

The Greek Graffiti of the Temple of Seti I at Abydos and their Historical Implications

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Ancient Abydos belonged to the Thinite nome, the eighth of the canonical list⁽¹⁾. The capital of the nome was "This" or "Thinis", a city of which the exact situation is unknown but which was suggested to be the village of el-Birba, west of Girga⁽²⁾. To "This" or "Thinis" belonged - according to the Egyptian historian and priest Manetho- Menes and his descendants the kings of the first two Egyptian dynasties⁽³⁾. James Baikie suggested that Abydos and Thinis were most probably quite close to each other⁽⁴⁾ and were in close connection. Each of them had its peculiar importance in the Thinite nome: Thinis from the secular point of view and Abydos for religious considerations. The Thinite kings of the first two dynasties continued to be buried at Abydos or Thinis although their capital was at Memphis after unifying Upper and Lower Egypt, a practice which died out with the third dynasty of the pyramid-builders⁽⁵⁾.

The primitive deity of Thinis and Abydos was the ancient jackal-god Wepwawet or "the Opener of the Ways" whose function was to guide the dead in the other world. Later, by the third dynasty, another god of the dead, Khentamenty, or "the First of the Westerners" i.e. Lord of the Dead took, the place of Wepwawet there, but it did not last long. He was quickly superseded at Abydos by the cult of Osiris which originally came from Busiris in the Delta by way of Memphis in the Old Kingdom. In the funerary texts of the Old Kingdom the association of Osiris with Abydos and its previous god Khentamenty is quite clear: From the beginning of the IVth Dynasty Osiris was called in the tomb inscriptions of the courtiers of Memphis "Lord of Abydos" in addition to his original title as "at the head of Busiris", and was praised in the Pyramid Texts (627 b) "in his name of "Great Land, or Ta-wer" (i.e. the ancient name of This). In these texts also the dead king would sit in the other world "invested with the form of Osiris on the throne of Khentamenty" (Pyramid Texts 759). About that time Osiris became the subject of a famous tradition which represented him as the first king of Egypt and the instructor of his people in all the useful arts. After the murder and dismemberment of Osiris - according to his myth- Abydos laid claim to the honour of being the burial

place of the head of Osiris. Accordingly, it became the desire of every pious Egyptian to be buried at Abydos close to the tomb of Osiris, or to make a pilgrimage to Abydos, or cause a memorial to be set up for him in the necropolis of Abydos, or -at the very least- to add another votive pot to the enormous mass of pots accumulating there on and about the royal tombs in the necropolis at Abydos⁽⁶⁾ in the place called Umm el-Ga'ab (أم الجعاب) or "Mother of Pots"⁽⁷⁾.

The reason of this advancement of the worship of Osiris into Abydos in Upper Egypt is -according to Kees- easy to see: "At Abydos were the tombs of the Thinite Kings, the divine forefathers, and since the rulers of the united Egypt professed the belief that the king in death was identified with Osiris, it followed that the prototype of the transformed kings should be included with them in their necropolis"⁽⁸⁾.

Although Abydos no longer became a royal burial-place after the Thinite kings, the Pharaohs who succeeded them approved the popular traditions which regarded Abydos the most sacred spot in Egypt. Examples of this royal attention paid to Abydos are attested: Many of the Old Kingdom monarchs participated in the development of the great temple complex within the "temnos" of Osiris; Neferirkere, a king of the Vth Dynasty, decreed that the priests of Abydos should be exempt from the corvee; a strife about the possession of This of Thinis is mentioned in a later papyrus of the XVIII Dynasty (Petersburg 1116 A) to have arisen between king Khety III of the IX Heracleopolitan Dynasty and Prince of Thebes Wāhankh Intef: in this strife the Hereacleopolitan soldiers violated the royal tombs of the necropolis of Thinis and Abydos without the prior knowledge of king Khety of this impious act, but when he learned later of the sacrilege and transgression his concern and contrition were unbounded⁽⁹⁾. Other examples of the royal attention paid to Abydos and Osiris from the XIth to the XVIIIth Dynasties are also attested⁽¹⁰⁾.

Supreme attention, however, was paid to Abydos by the kings of the XIXth Dynasty, particularly king Seti I who erected at Abydos a great funerary temple to the honour of Osiris in which there was found the famous list of the Egyptian kings from Menes to Seti I, and of which the sculptures of the rooms are regarded among the finest pieces of art. This

great work was completed and finished by Ramses II, son of Seti I, but in a rather hasty way that is incomparable with that of his father in magnificence⁽¹¹⁾.

During the time of decline and foreign rule in Egypt (from the XXIInd to XXVth Dynasties of the Lybians and Ethiopians) the Egyptian priesthood abandoned the funerary temples of Seti I and Ramses II at Abydos since they lost their sanctity and became open to the foreigners who were regarded by the Egyptians as impure⁽¹²⁾. The worship of Osiris sought other seats and was established under the Ptolemies and Romans - according to Baïke⁽¹³⁾ - at Philae, although Osiris continued to be honoured at Abydos - this time by the Greeks - as we are going to see later.

On the side of the Greek tradition, the temple of Osiris at Abydos was linked with an event of the Trojan war as related by Homer and the Homeric cycle. Memnon, son of king Tithonus of the Ethiopians, came with an army to Troy to help the Trojans in their war against the Greeks, but he was killed by Achilles⁽¹⁴⁾. Since Memnon did not come back home, his father sent a second army to the aid of the first, but when this army reached Abydos to the north they knew of the death of Memnon and turned back home after suspending their crowns on the acacia trees of the tomb of Osiris as a sign of mourning⁽¹⁵⁾.

After the period of decline and foreign rule of Egypt by the Lybians and Ethiopians as mentioned above, an Egyptian dynasty ascended the Egyptian throne once more, i.e., the 26th Saitic Dynasty. The second king of this dynasty, Psammetichos I, brought Greek mercenaries (Ionians and Carians) to help him in shaking off the yoke of the Ethiopians and settled them at Daphnae below the town of Bubastis on the eastern Pelusiac branch of the Nile⁽¹⁶⁾, and long afterwards king Amasis of the same dynasty removed them thence and settled them at Memphis to be his own body-guards⁽¹⁷⁾. King Amasis also, out of his love for the Greeks, gave those of them who came to Egypt the city of Naucratis to dwell in, and during his reign this city flourished and became the most important commercial town of Egypt as its only trading port and the centre of its trade with Greece⁽¹⁸⁾. These Greek soldiers and merchants, particularly the soldiers, must have spread all over Egypt to its southernmost frontier⁽¹⁹⁾.

Since Abydos was linked in the Greek tradition with the legend of the Ethiopian prince Memnon, it seems that the great temple of Osiris built by Seti I there became associated in the minds of the Greeks who settled in Egypt with Memnon (i.e. Memnonion) rather than with Osiris. It is strange that Herodotus mentioned nothing at all in his second book - dedicated to Egypt - about Abydos, Osiris or Memnon. It is mentioned about four centuries later - after the end of the Ptolemaic Dynasty and at the beginning of the Roman rule in Egypt - by Strabo. He speaks of Abydos as follows "Above this city (Ptolemais) lies Abydos, where there is a Memnonion, a royal building, which is a remarkable structure built of solid stone, and of the same workmanship as that which I ascribed to the Labyrinth, though multiplex", and goes on to add "there is a canal leading to the place from the great river, and in neighbourhood of the canal is a grove of Egyptian acacia-trees, sacred to Apollo"⁽²⁰⁾. Although there is no explicit mention of the temple of Osiris in Strabo's paragraph, the remarkable structure and magnificence of the building referred to fits well the funerary temple built by Seti I for Osiris, and the mention of the grove of Egyptian acacia in its neighbourhood supports the supposition even more. This Memnonion was no doubt the same temple of Osiris mentioned elsewhere in Strabo who stressed that Osiris was still honoured at Abydos⁽²¹⁾. Thus, the same building was apparently linked in the minds of the Greeks in Egypt with the worship of Osiris (or Sarapis) and the memory of Memnon. (see the argument below).

About a century later, when Pliny the Elder mentioned Abydos he said that "it was famous for the palace of Memnon and the temple of Osiris"⁽²²⁾. In spite of this statement of Pliny he seems to have referred to one and the same construction in two historical phases: a Memnonion (palace of Memnon) in the early phase of Greek existence in Egypt before the Ptolemies, and a temple of Osiris (or its modification Sarapis) once more under the Ptolemies and early Roman rule in Egypt. This hypothesis of the historical phases of the great construction is supported by another Roman author, Solinus, who wrote after 200 A.D. and whose work is viewed as an epitome of the *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny⁽²³⁾. This statement of Solinus is "Aboedos et ipsa nobilis, olim Memonis regia, nunc Osiris fano exculta"⁽²⁴⁾ "Abydos, in fact famous by itself, was once renowned with the palace of Memnon, now with the temple of Osiris". The use of the

adverbs "olim" or once, and "nunc" or now clearly expresses two different phases of the history of the place, and the similarity between the statements of Pliny and Solinus implies that this what Pliny meant to demonstrate or, at least, what Solinus understood of the statement of Pliny.

Thus, it is apparent from this survey of the classical authors who mentioned Abydos and its religious and spiritual constructions that our knowledge of it after the time of the Egyptian decline mentioned before is fragmentary and separated by long historical gaps which need to be bridged somehow. Fortunately, these gaps can -to some extent- be substantiated through the very numerous graffiti (espically the Greek ones) which were engraved on some walls of the temple of Osiris built by Seti I and which can be dated as covering the period from the sixth century B.C. to the third century A.D.⁽²⁴⁾.

Most of these graffiti -the majority in Greek in addition to some Carian, Cypriote and Semitic- were engraved on the walls of the corridor of the table of the kings and the walls of the great staircase which runs up westward at the back of Seti's temple leading to the terrace of the corridor. They were engraved by visitors and pilgrims of the temple who did not care to date their graffiti except in some rare cases. Some scholars suggest that the earliest of these graffiti could be dated back to the beginning of the sixth century B.C. on archeological and pala-eographical grounds⁽²⁵⁾. Others think that dating them back to the early sixth century is too early and suppose instead the end of that century and the fifth century B.C., i.e., under the Persian rule⁽²⁶⁾. The former dating seems more appropriate espically when we find among these graffiti traces of the Greek mercenary soldiers -it seems- whom Psammatichos I and Amasis established at Daphnae and Memphis successively⁽²⁷⁾. Such mercenary soldiers -if the matter was in fact so- were stationed in the temple of Seti I (the Memnonion) where they were mounting the guard and watching from the terrace of the corridor of the table of kings while the rest of the temple was closed to them⁽²⁸⁾.

One of the graffiti inscribed by the mercenaries is engraved by a certain "Onasandros of kydonia (a city in Crete), of the Cretan mercenaries hired by Amyrtaios"⁽²⁹⁾. This Amyrtaios was perhaps the Egyptian prince of that name mentioned by Manetho and called the "Saitic" who continued

the struggle against the Persians in about 400 B.C.⁽³⁰⁾, a struggle which an ancestor of him bearing the same name began about 460 B.C. Prince Amyrtaios the elder seems to have originally been from Thebes -judging from his other name "Amnerdais" or "gift of Amon⁽³¹⁾", but resorted to the marshes of the Delta at the island of Elbo⁽³²⁾ as a hiding-place to evade the Persians. Thus, the graffito mentioned above alludes to the existence of a Cretan garrison belonging to the prince Amyrtaios the younger who might have been active against the Persians in Upper Egypt- including Abydos- since Upper Egypt was the last resort of Egyptian struggle against the Persians and later against the Ptolemies, and since the former hiding-place at the island of Elbo in the Delta was, discovered at the time of Amyrtaios the elder, as we might grasp from Herodotus.

From the above evidence one can infer that under the Persian rule the temple of Osiris at Abydos lost its prestigious position as religious centre and came to be renowned as a monumental memorial of Memnon, on whose walls the Greek and other mercenaries used to inscribe their names and ethnics to commemorate their visit to the place. Thus, at that time, the entry to the place seems to have been permitted only to the soldiers while passing by or staying for a time to watch and guard the memorial.

With the advent of Alexander the Great and -after his death- under the reign of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt the cult of Osiris -in another form, i.e., that of Osiris -Apis or Sarapis- was adopted by Ptolemy I Soter, and Sarapis became the tutelary god of the new dynasty. The new god was greatly venerated by the Egyptians and had followers among non-Egyptians, especially among the Greeks who had formerly settled at Memphis since the time of Psammetichos I and Amasis⁽³³⁾.

This time the visitors of the Osiris temple at Abydos were not only soldiers, but were often pilgrims who came intentionally to that place for various purposes. The graffiti dated to the Ptolemaic period among our group were mostly inscribed not by native Egyptians or by Greeks from Alexandria or Ptolemais, but by foreigners⁽³⁴⁾. Among those pilgrims who came on purpose to Sarapis (sometimes mentioned in these graffiti as Osiris and sometimes associated with Isis⁽³⁵⁾) we still find soldiers. Under the new circumstances, however, the soldiers did not happen to go there

occasionally to guard the place as a military duty entrusted to them, but went there on purpose and in their religious capacity as pilgrims. We encounter in the graffiti, for example, hunters of elephants returning from tropical Africa after an expedition of chasing and hunting elephants from these places to the Ptolemaic army: ἀπο τῆς θήρας τῶν ἐλεφαντῶν ⁽³⁶⁾. They came for thanksgiving to Sarapis for saving them of the dangers of such an onerous expedition⁽³⁷⁾.

In addition, we find in the temple a large number of signatures of Thracian soldiers⁽³⁸⁾. These signatures were not located in one and the same spot in the temple, nor were they inscribed at the same time. This implies that these Thracian soldiers did not constitute a body of soldiers who remained for a time at Abydos for a certain task, but were rather pilgrims, or sometimes devotees, of Sarapis who used to go there more than once. One of these Thracian devotees called Ablouthies signs his name seven times, and in two of them he designates himself as Χυβίτης i.e., from Χύβαι or Cusae (the present El-Qousieyeh in northern Assyout) where there existed a politeuma of Thracians, a colony of Thracian clerouchs. Perhaps the Thracians of this colony or politeuma used to visit Abydos as pilgrims or devotees of Sarapis⁽³⁹⁾.

There is also a large number of signatures left by Cretans⁽⁴⁰⁾ in particular, in addition to other signatures by Cypriots⁽⁴¹⁾, Cyrenaics⁽⁴²⁾ as well as persons from poor regions in Greece Proper such as Phocis, Locris, Oeta, Sicyon, Achaea, Arcadia, and from regions in Asia Minor such as Lycia, Caria, and Pamphilia⁽⁴³⁾. These might have almost been soldiers, judging from their poor fatherlands.

Other surviving signatures belong to persons from maritime ports and islands of the Aegean such as Samos, Rhodes, Cnidos, Cos, Halicarnassos, and Odessus on the Euxinus, a fact which implies that they were probably merchants⁽⁴⁴⁾.

Why were all such Greeks and hellenized -representing various ethnics and professions -so careful to visit Abydos and go on a pilgrimage to the temple of Sarapis? Bearing in mind that other famous temples of Sarapis existed in Alexandria and Memphis where many Greeks settled⁽⁴⁵⁾, one is led to infer that most of Sarapis' pilgrims at Abydos did

not go there for pilgrimage as the sole purpose of their journey. Probably they went there for military or civil service or commerce, and many of them seized the opportunity of their being in Upper Egypt to benefit themselves (and sometimes their relatives⁽⁴⁶⁾ at home) of the blessings of the god Sarapis at his temple of Abydos.

What were the miracles and powers which the pilgrims and devotees of Sarapis thought he could bestow on them? As Sarapis was originally the tutelary god of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, he was largely regarded as the saviour-god of the state as well as of the individuals, a belief expressed in our graffiti in the cases of elephant-hunters mentioned above. Some more of our graffiti express the anxiety felt by those who engraved them, something might have weighed down upon each of them and consequently they came to ask for the safety or *σωτηρία*⁽⁴⁷⁾ of the god from a danger or threat they suffered or expected. It is not necessarily that this *σωτηρία* besought by the pilgrims was meant to imply healing from some disease that befell them as the publishers tended to suggest. Safety from whatever danger the pilgrims had in mind was rather meant, especially that those who came for healing expressed their wish in a clear and definite way as well be shown later.

The belief in Sarapis as a saviour-god did not fade out as time went on, but rather strengthened. During the Roman times afterwards, Sarapis was hailed and thanked by a recruit in the Roman army on his arrival at Misenum as the Lord Sarapis saved him at once when he was in peril at sea⁽⁴⁸⁾. Some soldiers engaged in quenching a riot of Alexandrian rebels in early second century A.D. faced some difficulties in their task, some of them were wounded and others detained in the camp. In the end, however, everything turned out well thanks to Sarapis as they express gratefully⁽⁴⁹⁾.

Sarapis also enjoyed a wide reputation as a healer-god and was identified by the Greeks with Asklepios. Among his early miracles in this concern is the tale of Demetrios of Phalerum who was reported to have been cured of his blindness by the god Sarapis in Alexandria and consequently wrote a paean to Sarapis⁽⁵⁰⁾. In a petition to Apollonius, the finance minister of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, a certain Zoilus from Aspendus (on the southern coast of Asia Minor in Pamphylia) says that Sarapis has several times revealed to him in dreams that he must sail to

Alexandria and urge Apollonios to build a Sarapium in the Greek quarter (of the town where the writer lived) near the haven and appoint a priest. Since Zoilos was careless about the god's commands he had been punished by ill health from which he recovered on promising to obey the god's bidding, after which he came to Alexandria and wrote this letter to Apollónios to carry out the god's orders⁽⁵¹⁾.

These two early examples testify the miraculous healing powers of the new god of the Ptolemies and his extensive influence among the Greeks in and outside Egypt. Our later sources from the Roman period also stress the healing powers of Sarapis and show his sanctuaries as clinics where sick people flow seeking healing and recovery. Strabo in his description of the temple of Sarapis at Canobus (near Alexandria) states that it "effects such cures that even the most reputable men believe in it and sleep in it -themselves on their own behalf or others for them. Some writers go on to record the cures, and others the virtues, of the oracle there⁽⁵²⁾". Tacitus also mentions Sarapis as a god of wide fame in healing in Egypt⁽⁵³⁾, although he ridicules the Egyptians who worship that god as the most superstitious of all nations.

This background justifies the existence of a number of our Abydos graffiti by which some visitors (pilgrims) of the temple expressed the purpose of their pilgrimage, namely to be cured of their diseases and recover their health: *ὕγιαίνειν* ⁽⁵⁴⁾. Even physicians *ἰατροί* are attested among the Abydos pilgrims who visited the temple more than once⁽⁵⁵⁾. Whether they did this in the company of their clients, or to get more knowledge of their profession through the revelations of the god, or whether they were themselves in ill health and sought to be healed by the god, or were simply ordinary pilgrims who came out of their veneration to the healing-god, one can not exactly tell.

Among the Ptolemaic graffiti of Abydos one attains a particular significance as it refers to an important historical event. This is the graffito no. (32 bis) which refers to a siege of Abydos by the Ptolemaic troops during the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes. As for the precise year in which this event happened -(we are fortunate that this graffito in particular is one of the rare ones which bear a date in this group)- there are different readings: The first by Sayce, followed by others, who read it as the

twentieth year of Epiphanes $L\overset{56)}{K}$ (i.e. 185 B.C.), while the Sammelbuch editors read it the sixth year $L\ 5$ (of the reign of some ruler in the first century B.C.)⁽⁵⁷⁾, but Perdrizet and Lefebvre read it as the sixth year $L\overset{58)}{S}$ of Epiphanes⁽⁵⁸⁾ once more. In order to decide which of these readings and interpretations was historically true we ought to trace the background of the internal affairs of Egypt under Epiphanes.

Ever since the triumph of Ptolemy IVth Philopator against Antiochos III in the battle of Raphia in June 217 B.C. in the Fourth Syrian War, a triumph which was mainly accomplished through the courage and steadfastness of the Egyptian machimoi, the Egyptians gained self-confidence and began to revolt against the foreign rule of the Ptolemies; that is why Polybius regarded the step of arming the Egyptians against Antiochos as a mistake as regards the future although it was of great service for the time of Philopator⁽⁵⁹⁾. These revolts of the Egyptians covered most of the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (November 205- after 20 may, 180 B.C.)⁽⁶⁰⁾ who ascended when he was about 5 years old, with two corrupt and conspiring regents to the throne: Sosibius and Agathocles. These revolts erupted from the very beginning of his reign in the Thebaid and the Delta. In the summer of 197 B.C. (the 8th year of his reign) there occurred a high flood which helped the royal troops to tighten the siege around Lycopolis in the Busirite nome in the Delta in which the remaining rebels fortified themselves, consequently they surrendered but were nevertheless ruthlessly killed and their leaders put to death by the young king⁽⁶¹⁾ who celebrated his coronation at the age of twelve at Memphis in October 197 B.C. As for the Thebaid, however, an Egyptian called Harmachis siezed the temple at Edfou in the autumn of 206 B.C. at the end of Philopator's reign, marched to the north, drove the Greeks out of Thebes and occupied it. The Ptolemaic troops came back again to Thebes in 199/98 but could not manage to regain it, and a second king called Anchamachis was installed and continued to rule till August 186 B.C.⁽⁶²⁾ (the 19th year of Epiphanes). In that latter year an inscription was engraved at Philae at Epiphanes' order to commemorate the submission of the rebels⁽⁶³⁾.

In the light of the above evidence it could be suitable to suppose that Abydos must have been implicated in some way in the revolt of the Thebaid against Ptolemy V Epiphanes which resulted in the independence

of the Thebaid and its rule by the native kings Harmachis and Anchmachis until late in the reign of Epiphanes. It seems far from probable that the siege imposed by the royal troops on Abydos to restore it from the natives and retaliate its mutiny occurred during the twentieth year of Epiphanes since he commemorated the submission of the rebels of the Thebaid in the far southern island of Philae a year earlier⁽⁶⁴⁾. The appropriate date, then, would be the sixth year of Epiphanes when the Ptolemaic troops came back to Thebes but failed to restore it. In the course of the expedition of the troops against Thebes in the south which proved a failure, they must have besieged Abydos and managed to capture it in 199 B.C. in their way to Thebes. There is a hint in Strabo about Abydos which was once a great city, second only to Thebes, but which became at his time only a small settlement⁽⁶⁵⁾. Sayce suggested a probable correlation between this decline of Abydos as witnessed by Strabo and the siege of the city at the time of Epiphanes⁽⁶⁶⁾ as one of the factors which contributed in its decline.

This historical event of the siege of Abydos came to our knowledge in the course of the graffito of Philocles son of Herocles from Troizen (in the south eastern part of Argolis) who came in purpose to worship Sarapis even in these difficult circumstances under the siege of Abydos. This shows how far was Sarapis venerated not only in Egypt but also abroad by the Greeks of the mainland and around the Aegean Sea. This prestigious position and veneration for Sarapis continued to be held and increased all through the span of time between the establishment of his cult early in the reign of the Ptolemaic dynasty, i.e., early third century B.C. and the third century A.D. when Christianity began to gain a larger ground in the Roman Empire in spite of the persecutions of Decius in mid-third century and Diocletian in early fourth. We have mentioned examples of Roman sailors and soldiers in the second century A.D. thanking Sarapis for saving them in perilous conditions (Notes 48 and 49). Among the well known pieces of evidence in this concern is the miracle attributed to the statue (figure) of Sarapis in the presence of the emperor Trajan in the "Acta Alexandrinorum". In one of the political disputes in Alexandria between the Jews and Alexandrian Greeks two embassies representing the two conflicting sides stood before the council of the Emperor Trajan in Rome. When the Alexandrian embassy accused the Emperor of siding with the "impious Jews ἡνὸς ἰουδαίου" and filling his council with

them, the Emperor considered their attitude outrageous and accused Hermaiscos, the chief of the Greek embassy of being insolent and perhaps ordered him to be put in chains. Then, all of a sudden and to the horror of all the onlookers, the bust of Sarapis which the Alexandrians brought with them began to sweat⁽⁶⁷⁾. This was considered an evil and bad omen, caused panic and uproar, dispersed the council-meeting of the Emperor, and made the Romans abandon their domiciles and take refuge on the hills.

Tarn summarizes the deep-rooted devotion and veneration which the cult of Sarapis enjoyed when he states that "the destruction of the Alexandrian Serapeum and its statue in A.D. 391 by the bishop Theophilus was taken by the world as the outward sign that Christianity had definitely triumphed"⁽⁶⁸⁾. In Abydos, however, the oracle of Sarapis was not as long-lived as the Serapeum of Alexandria. It was superseded, not by Christianity as was the case in Alexandria, but by another pagan deity, Bes. He was originally a foreign god, imported from the land of Punt, characterised by repulsive grotesque features and obscene associations who was popular among the lower classes in Roman Egypt⁽⁶⁹⁾. The justification for the popularity of such lesser deities as Bes in Roman Egypt is best expressed by Bell⁽⁷⁰⁾. He remarks that as we advance into the Roman period the temple worship was losing its vitality and became more and more formal and lifeless. He doubted whether the official worship of the greater gods had ever touched the common people at that time very intimately. Their worship just "formed the framework for their religious life, but it was probably to such lesser deities as Bes and local gods as Mandulis; that, in general, the common man turned for help in time of trouble".

Of course Bes did not replace Sarapis at Abydos suddenly or in a short period of time. The Abydos graffiti began to make mention of him, associated with the other gods of the place (mainly Sarapis), in the first two centuries A.D.. It is significant to mention that the most important evidence of his worship at Abydos was not found inside the temple itself, but on the external face of the enclosure wall⁽⁷¹⁾. The pilgrims and believers of Bes often consulted his oracle about everything except the healing of their illnesses, for he was not a healing-god. He had no priests to give answers to the questions written on papyri or parchment, on his behalf⁽⁷²⁾, but came to the believers who consult him in a vision or

dream⁽⁷³⁾ with answers to their questions. He is described by some of those believers in our graffiti as truthful *ἀληθής*, quite truthful *παναληθής* and trusty *ἀψευδτος* ⁽⁷⁴⁾. The cult of Bes gains more importance in Egypt during the late Empire as is attested by many of our Abydos graffiti in which he is mentioned, most of which could be dated - on palaeographical grounds- to the third and fourth centuries .AD.(75).

It is clear that the oracle of Bes at Abydos gained an increasing importance and a high degree of credibility in the fourth century and became involved in some of the political issues, and perhaps a conspiracy against the Emperor Constantius in A.D. 359. Ammianus Marcellinus narrates the details of this affair which can be summarized as follows: "In the anxieties of the war against the Persian king Sapor, the Emperor Constantius recieved some papers or parchments among those presented to the oracle of Bes at Abydos in the remotest part of the Thebaid. These made the Emperor furiously angry since one of those suspected of presenting such papers (Simplicius son of Philippus, a former prefect and consul) had inquired about gaining imperial power, while another Demetrius, surnamed Cythras: an old philosopher, was charged with offering sacrifice (to Besa) several times, a charge which he could not deny but which he justified as a habit from early youth for propitiating the deity and not for reaching a higher position. The first was banished to a stated exile, and the second was tortured by being kept upon the rack⁽⁷⁶⁾.

This piece of evidence illustrates clearly to what extent the oracle of Bes still enjoyed such credibility not only among the lower classes but this time among personalities of high rank in the Empire including politicians and pagan intellectuals in a time when Christianity began to be well established in Egypt and throughout the Empire, with some scattered pagan remains here and there. This event must have aroused official, and perhaps popular, persecution and suppression against the oracle of Bes at Abydos on the part of the Christians⁽⁷⁷⁾.

Thus, the Abydos graffiti shed favourable lights on the various phases which the temple of Seti I underwent since it was abandoned by the Egyptian priesthood during the Persian rule until late in the fourth century A.D. They attract our attention to the Greek and Roman existence in Upper Egypt, to the development of the various successive cults and

oracles, to significant military and political events during that long period of time such as the Greek settlement in Chusae in Assyiout under the Ptolemies, the Egyptian revolt against the Ptolemies, and the conspiracies in the Roman Imperial court during the late Empire.

Notes of the Article

- (1) H. Gauthier Les Nomes d'Egypte depuis Herodote jusqu' a la conquete arabe, Le Caire, 1935, chapitre III (Les listes de nomes dans les temples Ptolemaïques) pp. 48-67, p. 66.
- (2) E. Naville, "Abydos" (J.E.A., vol. 1), pp. 2-8, p. 3; H. Kees, Ancient Egypt, a Cultural Topography, (An English translation from German by Ian F. D. Morrow) Phoenix ed., Chicago and London, 1977, p. 231.
- (3) C. Muller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, vol. II, Paris, 1848, p. 539 where the chronological lists of Manetho of Sebennytus about the Egyptian dynasties and their successive kings were quoted later by some ecclesiastical historians such as Africanus and Eusebius: 6 sec. Africanum and 7 sec. Eusebium for the first dynasty, and ibid p. 542: 8 sec. Africanum for the second dynasty.
- (4) James Baikie, The Egyptian Antiquities in the Nile Valley, London, 1932, p. 287. See also C. Muller, Op. Cit., p. 539 6 sec. Africanum, note: *Θινίτης*] Iubente Stephano: *Θις, πόλις Αἴγυπτιᾶ πλησίον Ἀβύδου.*
- (5) J. Baikie, Loc. Cit.
- (6) Ibid., pp. 289-90; H. Kees, Op. Cit., pp. 234-35, 241 - 42.
Cf. also Plutarch's Moralia, De Iside et Osiride, 359 B where Osiris' body is supposed to have been buried at Abydos and consequently the prosperous and influential among the Egyptians were mostly buried there: *ἐν τ' Ἀβύδῳ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ συνατοὺς μάλιστα θάπτεσθαι, φιλοτικούμενους ὁμοτάφους εἶναι τοῦ βώματος Ὀβίριδος.*
- (7) E. Naville, Art. Cit., p. 3.
- (8) H. Kees, Op. Cit., p. 236.
- (9) J. Baikie, Op. Cit., pp. 290-91.
- (10) Ibid., pp. 291-93.
- (11) Ibid., pp. 293-309; Naville, Art. Cit., p. 4.
- (12) A.H. Sayce, "Some Greek Graffiti from Abydos", (Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, X, 1888, pp. 377-388), p. 380; P. Perdrizet et G. Lefebvre, Graffites Grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos, Paris, 1919 (re-edited in Chicago, 1978 under "Inscriptiones Graecae Aegypti, vol. 111), introd., p. VIII.
- (13) Baikie, Op. Cit., p. 294.

(14) Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, edited by M.C. Howatson, Oxford, 1989, art. Memnon, p. 354.

(15) Athenaeus, 15. 680, and Perdrizet et G. Lefebvre, Op. Cit., introd., p. VII.

(16) J. Ball, Egypt in the Classical Geographers, Cairo, 1942, p. 8;

Herodotus, II., 154: οἱ δὲ Ἰωνες τε καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες τούτους τοὺς χώρους οἰκῆσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, εἰδὶ δὲ οὗτοι οἱ χώροι πρὸς θαλάσσης ὀλίγον ἔγερθε Βουβάστιος πόλις, ἐπὶ τῇ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου.

(17) Ibid.:

τούτους, μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασις ἐξαγεσθῆσας ἐνθεύτεν κατοίκησε ἐς Μέρφιν, φυλακὴν ἐαυτοῦ ποιεῦμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων.

(18) Ibid., II. 178-79.

(19) See Abu Simbel inscription.

(20) Starbo 17.1. 42:

ὑπὲρ δὲ ταύτης ἡ Ἀβυδος, ἐν ἣ τὸ Μερμόνιον, Βασίλειον θαυμαστῶς κατεσκευασμένον ὁλόλιθον τῇ αὐτῇ κατεσκευῇ, ἥπερ τὸν λαβύρινθον ἔφαμεν, οὐ πολλὰ πούν δέ ἐστὶ δὲ διώρυξ ἀγούσα ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ. περὶ δὲ τῇ διώρυγᾳ ἀκανθῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἄλλος ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

(21) Strabo, 17.1. 44:

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀβύδῳ τιμῶσι τὸν Ὀσίριν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος οὐκ ἔξεστιν οὔτε ὥσων οὔτε αὐλητῆν οὔτε ψάλτην ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ

(22) Pliny, Naturalis Historia, V. XI.60:

Abydos Memnonis regia et Osiris templo inclutum.

(23) See: Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, art. Solinus.

(24) J. Solinus, Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium, Berlin, 1895, (edited by Th. Mommsen), 32. 41.

Cf. A.H. Sayce, Art. Cit., pp. 377 ff. (in particular p. 388); P. Perdrizet et G. Lefebvre, Op. Cit., introduction, pp. IX ff.

- (25) G. Maspero apud P. Perdrizet et G. Lefebvre, Loc. Cit.; A.H. Sayce, Art. Cit., pp. 378.
- (26) P. Perdrizet et G. Lefebvre, Loc. Cit.
- (27) The Graffiti nos. (614): *τίμαρχος ὁ Δαφναίτης (536) Χαρίανδρος ὁ Στράτωτος Μεμφίτης.*
- (28) A.H. Sayce, Art. Cit., pp. 377-79; P. Perdrizet et G. Lefebvre, Op. Cit., introd., pp. VIII-IX.
- (29) Ibid., Graffito no. 405: *ἐπὶ Ἀμυρταίου ἐπικούροι Κρήτες Ὀνάσανδρος Κυθωνιάτας.*
- (30) C. Muller, Op. Cit., vol. II, p. 596.
- (31) P. Perdrizet et G. Lefebvre, Op. Cit., introd., p. IX.
- (32) Cf. Herodotus, II. 140 where he reported that this island of the Delta came to be used as a hiding-place for seven hundred years and was never discovered before the time of Amyrataeus (the elder Amyrataeos is clearly the one meant here as he was near the time of Herodotus' visit to Egypt): *ταύτην τὴν γῆδον οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἢ ἑπτακόδια οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρότεροι γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς Ἀμυρταίου. οὐνομα δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ γῆδι Ἐλβώ, μέγαθος δ' ἐστὶ πάντῃ δέκα σταδίων.*
- (33) M.A.H. El-Abbadi, The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria, UNESCO, Paris, 1990, pp. 52-62.
- (34) P. Perdrizet et G. Lefebvre, Loc. Cit.
- (35) Ibid., graffiti nos. (219) *ἀφίκετο Ἡρακλείδης πρὸς τὸν Ὀσίριν;* (625) *εὐτύχη Ἀφροδίδιος παρὰ τῷ Ὀσίριδι;* (629) *Ἐρμοκράτης ἦκει πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν Ὀσаре;* (377) *Σπάρτακος Φαίδρου ἦκω εἰς Ἄβυδον. Σώξέ με Ὀσίρι.* (181) *Πάτρων ἦκω προεκυνήσαι Θεοὺς μεγάλους ἵδιν καὶ Σάραπιν;* (535) *ἦκει Κλέων πρὸς τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ ἵδιν.*
- (36) For more details about elephant-hunting under the Ptolemies since the time of Philadelphos see: P. Hibeh 110, l. 79; Adulis Inscription (OGIS 54); Diodorus Siculus III. 36.3; Strabo XVI.769 and XVII.789; P. Petrie II.40 (a); M. Rostovtzeff, "Zur Geschichte des Ost-und Sudhandels im ptolemaish - romischen Aegypten. Die Organisation der Elefantenjagd" (Archiv fur Papyrusforschung, 4, 1908, pp. 301-304); U. Wilcken, "Punt-Fahrten in der Ptolemaer und romischen Kaiser" (Zeitschrift fur aegyptische Sprache, 60,

- 1925, pp. 786-87); C. Preaux, L'Economie Royale des Lagides, Bruxelles, 1939, pp. 34-37, especially p. 37, note 2.
- (37) Perdrizet et Lefebvre, Op. Cit., graffiti nos. 92-95, 97:
ἑωθέντες πρὸς τὸν Σάραπιν.
- (38) Ibid., graffiti nos. 7, 53, 81, 82, 93, 96, 97, 229, 244, 251, 294, 358, 360-62, 372, 377.
- (39) Ibid., pp. XI-XII.
- (40) Ibid., graffiti nos. 60, 62, 125, 187, 192, 197, 237, 239, 241, 292, 320, 388, 408, 428, 462, 626.
- (41) Ibid., nos. 104, 233, 234, 531.
- (42) Ibid., nos. 175, 300, 301, 348, 413, 610, 612, 622.
- (43) Ibid., introduction, p. XI, for the numbers of the graffiti representing such ethnics.
- (44) Ibid.
- (45) For more details on the Sarapis cult and its wide popularity in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt -particularly in Memphis and Alexandria- as well as in the Aegian world and even India see: U. Wilcken, Urkunden der Ptolemaerzeit, Berlin-Leipzig, 1927, vol. I, pp. 7-95; H.I. Bell, Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt, Liverpool, 1954; W.W. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, Third Edition (revised by the author and G.T. Griffith), New York, 1964, pp. 355-57; Z. Aly, "The Popularity of the Sarapis Cult as depicted in letters with proskyenma formulae", Etudes de Papyrologie, 9, 1971, pp. 165-219, especially pp. 174-77 and 190-94; M.A.H. EDI-Abbadi, Loc. Cit.
- Cf. also C. Bradford Welles, "The Discovery of Sarapis and The Foundation of Alexandria" Historia 11, 1962, pp. 271-98 who argued that Alexander the Great knew the Sarapis cult in Egypt and erected a sanctuary for Sarapis at Alexandria, relying on the evidence of late writers, pp. 282-86.
- (46) Perdrizet et Lefebvre, Op. Cit. graffiti nos. (284): *Ἡραϊστᾶς ἦκω τὸ προεκύνημα τῶν μητέρων μου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου ὧδε;*
 (454) *Σαραπίωγος τὸ προεκύνημα ὧδε καὶ Σωβαρίου τῆς μητρος καὶ Εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν ἐν οἴκῳ πάντων;* (545): *τὸ προεκύνημα τῶν παρὰ μου παρὰ τοῖς Θεοῖς;* (628) *τὸ προεκύνημα τῶν ἐμῶν.*
- (47) Ibid., p. XV, graffiti nos. 8, 368, 390, 414, 426 where the pilgrims wrote that they came

- (48) BGU II 423 – Hunt-Edgar, *Select Papyri* I. 112. second century A.D.
- (49) P. Michigan VIII. No. 478.
- (50) *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (edited by M.C. Howatson), Oxford, 1989, art. Serapis, p. 518.
- (51) P. Cairo Zenon I. 59034, February 257 B.C. Cited by H.I. Bell, op. cit., p. 22; Z. Aly, art. cit., p. 191; M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.*, Madison, 1922, p. 38.
- (52) Starbo XVII. 1.17: *Κάνωβος πόλις ἔχουσα τὸ τοῦ Σαράπιδος ἱερὸν πολλήν ἀγιστείαν τιμώμενον καὶ θεραπείας ἐκφέρον, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐλλογικωτάτους ἄνδρας πιστεύειν καὶ ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἢ ἐτέρους. βυγγράφουσι δὲ τινες καὶ τὰς θεραπείας, ἅλλοι δὲ ἀρετὰς τῶν ἐνταῦθα λογίων.*
(The translation quoted is that of the Loeb edition)
- (53) Tacitus, *Historics*, IV, 81.: Per eos mensis quibus Vespasianus Alexandriae.....multa miracula evenere quis caelestis favor..... E plebe Alexandrina quidam oculorum tabe notus genua eius advolvitur, remedium caecitatis exposcens gemitu, monita Serapidis dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens, ante alios colit, precabaturque principem ut gencas et oculorum orbis dignaretur respergere oris excremento. Alius manum aeger eodem deo auctore, ut pede ac vestigis. Caesaris calcaretur orabat..... Igitur Vespasianus cuncta fortunae suae patere ratus..... iussa exequitur. Statim conversa ad usum manus, ac caeco reluxit dies.
IV. 84:
Deum ipsum multum Aesculapium, quod medeatur aegris corporibus, quidam Osirin, antiquissimum illis gentibus numen.
and he attributes the miracles of the Emperor Vespasian who could restore the sight to a blind man in Alexandria by spitting on his eyes, and heal the paralyzed hand of another by trampling on it, to Sarapis as the latter prompted and directed such sick people to ask the Emperor to do the above required actions to them that they might be healed of their illness: IV.81.
- (54) Perdrizet et Lefebvre, *Op. Cit.*, nos. (107) *Σφήξ, ὑγιαίνων ἤκω πρὸς Ὀδειρίν καὶ εἰδῶρων πάλιν;* (114) *Ἀττικὸς προσεύχεται τοὺς ἐν Ἀβύδῳ θεοὺς ἵνα ὑγιαίνη;* (156) *Δὸς μου ὑγίειαν;* (467) *Ἀδκληπιάδης κακῶς πράβων ἦλθεν ἐνθάδε, λαμπρὸν σφοδρῶς κατέστῃσαν.*
and others.

(55) Ibid., A physician called Isidotos recurs in nos. 24, 256, 278, 473; another called Neoptolemos in 439, 595, 611, and a third called Theophilos in 354, 591.

(56) A.H. Sayce, art. cit., p. 381:

Φιλόκλης Ἱεροκλέους Τροιζήνιους παρεγενέθην προ-
κυνῶν τὸν Σάρα(πιν) ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀβύδου πολιορκίας L K. Πανύ κη.

He was followed by P.M. Meyer and Th. Reinach, *Revue des Etudes Anciennes*, 1911, pp. 56-57 apud Perdrizet et Lefebvre, *Op. Cit.*, p. XIII.

(57) S.B. 3776, 1st Century B.C.

[Φι]λοκλῆς Σεουετρι προκυνῶν χαίρειν λεγῶ. | Φιλοκλῆς
Ἱεροκλέους Τροιζήνιος παρεγενέθην προκυνῶν τὸν Σάρα-
[πιν] [·] [·] [·] [·] [·] [·] [·] [·] ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀβύδου πολιορκίας. L F, Παῦνι κη.

(58) Perdrizet et Lefebvre, loc. cit. followed by E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, Methuen, 1927, p. 261.

(59) Polybius V. 107:

ὁ γὰρ προειρημένος βασιλεὺς καθοπλίδας τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους
ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀγτιόχον πόλεμον πρὸς μὲν τὸ παρὸν
ἐνδεχομένως ἐβουλεύετο, τοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος ἠτόχῃ δὲ
φρονηματιζθέντες γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Ῥαφίαν προτερήματος
οὐκέτι τὸ προσταττόμενον οἶσι τ' ἦσαν ὑπομένειν, ἀλλ'
ἐξήτουν ἡγεμόνα καὶ πρόσωπον ὡς ἱκανοὶ βοηθεῖν ὄντες
αὐτοῖς.

(60) T.C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies*, Munchen, 1969 (2nd edition), pp. 12-13.

(61) The English translation of the Rosetta Stone in: E. Bevan, pp. 263 ff. and p. 261.

See also Polybius XXII. 17 (Loeb edition 1978):

Ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου ὅτε τὴν Λύκων πόλιν
ἐπολιόρκησε, καταπλαγέντες τὸ γεγονός οἱ δυνάσται τῶν
Αἰγυπτίων ἔδωκαν βφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν του βασιλέως
πίστιν· οἷς κακῶς ἐχρήσατο καὶ εἰς κινδύνους πολλοὺς
ἐνέπεδεν..... οἱ γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἀθήνιν καὶ Πανσίραν καὶ
Χέβουφον καὶ τὸν Ἰρόβακτον, οἵπερ ἦσαν ἐτι διαβωζόμενοι

τῶν δυναστῶν, εἰζάντες τοῖς πράγμασι παρήδαν εἰς τὴν Σάιν, ὥς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγχείριζοντες (πίστιν); ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἀθετήσας τὰς πίστεις καὶ δῆδας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους γυμνοὺς ταῖς ἀμαξαῖς εἴλκε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμωρηθέντος ἀπεκτείνεν.

- (62) E. Turner, "Ptolemaic Egypt", Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 7, part 1, (2nd edition), p. 163.
- (63) Bouche-Leclercq, Histoire des Lagides, tom. I, pp. 316 et 394 apud Perdrizet et Lefebvre, Op. Cit., p. XIII.
- (64) Ibid.
- (65) Strabo XVII. 42: ἔοικε δὲ ὑπάρξει ποτὲ ἢ Ἄβυδος πόλις μεγάλη, δευτερεύουσα μετὰ τὰς Θήβας, νυνὶ δ' ἐστὶ κατοικία μικρά.
- (66) A.H. Sayce, art. cit., p. 381.
- (67) P. Oxy. 1242, ll. 51-53: ἡ τοῦ Σαράπιδος προτομή ἦν ἐμβαταχὸν οἱ πρέσβεις αἰφνίδιον ἰδρῶσεν, θεαδόμενος δὲ τραιανὸς ἀπεθαύμασεν.
Musurillo, Acta Alexandrinorum, VIII, pp. 44-48; Z. Aly, art. cit., pp. 192-93.
- (68) Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, p. 357.
- (69) A.H. Sayce, art. cit., p. 383.
- (70) Bell, Cults and Creeds..., pp. 64-65.
- (71) Sayce, art. cit., pp. 383-48, an example of his worship there with the other gods is cited in p. 383 as follows:
τὸ προσκύνημα Ἡεπιδάτου Πυθιογίκου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ Μυρωνος καὶ τῆς γυναίκος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν καὶ τούτων τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν ἐκ φύχης φιλοῦντων κατ' ὄνομα καὶ τοῦ ἀναγιγνώσκοντος εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον γένοιντο παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Βῆδᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς.
- (72) Perdrizet et Lefebvre, Op. Cit., introduction, p. XIX.
- (73) P. British Museum 121, ll. 222 ff. and 118, ll. 64 ff. mention believers who would like Bes to appear to them in vision ὀνειραίτητα Βῆδᾳ and the way to invoke him.
For the details of this matter see:
Perdrizet et Lefebvre, Op. Cit., pp. XX-XXI.
- (74) Ibid., graffiti nos. 489; 492, 493; 492, 500 in order.
- (75) Ibid., p. XXI and graffiti nos.: 1, 22, 386, 481, 488, 489, 493, 495, 497, 499, 500, 502, 504, 505, 524, 528, 552, 560, 580.
- (76) Ammianus Marcellinus XIX. 12. 3-13:

3-5: Oppidum est Abydum in Thebaidis partis situm extremo. Hic Besae dei localiter appellati, oraculum quondam futura pandebat, priscis circumiacentium regionum caerimoniis solitum coli. 4. Et quoniam quidam praesentes, pars per alios desideriorum indice missa scriptura, supplicationibus expresse conceptis, consulta numinum scitabantur, chartulae sive membranae, continentes quae petebantur, post data quoque responsa, interdum remanebant in fano. 5. Ex his aliqua ad imperatorem maligne sunt missa..... et suspicax et minutus, acri felle concaluit

9. Ductus est itaque inter primos Simplicius, Philippi filius, ex praefecto et consule, reus hac gratia postulatus, quod super adipiscendo interrogasse dicebatur imperio.....corpore immaculato lata fuga damnatus est.

12. Demetrius itidem Cythras cognomento philosophus, grandaevus quidem sed corpore durus et animo, sacrificasse aliquotiens, confutatus, infitiri non potuit, asserens propitiandi causa numinis haec a prima adulescentia factitasse, non temptandi sublimiora scrutatis.....Diu itaque adhaerens eculeo.

(77) Sayce, art. cit., p. 384.