi; erant autem magnæ ex parte reverentia caput Leonis et Arctis, nomen eorum, Amuna.*"

(2) "Plautè ridiculum est, velle *Ammonis* nomen petere à Græcis. cùm *Ægyptii* ipsi 'Αμμὴ appellent, teste etiam *Herodoto.*" *Jossius de Orig. &c. Idolat. lib. ii. c. 11. tom. I. p. 362. Amst. 1642.* The name of the Supreme Being among the *Brachmins* of *India* is the first syllable only of this word, pronounced *AM*.

scholars amply qualified to satisfy the public curiosity concerning their history. At the house of General *Friant*, we were afterwards shewn two statues of white marble; one of *Marcus Aurelius*, and the other of *Septimius Severus*, which are also now in *England*.

The next morning, *September* the eleventh, another *French* officer attended us, in company with *Mr. Hamilton*, to the *Obelisks*, commonly called *Cleopatra's Needles*. One alone is now standing; the other, lying down, measures seven feet square at the base, and sixty-six feet in length. They are so well known, that it is not necessary to give a very particular description of them*. They are covered with

(2) After the *English* were in possession of *Alexandria*, a subscription was opened among the officers of the army and navy, for the purpose of removing the cumbent *Obelisk* to *Great Britain*. With the money thus raised they purchased one of the vessels that *Menou* had sunk in the old port of *Alexandria*: this they raised, and prepared for its reception. The work went on rapidly; the *Obelisk* was turned, and its lower surface was found to be in a high state of preservation. It was then moved, by means of machinery constructed for the purpose, towards the vessel prepared to receive it. *Lord Cavan* presided in this undertaking. A naval officer, *Captain Stephenson*, who was present upon the occasion, brought over to *England* the plans projected for conveying this splendid trophy of the success of our arms to the *Metropolis* of this country; and there is every reason to believe the design would have been accomplished. Its interruption took place in consequence of an order preventing the sailors from assisting at the work.

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hieroglyphics, cut to the depth of two inches into the stone, which consists of red *granite*; but, owing to a partial decomposition of the *feldspar*, its red colour has faded towards the surface. A similar decomposition has frequently hastened the decay of other ancient monuments; and it offers proof of a fact worthy the notice of persons employed in national architecture; namely, that *granite* is less calculated for works of duration, than pure homogeneous *marble*, or common *limestone*. The action of the atmosphere conduces to the hardness and durability of the two latter; but it never fails to corrode and to decompose substances where *feldspar* is a constituent. Examples may be adduced of *marble*, after continual exposure to air and moisture during two thousand years, still retaining the original polish upon its surface unaltered; but *granite*, under similar circumstances, has not only undergone alteration, but, in certain cases, has crumbled, and fallen into the form of gravel, owing to the decomposition of the *feldspar*. Instances of such disintegration may be noticed among the ruins of *Alexandria Troas*, and over all the district of *Troas* in general. Some of the *granite* columns used by the *Turks* in the fabrication of their cannon-balls have been found in such a state of decompo-

sition, that, although sufficiently compact to admit of their receiving a spheroidal form, yet, when fired at our ships, the substance shivered, and flew about in small pieces, like canister shot, proving a very destructive species of ammunition¹.

We were now desirous of visiting the stupendous Column so long distinguished by the appellation of "POMPEY'S PILLAR." It is visible from almost every spot in the neighbourhood of *Alexandria*. The *Inscription* upon its pedestal (containing, as many have believed, the name of the Emperor *Diocletian*) was not then known to exist, although it had been mentioned by the Consul *Maillet*², and after him by *Pococke*³. The circumstances of our visit may therefore be deemed curious; as Mr. *Hamilton* was one of our party, who afterwards assisted in the development of this important record, and who himself discovered the name, believed to be

*Pompey's
Pillar.*

(1) The author has specimens of this decomposed *granite*, which the *Turks* employed against our fleet, during its passage of the *Dardanelles*, under Admiral *Duckworth*. The *feldspar* has entirely lost its colour; and the mass is become friable, like loosely cohering *breccia*. The *Strand Bridge* is built of a decomposed *granite*.

(2) *Déscr. de l'Égypte*, tome I. p. 180. à la Haye, 1740.

(3) *Descr. of the East*, vol. I. p. 8. Lond. 1748.

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that of *Diocletian*, soon after the *Inscription* was again recognised¹. When we had gratified our curiosity by a general survey of this surprising monument, and had gazed for some time in utter astonishment at the sight of a column of *granite*, whose *shaft* alone, of one entire mass, with a diameter of eight feet, measures sixty-three in height², Mr. *Hamilton* expressed a wish to find something remaining of the *Inscription* mentioned by *Pococke*. In search of this, we examined the four sides of the *pedestal*: the western side seemed to be corroded, as many authors have described it to be; but not a trace of any existing *inscription* could be discerned. The author wishes to lay some stress upon this singular fact, that due merit may be attributed to those who have since so remarkably recovered the characters of that *Inscription*; after it had also baffled every research of the *French*, during their long residence in the country, as their own writers do acknowledge³. Mr.

(1) Mr. *Hamilton* communicated this circumstance in a Letter to the author.

(2) The height of the whole column, including the capital, shaft, and pedestal, is eighty-eight feet six inches, as measured by the *French* engineers.

(3) See particularly the "*Rapport par Charles Norry*," in the Appendix to *Peltier's* edition of *Denon's Travels*, (Lond. 1802.) as it was read

Hamilton, who participated the labour, has since published an account of the transaction: but the person to whom the literary world has been exclusively indebted for *first* making known the actual existence of the *Inscription*, after its supposed disappearance, has never yet been mentioned as the discoverer of it, in any of the publications that have appeared upon the subject. At the time of our visit, it was considered not merely as illegible, but altogether as lost; neither *Mr. Hamilton*, nor the author, nor any other individual of our party, being able to discern even the part of the pedestal where it had been inscribed. This may serve to explain the difficulty which afterwards attended its recovery, when a whole day was frequently required for the purpose of obtaining a single letter. *Mr. Hamilton* arrived in *Alexandria*, as it has been related by him*, after the *Inscription* had been found, and the undertaking for copying it had been begun. He himself assisted in making a *fac-simile* of it; and it was he, as was before stated, who observed the letters which

read before the *Institute*. "It is greatly to be regretted," says *Navy*, "that an inscription formerly placed on one of the sides of the pedestal should be no longer legible."

(4) *Ægyptiaca*, p. 403. Lond. 1809.

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are now believed to complete the name of the Emperor *Diocletian*. There is, indeed, good reason to conjecture that *Diocletian's* name is mentioned in that *Inscription*; but it by no means necessarily follows that the pillar was erected by him; and some reasons will be given in the sequel to shew that the legend admits of a different, although a doubtful, reading. At present, in justice to the memory of a distinguished, but now lamented officer, it is necessary to prove that all the information afforded by the *Inscription* itself, would have been consigned to everlasting oblivion, but for the important discovery made by the late Lieutenant-colonel *Squire* of some remaining characters upon the pedestal, while Mr. *Hamilton*, and his companion, Major *Leake*, were in *Upper Egypt*¹.

Discovery
of the In-
scription

(1. This circumstance is mentioned in a Letter to his Brother, in the following words: "I believe the Paper presented to the Antiquarian Society contains the *best* history of the discovery of the *Alexandrian Inscription*" (alluding to the *misrepresentations published upon the subject by Colonel Walsh and Sir R. Wilson*). "I wish not to be brought forward in any literary dispute; but the fact is, that most of the letters were discovered by me while Messrs. *Hamilton* and *Leake* were in *Upper Egypt*. I had seen the same *Inscription* in *Pococke's Travels* before, and knew of its existence from that book. The next Extract is taken from a former Letter written by Colonel *Squire* to his Brother, from *Alexandria*: it relates to his discovery of the *Inscription*, and is dated *Alexandria, Christmas Day, 1801*. "Here let me remark," says Colonel *Squire*, "that it is not impossible but that part

Therefore, whatsoever may be the nature of the intelligence derived from any subsequent examination of those characters, it will be due in the first place to the individual who made known the circumstance of their existence; for not only the Members of the *French Institute*, but all who were with our army in *Egypt*, and almost every traveller who has visited *Alexandria* since the time of *Pococke*, did consider the *Inscription* as being entirely lost.

As for the Column itself, the *shaft* is of much earlier antiquity than either the *capital* or the *pedestal*. A similar *shaft*, of the same kind of *granite*, and nearly of equal magnitude, has been

of the *Inscription* on the great pillar may be read: *Π* and *Ο* are legible enough; and by other remains of characters, I can plainly perceive that the *Inscription* consisted of four lines, in Greek. With sulphur, an impression of these characters might be taken, and perhaps something satisfactory discovered. Before we quit the country, I will certainly endeavour to make the experiment."

The public will therefore perceive that all idea of attempting the discovery is due to Colonel SQUIRE; that he had the greatest share in its execution, and that even the device of the sulphur is due to him. The Consul Maillet, about fifty years before, had recommended war for the same purpose: "*Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'au bas de son fût, du côté de l'ouest, on trouve une inscription Grecque, dont je ne crois pas qu'on ait encore tiré de copie. . . . Le seul moyen de l'avoir, d'roit, à mon avis, d'en prendre l'empreinte sur de la cire molle.*" *Description de l'Égypte*, tom. I. p. 180. à la Haye, 1740.

already described¹ among the ruins of another city, built also by the founder of *Alexandria*; remaining, like this, alone, without any contiguous architecture serving to prove that a pillar of such vast dimensions belonged to any temple, colonnade, or other edifice of the antient city. It was before suggested, in the account given of that remarkable relic, that each of these columns may have supported a statue: but this notion of the use of a single pillar is not found to be warranted by any evidence on which we can rely. It is certain that some conspicuous relic was placed upon the *capital* of the *Alexandrian* Column; a *circular cavity* having been there discovered, proving that there was formerly a projection for its support². A question then naturally arises; Whether the antient inhabitants of *Asia Minor*, of *Egypt*, and of *Greece*, were accustomed to use *pillars* for other purposes than those of architecture? This question

(1) See Chap. VI. of the *Third Volume* of these Travels, pp. 188, 189. Octavo Edition.

(2) *Norry* describes a *circular cavity*, two inches deep, upon the summit; "which," says he, "gives reason to suppose that there has formerly been a projection on the top for supporting a statue; but this is merely conjecture." (See "*Rapport*," &c. as before cited.) However, we have reason for more than conjecture upon this subject, as will be manifest in the sequel; not indeed that a statue was here placed, whose pedestal would hardly have been *circular*, but a *cinerary urn*, for the foot of which a circular cavity is peculiarly suitable.

may be decidedly answered in the affirmative. The *Stélæ* of the Antients had precisely the form of the shaft of this Column; although no instance has yet been observed of a *sepulchral pillar* of such magnitude. Indeed, until lately, the *Stélæ* themselves had been remarkably overlooked: they were as so many stumbling-blocks to antiquaries; and nothing puzzled literary travellers more than the numerous examples of small pillars of *granite*, *porphyry*, and *marble*, scattered over the shores of the *Ægean Sea*: these were found generally in the vicinity of *tombs*, or near to the walls of cities where *tombs* were situate; being always insulated, and generally without capitals or pedestals. The *Turks*, imitating the customs of their predecessors, have introduced them into their cœmeteries. Now and then a modern structure exhibits several *stélæ* of different sizes, collected together, and made to serve as props for the building: in such instances, *capitals* and *pedestals*, in barbarous taste, and of various materials, have been added to them. Remains of this kind may be discerned in some of the edifices erected in the lower ages of the *Roman Empire*. Possibly, then, this pillar, stupendous as it is, was erected upon some memorable occasion, as a *sepulchral monument*. A few observations will

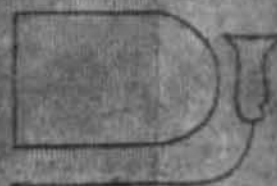
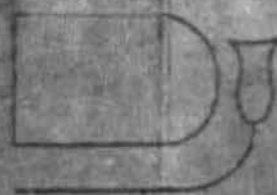
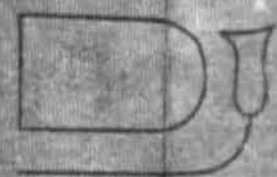
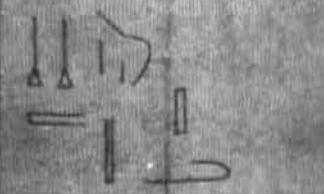
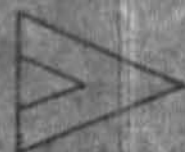
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soon shew whether this *possible* illustration of its origin be also *probable*: nay more; whether we have not strong presumptive evidence, to prove, that a monument of this form was actually erected in this place, and for the purpose of a *stèle* or *sepulchral pillar*.

After a vain search for the *Inscription*, we observed that the pedestal itself did not rest upon the sand; but that, by removing some of this, we might get beneath it, and examine the manner of its support. Here, to our surprise, we found that the whole of this immense pile, consisting of three parts, *pedestal*, *shaft*, and *capital*, was sustained upon a small prop of stone, about four feet square, exactly as it is described by *Paul Lucas*¹, although positively contradicted by *Norden*². Around this central base, but in very irregular positions, had been placed other masses, the fragments of antient *Egyptian* monuments, which did not appear to contribute to the support of the Column, but to have been brought thither for the purpose of maintaining the *prop* in its adjusted situation until the *pedestal* could be

(1) Voyage fait par Ordre de *Louis XIV.* en 1714. tom. II. p. 97. *Amst.* 1744.

(2) *Travels in Egypt and Nubia*, vol. I. p. 16. *Lond.* 1757.



raised upon it. The *prop* itself consists of a mass of that beautiful kind of *breccia*, called, peculiarly, *Egyptian*. The four sides of it are inscribed with *hieroglyphic* figures; but the position of these figures shews that the *prop* has its original base uppermost, for they appear inverted: thus affording a complete proof, that the stone, whereon they are inscribed, belonged to other more antient works; and that these must have been in ruins before the *Column* was erected upon its present basis'. But this is not all the intelligence we derive from the topsyturvy position of the *hieroglyphics*: we have, in this curious circumstance, most satisfactory evidence that this *Column* was not set up, as it now stands, either by the antient inhabitants of *Egypt*, or by the people of *Alexandria* under the *PTOLEMIES*; for nothing would be more absurd, than to suppose that, in an age when *Egyptian* superstitions were revered, and the *hieroglyphics* were regarded as sacred, such sacrilegious work would have been tolerated, as the burying of the holy images and symbols, pell-mell, to *prop* and to support a *Corinthian* pillar, even if it

(3) See the *Platæmæon*, where those *hieroglyphics* are represented, according to a design which the author made of them, upon the spot, as accurately as the obscurity of the situation, and the imperfect state of those rude symbols, would admit.

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could be admitted that such an order of architecture then existed. Hence it is manifest, without further inquiry, that this monument, as it now appears, must be attributed entirely to the *Romans*; since the warmest advocates for the arts and ingenuity of the *Arabs* will not venture to ascribe a work of this kind to the *Moslems*, in any period of their history. This is nearly all the intelligence we can obtain concerning it. The *Inscription* upon the pedestal, as its characters were obtained in consequence of Colonel *Squire's* discovery, gives us no information as to the origin of the *Column*, although it may throw some light upon its restoration under its present form. The only visible part of the legend is as follows¹:

ΤΟ ΩΤΑΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ
 ΤΟΝΠΟΛΙΟΥΧΟΝΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ
 ΔΙΟ ΙΑΝΟΝΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ
 ΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΣΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ

.

In the third line, the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh letters, being indistinct, were supplied by dotted characters², in order to complete a

(1) See the communication made by Dr. *Raine* to the Society of Antiquaries, as read before the Society, Feb. 3, 1803.

(2) According to the plan pursued by *Taylor*, when he added the letters supposed to be wanted in the *Marmor Sanduicenis*.

supposed reading of ΔΙΟΚΑΗΤΙΑΝΟΝ. But this introduction of the name of a *Roman* Emperor, without an *epithet* immediately preceding it, is unusual; and when letters are thus to be added by conjecture, or in consequence of some imaginary resemblance, in the indistinct traces of the original *legend*, to the characters which have been substituted, every person is at liberty to make his own hypothesis; provided only that a reading be produced which shall contain exactly the number of letters requisite to fill the vacant spaces upon the stone. For example, the perpendicular line of the dotted K, as proposed in the paper read to the Society of Antiquaries, may with equal authority be written N. The two lines of the Λ may also belong to Λ. The cross bar of the Η may be the lower line of Δ, and the Γ may with equal probability be written P; and when this is granted, the reading becomes, evidently, ΔΙΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ. The use of ΔΙΟΣ, as an epithet, answering to DIVVS, so frequently bestowed upon *Roman* Emperors, and especially upon *Hadrian*, although authorised in this sense

(3) See Dr. Raine's communication, as above.

(4) See passim. "UT DIVVS HADRIANVS in quadam oratione ait," &c. (*Ulpianus*, lib. 50. *Dig. tit. 15. de Censibus*, &c. &c.) IMP · CAESARI · DIVI · HADRIANI · &c. *Donii Inscript. Antiq. ab Gorii. Classis tertia*, No. 16. See also Nos. 17, 18, &c. *Florent.* 1731.

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by *Hesiod* and by *Homer*, is perhaps unknown in Greek prose. *Hadrian* was called, by the *Greeks*¹, both ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ and ΘΕΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ. The epithet Διος was consequently appropriate²; and the more so, as it was poetical; the language of poetry being often adopted in Greek inscriptions, which are very commonly written in metre³. At the same time, it must be confessed that there is this powerful objection to the reading now proposed; that among all the epithets applied to *Roman Emperors*, which are preserved by *Gronovius*, *Goltzius*, *Gorius*, *Muratori*, *Vaillant*, *Horduin*, and *Eckhel*, there is not an example where Διος is thus used. In this uncertainty with regard to the four letters which immediately follow ΔΙΟ in this *Inscription*, it must remain for some future

(1) See *Muratori's "Thesaur. Vet. Inscript."* tom. II. p. MLIX. No. 2.; p. MLXVI. No. 4.; p. MLXXXIII. No. 7. &c. *Mediolani*. 1740. *Harduan. Num. Antiq.* p. 329. *Paris*. 1684. Also *Vaillant Num. Imp.* pp. 34, 36. *J. Par.* 1698. *Spanheim* mentions an *Athenian* medal with this inscription to *Hadrian* · ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ · ΣΩΤΗΡΑ ΤΟΝ · ΕΤΕΡΕΤΗΝ *De Præstantiâ et Uti Num.* p. 284. *Amst.* 1671.

(2) The Bishop of *Clogher*, in his *Essay on the "Origin of Hieroglyphics, and on the Heathen Mythology,"* p. 116. *Lond* 1753. has the following observation. "In Greek, the word Διος signifies the same as the word *Divus* among the *Latins*; that is, a divine person.

(3) Such inscriptions are commonly found in *Ana Minor*, and among the ruins of *Paphos* in *Cyprus*; also in the Island of *RHODES*. See *Part II. Sect. 1. of these Travels*; vol. III. chap. 8. *Octavo edition*.

traveller to determine what the true reading really is. The *probability* is certainly strong for ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΝ, but this is by no means certain; and in favour of ΔΙΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ, it may be urged, that *Sicard*, as cited by *Brotier*⁴, who examined the Inscription long ago, declared the fourth letter to be Ν, instead of Κ. In order to account for the introduction of *Diocletian's* name, the *supposed* gratitude of the people of *Alexandria* to *Diocletian*, for an allowance of corn, has been mentioned⁵; but there is no authority in History, either for the tribute itself, or for the feelings thereby believed to have been commemorated. *Hadrian*, on the contrary, for the services he rendered to their city, was pre-eminently entitled to their gratitude. This is evident, from his own observations, when

(4) *Sicard* believed the name to be that of *Dionysius Ptolemaeus*, brother of *Cleopatra*, by whose order *Pompey* was assassinated. "Sera-peum fuit in vico, cui nomen Necropolis, prope Columnam Pompei, ut vulgò loquuntur; quam verius columnam *Dionysii Ptolemai* dicerent, ut ex semesis inscriptiones literis observavit P. *Sicard* egregius Egyptiacarum antiquitatum indagator." (*Id. Brotier. Annot. in Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 24.*) The circumstance of *Sicard's* maintaining that the name at the beginning of the third line of the *Inscription* was *DIONYSIUS*, &c. proves, at least, that he read ΔΙΟΝ, and not ΔΙΟΚ.

(5) "The occasion may perhaps be found in that part of the history of this Emperor, where, after having severely chastised the inhabitants of *Alexandria* who had rebelled against the government, he established a public allowance of corn for the city at two millions of medimni. See the *Memoir* read to the *Society of Antiquaries*, Feb. 3, 1803, as before cited.

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speaking of *Alexandria*¹: "HUIC EGO CUNCTA CONCESSI, VETERA PRIVILEGIA REDDIDI, NOVA SIC ADDIDI, UT PRÆSENTI GRATIAS AGERENT." *Hadrian*, according to *Dio Cassius*, performed funeral rites to POMPEY². *Julius Cæsar* had done the same³; and it is related, both by *Lucan*⁴ and by *Valerius Maximus*⁵, that when the head of POMPEY was brought to him in *Alexandria*, he caused it to be burned with odours and the most solemn rites, and its ashes to be enshrined within an urn⁶. It sometimes was customary with the *Romans* to place their cinerary urns in conspicuous situations, upon the pinnacles of lofty and magnificent monuments. The famous *Cone*, or *Pine-apple*, of gilded bronze, preserved in the *Vatican* at *Rome*, and originally placed

Sepulchral
origin of
the Co-
lumn.

(1) *Epistola Hadriani Aug. Serviano Cos. Ægypt.* Vid. *Vopusc. in Saturnino*, p. 245.

(2) *Dio Cass. Hist. Rom. lib. lxxix. vol. II. p. 1159. Hamb. 1750.*

(3) *Ibid. lib. xlii. c. 8. vol. I. p. 310.*

(4) *De Bell. Civil. lib. ix. ad fin.*

(5) "Caput autem plurimis et pretiosissimis odoribus cremandum curavit." *Valerii Maximi, lib. v. p. 246. Paris, 1679.*

(6) "Et placate caput, cineresque in litore fusos
Colligite, atque unam sparsis date manibus urnam."

Lucani De Bell. Civil. lib. ix. 1092. Lips. 1726.

Fabricius, in his Notes to *Dio Cassius* (lib. xlii. Note 50.) mentions an antient gem, the subject of which represented the bringing of *Pompey's* head to *CÆSAR*. "*Icon oblatis Cæsari capitis Pompeii in veteri gemma apud Lucetum*," p. 248.

upon the *Mausoleum* of *Hadrian*, was perhaps intended to contain the ashes of that Emperor: and in the examination of the *Alexandrian Column*, we find the extraordinary coincidences, first, of the workmanship, which is decidedly *Roman*; secondly, of its form, which is that of a *Stélé* or *sepulchral pillar*; thirdly, of a circular cavity discovered upon its capital, as for the reception of an urn; all agreeing with its remarkable traditional appellation of POMPEY'S PILLAR. Some little variety, as might be expected, appears in the accounts given by writers of different ages, with regard to the manner in which funeral honours were rendered to *Pompey's head* by JULIUS CÆSAR. *Lucan's* allusion to an urn is however consistent with the *Roman* custom of burning instead of burying the dead; and it is supported by the earlier testimony of *Valerius Maximus*. APPIAN, who flourished during the subsequent reigns of *Trajan* and *Hadrian*, says the head was buried; but he adds the remarkable fact of a shrine constructed over it⁷, in a situation

(7) Τῆς δὲ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Πομπηίου προσφισμένην εὐχὴ ἐπίστη, ἀλλὰ προσέταξε ταφῆναι, καὶ τι αὐτῇ TEMENOS βραχὺ, πρὸ τῆς πόλεως περιτίθιν, NEMESEΩΣ TEMENOS ἱκαλίτε σπιν ἰσ' ἱμοῦ πατὴρ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανόν, ἱεράλλοντα ἐδ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρόνους κατηρίθη. "Caput autem Pompeii oblatum aversatur Cæsar, sepeliri

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exactly answering to that of this *pillar*, which *Cæsar* dedicated to *Nemesis*, the protecting goddess of the relics and the memory of deceased persons. This, it seems, was overthrown in the time of *Trajan*; which may explain the cause of its restoration by *Hadrian*. It is also worthy of notice, that *Pococke* mentions a name given to this monument by *Arabian* historians, which bears testimony to the event recorded by *Appian*; inasmuch as it attributes the origin of the work to *Julius Cæsar*¹. The presumptive evidence is therefore somewhat striking, as to the corresponding testimony borne by the monument itself to the funeral honours rendered to *POMPEY* both by *Julius Cæsar* and by *Hadrian*, whatsoever be the legend of the *Inscription* upon its pedestal. A circumstance recorded by *Dio Cassius*, in his *Life of Hadrian*, may also prove that this kind of monument was, in the age of that Emperor, no unusual mark of sepulchral dignity; for when he wished to honour

sepeliri jussit in suburbis, sacellumque ibi dedicavit *Nemeseos*, quod nostrâ ætate, quum *Trajanus Augustus* Judæos exitiali bello persequeretur, ab his ob præsentem necessitatem est dirutum." *Appiani Rom. Hist. De Bell. Civil. lib. ii. vol. II. p. 299. Ed. Schweigh. Lips. 1785.*

(1) "Some *Arabian* historians, on what authority I know not, call it the PALACE OF JULIUS CÆSAR." (*Pococke's Descript. of the East, vol. I. p. 8. Lond. 1743.*) The authority is clearly found in the circumstance related by *Appian* (*De Bell. Civil. lib. ii. c. 90. Lips. 1785.*) of the shrine (*τρίφυλλον*) constructed by *Julius Cæsar* at the funeral of *Pompey's* head.

his horse *Borysthenes* with funeral rites worthy of a deceased hero, it is related that he set up a *Stélé* upon his tomb².

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From the different accounts given by historians of the disposal of *Pompey's* remains, (his head being honoured with funeral rites at *Alexandria*³, and his body, according to some writers, burned and buried near *Pelusium*⁴, while others maintain that its ashes were conveyed to *Rome*⁵;) the place of his *sepulchre* is involved in uncertainty⁶; but every thing connected with the historical evidence touching the funeral rites offered to his memory by *Roman Emperors* in *Alexandria*, is clear and decisive; and when *Dio Cassius* relates that *Hadrian*, in a copy of verses which he composed, boasted he had repaired

(2) Καὶ ὁ Βορυσθίνης ὁ ἵππος, ὃ μάλιστα θρόνῳ ἤρρισκετο, σομῖόν ἐσται. ἀποθανόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τάφον κατισκιάσει, καὶ ΣΤΗΛΗΝ ἵσσησι καὶ ἐπιγρᾶμματα ἐπιγρᾶψιν. *Dio Cass. Hist. Rom. vol. II. lib. lxi. p. 1159. Hamburg. 1750.*

(3) *Appian. De Bell. Civil. lib. ii. c. 90. Lips. 1785. Valerius Maximus. Lucan. De Bell. Civil. lib. ix. Lips. 1726.*

(4) *Strabon. Geog. tom. II. lib. xvi. p. 1081. lib. xvii. p. 1130. Ed. Oxon. 1807. Dio. Cassii, lib. xlii. c. 5. vol. I. p. 309. Hamburg. 1750. Appiani Alex. De Bellis Civil. lib. ii. p. 481. Par. 1592. Lucan. De Bell. Civil. lib. vii. &c.*

(5) Τὰ δὲ λείψανα τοῦ Πομπηίου Κορηλία δεξομένη κομμομένη, ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀλβανῶν ἔθουσιν. *Plutarch. in Vit. Pomp. Par. 1624.*

(6) "Atque erit Ægyptos populis fortasse nepotum
Tam mendax Magni tumulo, quam Creta Tonantis."

LUCANI De Bell. Civil. lib. viii. p. 871. Lips. 1726.

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A few remarks, with regard to the rest of the *Inscription*, will conclude the whole of our observations upon this magnificent and interesting monument.

The epithet at the conclusion of the third line could not be ascertained at the time the *Inscription* was again recognised²; but there appeared to be five characters wanted. These five characters have been ingeniously supplied by a

(1) Καὶ τὸ μῆμα αὐτοῦ ἀναθήματα ἀνακατασκευάσας. (*Dio Cass. Hist. Rom. lib. lxxix. vol. II. Hamburg. 1750*) It should at the same time be observed, that *Spartian*, c. 14. together with *Appian*, and some other writers, speak of a *restoration*, by *Hadrian*, of *Pompey's sepulchre*, at *Pelunum*, near *Mount Cassius*, that is to say, the sepulchre of his *body*: the information concerning which, as derived from the *Antients*, is not only uncertain, but contradictory. But *Appian* also mentions another distinct sepulchral *τῆμος*, erected over the *head of Pompey* at *Alexandria* by *Julius Caesar*. This was ruined in the time of *Trajan*, and it is to the restoration of this monument, by *Hadrian*, which *Dio Cassius* seems to allude, under the words *μῆμα αὐτοῦ*.

(2) See the Paper read to the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 3, 1803.

learned friend of the author', for they are evidently the first five letters of the word CEBACTON. The Præfect's name, at the beginning of the fourth line, was supposed⁴ to be Πομπήιος; but the third letter is found to be C, and not M, and it was thus read by *Pococke*, many years before'. Having therefore ΠOC, we may read ΠOCTOMOC. This name is found in *Gruter*, in several instances, written *Postumus*⁶. It occurs in an inscription discovered upon an edifice which contains the famous Zodiac at *Dendera* in *Upper Egypt*⁷, as the name of a Præfect who lived under *Augustus*. We have, moreover, in the *Dendera Inscription*, a sort of formula, enabling us to supply the last line, which is entirely wanted. We there read the

(3) The Rev. *George Adam Browne*, M.A. Fellow of *Trinity College, Cambridge*, the intimate friend of the late Professor *Porson*, and of Dr. *Raine*, late of the *Charter House*. Mr. *Browne* also proposed the substitution of Πορτομος for Παιωνιος, in the fourth line.

(4) See Paper mentioned in Note (2).

(5) See *Pococke's* copy of the Inscription. *Description of the East*, vol. I. p. 8. Note (d). Lond. 1743.

(6) See *Gruter*. Inscript. 113. 1.—172. 10, &c. &c. Amst. 1707.

(7) See *Denon*, *Hamilton*, &c. The Inscription was also copied by several of our officers who came with the *Indian* army to *Egypt*. It is there written *Marcus Clodius Postumus*. *Denon* wrote the name ΠOC TOTMO.

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words ΟΙΑΠΟΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ, "*The People of the Metropolis.*" Upon the whole, then, that has been before adduced, and with the aid of the document alluded to, it is proposed to read the *Inscription* upon POMPEY'S PILLAR in the following manner; the Reader being left to use his own judgment as to the introduction of *Hadrian's* name, or that of *Diocletian*, in the third line. We have rather preferred the former, for the reasons already given.

ΤΟΝΤΙΜΙΩΤΑΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ
ΤΟΝΠΟΛΙΟΥΧΟΝΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ
ΔΙΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝΤΟΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ
ΠΟΣΤΟΜΟΣΕΠΑΡΧΟΣΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙΟΙΑΠΟΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ

"POSTUMUS PRÆFECT OF EGYPT, AND THE
PEOPLE OF THE METROPOLIS, ('honour') THE
MOST REVERED EMPEROR, THE PROTECTING
DIVINITY OF ALEXANDRIA, THE DIVINE
HADRIAN AUGUSTUS."

Interview
with
Menou.

In the forenoon of this day, the author waited upon General *Menou*, requesting a passport, that might enable him to pass and repass the outer gate, to and from the *British* camp; and at the

same time made application for permission to copy the *Inscriptions* upon the *Rosetta Tablet*, which was still carefully concealed. One of the *Aid-de-Camps* conducted him into a small tent, pitched in a spacious area, or square, near the inner gates of *Alexandria*, where the parade of the garrison was daily held. This tent, small as it was, had been separated into two parts by a curtain, behind which *Menou* had his *Chare*m ; giving audience in the outer part, near to the entrance, where there was hardly room enough to stand upright. Having waited some time, during which women's voices were heard in conversation behind the partition, the curtain was suddenly raised, and *Jaques Abd'allah* made his appearance. A more grotesque figure can hardly be conceived. He wore a flowered embroidered waistcoat, with flaps almost to his knees, and a coat covered with broad lace. Elevating his whiskered face and double chin, in order to give all imaginable pomp and dignity to his squat corpulent figure, which, covered with finery, much resembled that of a mountebank, he demanded, in an imperious tone of voice, "*Que souhaite-t-il, Monsieur Clarke?*" Having explained the cause of the visit, as far as it related to the passport, and being directed to apply for this to

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Réné, General of Brigade, the author ventured to introduce the subject of the *Rosetta Stone*; stating, that he was about to return to Lord *Hutchinson*, and wished to obey the orders he had received from his Lordship, for copying the *Inscription*. At the very mention of this Stone, *Menou* gave vent to his rage; and, ready to burst with choler, exclaimed, "You may tell your Commander-in-chief he has as much right to make this demand, as a highwayman has to ask for my purse! He has a cannon in each of my ears, and another in my mouth; let him take what pleases him. I have a few embroidered saddles, and a tolerable stock of shirts; perhaps he may fancy some of these!" The author assured him that he could be the bearer of no message of this kind; but whatever he might think proper to put in writing, should be carefully conveyed, and as punctually delivered. Having left the tent, and waited upon General *Réné* for the passport, while this was preparing, a note came from *Menou* for Lord *Hutchinson*. With this note the author and his companions set out for the *English* camp; and arriving at

(1) See a copy of the original, in the *Appendix*.

head-quarters, presented it to his Lordship, making known, at the same time, all that had transpired concerning the *SOROS* from the *Mosque of St. Athanasius*, together with the intelligence which had been obtained with regard to the other antiquities. To *Menou's* note his Lordship disdained making any reply; transmitting only a verbal message, cautioning him to beware of sending any more messages or letters to him, but to obey the conditions proposed for the surrender of *Alexandria*, upon pain of having not only his own baggage, but that of all the officers of the *French* army, submitted to an examination. All the *Antiquities*, without reservation, were to be delivered to the *English*; and to this demand was added an order for the collection of specimens belonging to *Natural History*, and whatsoever other *literary* acquisition had been made in *Egypt* for the *French Nation*. His Lordship directed that the most diligent inquiry should be made concerning every thing of this nature*: and having given orders for a supply

(2) The following *Inscription* was found by a private of the 42d Regiment, upon a Stone which he discovered in the entrenchments of the *English* army. The author is indebted for this copy of it to Colonel *Draper*. A part of the same *Inscription* is also preserved in Colonel *Squire's* MS. Journal. The stone was very large, and the

Inscription

of provisions to accompany us upon our return,
offered the use of his horses while we remained

Inscription appeared in two parts, upon different sides of it. The division has, therefore, been marked by stars. The Arabic numeral 7 can have nothing to do with the second part; its meaning is therefore unknown.

IMP. CÆSARI

I. SEPTIMIO SEVERO PERTINACI
AUG. PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POT. II.
IMP. III. COS. II. PROCOS. P. P.
VETERANI LEG. II. TR. FORT. MISSI
HONESTA MISSIONE QUI MILITARE
CŒPERUNT APRONIANO ET PAULO
..... QUIBUS ET PERPETUUM

* * * * *

CON. V.

7 CELERIANA

M. GABINUS MAX. FLAMMI.

7 L. PHILIPPIANI

T. AURELIUS CAPRIMONIA

C. VALERIUS C. FIL. APOLL.

7 SEVERIANA

M. AURELIUS POL. ISIDOR.

C. POMPEIUS POL. SEREN.

7 SERVILL. PUDENTIO

P. AURELIUS POL. PROCION. ALC.

C. JULIUS C. F. POL. HERMIAS

T. AURELIUS T. F. SARAPAMON

T. FLAVIUS F. APOLLINARIS

M. PURFANIUS M. F. COL. LO.

7 MARINIANA

M. AURELIUS POL. HERODES

CON. VI.

IOCTAVI AVELLIANI

M. AURELIUS POL. PROCION.

M. AURELIUS POL. SARAPAM

M. AURELIUS POL. GERMANUS

7 AURELI FLAVIANI

7 MARION. POL. DEMETRIUS C

7 SECUNDIANA

M. AURELIUS PO. APOLLOS

M. AURELIUS ALEXANDR.

CON. VII.

C. VIRIUS CASTRIS

SOLOM

in *Alexandria*, and a groom to assist us in taking care of them. After this, we had an opportunity of witnessing the sort of fare which the Commander-in-chief of a *British* army, who had so liberally provided for others, allowed for his own use. He gave us a general invitation to his table; adding, "If you have appetite enough to dine with a soldier, you will this day have something more than usually substantial." The dinner was served in his tent, and we sat down: it consisted of the remaining half of a cold pie, made by one of the privates the day before, containing some lumps of meat encased in a durable crust above an inch thick, of the coarsest flour: a surprising contrast to the magnificent entertainment we had experienced with the *Anglo-Indian* army in the Isle of *Rhouda*. Some of the officers informed us that such was his daily diet; and that it rarely differed from the

It is thus preserved by Colonel *Squire*.

IMP · CAESARI

L · SEPTIMIO · SEVERO · PERTINACI

AUG · PONTIF · MAX · TRIB · POT · II

IMP · III · COS · II · PROCOS · P · P ·

VETERANI · LEG · II · TR · FORT · MISSI

HONESTA · MISSIONE · QUI · MILITARE

COEPERUNT · APRONIANO · ET · PAVLO

..... QVIBVSETPERPETVAM

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allowance made to the common soldiers of the army. In the evening, we returned. It was quite dark, and the gates were shut; but we found no difficulty in obtaining admission, by means of our passport.

Saturday, *September* the twelfth. This day the flesh of horses, asses, and camels, sold, in the market, at a price nearly equivalent to half a guinea of our money, for a single *rotola*, equal to about a pound and a quarter. Mr. *Hamilton* went with us to the *French* head-quarters, and undertook to mention to *Menou* the result of our visit to Lord *Hutchinson*. We remained near the outside of the tent; and soon heard the *French* General's voice elevated as usual, and in strong terms of indignation, remonstrating against the injustice of the demands made upon him. The words "*Jamais on n'a pillé le monde!*" diverted us highly, as coming from a leader of plunder and devastation. He threatened to publish an account of the transaction in all the *Gazettes of Europe*; and, as Mr. *Hamilton* withdrew, we heard him vociferate a menace of meeting Lord *Hutchinson* in single combat—" *Nous nous verrons, de bien près—de bien près, je vous assure!*" However, Colonel, now General, *Turner*, who had arrived also in *Alexandria*,

with orders from our Commander-in-chief respecting the surrender of the *Antiquities*, soon brought this matter to a conclusion. The different forts were now occupied by our army; and the condition of the garrison was such, that *Menou* did not deem it prudent to resist any longer: he reluctantly submitted to the loss of his *literary* trophies. The *Rosetta Tablet* was taken from a warehouse, covered with mats, where it had been deposited with *Menou's* baggage; and it was surrendered to us, by a *French* officer and Member of the *Institute*, in the streets of ALEXANDRIA; Mr. *Cripps*, Mr. *Hamilton*, and the author, being the only persons present, to take possession of it. The officer appointed to deliver it recommended its speedy conveyance to some place of safety, as he could not be answerable for the conduct of the *French* soldiers, if it were suffered to remain exposed to their indignation. We made this circumstance known to Lord *Hutchinson*, who gave orders for its immediate removal; and it was given in charge to General *Turner*, under whose direction all the monuments of *Egyptian* antiquity, resigned to us by the articles of the capitulation, were afterwards conveyed to *England*¹.

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Surrender
of the
Rosetta
Tablet.

(1) See *Hamilton's Egyptus*, p. 402. Lond. 1809.

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Every thing now seemed to indicate the speedy evacuation of the garrison by the *French*¹. The officers and soldiers were actively employed in selling the plunder they had made. Negro slaves of both sexes, watches, jewels, horses, camels, sabres, were bartered in all parts of the city. A plain silver watch might be bought for three or four dollars; a fine *Arabian* horse, for about five and twenty. A *French* General sold two horses, of perfect beauty, with their saddles and bridles, to an *English* clergyman, chaplain in the fleet, for fifty dollars. Several valuable camels, from the great scarcity of every kind of provender, were turned adrift, to find owners without the gates; no purchasers being found, who would undertake the charge of them within the walls. A better understanding, however, began to subsist, at this time, between the contending forces. Some stragglers from the *French* army advanced, during the day-time, into the neutral ground between the two armies, and there offered their *Egyptian* sabres, and other articles, for sale to the *English*: here and there, even in the *British* camp, might be seen a *French* officer joining in conviviality with our

Intercourse
between
the Armies.

(1) The first division of the *French* army embarked at *Aboukir* on the 14th of *September*.

troops; drinking toasts for the health of *King George*, the success of the capitulation, and a speedy deliverance from the government of *Menou*. The utmost harmony and good-humour prevailed at these meetings: and a sincere desire to quit the country was evident on the part of the *French* soldiers; every one of whom seemed to consider himself as upon an equal footing, even with the Generals of his own army².

In the course of this day, we visited the Members of the *French Institute*, at the house where they held their sittings; and found them assembled round a long table, inspecting and packing a number of drawings, plans, and maps³. We were very politely received, at our

*French
Institute.*

(2) A *Creole* trumpeter, who had served under *Buonaparté* in his campaigns of *Italy* and *Egypt*, and pretended to have been always about his person, came one day, and asked, when the garrison of *Alexandria* would sail for *France*? As we could neither answer this question, nor were disposed to pay any attention to the account he gave of himself, he said, "If you should mention the name of *L'Esprit* to the little *Corsican*, you will find that I am pretty well known to him" and, by way of proving his importance, he added, "*Quand j'arriverai à Paris, je lui ferai expliquer pourquoi il me laisse dans ce maudit pays-ci.*"

(3) The *FRENCH INSTITUTE* of *Egypt* was divided into four sections; severally consisting of the *Mathematics*, *Physics*, *Political Economy*,

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entrance, by *Le Pere*, Architect, Director of the Class of Civil Engineers: and we experienced from all of them that urbanity, which, in despite

Economy, Literature, and the Fine Arts. The following persons were its Members.

(Those marked with an asterisk, had left Egypt at the time of our arrival.)

MATHEMATICS.

• Andreossy.	Costar.	Malus.
• Buonaparte.	Girard.	• Monge.
Fourier, perpetual	Lancret.	Nouet.
Secretary of the	Le Pere.	• Quesnot.
Institute.	• Le Roy.	

PHYSICS.

• Beauchamp.	• Delisle.	• Dubois père).
• Berthollet.	Descotils.	Geoffroy.
Boudet.	Desgenettes.	Larrey.
Champy (père).	• Dolomieu.	Savigny.
Conté.		

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Corancey.	Jacotin.	Reynier.
• Dugna.	• Poussielque.	Tallien.
• Fauvelet-Bourienne.		

LITERATURE and ARTS.

• Denon.	• Paréval.	Rigo.
Dutertre.	Protain.	• Rigel.
Le Pere.	Don-Raphael.	• Ripaut.
• Norry.	Redouté.	

To these Sections of the *Institute* were also annexed the following persons, under the several heads of

Librarians.		Commission of Agriculture.
Coquebert.	Méchain.	Champy (père). Delisle.
		Nectoux.

of the impressions and prejudices caused by the consequences of hostility, and the lawless deeds of a promiscuous soldiery during the ravages of

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COMMISSION of ARTS and SCIENCES.

<i>Antiquaries.</i>		<i>Geographical Engineers.</i>	
• Ripault.	• Pourlier.	Jacotin.	Bertre.
<i>Architects.</i>		Simonet.	Lecesue.
Balzac.	• Norry.	Levesque.	Laroche.
Le Pere.	Protain.	Jomard.	Faurie.
<i>Astronomers.</i>		Corabeuf.	
Nouet.	Méchain <i>(fils)</i>	<i>Engineers' Constructors.</i>	
• Quesnot.		Boucher.	• Greslé.
<i>Botanists.</i>		Chaumont.	
Deslisle.	Nectoux.	<i>Oriental Literature.</i>	
Coquebert.		Marcel.	Raige.
<i>Chemists.</i>		• Joubert.	Delaporte.
• Berthollet.	Descotils.	Belletete.	
Champy (<i>père</i>).	Champy (<i>fils</i>).	<i>Literati.</i>	
<i>Surgeons.</i>		• Denon.	Lerouge.
• Dubois.	Lacypierre.	• Parseval.	
Labate.		<i>Mechanics.</i>	
<i>Artist for Design.</i>		Conté.	Coutelle.
Dutertre.		<i>Artists.</i>	
<i>Gemmerations.</i>		Adnès (<i>père</i>).	Adnès (<i>fils</i>).
• Monge.	Costaz.	Aimé.	Couvreur.
Fourier.	Corancey.	Collin.	
<i>Engraver.</i>		Cécile (<i>Mechanical Engineer</i>).	
Fouquet.		Lenoir (<i>Mathem. Instrument Maker</i>).	
<i>Civil Engineers.</i>		<i>Musicians.</i>	
Le Pere.	• Caristie.	Rigel.	Villoteau.
Girard.	Favier.	<i>Mineralogists.</i>	
Faye.	Dubois.	• Dolomieu.	Roziere.
Le Pere (<i>Gratian</i>).	Devilliers.	Cordier.	Dupuy.
Martin.	Moline.	<i>Naturalists.</i>	
Saint Genis.	Duchanoy.	Geoffroi.	Savigny.
Lancret.	Alibert.	<i>Painters.</i>	
Fevre.	Regnault.	Redoubte, (<i>Painter of Nat. Hist.</i>)	
Chabrol.	Bernard.	Rigo.	
Jollois.	Potier.	<i>Apothecaries.</i>	
Raffeneau.	Viard.	Boudet.	Rouhieres.
Arnolet.		<i>Sculptor.</i>	
		Casteix.	

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war, must yet be considered as the distinguishing characteristic of the *French* people, in their conduct even towards their enemies. We assured them, that although our business in *Alexandria* related to the *literary* acquisitions made for their nation by their army in *Egypt*, it had nothing whatsoever to do with the private collections or journals of individuals; and therefore we hoped they would allow us to compare notes with them upon certain points of observation, in which we might be mutually interested; and we further solicited permission to consult the splendid map of *Egypt* which their geographers had completed. This proposition was not acceded to on their part; nor, perhaps, was it reasonable, at that time, to expect that our request could be complied with. They very candidly confessed, that it would give them pleasure to satisfy our curiosity anywhere else; but that, under the present circumstances, they could only consider our inquiry as likely to lead to additional demands on the part of our Commander-in-chief; and for this reason alone they must decline acceding to our request. We had, however, a short conversation with them upon the subject of the Ruins of *Sais*, which their countryman *Savary* had mentioned among the desirable objects of discovery in

*Egypt*¹; although *Egmont* and *Heyman* had published their notice of them twenty years before *Savary* began the account of his travels in the country². These *Ruins* had altogether escaped their observation. They said that their researches had always been restricted to the march of their army, and therefore, in *Lower Egypt*, had been principally confined to the western side of the *Nile*; that they had heard of the ruins at *S'el Hajar*, but did not conceive them to be so considerable as we had found them. Being asked whether any of them had seen the interior of an *Egyptian* sepulchre, containing mummies, before the position of the bodies had been disturbed by the *Arabs*, they answered in the negative. With this information we took our leave of them, accompanied by one of the younger Members of the *Institute*, who kindly offered to accompany us to the Catacombs of *NECROPOLIS*, lying westward of *Alexandria*. These we were now desirous to examine.

Among all the antiquities of this once celebrated city, which after the destruction of

Cryptæ
of Necro-
polis.

(1) See *Savary's Letters on Egypt*, vol. II. Lett. 73. Lond. 1786.

(2) *Savary's* first Letter is dated July 24, 1777.

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Carthage ranked next to *Rome* in magnitude and population, the *CRYPTÆ OF NECROPOLIS* are the least known, and the most wonderful. They have been incidently but not frequently mentioned, in the various descriptions given of *Alexandria* in books of modern travels¹; but the Antients have left us much in the dark concerning their history. *Strabo* indeed, after giving an account of a navigable canal which extended from the *Old Port* to the *Lake Mareotis*, carries his observations westward, and notices the *Catacombs*, under the name of *NECROPOLIS*². In the very brief description which he has given of them, enough is said to prove that every characteristic of the most antient cœmeteries of *Oriental* nations belonged to them; for they were suburban, and were situate in the midst

(1) See the "*Description de l'Egypte*," par Maillet, tom 1 p. 169. à la Haye, 1740 Pococke's Deser. of the East, vol. I. Lond 1743. Norden's Travels, vol. I p. 17 Lond. 1756, &c. Savary's Letters on Egypt, vol. I p. 42 Lond. 1786. An Extract from Savary may afford a specimen of the manner in which these *Catacombs* have been generally noticed. This writer does not seem to have ever entered them. "At half a league's distance to the southward of the town, is the descent into the *Catacombs*, the antient asylum of the dead. Winding passages lead to the subterraneous grottoes where they were deposited."

(2) Εἰς ἡ Νεκρόπολιν, ἐν ἀποδείκνυται (sic leg. Cod. MSS. Medic. Esc. et Paris, Vul. Lect. Var. in Strabon. edit. Ozon.) ἐν αὐτῇ εἰ πολλὰ καὶ ταφὰ καὶ καταγὰ, πρὸς τὰς ταφάς τῶν πικρῶν ἰσχυρίαι. Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1129. ed. Ozon. 1807.

of gardens'. Enough remains, also, in the severe simplicity of their structure, and in the few *Egyptian* symbols found within them, to shew that they are of earlier antiquity than the foundation of *Alexandria* by the *Macedonians*, even if we had not the most decisive evidence to prove that the *regal sepulchres* of the *Alexandrian* monarchs were within the city. * As repositories of the

(3) "And he was buried in his Sepulchre, in the Garden of Uzza," (*Kings* xxi. 26.) In the same chapter, *ver.* 18, it is said of *Manasseh*, that "he slept with his fathers, and was buried in the garden of his own house, in the Garden of Uzza:" that is to say, in the garden of the sepulchre of his own house, or family; the cœmeteries of the *Jews* exhibiting always a series of gardens, each of which belonged to some particular family. Among the *Heathens* such gardens were places of religious worship. Thus in *Isaiah*, (c. lxx. 3.) "A people that provoketh me to anger continually to my face, that sacrificeth in gardens." An illustration is hereby suggested of a remarkable passage in *Ezekiel*, (c. xiii. 19, 20.) "And will ye pollute me among my people . . . to slay the souls that should not die . . . Behold I am against your pillows, wherewith ye there hunt the souls into gardens." The Garden to which our Saviour "oftimes resorted with his Disciples," at the foot of the Mount of Olives, "over the Brook Cedron," (*John* xviii. 1, 2.) was, in all probability, a place for pious meditation, in the midst of Tombs; for the antient *Jewish* sepulchres extend over all the base of the mountain opposite to *Jerusalem*. Hither he retired to pray, the night before his crucifixion. And when his body was buried, "as the manner of the *Jews* is to bury," (*John* xix. 40, 41.) the sepulchre wherein they laid him was in "a Garden." The same custom of adorning cœmeteries with gardens, and resorting to them for meditation and prayer, still exists among all the *Eastern Jews*, who write upon the tomb of a deceased person, "Let his soul be in the garden of Eden;" also among the *Moslems* over all the *Turkish Empire*. It is said also of the *Mexicans* (*See Purchas's Pilgrim*, p. 804. *Lond.* 1614.) "The places where they buried them were their Gardens."

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VII.Serapeum
of RACOTIS.

dead, they were consequently places of worship, whose dark and subterraneous caverns were aptly suited to the ideas entertained of HADES, the *invisible abode* of departed spirits'. Of such a nature was the *Serapeum* of RACOTIS, described as of much earlier antiquity than the temple of the same name founded by one of the *Ptolemies*'. RACOTIS was in ruins before the building of *Alexandria*'; and the *Cryptæ* of NECROPOLIS, from their situation, can be attributed only to that antient city'. Having before shewn that the worship of *Serapis* in *Egypt* was long anterior to the introduction of an idol under that name by *Ptolemy Soter*', as related by

(1) Καλοῦμεν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον καὶ Σάραπιν τὸν αἰδῆ δηλοῦσι. πρὸς ἃν φησιν ἂν πορεύεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν βιωσάντων, ἄριστα καὶ δικαιοτάτα. "Quem nos alio nomine Serapim vocamus, et qui est αἰδῆς, sub aspectum minimè cadens: ad quem Plato sublimes ait evehi illorum animas, qui quam optimè justissimèque vixerunt." *Julianus Imp. Orat. iv. p. 130. Vid. Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. tom. I. p. 237. Francof. 1750.*

(2) "Fuerat illic sacellum Serapidi atque I-idi antiquitus sacratum." *Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. 84.*

(3) "Nam Racotis, quæ postea nonnisi suburbium Alexandriæ fuit, diu ante urbem hanc regiam ab Alexandro erectam, illic steterat. *Vid. Jablonski Pantheon Ægyptiorum, tom. I. p. 231. Francof. 1750.* Also the authors by him cited. *Pausanias, lib. v. p. 432. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 545. Plinius, lib. v. c. 10. Clemens Alexandrinus, Protreptico, p. 31. Stephanus Ethnographus, in voce Παρώρε, &c. &c.*

(4) *Jablonski, &c. ubi supra.*

(5) See Chap. V. p. 263, Note (5), of this volume. In addition to the evidence there offered for the antiquity of the worship of *Serapis* in *Egypt*, may be also cited the following powerful argument, as urged by

*Tacitus*⁶, and also mentioned the authorities which refer its origin to the death of the Patriarch *Joseph*⁷, it will be proper briefly to notice the opinion of *Jablonski*, as to this part of the *Egyptian* mythology; because a symbol which we discovered, forming a central and conspicuous ornament of the *Catacombs*, may seem to strengthen his opinion, and thereby shew that here was the *Serapeum* of *RACOTIS*. He endeavours to prove, from various authorities, but principally by a passage which he has cited from the *Saturnalia* of *Macrobius*⁸, that *SERAPIS* was a type of the *infernal sun*, that is to say, of the sun during its course through the *lower hemisphere*, or winter signs of the *Zodiac*; as *AMMON* was of the *supernal*, or path of

Remark-
able Sym-
bol.

by *Cuper* in his *Harpocrates*, p. 83. *Utrecht*, 1687. "Ante advectum ex Ponto Serapin, alius in Ægypto eodem nomine deus colebatur. Pausanias, lib. i. scribit Athenienses Serapidis cultum a Ptolemæo accepisse, et templum ejus *καρπανάσιον* esse Alexandrinis, *ἀρχαίον* δὲ ἰσ *Μίμν*: unde absque dubio sequitur, ANTE PTOLEMÆUM Lagi F. si is, ut plerique tradunt, Sinopensem deum advehi curavit, SARAPIN IN ÆGYPTO CULTUM FUISSE."

(6) *Tacit. Histor. lib. iv. cap. 84.*

(7) See Chap V. of this volume, as above cited.

(8) "Hoc argumentum Ægyptii lucidius absolvunt, ipsius solis simulacra pinnata fingentes; quibus color apud illos non unus est. Alterum enim cæruleâ specie, alterum clarâ fingunt; ex his clarum superum, et cæruleum inferum vocant. Inferi autem nomen Soli datur, cum in inferiore hemisphærio, id est hyematibus signis, cursum suum peragit; superi, cum partem Zodiaci arëbit æstivam." *Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. i. c. 19.*

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the sun during the summer months¹. Hence the name of *HADES*, bestowed upon *Serapis* by the Emperor *Julian*², and the analogy between this deity and the *Pluto* of the *Greeks*³. According to *Macrobius*, the *Egyptians* were wont to represent the sun, in their winged images of that luminary, with two colours⁴; one being *white*, as typical of *Ammon* or the *supernal sun*; the other *blue*, to denote *Serapis*, or the sun's descent into *Hades* during winter, when it received the appellation of *infernal*⁵. It is a very curious circumstance, that the distinctions of colour mentioned by *Macrobius* may be noticed in all the mythological paintings of the *Tahtars*, the *Chinese*, and the

(1) "Sol superus et clarus est AMMON. Sol cœruleus et inferus est, ut mihi persuadeo, SERAPIS." *Jablonsk. Panth. Egypt. tom. I. p. 255. Francof. 1750.*

(2) See the observation of *Julian* upon *Serapis*, as before cited. See also *Cyrril. Alexand. adversus Julian. p. 13.*

(3) "Scriptores plerique, ubi ad *Serapidem* eorum deflectit oratio, cum ferè semper *Phutonem* interpretari soliti fuerint." *Jablonski, ubi supra, p. 236.* See also the authors by him cited. *Diodorus, lib. i. p. 22. Clemens Alexandr. in Protreptico, passim. Eusebius, Preparat. Evang. lib. iii. c. 11. p. 113. Porphyrius Julianus, Imp. Orat. 4. p. 136. Cyrril. Alexandr. lib. i. in Julian. p. 13. Aristides, Oratione in Serapim, passim.*

(4) Vid. *Macrobi. Saturnal. ubi supra.*

(5) Hence, perhaps, the very antient superstition of the *blue* colour of flame at the approach of departed spirits, coming from *Hades*. One of the *Witches* in *Macbeth* begins her incantation, "*Blue spirits and white!*" &c.

people of *Japan*, where an image of the *Sun* is introduced; but with this difference, that the colours, instead of being *white* and *blue*, are *white* and *red*⁶. The inhabitants of some parts of *India*, as it is well known, who are worshippers of the *Sun*, revere the *invisible* as well as the *visible* luminary; the former of which answers to ΑἶΔΗΣ and ΑΟΡΑΤΟΣ of the *Egyptians* and the *Greeks*⁷. This notion of *Jablonski* concerning *SERAPIS* is by him opposed to an opinion of the *Fathers*, which maintained that *SERAPIS* was a symbol of *Joseph*: but even admitting it to be true in its fullest extent, it will rather serve to confirm that opinion, if attention be paid to the titles which the *Egyptians* were accustomed to bestow upon their deified princes. The language of the valuable *Inscription* on the *Rosetta Tablet* will set this truth in a very clear point of view: we there

(6) The reader may see such representations in the engravings made from the sacred Pictures of the *Calmuks* tribes. (*Vol. I. of these Travels*, p. 320, octavo edit.) In three of those pictures, this double representation of the *Sun* is introduced; although the plate have not been coloured, and the minutiae of the distinction were little attended to by the engraver. In the original drawings, one orb is *red*, and the other *white*. The author at first supposed they were intended for the *Sun* and *Moon*.

(7) Φεράςιο πὸν πάντων θεῶν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἰδὼν,
Χείμας μὲν εἴ αἶδον, Δία δ' ἵλαος ἀρχομένους
'Ἡλίον δὲ θεῶν.—

Dic Deorum omnium supremum esse *Iao*,
Quem hyeme orcum vocant, iuvante autem vere *Jovem*,
Estare porro *Solem*.—

⁶ Jam

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find the deceased sovereign mentioned, as being "LIKE THE GREAT VULCAN¹." He is said to be "EVEN AS THE SUN, THE GREAT KING OF THE UPPER AND LOWER REGIONS²;" and his successor is called "SON OF THE SUN³." If, therefore, the SUN in *Hades*, according to the most antient mythology of *Egypt*, was called SERAPIS, *Joseph* having descended *thither*; and being "EVEN AS THE SUN," according to a style of deification which was invariable in *Egypt*, where the customs of the country were almost as unalterable as its climate, would receive the appellation of SERAPIS, after the same manner in which the name of VULCAN, father of the *Sun*⁴, was, so many ages

"Jam bene intelligitur, quam bene et recte auctor versuum allatorum affirmet, Solem ab Ægyptiis, tempore hyberno vocari αἰθρῇ, εὐμῇ, quæ non videtur, quoniam nempe lux ejus, illo anni tempore, sub terram demersa est. Eundem PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES dixit ἀράτοι τοῦ Σωπρίου. invisibilem in Sinopio. EUSTATHIUS vero, eodem loco allatus, testatur Serapim in Sinopio Memphis colit." *Jablonsk. Panth. Ægypt. tom. I. pp. 236, 234. Francof. 1750.*

(1) Κατάσις ὁ Ἡφαιστος ὁ μίγας.

(2) Κατάσις ὁ ἥλιος, μίγας βασιλεὺς τῶν τι ἔνω καὶ τῶν τι κάτω χῶρων. The word χῶρων, in this Inscription, has been usually translated *districts*, with reference to the division of *Egypt* into *upper* and *lower*, but this division is of modern date; and the SUN would hardly be styled "*King of Upper and Lower Egypt*." The expression seems to be metaphorical, and rather applicable to the antient notions concerning *Sol Superus* and *Sol Inferus*, as mentioned by *Macrobius*.

(3) Τιοῦ τοῦ Ἡλίου.

(4) See Note (1).

after, applied to *Ptolemy*, by the priests of *Egypt*. CHAP.
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We will detain the Reader no longer with such observations ; but proceed to a survey of the surprising repositories that have given rise to them, and which received among the Antients the appropriate appellation of the “ *City of the Dead*.” Nothing so marvellous ever fell within our observation ; but in *Upper Egypt*, perhaps, works of a similar nature may have been found. The *Cryptæ* of *Jerusalem*, *Tortosa*, *Jelilee*, *Laudicea*, and *Telmessus*’, are excavations of the same kind, but far less extensive. They enable us, however, to trace the connection which antiently existed in the *sepulchral* customs of all the nations bordering the *eastern* coast of the *Mediterranean* ; from the shores of *Carthage* and of *Cyrene*, to *Egypt*, to *Palæstine*, to *Phœnicia*, and to *Asia Minor*. An inclination common to man, in every period of his history, but particularly in the patriarchal ages, of being finally “ gathered unto his fathers,” may explain the prodigious labour bestowed in

Descent
into the
Cryptæ.

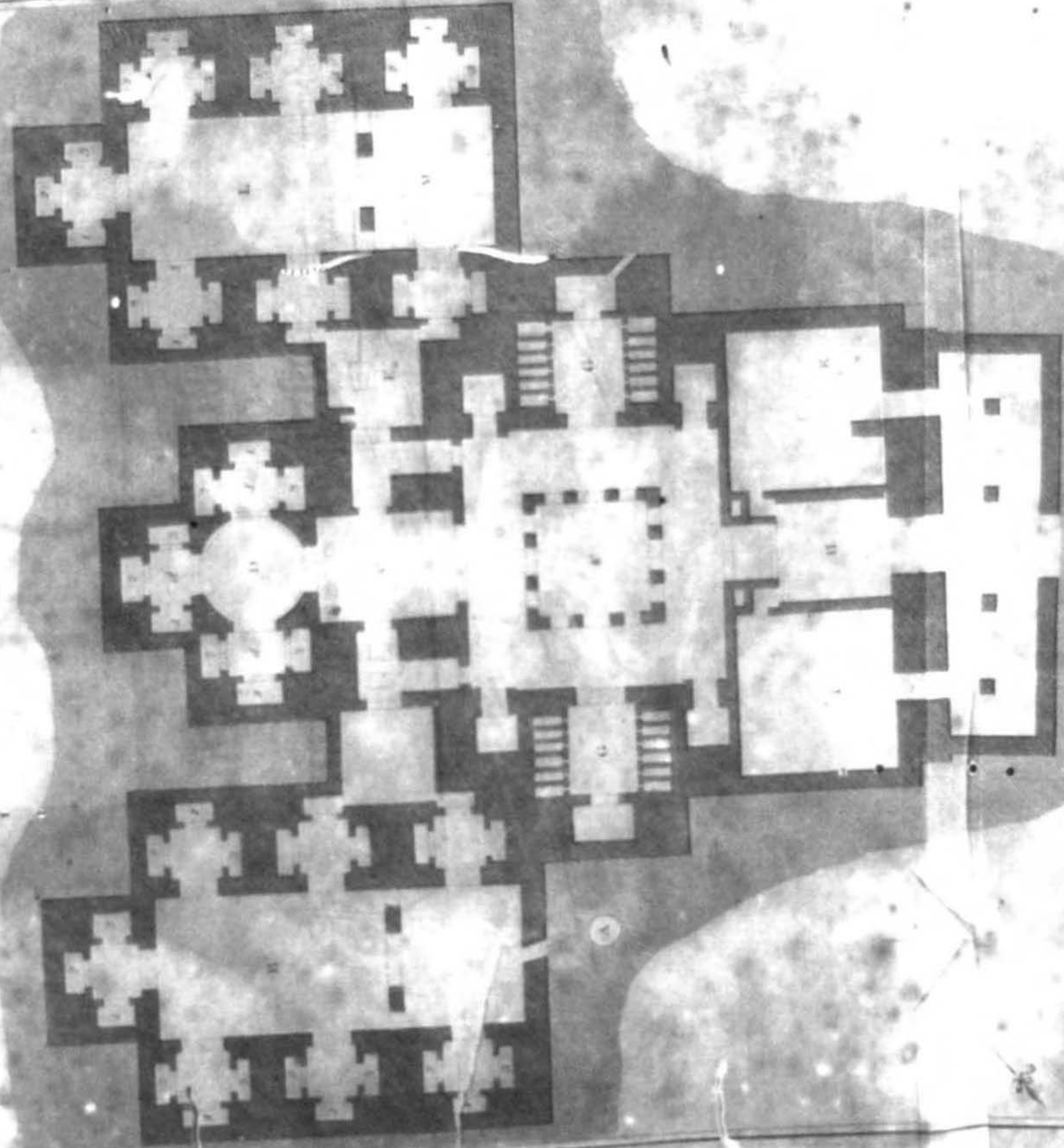
(5) See Chap. VII. of the Fourth Volume of these Travels, p. 323, &c. Octavo Edition ; also the observations in Note (4) of the same page, as to the situation of such sepulchres.

the construction of these *primæval sepulchres*. Wheresoever the roving *Phœnicians* extended their colonies, whether to the remotest parts of *Africa*, or of *Europe*, even to the most distant islands of their descendants the *Celtæ* in the *Northern Ocean*, the same rigid and religious adherence to this early practice may yet be noticed

The *Alexandrian* guides to the *Catacombs* will not be persuaded to enter them without using the precaution of a clue of thread, in order to secure their retreat. We were therefore provided with a ball of twine to answer this purpose; and also with a quantity of wax tapers, to light our passage through these dark chambers. They are situate about half a league along the shore, to the *westward* of the present city. The whole coast exhibits the remains of other *sepulchres*, that have been violated, and are now in ruins. The name of *Cleopatra's Bath*

(1) Among the *Wild Irish*, every avocation yields to the paramount duty of conveying a corpse to its destination, whatsoever may be the distance of the place designed for its interment. When the bearers arrive with a coffin, which, in order to fulfil the wishes of the deceased, is to be carried to some distant part of the country, they deposit it in the middle of the first village or town at which they rest, whence it is immediately forwarded by others who become its voluntary supporters.

الجامع الكبير في القاهرة



Scale of English Yards
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

has been given to an artificial reservoir, into which the sea has now access; but for what reason it has been so called, cannot be ascertained: it is a bason hewn out of the rock; and if it ever were intended for a bath, it was, in all probability, a place where they washed the bodies of the dead before they were embalmed. *Shaw* maintained that the *Cryptæ* of NECROPOLIS were not intended for the reception of mummies, or embalmed bodies²; in which he is decidedly contradicted by the text of *Strabo*³. Perhaps he was one of those who had been induced to adopt the erroneous notion that mummies were placed upright upon their feet in *Egyptian* sepulchres, and therefore was at a loss to reconcile the horizontal position of the *Thecæ* with his preconceived notions. We shall presently have very satisfactory evidence of the manner in which embalmed bodies were laid, when deposited within these tombs by the inhabitants of *Egypt*, before the foundation of *Alexandria*. The original entrance to them is now closed, and it is externally concealed from

(2) "The *Cryptæ*, &c. were not intended for the reception of mummies or embalmed bodies." *Shaw's Travels*, p. 293. Lond. 1757.

(3) Καὶ καταγυγὰι, ἀπὸς τὰς τοιχίας τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκτεθῆναι. *Strabon. Geogr. lib. xvii. p. 1128. Oxon. 1807.*

observation. The only place whereby admittance to the interior is practicable, may be found facing the sea, near an angle towards the north: it is a small aperture, made through the soft and sandy rock, either by burrowing animals, or by men for the purpose of ransacking the cœmety. This aperture is barely large enough to admit a person upon his hands and knees'. Here it is not unusual to encounter jackals, escaping from the interior, when alarmed by any person approaching: on this account the guides recommend the practice of discharging a gun, or pistol, to prevent any sally of this kind. Having passed this aperture with lighted tapers, we arrived, by a gradual descent, at a square chamber, almost filled with earth: to the right and left of this are smaller apartments, chiseled in the rock: each of these contains on either side of it, except that of the entrance, a *Soros* for the reception of a mummy; but owing to the accumulation of sand in all of them, this part of the *Catacombs* cannot be examined without great difficulty. Leaving the first chamber, we found a second of still larger dimensions, having four *Cryptæ* with *Soroi*, two on either

(1) See the aperture marked A, in the annexed Plan of the Catacombs.

side, and a fifth at its extremity towards the south-east. From hence, penetrating towards the west, we passed through another forced aperture, which conducted us into a square chamber without any receptacles for dead bodies; thence, pursuing a south-western course, we persevered in effecting a passage, over heaps of sand, from one chamber to another, admiring everywhere the same extraordinary effects of labour and ingenuity, until we found ourselves bewildered with so many passages, that our clue of thread became of more importance than we at first believed it would prove to be. At last we reached the stately antechamber of the principal sepulchre, which had every appearance of being intended for a regal repository. It was of a circular form^a, surmounted by a beautiful dome, hewn out of the rock, with exquisite perfection, and the purest simplicity of workmanship. In a few of the chambers we observed pilasters, resembling, in their style of architecture, the Doric, with architraves, as in some of the most antient sepulchres near to Jerusalem; but they were all integral parts of the solid rock. The dome covering the circular

(a) See D of the annexed Plan.

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chamber was without ornament; the entrance to it being from the north-west. Opposite to this entrance was a handsome square *Crypt* with three *Soroi*; and to the right and left were other *Cryptæ*, similarly surrounded with places for the dead. Over the entrance to this sepulchre we observed the remarkable symbol, sculptured in relief, of *an Orb with extended wings*¹.

It is to this hieroglyphical sign that allusion was before made; for this seems evidently to represent the *subterraneous Sun*, or SOL INFERUS, as mentioned by *Macrobius*²; and if the latter be *Serapis*, as it is maintained to be by *Jablonski*³, we have almost a proof that the cir-

1) In one of Colonel *Squire's* Letters to his brother, dated *Alexandria*, Christmas-day, 1801, it is stated, that he saw "a *Crescent*" over the entrance to the circular chamber, and that it is perhaps on that account vulgarly called "*the Temple of Diana*." Perhaps Colonel *Squire* mistook the Orb for a *Crescent*, by discerning only a part of the symbol above mentioned. The author's description of the interior of these *Catacombs* was, of necessity, written from memory; it being almost impossible to make notes while exploring them. He certainly saw the symbol of the *Orb with wings*, as he has described it: but whether it were over the Entrance to the circular Temple, or within the Dome of the Temple over the entrance to the "handsome square *Crypt*" mentioned above, he cannot positively affirm.

(2) *Saturnalia*, lib. i. c. 19.

(3) *Panth. Egypt.* tom. I. p. 235. *Francef.* 1750.

cular shrine was the antient *Serapæum* of *Racotis*, alluded to by *Tacitus* ¹.* All the rest of the history of these Catacombs seems to be involved in darkness, impervious as that which pervades every avenue of the excavated chambers. We endeavoured to penetrate farther towards the south-west and south, and found that another complete wing of the vast fabric extended in those directions; but the labour of the research was excessive. The *cryptæ* upon the south-west side corresponded with those which we have described towards the north-east. In the middle between the two, a long range of chambers extended from the central and circular shrine, towards the north-west; and in this direction appears to have been the principal and original entrance. Proceeding towards it, we came to a large room in the middle of the fabric, between the supposed *Serapæum* and the main outlet, or portal, towards the sea. Here the workmanship was very elaborate; and to the right and left were chambers, with receptacles ranged parallel to each other. Farther on, in the same direction, is a passage with galleries and spacious apartments on either side; perhaps the ΚΑΤΑΓΩΓΑΙ mentioned by *Strabo* for embalming

(4) *Tacit. Histor. lib. iv. c. 84.*