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À l'ombre d'Auguste Mariette [avec un dépliant].

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À L'OMBRE D'AUGUSTE MARIETTE

H.S. SMITH

Auguste Mariette discovered the Serapeum Way in 1850⁽¹⁾, thirty years before the foundation of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire, the centenary of which scholars of all nations celebrate with such admiration in this volume. To the great surge of interest in Ancient Egypt created by Mariette's consequent discovery of the Serapeum, we no doubt owe not only the creation of the Musée du Caire and the Service des Antiquités d'Égypte, but also in some measure the IFAO itself : three institutions which have played a central rôle in the recovery, preservation and recording of Egypt's splendid heritage.

Today, alas, the Serapeum Way, instead of forming a magnificent processional entry to the Necropolis of Memphis, lined with sphinxes and chapels, as it did to Greek and Roman visitors, is now sanded up and neglected. Most tourists are doubtless unaware of its existence, and even among Egyptologists, there are perhaps few who have traced its course from the edge of the cultivation to the entrance to the Serapeum itself. Fortunately for science, two French scholars, MM. J.-Ph. Lauer and Ch. Picard, rescued from oblivion the history and spectacular monuments of the western part of the Way, including the Hemicycle des Philosophes and the *dromos* to the Serapeum entrance, by re-excavating and publishing in the early 1950s an exploration undertaken by R. Macramallah in 1938. In their fine publication, M. Lauer wrote : « Il est certain que, pour bien comprendre tout le complexe du Sarapieion, de nouvelles fouilles très importantes seraient encore nécessaires, en particulier dans la région appelée par Mariette 'le Sérapéum grec' en

⁽¹⁾ A. Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Paris, 1857; A. Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, publié d'après le manuscrit d'auteur par G. Maspero, Paris, 1882; A. Mariette, « Renseignements sur les soixante-quatre Apis », *Bull. Archéol. d'Athénæum français*, 1855-6, reprinted in *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, t. XVIII. For valuable comment upon the history of the records of the

Serapeum excavations, see J.-Ph. Lauer et Ch. Picard, *Les Statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis*, Paris, 1955, 1-27; also M. Malinine G. Posener, J. Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, Paris, 1968, VII-IX; and J. Vercoutter, *Textes Biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis*, *BEHE* IV, 316^e fasc., Paris, 1962, IX-XIX.

bordure de la vallée; mais ceci demanderait des moyens dépassant de loin les crédits actuellement accordés à notre chantier de Saqqarah » ⁽¹⁾.

Over the past four years the Egypt Exploration Society have been surveying and excavating « Anubieion », the area of the great mud-brick enclosure at the eastern end of the Serapeum Way called by Mariette « le Sérapéum grec » and by the local population « Es-Sign Yusuf » (« Joseph's Prison ») ⁽²⁾. Unfortunately, much of the lower part of the Serapeum Way is now buried under deep dumps or built over by modern buildings, and the Society's work has consequently been confined to two brief stretches of the Way. Though far from on the scale which M. Lauer may have contemplated, it adds modestly to our knowledge of the Way.

The first sondage was in an area (numbered 23) between the edge of the cultivation and the cliff, and revealed the foundation of a road, at least 6.5 m. wide, running approximately local E-W. It was built of rough-cut blocks of local limestone to a height of c. 1 m., but the uppermost courses appear to have been of mud-brick; its sides had a slight batter. The length of 10 m. exposed showed that the position of this foundation was at a slight angle to and probably slightly to the north of the position assigned to the Serapeum Way in this area on Mariette's plans ⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Lauer et Picard, *op. cit.*, 27. For the history of the excavation by Macramallah, which his illness and early death unfortunately prevented him from publishing, and the reclearance by Lauer in 1951, see *loc. cit.*, 1-3, and pl. 18-24.

⁽²⁾ Smith and Jeffreys in *JEA* 64 (1978), 10-21; 65, 17-29; 66, 17-27. See the plan published at the end of Mariette, *Sérapéum* (1882), first plate, and that in A. Rhoné, *L'Égypte à petites journées*, Paris, 1877, p. 216, conveniently reproduced by Lauer et Picard, *op. cit.*, pl. 25 A. On the Sign Yusuf see especially B.H. Stricker in *Acta Or.* 19, i (1941), 101 ff.; J.J. Guilmoit in *C.d'E.* 37 (1962), 362 ff.; H. de Meulenaere in *C.d'E.* 35 (1960), 104 ff. The identification of the site as part of the Anubieion of the Greek documents was suggested by Mariette himself, with his usual perspicacity. The principal reasons for this identification are : i) the proximity of the catacombs

of the dogs; ii) the discovery of a block showing Ptolemy V worshipping Anubis in the area of the Central Temple (*JEA* 64, 19 and pl. V, 3); iii) a stone statue and amulets of Anubis have been found (*JEA* 65, 27) and also pots bearing a demotic inscription referring to *Pr-'Inpw*, *JEA* 66, 26.

⁽³⁾ See n. 2 above. Mariette places the Teti Pyramid c. 50 m. too far south in relation to the Serapeum Way. J. de Morgan corrected this error in his *Carte de la Nécropole Memphite*, Le Caire, 1897, Map 10, but in doing so seems to have bent the Serapeum Way northwards and changed the relation of the buildings shown by Mariette to the Serapeum Way mechanically, without having been able to recheck this on the ground. Mr. D.G. Jeffreys and I discuss the difficulties of relating Mariette's and de Morgan's maps in the forthcoming final report on the EES work, *The Anubieion at Saqqara*, Vol. I.

The second sondage was made immediately below the escarpment upon which the modern village occupied by Antiquities Service staff stands (Area 12). This revealed a section through four successive structures (Fig. 1) ⁽¹⁾. The earliest was a paved way consisting of a single thickness of mud-bricks (labelled BWJ in Fig. 1 : « Way 1 »), laid directly on a layer of clean sand (BWI). The bricks were laid tile-fashion in mud mortar across its width (3.5 m.) without bonding, except along its edges where they were laid lengthwise to form a border. It followed the line of the foundation described above, mounting the cliff face on a slightly diagonal course (local ENE-WSW), which does not exactly correspond with that of the Serapeum Way as shown on Mariette's plans. Possibly this diagonal course was chosen to reduce the gradient, which was approximately 1 : 5. The surface of the bricks showed a series of narrow longitudinal ruts, c. 5 mm. wide and deep, perhaps made by the runners of sleds ⁽²⁾. At one point two small limestone blocks (BWO on Fig. 1) had been let into the surface of Way 1, perhaps to serve as a chock to prevent a sled from slipping while its dragging team were resting.

Immediately to the north of Way 1 was a second brick structure (labelled BWL on Fig. 1 : « Way 2 »). It was founded on a layer of drifted sand (BWK) which had accumulated on the surface of Way 1. This may indicate that Way 1 had been abandoned at the time. BWL rose to a height of 11 courses of brickwork (1.5 m.) in its damaged state; its width was not ascertainable owing to a high modern dump, but was not less than 2.4 m. The courses of the brickwork sloped up at a gradient only slightly less steep than that of Way 1. This affords the best indication that BWL was a ramped way of solid construction which replaced Way 1 after it was disused, but maintained the same approximate alignment ⁽³⁾.

The southern edge of Way 2 was subsequently cut down to a height of two courses to accommodate the large foundation blocks of the north side of a stone way (labelled

⁽¹⁾ This isometric projection was constructed by Mr. D.G. Jeffreys from plans and sections drawn up by Mr. K.J. Frazer and Mr. C.J. Bridger from my own field drawings; it illustrates a new method devised by Mr. Jeffreys for showing debris sections and architectural reconstructions in combination. I am deeply indebted to these three colleagues.

⁽²⁾ The date suggested below for Way 1 is earlier than that of those representations of Apis burials which might be thought to show the use of a

wheeled vehicle, if indeed these do not rather show the use of tree-trunks as rollers; see for instance Sami Farag in *JEA* 61 (1975), 165.

⁽³⁾ For this alignment see *JEA* 64 (1978), 14, fig. 1, at point 23, where the first sondage is shown. It is possible to interpret the structure called Way 2 as a very thick brick wall lining Way 1 on the north, but its later construction and the lack of a parallel wall on the south make this unlikely.

BWN on Fig. 1 : « Way 3 »). The surface of these blocks (50.15 m. above datum) was virtually at the same level as the paving (50.20 m. above datum) of a large artificial terrace half way up the escarpment, which had probably formed a courtyard of the « Central Temple »⁽¹⁾. « Way 3 » probably therefore crossed this terrace on the level without gradient. At the point where it reached the stone retaining wall (labelled AZC) marking the western limit of this terrace, it began to mount the face of the escarpment by a series of stone stairs (Fig. 1). Unfortunately the limestone treads of these stairs had been almost entirely destroyed, but the pink gypsum mortar in which the three lowest were bedded was clearly traced. An accumulation of successive strata of debris (BWK, BWM, BWQ, BWR) between the surface of Way 1 (BWJ) and this mortar indicated a considerable lapse of time (Fig. 1). Moreover, it was clear that the stairway was constructed after the wall (AZC) delimiting the western end of the terrace. The width of Way 3 was not certainly ascertainable, though it cannot have been less than 3.8 m. It followed the alignment of the Serapeum Way shown in Mariette's plan, running directly local E-W up the escarpment, and not diagonally as did Ways 1 and 2.

At some later date the limestone treads of Way 3 were taken up, and replaced by new treads (labelled BXD in Fig. 1) made up of smaller limestone blocks bedded in pink gypsum mortar (BXC). On average these treads were both less wide (40 cm against 68 cm) and lower (12 cm against 26 cm) than those of Way 3, and would therefore have made the ascent of the cliff less arduous. Otherwise, this reconstruction (« Way 4 ») resembles Way 3, and it is to be noted that there was no positive evidence for the reconstruction or resurfacing of the level part of the Way across the terrace, though the evidence for this could have been destroyed.

If we now try to marry these results to what is known or has been inferred from previous excavations, what emerges?

1) The most notable result is that the Serapeum Way was made and remade four times. Lauer envisaged three stages of the Serapeum Way at its western end :

- a) a New Kingdom stage, for which the evidence is the pair of sphinxes bearing the cartouches of Merneptah found in the dromos by Mariette on alignment with the west face of « l'édicule d'Apis », and blocks from pilars or gate-jambs bearing the cartouches of Ramesses II found in front of the « hemicycle »;
- b) a XXXth Dynasty stage, with i) constructions of Nectanebo I, evidenced by his cartouches on the cornice of the pylon to the Apis « enceinte », by a stela embedded

⁽¹⁾ See *JEA* 64 (1978), 19-20 with fig. 3, as emended by *JEA* 65 (1979), 24.

ANUBIEION Area 12

Serapeum way (Mx N)

Isometric projection & section

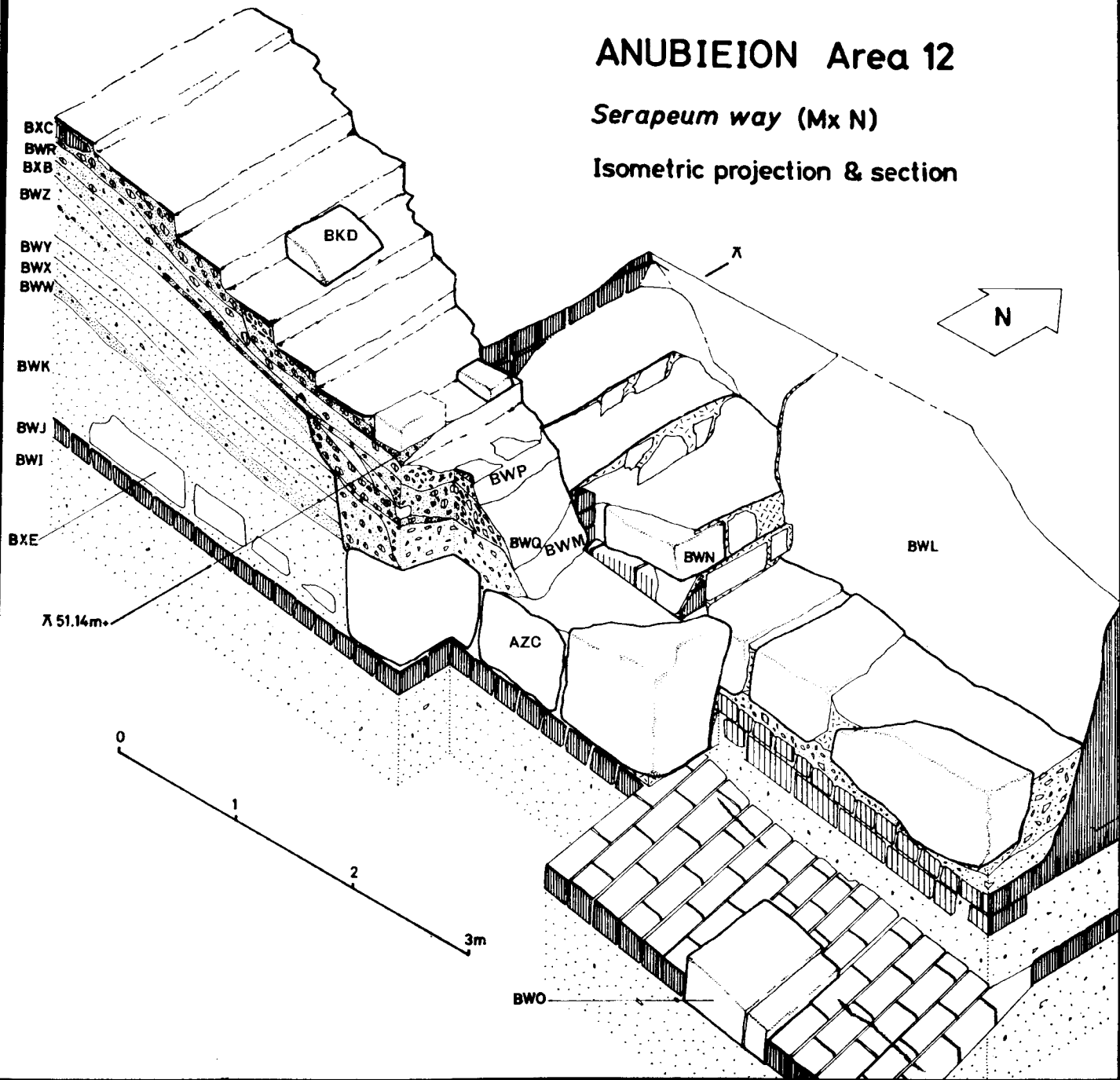


Fig. 1.

in the base of one of the two lions before it, and by the resemblance of the sphinxes lining the Way to those of Nectanebo I at Luxor, and ii) of Nectanebo II, including the East and West temples of the Apis, and the sphinxes before the gate of the East temple;

- c) a Ptolemaic stage, when the dromos was adorned with the Dionysiac statues and the « Hémicycle des philosophes » was constructed, the principle evidence adduced by Ch. Picard for dating them to Ptolemy I being a Greek dedicatory inscription on one of the Lychnaptai, and the presence of Demetrios of Phalerum among the philosophers ⁽¹⁾.

The evidence for stages b) and c) is weighty, that for a) less so, since the sphinxes of Merneptah might have been put in position long after his reign and the Ramesses II blocks were not *in situ* ⁽²⁾. Lauer pointed out, however, that under the Lychnaption and the Egyptian chapel containing the Louvre Apis-statue on the north side of the dromos, which Mariette dismantled, there were brick structures. These may be clearly seen in one of Macramallah's photographs not reproduced by Lauer and Picard ⁽³⁾; they comprised two parallel mud-brick walls, each one-brick thick, running E-W under the north side of the dromos, the northernmost being sealed under the north stone « mastaba » lining Mariette's Way, and a further E-W mud-brick wall, north of the south stone « mastaba », which might be the northern member of a similar pair under the southern side of the dromos. These walls appear to have descended for at least a metre, and though they may have formed foundations for Mariette's Way, do give a strong impression of belonging to anterior constructions.

Returning to the east end of the Way, it is tempting to link the stone Ways 3 and 4 with Mariette's stone Way, and the brick Ways 1 and 2 with the brick constructions just described which lay beneath it, at any rate in the dromos. In broad terms, this makes sense, in that Ways 3-4 must belong with Phase iv of the « Central Temple », which must be Ptolemaic, while Ways 1 and 2 must belong with or earlier than Phase ii or iii of the « Central Temple », which should belong in the pre-Ptolemaic era. When the detailed chronology is examined, however, there are difficulties. The terrace upon which Way 3

⁽¹⁾ Lauer et Picard, 23-27 with 148 ff., and references given there.

⁽²⁾ Fragments of a temple of Ramesses II were also found near the SE corner of the temple enclosure at the Sacred Animal Necropolis site, which may perhaps conceivably have come from

the same building.

⁽³⁾ These photographs are held in the archives of the Antiquities Service at Saqqara, and I am grateful to Mr. Hasibullah et-Tayyib for allowing me to consult them.

was founded appears to be that which led through the gateway of Ptolemy V Epiphanes found by Quibell to the South Temple ⁽¹⁾. Blocks belonging to cornices and a temple relief of Ptolemy V have also been found in the ruins of the « Central Temple » ⁽²⁾. The settlement founded in about 230 B.C. behind the « Central Temple » was extended in the reign of Ptolemy V, as is clearly shown by numismatic evidence ⁽³⁾. It has therefore been inferred that the major reconstruction of the Central Temple represented by the Phase iv terraces should be dated to Ptolemy V. This would suggest that Way 3 must also be dated to Ptolemy V, since the stairs described above are constructed over the rear wall of the terrace (AZC). Such a dating would mean that Way 3 could not be identified with the reconstruction of the dromos involving the introduction of the Dionysiac figures, since this is securely dated to Ptolemy I son of Lagos by M. Picard's work ⁽⁴⁾. However, one cornice block of Ptolemy II Philadelphos was found lying loose on the terrace of the « Central Temple », and it is possible that some part of the Phase iv reconstruction, including the remaking of Way 3, was completed by his reign ⁽⁵⁾. It would make sense for the Ptolemaic reconstruction of the Serapeum Way to begin with the most sacred region at the dromos end and to have moved eastwards. Were this correct, the reconstruction represented by Way 4 might very tentatively be assigned to Ptolemy V ⁽⁶⁾.

As for the earlier Ways 1 and 2 constructed in brick, there is no direct means of dating them. If it is correct to connect them with the original construction of the «Anubieion» enclosure, this might suggest a date in the XXXth. Dynasty corresponding with M. Lauer's stage b) ⁽⁷⁾. On the other hand, a group of scattered miniature foundation plaques bearing the cartouches of Amasis II (*I'h-ms s3 Nyf*) of the XXVIth Dynasty were found on the cliff-top where the limestone pavement of the sanctuary area of the « Central Temple » had been removed. Though not decisive, this suggests that the « Central Temple » may already have been existence in some form by the reign of Amasis. Way 1 might then reasonably be ascribed to that date, which would agree with the date which Mariette favoured for the initial construction of the dromos.

2) Mariette wrote : « Nous savons déjà que le plateau sur lequel le Sérapéum est construit se trouvait au sommet de la falaise et du mur blanc appuyé contre elle; on devait

⁽¹⁾ J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1905-06), Cairo, 1907, Pl. II and XXXI, 5 with descriptions.

⁽²⁾ *JEA* 64 (1978), 11 with pl. V, 3.

⁽³⁾ *JEA* 66 (1980), 21-3.

⁽⁴⁾ Lauer et Picard, 148 ff.

⁽⁵⁾ *JEA* 65 (1979), 27.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁽⁷⁾ See Lauer et Picard, 24.

y monter par une rampe en pente douce dont je ne puis que supposer l'existence, les pierres trouvées dans les fouilles ayant toutes été plus ou moins déplacées » ⁽¹⁾. In face of the evidence for stairways on Ways 3 and 4 produced above, Mariette's assumption of a ramp, reasonable at the time, should probably now be abandoned. From the « mur de quai » of stone discovered by Mariette at the edge of the cultivation, Way 3 probably passed through a monumental gateway in the east wall of the « Anubieion » enclosure, and then crossed the sandy strip below the cliff on the level, a portion of the Way which is show lined by sphinxes in Mariette's plan. It will then have mounted the escarpment by a stone stairway, probably provided with landings ⁽²⁾, to the level of the terrace half-way up the cliff, a height of 20 m. or a little under. Here it will have passed through a monumental gate in Mariette's « Mur Blanc », and then crossed the terrace on the level. At the west side of the terrace it will have mounted a further 5 m. up the stairs found by the EES to the cliff-top. Here it must have passed through another monumental gateway in a limestone wall fronting the sanctuaries. It crossed the sanctuary area on the level, and it is clear from Mariette's plans that the sanctuaries of both the « Central Temple » and the « North Temple » had entrances from the Way ⁽³⁾ — a fact that probably influenced Mariette in his description of this area as the « Pastophorion » of the « Serapeum grec ». The Way must have mounted a further stairway, equivalent to the « double stair » found by Quibell in the « South Temple » area, rising over 5 m. to the rear terrace, on which stood the settlement found by the EES and the magazines excavated by the Mission Archéologique de Saqqarah ⁽⁴⁾. The Way will have proceeded on the level across this terrace and then out through the monumental gateway in the west wall of the « Anubieion » enclosure. It should be noted that Mariette shows no sphinxes lining the Way within the « Central Temple » area; it is only after the Way left the west gate of « Anubieion » that the sphinxes resumed along its sinuous path to the Nectanebo East temple and the dromos.

As to the earlier Ways 1 and 2, the line of these, if produced directly, runs into the north face of the Teti Pyramid. It is therefore clear that there must have been an angle in them somewhere. The most logical place for this might have been at the top of the cliff, where, if the temple sanctuaries were already in existence, Ways 1 and 2 will

⁽¹⁾ A. Mariette, *Sérapéum* (1882), p. 73.

⁽²⁾ A brick way which probably led up to the temple in the 'Bubastieion' enclosure shows such landings; it is situated below the Antiquities Service Rest House at Saqqara. I have as yet failed to find a reference to the excavation of this monument.

⁽³⁾ See n. 2, p. 332 above for references to Mariette's two plans, which show discrepancies in the manner in which these buildings were entered from the Serapeum Way.

⁽⁴⁾ J.E. Quibell, *op. cit.*, iv with pl. VII. J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 36 (1967), 189, fig. 5-12; 37 (1968), 105, fig. 16-18; 38 (1969), 255.

presumably have passed through a gateway through a screen wall. It is probably significant that if they had turned here into a local E-W alignment, they would have passed through the gate shown by Mariette in the west wall of the « Anubieion » enclosure : this suggests that this enclosure may already have been in being at their construction. Thence they may well have followed approximately the course of Mariette's Serapeum Way, if the brick walls discovered under the dromos belonged to them. As Way 2 lay immediately to the north of Way 1, it is possible that the northern pair of brick walls shown in Macramallah's photographs belonged to Way 2, and the postulated southern pair to Way 1 ⁽¹⁾.

3) There has always been some improbability in the view that the immensely heavy sarcophagi of the Apis bulls, often of granite or basalt, were dragged up Mariette's Serapeum Way over an escarpment c. 30 m. in height. Even assuming the « rampe en pente douce » suggested by him, there is not space between the « mur du quai » and the cliff-top for a gradient of less than 1 : 6. This is surely too steep for such weights, and the friction would have been very great. If the Way was stone-paved, the flags would surely have cracked. Now that it has been shown that Ways 3 and 4 rose over the cliff by means of stairways, it is no longer possible to believe that the Apis sarcophagi were brought by this route. Admittedly, the earlier Ways 1 and 2 mounted the escarpment by means of ramps; but again, the gradient of approximately 1 : 5 is surely too steep, and it is quite impossible that the fragile paving, one brick thick, of Way 1 could have survived the impact of sarcophagi, bedded as it was in sand. The obvious route for the Apis sarcophagi was by water in the Inundation season to a quay behind *Pr-Wsir* (modern Abusir) at the south-western margin of the Lake of Abusir, which was still in existence early in this century ⁽²⁾. They could then have been dragged up the centre of the valley which leads up to the North Gate of the Serapeum shown on Mariette's plan, where a broad route of very easy gradient wide enough for both sarcophagi and dragging teams could easily have been constructed. It is indeed significant that the sarcophagi of the Mothers of Apis, which in some instances can hardly have been less heavy, must certainly have travelled at least part of their way along this route ⁽³⁾. It is unfortunate that the depth of sand in the centre of this valley has as yet inhibited any attempt to find the ways along it.

⁽¹⁾ See n. 3, p. 335 above.

⁽²⁾ See J.D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor, EES*, London, 1976, 146-54 with figs. 3-4.

⁽³⁾ See H.S. Smith, « Dates of the Obsequies of

the Mothers of Apis », *R.d'E.* 24 (1972), 176-9; id., *A Visit to Ancient Egypt*, Warminster, 1964, 37-41; J.D. Ray, *ibid.*

The burial procession of the Apis is a different matter. The bull, highly caparisoned, was born on a sled or barque or both, within a gilded naos of light materials. This will of course have been dragged in procession along the level parts of the Serapeum Way discovered by Mariette, but there is nothing to preclude its having been borne up the stairways over the cliff on the shoulders of a sufficiently numerous party of priestly bearers ⁽¹⁾. Moreover, there is reason to believe that the stairways may have been of the double type provided with ramps up the middle and each side, miniature examples of which appear in front of the shrines in the Sacred Animal precinct at Saqqara ⁽²⁾. If so, dragging will have been practicable over the whole of the route, as certainly it was on the brick ramps of Ways 1 and 2, since on the former the ruts of the sleds were visible. It is of course natural that the burial of the Apis should have been taken from the embalming place of the bulls discovered by Ahmed Badawi and Mustapha El-Amir within the enclosure of the Ptah temple at Memphis ⁽³⁾, up the main ceremonial way to the necropolis which will have led into Serapeum Way itself. The exact route of this ceremonial way from Memphis to Saqqara is something which still requires research ⁽⁴⁾. Perhaps however enough has been said to illustrate the fascinating problems that still exist in connection with Mariette's Serapeum Way, even after the brilliant contribution of MM. Lauer and Picard, and, in this centenary year of the IFAO, to encourage some of its able young pensionnaires to take up once again the study of the first great archaeological discovery in Egypt ⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ For the numbers involved in the burials of the Mothers of Apis, see Smith, *R.d'E.* 24 (1972), 176-9.

⁽²⁾ See W.B. Emery, « Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqara, 1968 », in *JEA* 55 (1969), 34 with pl. X.

⁽³⁾ M. El-Amir in *JEA* 34 (1948), 51-6; see discussion in Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, 55-8.

⁽⁴⁾ The main problem at present is the relation between the Serapeum Way and the ancient road

which led from the Ptah temple to the Bubastieion gate, see *JEA* 64 (1978), 21. Survey at Mitrahina, if sanctioned, may help to solve this problem.

⁽⁵⁾ I am deeply grateful to M. Vercoutter, Directeur de l'IFAO, for honouring me with an invitation to contribute to this centenary issue of the *Bulletin*. I apologize to my French colleagues that lack of skill and time have prevented me from writing in French.