

SUPPLÉMENT
AUX
ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

CAHIER N° 12

A HISTORY OF ANCIENT CYRENAICA

NEW LIGHT
ON ÆGYPTO-CYRENÆAN RELATIONS
TWO PTOLEMAIC STATUES FOUND
IN TOLMEITA

BY
ALAN ROWE

CONSERVATOR, GRÆCO-ROMAN MUSEUM, ALEXANDRIA;
REPRESENTATIVE OF SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS IN ALEXANDRIA



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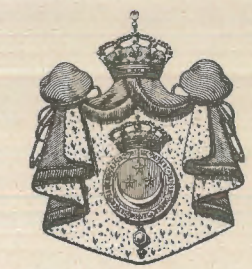
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L'an XXIX. Titus Petronius Capiton, âgé de 24 ans.

La Fortune, Capiton, n'a mis pour toi, entre la vie et la mort, entre l'hymen et la tombe, que l'intervalle d'une seule nuit, trompeuse, impitoyable, sans instruments de fête, pour toi sans lit nuptial, sans festin. Infortuné jeune homme! La poussière est tombée sur tes vêtements de noce, tes bandelettes non encore parfumées, tes couronnes de biblus. Ah! des gémissements ont été ton chant d'hyménée. Ah! Hélas! les flambeaux t'ont conduit à la couche dernière, que personne ne doit partager.

Epitaph of 3rd year of our era in tomb at Cyrene. From J. R. PACHO, *Voyage dans la Marmarique*, etc., I, p. 388.

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A HISTORY OF ANCIENT CYRENAICA.

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I.—INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

During the months of May and August, 1943, I undertook special trips to Cyrenaica at the request of the Civil Affairs Branch, B. M. A., in order to compile a report on the condition of the antiquities of that country. On the first visit I was accompanied by Major F. Maxwell Lyons (present medical director of Giza Ophthalmic Hospital) and on the second one by Mr. R. W. Bailey, H. B. M. Vice-Consul, Alexandria, both of whom much assisted me by making important photographic records. I must express my best thanks to the Cyrenaica Military Administration⁽¹⁾ and to its Civil Administration⁽²⁾ for the most kind way in which they

⁽¹⁾ Stationed at Barce; cf. Pl. I. [O/C. was Major-General A. L. Collier].

⁽²⁾ Stationed at Beda Littoria (where was once the headquarters of Field Mar-

shal Rommel); cf. Pl. I. [O/C. was Brigadier D. C. Cumming]. The arabic name for the locality is Sidi Rafa.

facilitated our visits to all the archæological sites of the country, the names and positions of which are indicated in Pl. I.

On each occasion we caught the military train at el-Amriya, about 23 km. south-west of Alexandria, and some twenty-two hours later left it at Tobruk (*Antipyrgus*), the railway terminus during the last war⁽¹⁾, which is inside Cyrenaica and approximately 125 km. along the coast from the modern Egyptian frontier⁽²⁾. See Pl. I. (*Antipyrgus*, incidentally, is not mentioned as a city until Georgius Cyprius, but it was

⁽¹⁾ Since the second world war the terminus of the trains on the railway line running west from Alexandria is at Marsa-Matrouh (*Parætonium*, *Paratonion*, *Paracomo*), in Egypt, 25 km. south-east of Zâwyet Um el-Bakham [see Pl. I], and some 316 km. by road west of Alexandria. But at the time of writing the newspapers state that it is possible a single weekly train will run from Marsa-Matrouh as far as Capuzzo, just inside late Italian-held territory. To the south-east of Parætonium, in the locality Haqfet 'Abd el-Râziq Kireim, is a Roman catacomb (A. ADRIANI, *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain* (1935-1939), 1940, p. 159 f); not far from it, actually at Haqfet Sa'd Hilwân, are the vestiges of a bath (*op. cit.*, p. 161). The same authority (p. 159, footnote 1) gives the following references to other finds at Parætonium: « BATES, *Excavations at Marsa-Matrouh*, *Harvard Afr. Studies*, VIII, 1927, p. 177 ss.; BRECCIA, *Una statuette del Buon Pastore da Marsa-Matrouh*, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Al.* n. 26, p. 247 ss.; GUÉRAUD, *Signature de plâtrier*, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Al.* n. 30, p. 31 ss.; BRECCIA, *Le Musée Gr.-rom.* 1931-1932, p. 24 (inscription grecque de l'époque romaine) ». At 12

km. to the west of Parætonium and near the sea-coast is an enormous underground aqueduct for fresh water 854.5 m. in length (cf. G. F. WALPOLE, *An Ancient Subterranean Aqueduct West of Matruh*, *Survey of Egypt*, 1932). It is not impossible that Julius Cæsar was referring to this aqueduct when, besieged by the Alexandrians in 48 B. C., he encouraged his thirsty troops by reminding them that their ships might obtain water either on the left from Parætonium or on the right from Pharos, according to the wind. It was from Parætonium, after the great sea battle with Cæsar at Actium, in 31 B. C., when Antony and Cleopatra fled to the Libyan coast, that the queen was sent on to Egypt by her lover.

⁽²⁾ Incidentally, the most westerly historical place in modern Egypt, near the north end of the abovementioned frontier, is Sallûm (*Catabathmus Major* or *Plynus Portus*). Cf. Pl. I. It is about 540 km. by road west of Alexandria. For classical sites in the Western Desert see J. BALL, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, *Survey of Egypt*, 1942, and my article on *The Western Desert, Rhacotis, and Mareotis*, shortly to be published in *Annales du Service*.

already a bishopric in the early IVth century A. D.). At Tobruk we were provided with a military car and driver for our work, a work which naturally entailed spending as much time as possible on each site.


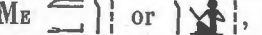

It was when we visited Tolmeita (*Ptolemais*) on the northwestern coast of Cyrenaica, that we were astonished to see the broken remains of two statues of Ptolemaic officials bearing inscriptions in hieroglyphs. Cf. Pl. XIV. These statues, we learnt later, had been discovered by Dr. Gennaro Pesce, formerly Chief Inspector of Monuments, Cyrenaica, in the ruins of the ancient *Edificio Colonnato* at Tolmeita, and placed by him in the local Museum, whence, for purposes of safety, we ourselves removed them to Civil Affairs H. Q. in Beda Littoria. The present article is based on a study of these most important monuments, which antiquities I am allowed to publish through the kindness of Dr. Pesce. Also, my thanks are due to Dr. Ét. Drioton, Director General of the Service des Antiquités, for some helpful remarks on the translations of the statue texts, which remarks have been added under his name in the relevant places. *Other objects with inscriptions in hieroglyphs from the same ancient building* are being published by Dr. Pesce himself. The photographs of the Cyrenaic sites and statues seen in our plates were taken by Major Maxwell Lyons and Mr. Bailey. Badie Effendi Abd el-Malek, Artist of the Graeco-Roman Museum, is responsible for the drawings.

In order that the full archæological significance of the Ptolemaic statues may be realized I first give details of the early tribes and of the history of Cyrenaica—for purposes of convenience in this article the country is generally referred to under its Roman name—which details, the fullest of their kind so far published, indicate that there were intermittent associations between Cyrenaica and Egypt even long before the two lands became united under the rule of the Ptolemies.

II.—ANCIENT TRIBES OF CYRENAICA, ETC.

1. TRIBES OF CYRENAICA AND THE WESTERN DESERT IN PHARAONIC TIMES :— Practically all that is known of the more or less racially associated three main Libyan tribes who inhabited Cyrenaica and also the Western Desert during the times the Pharaohs were ruling in Egypt is contained in the

at el-Alamein⁽¹⁾, which states that their country was conquered by that king. They are later mentioned by Merenptah, 1232-1224 B. C., who conducted a campaign against them (BAR⁽²⁾ III, § 611). Finally, in the time of Sheshonk IV, XXIIIrd Dynasty, 763-757 B. C., there is a reference to Hetihenker, the “great chief of Lebu”⁽³⁾, and governor of part of the Western Desert (BAR IV, § 783, 784). Far to the west were:

(3) The MESHWESH  (later abbreviated to ME  or , etc.), who seem perhaps to have inhabited the

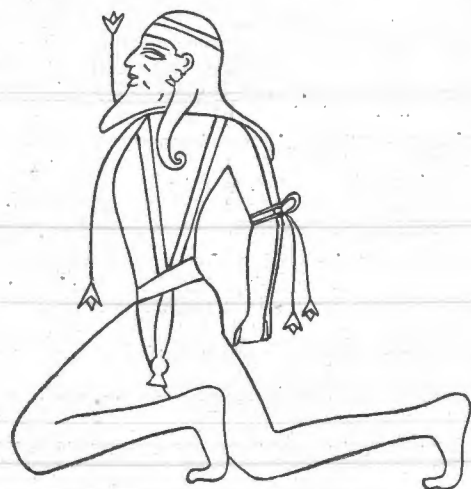


Fig. 3.—Captive Meshwesh-Libyan. Cf. Pl. I.
From ORIC BATES, *The Eastern Libyans*, p. 125 (fig. 24).

western part of Cyrenaica. See Fig. 3. Merenptah, XIXth Dynasty, says he invaded their land (BAR III, § 598), and brought back from it copper, swords and cattle (BAR III, § 589). The Meshwesh, in an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Egypt, over-ran the Tehenu in the time of Rameses III, XXth Dynasty, 1198-1166 B. C. (BAR IV, § 87), so

⁽¹⁾ Published by J. Y. BRINTON, after notes by the present writer, in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXXV, p. 163, Fig. 12. It will be more fully dealt with in my forthcoming article on Rhacotis and the Pharaonic Forts (includ-

ing Apis) in the Western Desert.

⁽²⁾ = J. H. BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 1906.

⁽³⁾ Hetihenker was also a “great chief of Meshwesh” (BAR IV, § 784).

that monarch retaliated by raiding their country (BAR IV, § 52). His spoil included chariots, swords, spears, quivers, bows, cattle, horses and asses; he also took prisoner their chiefs, their women and youths, to the number of 2,052 (BAR IV, § 111). Eventually, the Meshwesh became so powerful that the grandson of a chief of a part of this tribe, named Sheshonk, whose ancestors had settled some generations before

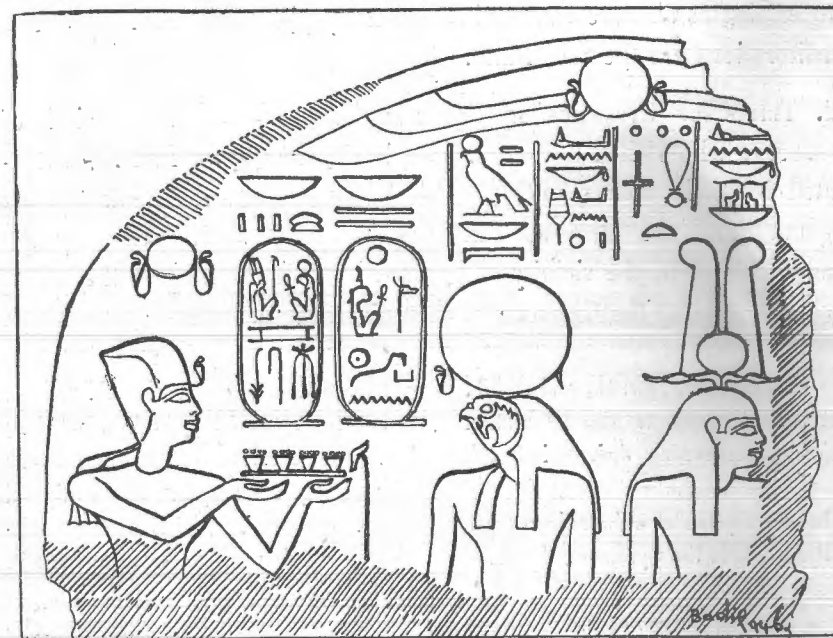
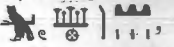

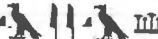





Fig. 4.—Upper part of stela of Rameses II from el-Alamein. The king, figured to left, is offering incense to Râ-Harmachis (in centre). On the right is shown Imy-Mit, the local god of el-Alamein. Monument left *in situ*.


at Heracleopolis, in Egypt, actually became the first king—Sheshonk I—of the XXIInd Dynasty,—950-929 B. C. (BAR IV, § 669; ORIC BATES, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 47, 228). Finally, various “great chiefs” of Me (Meshwesh) are known to have lived in Egypt from the XXIInd to XXVth Dynasties, the last of them—small Delta rulers—being of the time of the Nubian king Piankhi, 751-716 B. C., of the XXVth Dynasty (see list in BAR V, p. 53). In the Roman period (trilingual inscription of Cornelius Gallus) was a tribe called Meshau , but this name evidently refers not to the Meshwesh, who can no longer have been in

existence, but to the successors of the Tripolotanian *Maaryes* of Herodotus (Bk. IV, c. 191). See H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. des Noms. Géog.*, III, p. 14.

Rameses III mentions the small Libyan tribes of Ešbet , Keykesh , Shai (?) , Heš , and Beken  (BAR IV, § 405), the first, fourth and fifth of which Oric BATES, *op. cit.*, p. 50, places in North Cyrenaica, but this is uncertain, as also are the habitats of the Keykesh and Shai (?). The transliterations are those of Bates.

2. TRIBES OF CYRENAICA IN CLASSICAL TIMES :—In the period of HERODOTUS, who visited Cyrene c. 443 B. C., the *Tehenu* had been supplanted by their descendants (?) the Adyrmachidæ, the *Lebu* by the Giligamæ, and the *Meshwesh* (with an extension southwards) by the Nasamones⁽¹⁾. In the vicinity of Cyrene, but not reaching to the coast, which was held by the Cyrenæans, then dwelt the Asbystæ⁽²⁾; from south

⁽¹⁾ Cf. HERODOTUS, Bk. II, c. 32, 33, for statements made to him by certain Cyrenæans concerning their visit to the shrine of Ammon in the Sīwa Oasis, and for the description of uninhabited parts of Libya given to the Cyrenæans by some Nasamones.

⁽²⁾ When the Greeks founded Cyrene in the VIIIth cent. B. C. (see Section III, 2.—Greek Period) they must have driven out the Asbystæ from the site and from the adjacent seacoast. Oric BATES, *The Eastern Libyans*, p. 47, suggests that the name of the tribe of *Ešbet*  mentioned in association with the "Lords of the North, i. e., Ægeans", in the time of Tuthmosis I, 1530-1520 B. C. (BAR II, § 70), may be a misspelling of *Ešbet*. If this is so, the Asbystæ are to be dated back in Cyrenaica to at least the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The Asbystæ were noted for their four-horse chariots. Cf. HERODOTUS, Bk. IV,

c. 170, also c. 189 (Greeks said to have learnt from the Libyans how to yoke horses in a chariot); VII, c. 86 (Libyans—obviously from Cyrenaica—equipped as foot-soldiers, i. e., with dress of leather and carrying "javelins made hard in the fire" [Bk. VII, c. 71], all riding in chariots, and belonging to the composite army of Xerxes which attacked Greece); and, lastly, the chariots captured by Ramses III from the Meshwesh. Probably as early as the VIth cent. B. C. horses from Cyrene were often present at the Olympic Games (*Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, p. 111). PINDAR, *Pythian*, IV, V, refers to a king of Cyrene (Arcesilaus IV) who won four-horse chariot races in Greece—cf. our history of the Greek Period. We shall also see later on that a writer of the IInd cent. A. D. refers to a statue-group in Delphi representing king Battus I of Cyrene riding in a chariot.


of Barce to Bengasi lived the Auschisæ; while at Tocra were the Bacales, a small coastal tribe. Oric BATES (*op. cit.*, pp. 47, 51) says that the name *Asbystæ* recalls the Ešbet of the time of Rameses III. Under Scylax, c. 350 B. C., the Giligamæ had become the Marmaridæ with a slight extension to the west; the Nasamones were the same as before, but as to the Asbystæ, the Auschisæ, and the Bacales they are not recorded. STRABO, c. 63 B. C.—c. 24 A. D., mentions the Marmaridæ and the Nasamones, but adds the name of the Hesperitæ Libyans (near Bengasi)⁽¹⁾. The first and second tribes are also recorded by DIODORUS SICULUS in his *Library of History*, completed c. 30 B. C., and by PLINY, 23-79 A. D., who both omit the Hesperitæ; the first authority alone, however, locates the Auschisæ on the west and north parts of Cyrenaica, and the second one the Ararauceles in the north-east region of the land⁽²⁾. In the time of PTOLEMY THE GEOGRAPHER, 90-168 A. D., there were the following tribes in Cyrenaica⁽³⁾:—(1) The Libyarchæ, roughly in the region between Gambût and Bomba Bay—see Pl. I; (2) the Asbytæ and the Ararauceles, approximately west of the Libyarchæ to inland south of Apollonia; (3) the Barcitæ, in the region of Barce; (4) the Auschitæ, near Bengasi; and (5) the Nasamones, in their old position to the south of (4). In the BYZANTINE ERA the tribes of Cyrenaica consisted of the Marmaridæ (in the region of the older *Lebu*), the Barcæi (roughly between Barce and Derna), and the Nasamones (on the west coast, south of the Barcæi)⁽⁴⁾. We are not here generally concerned with the tribes inhabiting the desert between Cyrenaica and Egypt in classical times⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ He wrongly places the Asbystæ far to the west of the Nasamones (cf. Herodotus for their correct location).

⁽²⁾ Pliny, evidently following Strabo, also wrongly places the Asbystæ (called by him Hasbitæ) to the west of the Nasamones.

⁽³⁾ After correction of positions by Oric BATES, *op. cit.*, map on p. 65.

⁽⁴⁾ For mapped positions of the Libyan

tribes in classical times, see *op. cit.*, Maps III-X. The modern (Arabic) name for Cyrenaica is *Barça*  (derived of course from *Barce*).

⁽⁵⁾ For these the reader must see the abovementioned works of Oric Bates and J. Ball, also my forthcoming article on *The Western Desert, Rhacotis, and Marcotis*.

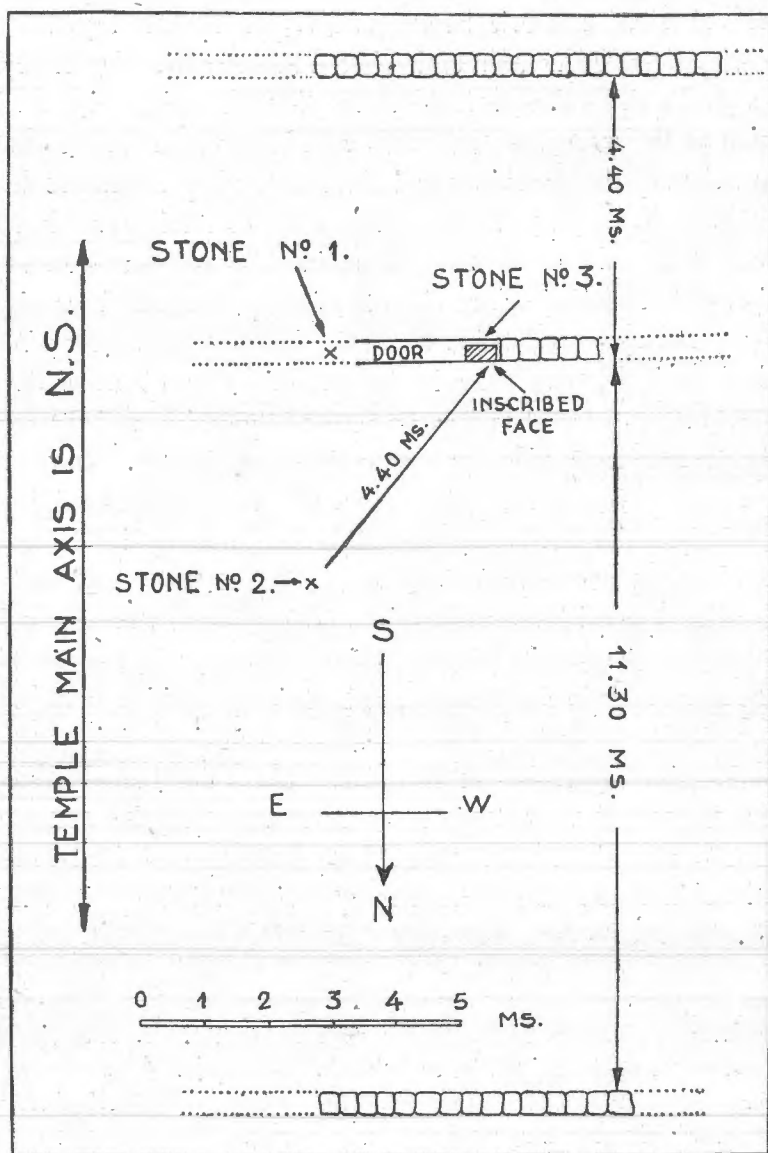


Fig. 5.—Plan of surface remains of newly-discovered temple-fort of Rameses II at Zawayet Um el-Rakham. Cf. ADDENDUM No. II.

III.—BRIEF HISTORY OF CYRENAICA.

1. OLD LIBYAN PERIOD :—The history of this early period, of which so very little is known outside of or even in ancient Egyptian records, is limited, in the present state of our knowledge, to the era contemporary with but not definitely before that of the XIXth to XXVth Pharaonic Dynasties. During most of this time Cyrenaica (with the exception of short periods when it was invaded in parts by kings of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties) was under native Libyan rule. At the commencement of the XXVIth Dynasty (*tempus* king Psammetichus I) it began to be colonized by Doric Greeks from the island of Thera—see Pl. I.

CONTEMPORARY EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES. DETAILS.

- XIX RAMESSES II, 1298-1232 B. C., invaded the *Lebu* land, part of which extended into the eastern section of the country later known as Cyrenaica.
- XIX MERENPTAH, 1232-1224 B. C., conducted a campaign against the *Lebu*, and invaded the *Meshwesh* land (probably Western Cyrenaica).
- XX RAMESSES III, 1198-1166 B. C., invaded the land of the *Meshwesh*, after an unsuccessful attempt by these people to conquer Egypt. The contemporary inscriptions mention the North Cyrenæan (?) tribes of *Eshat*, *Keykesh*, *Shai* (?), *Hes*, and *Beken*.
- XXII SHESHONK I, 950-929 B. C., first king of this dynasty, was of *Meshwesh* descent. For the "Stela of Sheshonk [I], great chief of the *Meshwesh*", see A. M. BLACKMAN, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXVII, pp. 83 ff.
- XXIII SHESHONK IV, 763-757 B. C. In his reign dwelt Hetibenker a chief of *Meshwesh* and of *Lebu*, who was governor of part of the Western Desert.
- XXII-XXV VARIOUS CHIEFS OF MESHWESH lived in Egypt, the last known of them—small rulers in the Delta—being of the time of king Piankhi, 751-716 B. C., founder of the XXVth dynasty.

2. GREEK PERIOD :—This period covers the era of Greek *colonization* and later domination ranging from the coming of the Dorians a little before the middle of the VIIth cent. B. C.—there actually seem to have been a few Greek *settlers* there before this time⁽¹⁾—to the beginning of the Ptolemaic era (commencement of IVth cent. B. C.). HERODOTUS (*Bk. IV, c. 199*) calls the whole land “the country of the Cyrenæans”; the name *Cyrenaica*, as indicated before, was not given to it until Roman times, about 74 B. C. [Cyrenaica afterwards became united with Crete as a single province, which subsequently, in the time of Augustus, 27 B. C., was called *Creta-Cyrene*. Further, as we shall see later, the eastern part of Cyrenaica was attached to Egypt in the Ist or early IInd cent. A. D., and formed the *Nome of Marmarice*]. The term *Pentapolis*, which cannot be traced earlier than the Ist cent. A. D., was very well established by then; it was applied to the country because of its five chief cities :—(1) CYRENE (*Flavia* [a surname], *Claudiopolis*⁽²⁾, *Grenna*, ‘*Ain Shahat*), the original capital; (2) HESPERIDES = BERENICE of Ptolemaic times (*Euhesperides*, *Bengasi*); (3) BARCE (*Merj*); (4) APOLLONIA (*Sozusa*, *Marsa-Susa*); and (5) TEUCHEIRA = ARSINOË of Ptolemaic times (*Tocra*)⁽³⁾. At least four of these cities—the foundation date of Apollonia is unknown—were established during the Greek Period. Later on two more cities rose to importance, PTOLEMAIS (*Tolmeita*), where the two statues under discussion in this article were found; and DARNIS (*Zarine*, *Derna*)⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ It must be remembered that PINDAR, *Pyth. V*, states that certain Trojans, sons of Antenor, landed in Cyrenaica, in company with Helen, before the Dorians arrived there. The inhabitants of Cyrene are said to have established a cult in their honour. Cf. also W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography, etc.*, I, 1844, p. 183. These Trojans were evidently not colonizers like the Dorians. See further *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, pp. 666 ff, IV, pp. 109 ff.

⁽²⁾ Cyrene later assumed this name in honour of a Libyan (Marmaric) victory

of Claudius Gothicus, 268–270 A. D. See A. H. M. JONES, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 1937, p. 363.

⁽³⁾ Other names for Cyrenaica were *Cyrenaica Provincia* and *Cyrenaica Africa*; it was also called *Pentapolitania Regio*. See W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, 1854, p. 372 (= POM-
PONIUS MELA (the Roman geographer), I, 8, § 1; PLIN. V, 5, etc.). Diocletian, 284–305 A. D., made it a separate province called *Pentapolis Libyæ*. A. H. M. JONES, *loc cit.*

⁽⁴⁾ Among the less important cities of

Apollonia was actually the port of Cyrene, and Ptolemais—perhaps so named by Ptolemy III (or II?), but evidently older in date than the Ptolemaic era—that of Barce. To the Egyptians, of the early period of the Ptolemies at least, as we shall see later on, Cyrene was apparently known as “Abydos” and Ptolemais as “House of the Tamarisk Grove”. In the former place was a temple dedicated to Isis (cf. Pl. III, —20, also HERODOTUS, *Bk. IV, c. 186*,—worship of the goddess in Cyrene at least as early as the Vth cent. B. C.), and in the latter place, as we realize now, an Egyptian colony with two temples dedicated to Osiris and other Nilotic deities.

Cyrenaica were Ampelus (near Teucheira) and Balagra (= Belendj, west of Apollonia); also Aphrodisias, Automala, Cænopolis, “Enessiphira”, Læa, Maranthia, Phycus, Heracles, and Hydrax (positions mostly unknown). See E. S. G. ROBINSON, *Cat. of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica*, 1927, pp. XII, CXCVIII, CC, CCI. The «alliance» cities were Cyrene and Hesperides; Barce and Cyrene; Barce and Teucheira. *Op. cit.*, pp. XLIV, XLV. It is interesting to note how the names of the chief cities have survived in modern times :—Thus Cyrene (*Grenna*); Berenice (*Bengasi*); Teucheira (*Tocra*); Darnis (*Derna*); and Ptolemais (*Tolmeita*). Barce, as stated above, has given its name to the whole country (*Barça*). Incidentally, it was Ptolemy III who changed *Hesperides* to “Berenice” (after the name of his queen), and *Teucheira* to “Arsinoë”, in honour of the mother of Berenice. E. S. G. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. xvi. As to *Apollonia*—given in honour of Apollo, patron deity of Cyrene—A. H. M. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 359, writes that “the probabilities . . . are that Apollonia was already a city and already bore that name

when Ptolemy III became king of Cyrenaica”. It first occurs in Strabo. In this connection it must be remembered that Eratosthenes, the famous geographer, was born at Apollonia in the time of Ptolemy II, actually in 276 (or 275) B. C.; W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, p. 162. The same authority suggests that the name *Sozusa*, which came into use under the Lower Empire, was actually the original name of the city brought into use again. Under the Roman era Cyrene was a colony, with the surname of Flavia; W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, I, p. 735. In the same epoch, as we shall see later, Hadrian founded the city of Hadriane or Hadrianopolis situated between Teucheira and Hesperides. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions also Chærecla and Neapolis. At Giovanni Berta is an interesting ancient rock-masonry-built place associated with a fountain. I saw no archæological remains at Benina, Beda Littoria, Martûba, and Gazala, but was told some exist at Gambût, near the site of which I approached. The positions of these six places are seen in Pl. I; their original names are unknown.

Our knowledge of the Greek Period of Cyrenaica is largely obtained from HERODOTUS (*Bk. IV, c. 150 ff.*). It appears that the Delphic oracle⁽¹⁾ ordered that a colony of Dorians from the island of Thera⁽²⁾ be sent to found a city in Libya. This colonization was subsequently carried out by way of Itanos in Crete and Plataea ("Seal Island"), at which latter place the Dorians arrived about 639 B. C.—see route in Pl. I. Some two years later, under the leadership of one of their number, a certain

⁽¹⁾ With regard to the oracle and its sanctuary A. ΡΟΥΣΗ, *Pindare, II (Pythiques)*, 1922, p. 7, writes: «Le sanctuaire — sous le nom de *Pytho* — a d'abord été consacré aux puissances chthoniennes. *Gé*, la Terre, en était la souveraine; le serpent *Pythôn* symbolisait sa puissance; la *Pythie* ('Pythoress') était son interprète». The Pythian Games, which commenced their regular succession in 582 B. C. and lasted until the end of IVth cent. B. C.—cf. further on, reign of Arcesilaus IV—had been established «en commémoration funéraire: c'était, disait-on, un *ἐπιτάφιος*, institué par le Dieu lui-même». ΡΟΥΣΗ, *op. cit.*, p. 8, I.—I make no excuse for now quoting H. Drury's latin version of Milton's "Ceasing of the [Delphic] Oracles", given in *Arundines Cami*, 1865, pp. 176 ff.:

Oraculorum quidquid erat, tacet;
Nec fraudulentas murmure dissono
Effundit ambages sacerdos
Per magici laqueare templi:
Sanctisque sanctas incola Pythius
Deductus artes tandem adytis silet,
Tandem ipse Delphorum supinam
Destituit gemebundus arcem.
Nec fabulosæ noctis imagines,
Nec elocuto murmura Apolline
Mentem pavescentis ministri
Fatidicis quatiant ab antris.

At sæpe fletus montibus inuis,
At crebra rauco litore personant
Lamenta; fons utcunque, Fauno
Exule, populeaque silva
Prætexta vallis non sine plancibus
Linguuntur; umbraeque implicitæ Dryas
Conquesta sublustri recessu
Scissa sedet vario capillum
Flore impeditum; perque sacros focos,
Et consecrato in cespite præsidum
De nocte suspirant omissis
Turba Larum Lemurumque cultu:
Et inter urnas tenuis anhelitus,
Arasque circum sparsus, et invicem
Dilapsus arcanis timori est
Flaminibus medio apparatus;
Signumque ductum marmore frigido
Sudoris udi stillat imagine,
Sellisque Di, regno potiti
Quisque suo, fugiunt relictis.

See ADDENDUM No. I for English version.
⁽²⁾ According to HERODOTUS, *Bk. IV, c. 149*, Thera was colonized by the Spartans under Theras. Egyptian objects have been discovered there in the "Archaic Grave" on Sellada. They consist of two scarabs dating from XXII-XXVIth Dynasties. See J. D. S. PENDLEBURY, *Aegyptiaca, A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area*, 1930, p. 107 f.


Battus, they left Plataea for the Aziris region on the adjacent mainland of Cyrenaica. After remaining there for six years they were conducted inland by the Libyans through the beautiful district of Irasa to the neighbourhood of the brook Cyre (in the mountains some 550 metres over sea level), from which flowed a fountain later to become famous; the site seems to have already been occupied by the Asbystæ tribe of Libyans⁽¹⁾. Here the newcomers, about 631 B. C., established their city of Cyrene, so-called from the name of the brook; see Pls. III,—8, X (Fig. 2). At a later period mythology connected the fountain with Apollo and related how the god had become enamoured with the nymph Cyrene after she had slain a lion which attacked flocks in the valley of Pelion which she was guarding on behalf of her father Hypseus, king of the Lapithæ, in Thessaly. Apollo carried her off—by the aid of swans according to one legend—to the part of Libya which afterwards bore her name⁽²⁾. Cf. also PINDAR, *Pyth. IX*, DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dict.*

⁽¹⁾ For the Asbystæ in the time of Herodotus, cf. Section II of this article. As to the Libyans (*i. e.*, Asbystæ) on the site of Cyrene before the Greek invasion the reader is referred to E. S. G. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. xiii, footnote 4 (= *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, LVII (1911), p. 82).

⁽²⁾ According to another legend, Euryppylus, king of Libya, having promised a portion of his kingdom to anyone who should slay a lion then dreaded for his ravages, Cyrene performed this deed, and received in reward the promised district. On the monuments the nymph is sometimes shown as strangling a lion; a local legend, according to Callimachus, places the event on the "Hill of Myrtles" (*Myrtousa*) at Cyrene. See E. S. G. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxi and footnote 2; cxvii and footnote 2 (the god Apollo Myrtous); ccxl and footnote 6 (the abovementioned hill overlooked the fountain of Apollo);

ccxlv (Aristæus son of Cyrene and Apollo established by Apollo on the site of the future city as its patron). Cf. SMITH and PORCHER, *History of the recent Discoveries at Cyrene*, 1864, p. 98 and Pl. LXXVI—Cyrene strangling a lion and being crowned by Libya (relief now in British Museum); also the description of the statue-group at Delphi given further on in details of reign of Battus I. A tradition of the time of the Argonauts also connects Libya with Thera; see reign of Arcesilaus IV (footnote). Incidentally, among the monuments from Cyrene in the-Louvre (A. H. DE VILLEFOSSE, *Cat. Sommaire des Marbres Antiques*, 1896, p. 102 f, Nos. 1776-1786) is part of a statue group representing Cyrene with the lion—No. 1776. Other statues there represent Bacchus, women draped in tunics; a draped Roman personage with the toga in his right hand, and a

des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, V, pp. 873 ff, and VIRGIL, *Georg.*, IV (complaint of Aristæus to his mother Cyrene that his bees had been lost by illness and famine).

The original dynasty of the Battiadæ, founded by the abovementioned Battus, ruled from Cyrene for nearly two centuries, actually from about 621 B. C. to about 450 B. C.; an independant branch of the house, of which not much is known, reigned at Barce from c. 550 B. C. According to HERODOTUS (*Bk. IV*, c. 155) *Battus* is a Libyan word meaning "king", but other Greeks he indicates, seemingly explained the word as meaning "the stammerer"; they invented a story that Battus had originally consulted the Delphic oracle about an impediment in his speech, and was told that he would eventually become a king in Libya⁽¹⁾. It has been remarked by H. R. Hall that *Battus* may be compared with the pharaonic *bti* , "king of North Egypt", or sometimes "king"⁽²⁾. In the following brief details of the Battiad dynasty special attention is given to Egypto-Cyrenæan contacts; the royal names at the commencement of each section are those of the Cyrene kings.

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XXVI (Saitic) BATTUS I, the founder of Cyrene, ruled there from [= 663-525 B. C.] c. 631-606 B. C. According to Pindar, the famous Greek lyric poet, c. 518-438 B. C., the real name of the first Battus was Aristoteles (*Pyth. V*). JUSTIN (XIII. 7), however, says it was Aristæus; he has confused the actual name with "Aristæus", the name of the son of Apollo and Cyrene—see above. Battus was the son of

priest, all from Cyrene; also a winged head of Medusa, from Cyrenaica. Two fragments of sarcophagi, from Cyrene, and an edict of the emperor Anastasius, from Ptolemais, complete the list.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. A. H. M. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 352 = HERODOTUS, *Bk. IV*, c. 155. Also it

will be recalled that Demosthenes, the greatest of the Greek orators, born in 384 B. C., was apparently a stammerer in his early youth.

⁽²⁾ A. H. M. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 484 = HALL, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 97, 98.

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Polymnêstus (a prominent citizen of Thera) and of Phronima daughter of Etearchus, king of Axus in Crete. He was actually king of the Dorian colony some fifteen years before it arrived on the Cyrene site, as Herodotus says he reigned forty years in all (*Bk. IV*, c. 153, 159). For his traditional ancestor of seventeen generations before, a certain Euphemus, the helmsman of the vessel of the Argonauts, see footnote in account of reign of Arcesilaus IV below. Battus I was a contemporary of Psammetichus I of Egypt, 663-609 B. C., in whose time certain Carians and Ionians, equipped in "brazen armour", entered the military service of Egypt (HERODOTUS, *Bk. II*, c. 152). Their coming fulfilled the assertion of the oracle at Buto⁽¹⁾, in the Delta, which Psammetichus had consulted in time of danger to himself, that "vengeance would come from the sea, when brazen men should appear". That one party of Greeks should have entered Cyrenaica and another party of them entered Egypt, about the same time, and each in association with an oracle, is a fact which does not seem to have been commented upon before. The large circular tomb seen in the Agora (ancient public place or market) at Cyrene—cf. Pls. II,—B, IX (Fig. 1)—is certainly that of Battus I, for PINDAR, *Pyth. V*, states that this king "rests alone in his tomb at the extremity of the Agora" in that city. Other similar round tombs at Cyrene must evidently belong to the successors of Battus.

⁽¹⁾ For other references to this oracle, cf. HERODOTUS, *Bk. II*, c. 83, 133, 155.

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Cf. Pls. IX (Fig. 2), X (Fig. 1). His subjects worshipped him as a hero, while PAUSANIAS (VI. 3. § 2; X. 15. § 4), IInd cent. A. D., states that there was dedicated a statue of the king at Delphi, representing him in a chariot driven by the nymph Cyrene, with Libya in the act of crowning him. Compare the abovementioned relief in the British Museum. The sculptor of the statue was Amphion, son of Acestor, pupil of Ptoichus of Corcyra, and teacher of Piso of Calauria; he was a native of Knossos, and flourished c. 428 or 424 B. C. It was probably about the time of Battus I that the cult of the Egyptian deity Ammon at the Oasis of Ammon (Siwa) passed into Cyrenaica. His head, however, first appears on Cyrenæan coins about 500 B. C. [When Herodotus visited Cyrene, c. 443 B. C., he spoke to some of its inhabitants who had visited the Oasis; see *Bk. II*, c. 32]. The cult of the god was later carried from Cyrenaica to Athens at some unknown time anterior to 371 B. C.

do.

ARCESILAUS I, ruled sixteen years according to Herodotus, *i. e.*, c. 606-590 B. C. He was the son of Battus I, and a contemporary of Necho king of Egypt, 609-594 B. C. About this time, or in the next reign, lived the famous poet Eugammon of Cyrene who wrote the *Telegonia*, intended to be a continuation of the *Odyssey*. Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, p. 501; IV, p. 111; also W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*, etc., II, 1846, pp. 85, 86. The

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Silphium appears regularly on coins of Cyrene from c. 600 B. C., and also later on those of Barce; see *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, p. 110. Cf. Fig. 6. This plant, known to the Romans as *Laser* or *Laserpitium*, was a source of great wealth to the Cyrenæans; its juice was used both as a condiment and as a medicine. Cf. E. S. G. ROBINSON, *Cat. of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica*, pp. ccli ff, also HERODOTUS, *Bk. IV*, c. 169. A scene on the celebrated vase of Arcesilaus (probably Arcesilaus II—cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, p. 110 f) represents the king assisting, on the deck of a ship, the weighing and the shipping of *silphium*. See Pl. XIII (Fig. 1). Cf. DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, VI, p. 1223, Fig. 4465; p. 1763, Fig. 4925; also IX, p. 639. For the plant itself see VIII, pp. 1337 ff, and ORIC BATES, *The Eastern Libyans*, p. 28.



Fig. 6.—The *Silphium* plant. From a coin. After E. S. G. ROBINSON, *Cat. of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica*, p. ccliii, Type IIA.

do.

BATTUS II, c. 590-560 B. C.⁽¹⁾, surnamed "the prosperous". He was a contemporary of kings Psammetichus II, 594-588 B. C., Apries, 588-568 B. C., and partly of Amasis, 568-525 B. C. On the advice of the Delphic oracle great numbers of Greeks from the Peloponnese, Crete, Rhodes

⁽¹⁾ The regnal years of this king and the following ones of the Battiad dynasty are those of E. S. G. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii ff.

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(*contd.*)

and the islands, now entered Cyrenaica to join the older colonists (c. 570 B. C., *tempus Apries*); they stripped the Libyans (Asbystæ) of large parts of their lands. Adicran, the Libyan ruler, thereupon put himself under king Apries, who sent an army of Egyptians to help him; the army, however, was defeated at Irasa (cf. above), near a spring called Theste. See HERODOTUS, *Bk. II*, c. 161; *IV*, c. 159. The returned soldiers and friends of the slain revolted, believing that Apries had, of *malice prepense*, sent his own army to destruction, whereupon the king ordered Amasis his general to try and appease the rebels. They refused to be quietened and proclaimed Amasis as king in place of Apries. In an ensuing war between Amasis and Apries the army of the latter, consisting of Carian and Ionian mercenaries (normally stationed at Sais, the capital of the dynasty), marched out to meet the Egyptian soldiers of Amasis but was defeated. HERODOTUS (*Bk. II*, c. 169) places the battle at Mômemphis, perhaps Kôm Abou Billu, but DIODORUS (*Bk. I*, c. 68) says it was at Marea, the latter site probably being the actual one as a stela dated year I of Amasis was found near there; cf. PORTER and MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography*, *IV*, p. 6. Apries was taken prisoner and subsequently killed and buried in the Temple of Neith—a goddess identified by the Greeks with Athëna (Minerva)—at Sais. When Amasis was king he became friendly with the Greeks and allowed them to settle at Naucratis where there were established the oldest

XXVI (Saitic).
(*contd.*)

Greek temples in Egypt⁽¹⁾. The king also concluded a treaty of alliance with Cyrené and actually married Ladice a lady of royal rank from that city. After the marriage Ladice presented a statue to the Temple of Venus at Cyrene; cf. HERODOTUS, *Bk. II*, c. 181. For the position of this actual (?) sacred building see SMITH and PORCHER, *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*, *Pl. XL*, pp. 102 ff, "Temple of Venus" = A. H. SMITH, *Cat. of Sculpture in the Dept. of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Brit. Mus.*, *II*, 1900, pp. 220, 221, "Temple of Aphrodite". Cf. *Pl. II* of this article. This small building, with cella and pronaos, but without a peristyle, is just to the south of the Odeon seen in *Pls. II,—I, XI* (Fig. 2), of this article. Venus was of course sometimes identified with Isis, whose own temple at Cyrene is seen in *Pls. III,—20, V* (Fig. 2). The women of Cyrene did not eat the flesh of the cow "honouring

⁽¹⁾ Cf. HERODOTUS, *Bk. II*, c. 178 (reference to the Neucratite Hellenion, and the local temples separately dedicated by the Æginetans to Zeus, by the Samians to Hera, and by the Milesians to Apollo, all existing in the time of king Amasis). The Æginetans were the greatest traders of Greece in archaic times. See also W. M. F. PETRIE, *Naukratis*, *I*, p. 11, and E. A. GARDINER, *Naukratis*, *II*, pp. 9, 34 (references to a local temple of Aphrodite, c. 688 B. C., mentioned in ATHENÆUS, *XV*, 18, and also to a temple dedicated to the Dioscuri, of unknown date). Tradition thus establishes Nau-


cratis as early as the first half of the VIIIth cent. B. C.; the original "Fort of the Milesians" there was perhaps more ancient. Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, *III*, p. 291; J. G. MILNE, *Trade between Egypt and Greece before Alexander the Great*, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, *XXV*, pp. 177 ff; D. MALLET, *Les premiers établissements des Grecs en Égypte*, 1893 — cf. also p. 468, "CYRENE" — and *Les Rapports des Grecs avec l'Égypte*, 1922. The hieroglyphic name for Naucratis (⊙ U ⊙) appears in H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. des Noms Géog.*, *III*, p. 75.

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(*contd.*)

in this Isis, the Egyptian goddess, whom they worship both with fasts and festivals" (HERODOTUS, *Bk. IV*, c. 186). Amasis sent to Cyrene a statue of Athena (Neith) covered with plates of gold and a painted statue of himself⁽¹⁾.

do. ARCESILAUS II, c. 560-550 B. C., "the cruel". See Fig. 7; Pl. XIII (Fig. 1). He was the son of Battus II, and also a contemporary of King Amasis of Egypt. After he came to the throne he had dissensions with his brothers, Perseus, Zacynthus, Aristomedon, and Lycus, which ended in their leaving him and founding the independent city of Barce (c. 550 B. C.), on a site already

⁽¹⁾ See HERODOTUS, *Bk. IV*, c. 189, for the statement that the dress of the statues of "Athena (Minerva) and her *Egis* were derived by the Greeks from the women of Libya". The goddess had early been identified by the people of Lake Tritonis (the Lesser Syrtes), to the west of Cyrenaica, with a local armed goddess; HERODOTUS, *Bk. IV*, c. 180, 188; E. S. G. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. LXXX. In connection with these Libyan associations of Athena it is most important to remember that on the late pharaonic monuments Libyan captives are actually shown as tattooed with an emblem like that of Neith , the great goddess of Sais who, as stated before, was identified with Athena. Cf. ORIC BATES, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 139 ff, 206. Elsewhere prisoners of war or slaves were tattooed or branded; see J. G. FRAZER, *The Golden*

Bough (The Scapegoat), 1919, p. 47. As we shall see later the name of Neith appears on one of the two statues from Tolmeita. Statues of Athena have actually been discovered at Cyrene. Compare SMITH and PORCHER, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 92, 99, Pl. LXIV (head of Athena in Corinthian helmet—from Temple of Apollo, cf. Pls. III,—17, VI of this article); *op. cit.*, p. 103 (a similar head—from Temple of Venus); and *op. cit.*, Pl. XL, p. 106 (statue of Minerva, var., "Pallas Athena"—from Capitoleum dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, cf. Pl. II,—E, of this article, and G. OLIVERIO, *Scavi di Cirene*, 1931, p. 17). The first head is in the British Museum; A. H. SMITH, *Cat. of Sculpture in the Dept. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, II pp. 224, 225.

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occupied and named by the Auschisæ Libyans—the Libyan element was actually included in the new city in which it persisted for many centuries. Reconstructions made some time after the foundation of the city, however, produced an eponymous heroine, Barce, daughter of the Libyan king of Irasa named Antæus⁽¹⁾. The ruling dynasty of Barce, like that of Cyrene, was therefore a Battiad one; it lasted until some time uncertain in the Vth cent. B. C. The brothers of Arcesilaus II actually induced the Libyan "subjects" (*periokoi*) of Cyrene to revolt, but after the rebellion they fled to the east of the land

as they feared the power of the king. Here, at a place called Leucon, Arcesilaus II attacked them with his army but was himself defeated and afterwards killed by Learchus, another brother. This brother was eventually entrapped by Eryxo, the widow of the king, and put to death. As a



Fig. 7.—King Arcesilaus II of Cyrene. Taken from the scene in Pl. XIII, Fig. 1, which is on a vase.

⁽¹⁾ See E. S. G. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. CLXIV; W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*, etc., I, p. 181; PINDAR, *Pyth. IX*, 183, etc.; also HERODOTUS, *Bk. IV*, c. 160. The last autho-

rity (*Bk. IV*, c. 186) records that the women of Barce not only—like the women of Cyrene—abstained from eating cow's flesh, but also abstained from the flesh of swine as well.

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(*contd.*)

result of the downfall of Arcesilaus the independence of Barce was not immediately threatened by Cyrené. As a matter of fact "the intestine troubles of Cyrene during the latter part of the reign, gave the inhabitants of the new city of Barce an opportunity of extending their power over the whole of the west part of the Cyrenaica, including the district of the coast (as far as Hesperides), where we find the important port of Teucheira belonging to them. According to Servius [whose statement cannot be relied upon] they carried their arms on land as far as west over the region of the Syrtes, towards Carthage, and acquired such a maritime power as to defeat the Phœnicians in a naval battle" (so SMITH and PORCHER, *op. cit.*, p. 3)⁽¹⁾.

do. BATTUS III, c. 550-530 B. C., "the lame", was the son of Arcesilaus II and queen Eryxo; it was no doubt due to the vigorous action of his mother that he owed his throne. Like his grandfather and father he was a contemporary of Amasis of Egypt, to whom, with his grandmother and

⁽¹⁾ Incidentally, a report appearing in the Egyptian press of 22nd August, 1948, mentions that an English archaeological expedition is unearthing traces of the ancient town of Sabatra (Σαβράρα) "founded by the Phœnicians coming from Tyre about 1000 B. C.". This town is to the west of Tripoli. In later times it was called Abrotonum and became a Roman colony; it was the birthplace of Flavia Domitilla, the first wife of Ves-

pasian. Justinian fortified it, and it remained during the middle ages one of the most frequented markets upon this coast, to which the natives of central Africa brought their grain. Cf. W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, II, p. 870. An interesting publication on Tripolitania, just received, is R. G. GOODCHILD, *The Roman Roads and Milestones of Tripolitania*, 1948, issued by the Dept. of Antiquities, B.M.A., of that country.

XXVI (Saitic).
(*concluded.*)

mother, he went in person to secure pharaonic recognition⁽¹⁾. As the people of Cyrene were not satisfied with their royal house, especially after the events in the late reign, they consulted the Delphic oracle and were instructed by the Pythoness to fetch an arbitrator from Mantinea in Arcadia. This was done, and a certain person of high rank named Demónax arrived in Cyrene where his first step—which shows the problem was partly a racial one—was to divide the people into three "tribes":—(I) *Theræans and their vassals*, (II) *Peloponnesians and Cretans*, and (III) *Various islanders of the Aegean*. He then considerably restricted the royal powers placing some lately held by the kings into the hands of the people. HERODOTUS, *Bk. IV*, c. 161.

XXVII (Old Persian). ARCESILAUS III, c. 530-510 B. C., son of Battus III and queen Pheretima. He was a contemporary of Amasis (died 525 B. C.) and Psammetichus III (525 B. C. only), last kings of the XXVth Dynasty; and of Cambyses, 525-522 B. C., and Darius I, 522-485 B. C., first of the Old Persian rulers under the XXVIIth Dynasty. On coming to the throne Arcesilaus III, who incidentally is the last king of Cyrene named by Herodotus⁽²⁾,

⁽¹⁾ Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, p. 111.

⁽²⁾ Herodotus does give some events of the next reign (*Bk. IV*, c. 165-167, 200-205) but refrains from mentioning the name of the king. The historian (*Bk. IV*, c. 163) quotes the Pythoness

at Delphi—*tempus* Arcesilaus III—as stating that there will be four kings named Battus and four named Arcesilaus (namely, "eight generations of men"), and no more. The last king died in c. 450 B. C. Herodotus, as we have already observed, was in Cyrene c. 443 B. C.

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XXVII (Old Persian).
(*contd.*)

withdrew from Cyrene to Barce, believing the former city to be the "island" of the oracle, and fearing to die as had been prophesied. The real reason, however, for his flight must have been because he was unpopular at Cyrene on account of his cruelty as well as, perhaps, for his submission to Cambyses. Pheretima, his mother, was left behind as kind of regent and actually presided over the council chamber. When Arcesilaus arrived at Barce (or perhaps before) he married the daughter of his cousin, Alazir, king of the city, with whom he took up his abode. A little later, together with his father-in-law, he was killed while walking in the forum of Barce by certain of its inhabitants and some exiles from Cyrene. "So", says HERODOTUS, *loc. cit.*, "Arcesilaus, wittingly or unwittingly, disobeyed the oracle, and thereby fulfilled his destiny".

do. BATTUS IV, c. 510-470 B. C., "the handsome". He was the son of Arcesilaus III, and a contemporary of the Old Persian rulers of Egypt, Darius I and Xerxes⁽¹⁾ (485-464 B. C.). When Pheretima heard of the death of her son Arcesilaus she fled to Egypt to see Aryandes, its Persian viceroy, in order to help her to avenge her wrongs, telling him that the king had met his death because he had been so well affected towards the Persians. The viceroy, moved with compassion for Pheretima, and seeking to subjugate the whole country,

⁽¹⁾ In Old Persian, *Khshyārsha*; the hieroglyphic form is *Khshayarsha* 



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DETAILS.

XXVII (Old Persian).
(*contd.*)

collected a powerful army and fleet. The former was placed under the command of Amasis⁽¹⁾ of the Persian tribe of Maraphians, and the latter under Badres of the associated tribe of the Pasargadæ. Before the expedition left Egypt the viceroy sent a messenger to Barce to inquire who had slain Arcesilaus, and received the reply that all its inhabitants acknowledged the deed which was carried out because of the bad conduct of the king. Aryandes thereupon sent the expedition which first of all laid siege to Barce, which fell after nine months. Its so-called "most guilty" men and women were either murdered or mutilated by the order of Pheretima, the remnant of the rebels being later carried back in slavery, via Egypt, to a village in Bactria, which was afterwards given the name of Barce. To the members of the local Battiad family and their supporters, and obviously with the permission of the Persians, the queen-mother handed over the possession of the town. She then went to Egypt where she died of a loathsome disease because of the "anger of the gods" for her cruel conduct to the Barcæans (HERODOTUS, *Bk. IV, c. 205*). After capturing Barce the Persians next appear to have over-run most of the rest of the country; they reached as far west as Hesperides (HERODOTUS, *Bk. IV, c. 204*), which is the first time this city appears in the records—c. 510 B. C. Cyrene was

⁽¹⁾ Probably a Persian who had taken an Egyptian name. But POLYÆNUS, VII, 28, 1, calls him *Arsames*. See *Ét. DRIOTON, L'Égypte, 1938, p. 572, footnote 2.*

XXVII (Old Persian).
(*contd.*)

probably the parent city of Hesperides⁽¹⁾, but certainly of Teucheira (evidently earlier in foundation than Hesperides, since it lay nearer to Cyrene)⁽²⁾, for according to schol. on PINDAR, *Pyth.* IV, 26, Cyrene founded Teucheira⁽³⁾. HERODOTUS (*Bk.* IV, c. 171) calls Teucheira "city of the Barcæans", but doubtless refers to a control of Teucheira by Barce in his own time⁽⁴⁾. It was before their return to Egypt that the Persians must have established Battus IV as vassal ruler on the throne at Cyrene, with his power extending over the cities of Barce, Hesperides and Teucheira⁽⁵⁾. The result of the victory was the overthrow of the equitable constitution established by Demônax at Cyrene. On their way back to Egypt the Persians passed through Cyrene and for some reason or other first wanted to "seize the place", but however left it unmolested. They camped upon the local hill of the Lycæan Zeus⁽⁶⁾—cf. the Temple of Zeus in Pl. II—which

⁽¹⁾ Cf. A. H. M. JONES, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 354.

⁽²⁾ *Loc. cit.*

⁽³⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 484, note 4. Jones (p. 354) points out that Teucheira is not mentioned till half a century after the time of the first known reference to Hesperides.

⁽⁴⁾ E. S. G. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. CLXV. HERODOTUS, *loc. cit.*, says that a little tribe of the Cabalians was near Teucheira; they lived in the middle of the Auschisæ.

⁽⁵⁾ A. H. M. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 354. How long the Persian suzerainty actually

existed in Cyrenaica after the Delta revolt of the Egyptians in 486 B. C. is so far unknown. Cf. HERODOTUS, *Bk.* VII, c. 1; E. S. G. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, pp. XIV, and CLXV (referring to a supposed second Persian expedition against Barce, 490-480 B. C., described by POLYÆNUS, *loc. cit.*, which would presume another revolt in that town, but the story is uncertain).

⁽⁶⁾ "The cult of Zeus Lycæus in the Cyrenaica [it originated in Arcadia] regarded by Malten as a further instance of pre-Dorian connexion with the Peloponnese, is attested as early as the end

XXVII (Old Persian).
(*contd.*)

they eventually vacated and marched to a camp sixty furlongs to the east. Here they received a message from Aryandes ordering them to return immediately. Before obeying, they obtained provisions from Cyrene. During the whole of the march homewards the stragglers were killed by the Libyans for the sake of their clothes and harness (HERODOTUS, *Bk.* IV, c. 203). According to the indications of PINDAR, *Pyth.* IX, it was in the reign of Battus IV, 474 B. C., that a certain Telesicrates of Cyrene⁽¹⁾ won the race of hoplites, *i. e.*, heavy-armed foot-soldiers, in the Pythian Games; he secured it a second time, in 466 B. C., namely, in the reign of the next king of Cyrene. For the ancient stadium at Cyrene see Pl. II.

do. ARCESILAUS IV⁽²⁾, c. 470-450 B. C., probably the son of Battus IV, and a contemporary of the Old Persian rulers of Egypt Xerxes and Artaxerxes I⁽³⁾ (464-424 B. C.). He was the last of the eight kings of the Battiad Dynasty of Cyrene. The monarch was famous for his victory in the chariot-race

of the sixth century"; E. S. G. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, pp. CCXXXIX f. See also A. B. COOK, *Zeus*, 1914, I, pp. 89 ff, who believes that the throned Zeus of Cyrene was indeed Zeus Lycæus. The curious title of the Cyrenæan Zeus, *Elinymenos*, "Taking his Siesta", arises from the indolent pose which the god sometimes assumes on his throne.

⁽¹⁾ A legend connected with Telesicrates states that Alexidames, one of his an-

cestors, married the daughter of Antæus, king of Irasa; cf. before, reign of Arcesilaus II, and PINDAR, *Pyth.* IX.

⁽²⁾ He is called "Battus" in C. MÜLLER, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, II, p. 212; cf. A. H. M. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 484, note 5.

⁽³⁾ In Old Persian, *Artakhashtra*; the hieroglyphic form is *Artakhashas(e)sha*



XXVII (Old Persian).
(*contd.*)

in the Pythian Games at Delphi in 462 B. C.⁽¹⁾, in which his brother-in-law, Carrhôtus, conducted the quadriga. Carrhôtus was actually the governor of Hesperides, and the successor to Euphemus⁽²⁾ whom the king had sent to Greece to recruit some mercenaries for settling in Hesperides in order to make it as a refuge for himself should Cyrene become too hot for him from a political point of view. As a matter of fact the king had every reason to expect trouble, because he had for some time past been endeavouring to become despotic by ridding himself of the nobles of the state. Pindar composed two odes (*Pyth.* IV, V) for the king's Pythian victory. At the end of the first of these odes Pindar alludes to his own friend Damophilus, one of the exiled Cyrenæan nobles, and an accomplished harp-player, who was living in Thebes; the real aim of the allusion seems to have been to secure

⁽¹⁾ Two years later he triumphed at Olympia. A. PUECH, *Pindare*, II (*Pythiques*), p. 61.

⁽²⁾ Tradition mentions an older Euphemus, from whom Battus I of Cyrene was said to have descended seventeen generations after his time. This Euphemus was the helmsman of the vessel which the Argonauts carried through Libya on their shoulders to the coast of the Mediterranean; here Triton would not let them pass without showing them some act of friendship, namely, an offering of a clod of Libyan earth. None of the Argonauts would accept it; but Eu-

phemus did, and with the clod of earth he received for his descendants the right to rule over Libya. When the Argonauts passed by Thera the clod by accident fell into the sea, and was carried by the waves to the coast of the island. This was an indication that the colonization should proceed from Thera, which it of course did (via Plataea under Battus I). See W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*, etc., II, p. 97. The eighth of the thirteen triads of *Pythian* IV is really a recital of the adventures of the Argonauts.

XXVII (Old Persian).
(*concluded.*)

permission for Demophilus to return to Cyrene. See *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, p. 512. In 460 B. C., "Inaros the Libyan", whom the Persians allowed to rule in Marea, capital of Mareotis, made an alliance with the people of Cyrene and the Athenian fleet, and defeated the Persians, in which Achæmenes their satrap was killed. But Inaros himself was subsequently defeated and crucified in Susa in 445/4 B. C. *Pyth.* IV contains an allusion to the help afforded to the liberation of Egypt by Inaros when it speaks of numerous Libyan citizens who were conducted towards the grassy plains watered by the Nile. During the reign of Arcesilaus IV, Cyrene had an intermittent control of Barce which, in the second half of the Vth century B. C., appears to have "increased considerably in importance at the expense of Cyrene, and to have controlled a wide territory including the town of Teucheira"⁽¹⁾. The king, owing to his oppressions, was eventually forced to retreat from Cyrene to his refuge-city Hesperides where he died, but whether from violence or otherwise is unknown. However, his son Battus who had fled there was murdered and his head thrown into the sea⁽²⁾.

With the coming to an end of the Battiad dynasty, and the consequent removal of all royal control, a kind of republic was established in Cyrenaica, the cities of which became involved in feuds between one another⁽³⁾. The smaller cities attached themselves to the larger.

⁽¹⁾ E. S. G. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. CLXV. — ⁽²⁾ W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, I, p. 478. —

⁽³⁾ At this time (towards close of Vth cent. B. C.) during the democratic revolt

At the beginning of the IVth cent. B. C. Barce was the dominant city in Cyrenaica, but by the middle of the century Cyrene reasserted itself when the country, says Scylax, was divided into two spheres, the Cyrenæan and the Barcan, the latter including Teucheira and Hesperides⁽¹⁾. As these events were not directly connected with Egypt the reader is referred for details of them to A. H. M. JONES, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 354 ff, and E. S. G. ROBINSON, *Cat. of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica*, pp. xv, CLXV f, CLXXXVIII f.

Herodotus, as we have already seen, was at Cyrene about 443 B. C.⁽²⁾, that is to say, in the reign of ARTAXERXES I, last but one ruler of the Old Persian Dynasty of Egypt (the XXVIIth). Plato, c. 428-c. 389 B. C., studied mathematics at Cyrene under Theodore—see Section IV. About 390 B. C. Barce made a treaty with ACHORIS of Egypt (the *Heker* of the hieroglyphic texts), second king of the XXIXth Dynasty⁽³⁾, who

in Cyrene, the citizenship was greatly extended and the tribal reorganisation remodelled on the lines of the Cleisthenic constitution of Athens. The nobles, with the aid of some Messenian exiles, staged a counter revolution but were expelled from the city, which then became a prey to the native Libyan tribes. In 414 B. C. Hesperides was itself saved from the Libyans by Gylippus who landed in Cyrenaica (as a result of unfavourable winds) on his way to Sicily. Hesperides was next temporarily helped by the Messenians who had intervened in Cyrene, but they eventually returned to their own city, Messene, when it was freed by Epaminondas (369 B. C.); A. H. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 355. Plato, c. 428-c. 389 B. C., apparently refused to comply with the invitation of Cyrene to arrange its constitution and laws; W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, III, p. 394. One of the leaders in the democratic revolt at Cyrene was Ariston


(403 B. C.), who obtained possession of the town and put to death or expelled all the nobles. The latter however eventually become reconciled to the democrats, and the powers of government were divided between the two parties. W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, I, p. 309.

⁽¹⁾ A. H. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

⁽²⁾ E. S. G. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. xv, footnote 1. Also referred to before in this article.

⁽³⁾ Oric BATES, *op. cit.*, p. 232. An altar-stand of Achoris has been found in 'Akka, north of Haifa, in Palestine; cf. Alan ROWE, *Cat. of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the Palestine Govt. Archaeological Museum*, 1936, p. 295 f, Pl. XXXVII. With regard to the name of the king,

sometimes spelt  *Heker*,

it is interesting to compare , *Heker*, the name of a North Arabian no-

revolted against the Persians in the time of ARTAXERXES II. What seems to be part of the name of Achoris has been found in the Siwa Oasis, (AHMED FAKHRY, *Siwa Oasis*, 1944, p. 90 f); a site visited by some people of Cyrene in the time of Herodotus (*Bk. II, c. 32*). TACHOS (Teos), second king of the XXXth Dynasty, who reigned from 361-359 B. C., also rebelled against Artaxerxes II; and it was the commander of the Lacedæmonian mercenary troops of Tachos, the famous Agesilaus II of Sparta, who fell sick and died at Cyrene, his body being embalmed in honey and sent for burial to Sparta. Incidentally, according to the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, Alexander the Great ordered that when he died his own body was to be put in a coffin of gold filled with "white honey which hath not been melted"⁽¹⁾.

Before reaching the end of our description of the history of the Greek Period of Cyrenaica, reference may be made to the following other Cyrenæan winners in the games in Greece during this period, especially as two of the actual "prizes" therefrom are now in the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria (compare E. BRECCIA, *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, 1911, p. 233 f).

1. EUBOTAS, a Cyrenæan, who won an Olympic foot-race in 408 B. C., and a chariot-race in 364 B. C. W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography, etc.*, II, p. 60. Races were contemporary with Darius III (XXVIIth Dyn.) and Nectanebus I (XXXth Dyn.), respectively.

2. THEOCHRESTUS, of Cyrene, grandfather and grandson, who won an Olympic chariot-race, but which one is uncertain. *Op. cit.*, III, p. 1030.

3. UNKNOWN CYRENÆAN VICTOR in Panathenaic Games at Athens. He was given as a prize an Athenian black-figured amphora filled with olive-oil. Found in Bengasi and now in Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria. See Pl. XII (Fig. 1). Reg. No. 18239. Height (lid missing), 55 cm. Only the obverse of the object is shown in platè, which portrays the goddess Athena Promachos ("champion"), striding forward,

mad tribe, referred to by F. LI. GRIFFITH, *Cat. of the Demotic Papyri (Rylands)*, III, 1909, p. 421. Could Achoris have been

connected with a family of Asiatic origin? ⁽¹⁾ E. A. W. BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, VII, pp. 105 f, 155.

her right hand brandishing a spear and her left holding a shield. On her head is a helmet. At either side is a column surmounted by a winged figure. Two vertical inscriptions in Greek, not a visible in photograph, give the name of the contemporary archon, Phrasicleides (371 B. C.), and indicate that the amphora is a prize ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ "from the games at Athens". On the reverse of the amphora is a winged Nike ("Victory") crowning the winner, and also the president of the games, who is saluting him. Cf. E. BRECCIA, in *Bull. de la Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, 1910, pp. 88 ff. Race contemporary with Nectanebus I. On this class of "prize" amphoræ from Cyrenaica see especially H. B. WALTERS, *Cat. of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, II, 1893, p. 46 f, and his *History of Ancient Pottery*, I, 1905, pp. 388 ff, II, p. 264; also DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, IX, p. 642, Figs. 7297, 7298. Crowns for the game are shown in *op. cit.*, II, p. 1529, Fig. 1995, and runners, p. 1643 f, Figs. 2229-2232.

4. ANOTHER UNKNOWN CYRENÆAN VICTOR in Athens Games. Given prize amphora of the type mentioned above, No. 3; from Bengasi and now in Graeco-Roman Museum. See Pl. XII (Fig. 3). Reg. No. 18238. Height (with lid), 72 cm. On the side seen in the photograph are three men in a foot-race. The other side shows Athena Promachos; two columns, each supporting a small figure of Athena holding a winged Nike; and two inscriptions, one giving the archon's name, Nicomachos (341 B. C.), and the other, indicating that the amphora is a prize "from the games at Athens". E. BRECCIA, *loc. cit.* Race contemporary with Artaxerxes III—see further on.

5. STILL ANOTHER UNKNOWN CYRENÆAN VICTOR (foot-race?). Given large jar as prize either at Athens or at Barce. It was found at the latter place and is now in old Turkish Fort there. c. IVth cent. B. C. See Pl. XII (Fig. 2), which shows one side (the other side is plain) with figures of four men in foot-race. To left of jar is standing Major-General A. L. Collier, C.B.E., M.C., then G.O.C., Cyrenaica District, M.E.F.

The Greek Period of Cyrenaica concludes with the end of the contemporary Second Persian Domination of Egypt which lasted 341-332 B. C., the rulers being ARTAXERXES III, ARSES, and DARIUS III.

It was ALEXANDER THE GREAT who was responsible for the overthrow of this domination. In 333 B. C. he defeated Darius III at Issus, in Cilicia, the victory (in which it seems assisted a certain Egyptian of Heracleopolis named Tefnekht)⁽¹⁾ causing the Egyptians to regard the Macedonian as their eventual liberator. After the battle of Issus, and in 332 B. C., Alexander captured Tyre and Gaza, and then the same year marched into Egypt and overthrew there Mazakes the Persian satrap who ordered the towns to open their gates to the invader. The next year Cyrene acknowledged the suzerainty of Alexander, tradition stating that it was while the king was on his way to the Oasis of Siwa some Cyrenæan envoys brought him a gift of hundreds of fine horses and made a treaty with him⁽²⁾.

3. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD:—Soon after ALEXANDER THE GREAT died in Babylon in 323 B. C. confusion once more appeared in Cyrenaica. The same year the Lacedæmonian Thibron, having murdered his superior officer Harpalus (Alexander's Macedonian satrap at Babylon) and secured control of his money and armed forces, tried to secure Cyrenaica for himself. In company with some Cyrenæan exiled nobles he sailed for that country and captured Cyrene and its port. But one of his officers, a certain Mnasicles, deserted him and encouraged the Cyrenæans to rebel. As a result Cyrene and its port were lost to Thibron who, although supported by Barce and Hesperides, and managing to capture Teucheira, was eventually worsted by the Cyrenæans. After receiving help from some mercenaries from the Peloponnese Thibron besieged Cyrene, which caused a quarrel there between the nobles and the democrats resulting in the former being expelled from the city. Some of these nobles fled to Thibron and others to Egypt where they gained the

⁽¹⁾ Ét. DRIOTON, *L'Égypte*, p. 585.

⁽²⁾ E. BEVAN, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 1927, pp. 1 ff, 9 f. Incidentally, one of the assistant architects who was associated with the building of Alexandria was a certain Heron of Libya (Cyrenaica?); the chief ar-

chitect of course was Deinocrates, whose plans were carried out by Cleomenes of Naucratis, assisted by Heron, mentioned above, Krateros, Hyponomos, and others. E. A. W. BUDGE, *History of Egypt*, VII, p. 151.

sympathy of PTOLEMY I (satrap of Egypt for Alexander's successors 323-305 B. C., and king 305-283 B. C.) who, seizing the opportunity of capturing Cyrenaica for himself, sent an army there under Ophellas which established Egypt's supremacy in the whole country in 322 B. C. (Ptolemy was confirmed in his possession of Egypt and Cyrenaica at the meeting of the generals of the late Alexander at Triparadisus, North Syria, in 321 B. C.). Thibron was captured and after being handed over to Epicydes, governor of Teucheira under Ophellas, was duly hanged⁽¹⁾. In 313 B. C. the Cyrenæans rebelled against Ophellas but were subdued. The next year Ophellas declared himself independent of Egypt but three years later he was treacherously slain by Agathocles of Syracuse who had involved him in a campaign against Carthage. Ptolemy I reconquered Cyrenaica in 308 B. C.; and as the result of a revolt had to capture it again in 301 B. C., installing there as governor Magas his stepson, an office which the latter held until 274 B. C.—in the time of PTOLEMY II (283-245 B. C.)—when he proclaimed his independence and made an abortive attempt to attack Egypt⁽²⁾. Later on, having become friendly with Ptolemy II, actually of course his half-brother, he allowed his daughter Berenice II of Cyrene to get engaged with Ptolemy's son, who eventually became Ptolemy III. It was apparently in the time of Ptolemy II that the constitution of the cities of Cyrenaica was remodelled by two philosophers, Ecdemus and Demophanes, who were sent for from Mantinea in Arcadia⁽³⁾. PTOLEMY III (247-221 B. C.) reunited Cyrenaica with Egypt and as we have seen before changed the city-name *Hesperides* to "Berenice", and *Teucheira* to "Arsinoë", and also perhaps—if Ptolemy II did not do so—altered the

⁽¹⁾ Cf. W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*, etc., III, p. 1103 f. For the constitution of Cyrenaica established by Ptolemy I see A. H. M. JONES, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 357 f.

⁽²⁾ E. BEVAN, *History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 1927, p. 63. Magas actually reached as far as Chimio

(el-Bordán), in the Mareotis region, but hearing that the Marmaridæ had revolted behind him immediately withdrew to Cyrene.

⁽³⁾ A. H. M. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 359. This authority believes it was actually the two philosophers who raised the port of Cyrene to the status of a separate city and named it Apollonia.

name of the port of Barce (which evidently existed before his time) to "Ptolemais". It was at Hesperides, incidentally, that were believed to exist the legendary "Gardens of the Hesperides"; and Scylax distinctly mentions the gardens and the lake of the Hesperides in this district. PLINY (V. 5) also refers to the gardens ("sacred grove") and the sacred lake, and names the neighbouring River Lathon. At the site of Lethe—see Pl. I—is an enormous cavern with water in it, fabled to be the entrance to the subterranean part of the River Lathon. At the period of Ptolemy III lived Demetrius of Cyrene, brother of Antigonus Doson king of Macedonia (died 221 B. C.)⁽¹⁾. Probably also from the time of Ptolemy III date:—(1) A stela of the lady "Isodora of Cyrene", showing her nursing a little child on her knees, and (2) A stela mentioning Xeneratos, son of Charmantias from Berenice (*Hesperides*), both in our Graeco-Roman Museum⁽²⁾, as also is (3) A cinerary-urn of the *Kalpis* type, from Cyrenaica, with the owner's name Ἀριστοδμήτριον Διονυσίου⁽³⁾. A vase from Bengasi bears the name of Berenice III, daughter of Ptolemy III, Θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν Βερενίκης βασιλίσσης ἀγαθῆς τύχης⁽⁴⁾. An inscription on a broken limestone slab from Crocodilopolis in the Fayûm, dating from the end of the reign of Ptolemy III (so M. O. Guéraud), states that the daughters of a Greek father from Cyrene, Demetrius⁽⁵⁾, and an Egyptian mother, Thasis, dedicated a sanctuary to the Egyptian hippopotamus-goddess Thoueris. The daughters have both Greek and Egyptian names⁽⁶⁾. The translation of M. G. Lefebvre (in *Annales du Service*, IX, p. 231 ff) reads:—«Pour le salut du Roi Ptolémée [III], de son épouse et sœur la Reine Bérénice [II] et de leurs enfants,—à la déesse Thoëris ce sanctuaire et ses dépendances [ont été dédiés] par Irene et Théoxena,

⁽¹⁾ W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, II, p. 2; I, p. 187.

⁽²⁾ E. BRECCIA, *Alexandrea ad Ægyptum*, 1922, pp. 275, 278.

⁽³⁾ E. BRECCIA, *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, 1911, p. 125 f, No. 228. For the Isodora stela cf. p. 131, No. 240, and the Xeneratos one, p. 149, No. 284.

⁽⁴⁾ H. GAUTHIER, *Livre des Rois d'É-*

gypte, IV, p. 263.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. another Demetrius of Cyrene, surnamed Stammus, whom DIOGENES LAERTIUS (V, 84) calls a remarkable man, and of whom nothing else is known. W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, I, p. 969.

⁽⁶⁾ See also E. BEVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 88, correcting "papyrus" to "monument".

This was agreed to and the Brother went to rule Cyrenaica in 163 B. C. The next year the Brother journeyed to Rome to ask the Senate to give him Cyprus; the request was acceded to. During his absence he had left in Cyrenaica as viceroy a certain Egyptian named Sympetesis, whose Greek name was Ptolemy. This official threw in his lot with Cyrene and other Greek cities when they and the local Libyans rebelled against the Brother while he was away at Rome. Thus the Brother, instead of acquiring Cyprus, was actually forced to reconquer Cyrenaica which he did with the aid of Cretan mercenaries⁽¹⁾. The rebels were defeated near Catabathmus Major (Sallûm)⁽²⁾. See Pl. I. An inscription of Ptolemy VI is known from Tolmeita which is dedicated to him in his quality of brother of Ptolemy the Brother and of Cleopatra II, wife of the former :—*Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον, τὸν βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας ἀδελφόν, Σεδὸν Φιλομήτορα, ἡ πόλις*⁽³⁾ I make no apology for now mentioning two unpublished monuments of Ptolemy VI I have recently identified in the garden of the Graeco-Roman Museum, for although these objects have no association with Cyrenaica, at least one of them, the upper part of a column, is extremely important from an historical point of view. This column fragment, of nummulitic limestone, Reg. No. S. G. 727, was found some years ago in Sharia Khedive el-Awal, north of the Alexandria Serapeum. See Pl. IV, which shows the details existing on the object, and also a restoration of the top section of the monument as a whole⁽⁴⁾. Below a band of stars are engraved in

⁽¹⁾ E. BEVAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 290, 291, 300.

⁽²⁾ W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, III, p. 566 (= POLYB. XXXI, 26).


⁽³⁾ H. GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 303. This inscription, which states that the town [of Ptolemais] honours Ptolemy VI, also appears in J. R. PACHO, *Voyage dans la Marmarique et la Cyrénaïque*, I, 1827, p. 399.

⁽⁴⁾ It is of interest to recall here that in Room 6 of our Graeco-Roman Museum there is part of the upper

section of a somewhat similar column (showing loop and horizontal lines). This is of basalt and came from Ptolemais Hermiu, var., Ptolomaida, the modern el-Manshâh, in Egypt. Reg. No. 209. The column originally belonged to a Ptolemaic temple, and bears an inscription enumerating the prescriptions for the purifications which had to be carried out by men and women at certain periods of the year before the sacred building could be entered. Cf. E. BRECCIA, *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, p. 94 f, No. 163.

duplicate :—(1) The two cartouches of Ptolemy VI flanked by the funerary goddesses Nephthys and Isis in uræus form, and (2) The cartouche of Cleopatra II, his wife, flanked on either side by a deity also in uræus form [whom Dr. Ét. Drioton suggests may be a lunar form of Osiris] with — below, the group thus reading, “Cleopatra beloved of Lunar-Osiris (?)”. It is possible, and Professor A. Blackman of Liverpool University agrees with me, that the column originally came from the tomb of Ptolemy VI, this possibility being based on the presence of the funerary goddesses which evidently indicates that the king is dead and thus associated with Osiris, the deceased brother of Nephthys and Isis, whom the deities protect. On the other hand Dr. Drioton suggests that the object came from an Alexandrian temple of Osiris. If the idea of myself and Professor Blackman is correct *the column is the only known existing monument associated with the Soma of Alexander the Great* for the tombs of the Ptolemies were included in the enclosure of the great mausoleum. The second object from our garden consists of part of the back pedestal and shoulder of a colossal greyish granite statue of Ptolemy VI, showing the tail of the royal wig. Reg. No. N.G. 378. Height 95 + cm. See Fig. 8. The hieroglyphs in the first column are from the protocol of the king and state that he is the “twin-brother of the living Apis upon their birth-brick”⁽¹⁾. The title alludes to the fact that the king was born the same year, if not the same month and day, as an Apis bull. The text in the other column mentions that the Living Apis and Mnevis were installed⁽²⁾ in their sanctuary, obviously at Memphis⁽³⁾. Ptolemy the Brother, after the death of Ptolemy VI, waited in Cyrenaica to seize the

⁽¹⁾ Cf. H. GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 288, footnote 2. For bricks as birth-stools see W. E. CRUM, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXVIII, p. 69.

⁽²⁾ See the Memphis-Serapeum Apis Stela No. 192 of the Louvre :—, “He (i. e., the Apis) was installed in the Temple of Ptah”. *Tempus* Amasis II, XXVIth Dynasty. H. GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 115.

Translation in BAR IV, p. 513 f.

⁽³⁾ Our Museum also possesses two heads of statues of the same ruler, one from Abukir (Reg. No. 3357 — cf. A. ADRIANI, in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, 32, p. 103 f, Figs. 13, 14) and the other, of unknown provenance (Reg. No. 24092, — in *op. cit.*, 32, pp. 97 ff, Pls. X-XII).

inheritance of Egypt, which he did after a deputation had been sent to him in Cyrene; he thus became PTOLEMY VII (145-116 B.C.). Cyre-

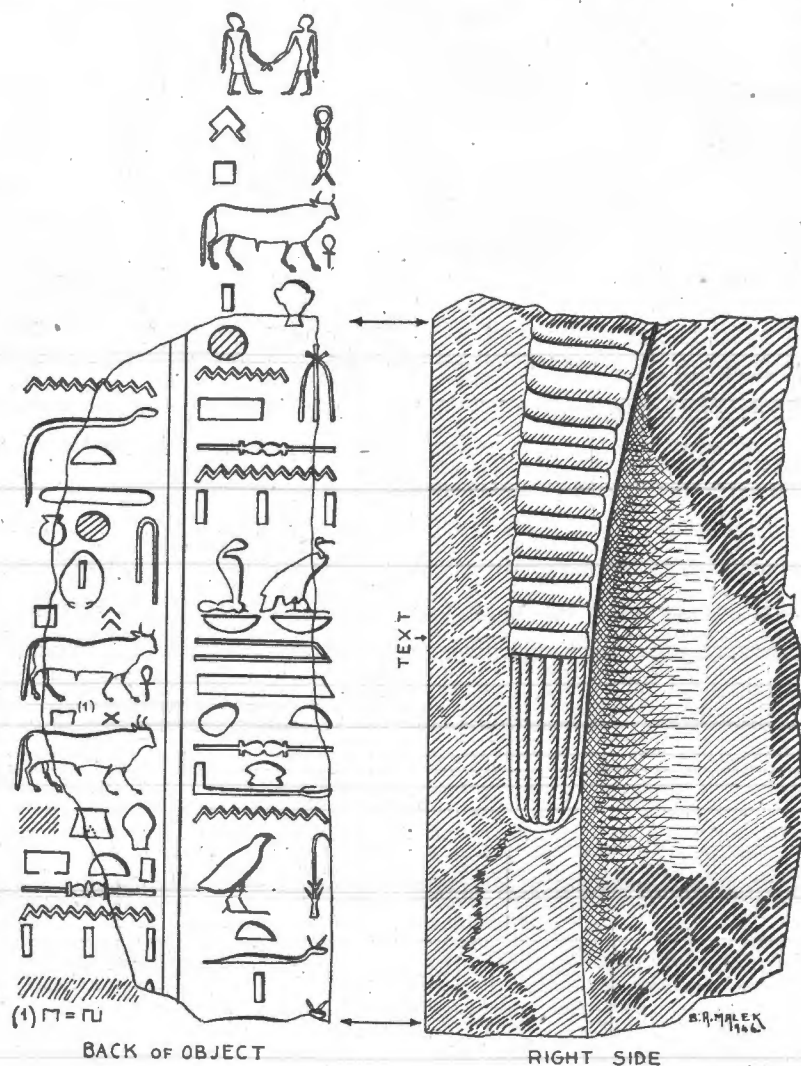


Fig. 8.—Part of back pedestal and shoulder of colossal statue of Ptolemy VI found in or near Alexandria. Now in Graeco-Roman Museum. Reg. No. N. G. 378.

naica and Egypt were united into one kingdom again. A number of Cyrenæans who had come to Alexandria with the new king in 145 B.C. were killed because they had spoken disrespectfully of Irene the king's

mistress. On the death of the king he left Cyrenaica in his will to PTOLEMY APION, his illegitimate son probably by Irene. At the time Apion was living in Cyrene where he seems to have been viceroy. The latter, on his decease in 96 B.C., bequeathed Cyrenaica to the Roman people, but the Roman government claimed only the crown lands and the tax on the *silphium* plant, leaving the cities free⁽¹⁾. Left alone the cities fell into disorders again, so much so that when the celebrated Roman warrior Lucullus (PLUT., *Lucullus*, II) visited Cyrenaica in 88 B.C. he found Cyrene "in confusion in consequence of successive tyrannies and wars". He fixed its constitution and restored order for a while. It was in 87 B.C. that Nicocrates, tyrant of Cyrene, killed Phædimus, husband of Aretephila, and forced her to live with him. But she eventually freed the city by causing the death of the tyrant and subsequently of his brother Leander, when he acted in the same tyrannical way⁽²⁾.

4. ROMAN AND LATER PERIODS :—Although my friend Professor Aziz Suryal Atiya is preparing an addition to the present article in the form

⁽¹⁾ E. BEVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 332. In the consulship of C. Valerius and M. Herennius, there was brought to Rome thirty pounds' weight of *silphium* from Cyrenaica. Cæsar found an accumulation of fifteen hundred pounds of the same plant when he took possession of the Roman treasury at the beginning of the civil war. PLINY, *Nat. Hist.*, XIX, 15. Incidentally, after 110 B.C., the head-dress of Isis disappeared from the coinage of Cyrene. E. BEVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

⁽²⁾ W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, I, p. 277. Dating from about the end of the Ptolemaic period is part of a small black steatite object (Reg. No. P. 10451) recently found by me some four metres below the surface a little north of the Kôm el-Chougafa catacombs. See Fig. 10.

This object apparently represents a composite sphinx (or animal) of some kind and was made either out of Egypt or by foreigners living in that country. The front legs are those of some large many-toed animal. On the *left side* are engraved a duck with leg outstretched before it, and the front part of a sphinx with human head, the head bearing what seems to be a protruding chin-beard like that of a Libyan (cf. Oric BATES, *The Eastern Libyans*, Pls. X, etc.). On the *right side* are three lotus plants and a late Ptolemaic amphora on a stand with two crossed lotus stems with buds. The *head* (missing) was attached by means of a peg inserted in a small round hole in the centre of the neck. Below the sphinx is a base.

of a detailed history of the Roman and later periods of Cyrenaica I am now including, for the sake of the general reader, a very brief outline of the history of these periods. The addition will be published later on.

In 74 B. C. Cyrenaica, as it was called for the first time, was made a Roman province under P. Lentulus Marcellinus as *quæstor pro prælore*. In 67 B. C., under POMPEY, a further reorganization took place, when Cyrenaica was joined to Crete, the double province being governed by a *proprætor*. [The magistrates named on the Cyrenaica coins between

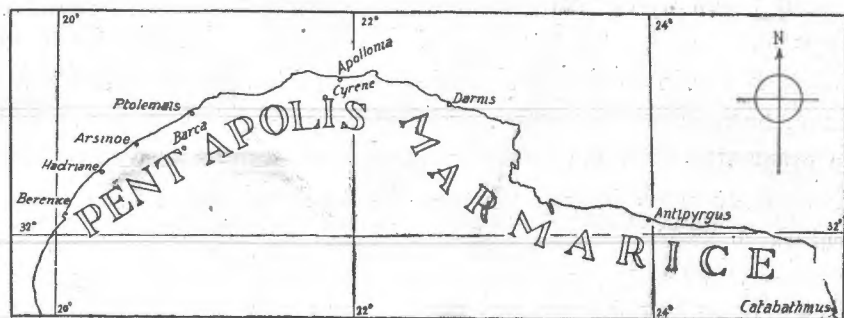


Fig. 9.—Map of Libya and Cyrenaica showing political divisions under the Romans. After A. H. M. JONES, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Pl. VI (A).

67-c. 23 B. C., are, in chronological order, P. Licinius, L. Lollius, Crassus, Pupius Rufus, Scato, Palicanus, and Capito.—E. S. G. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. ccviii]. Eighteen years later, that is to say in 49 B. C., M. Porcius Cato, failing as *proprætor* to defend Sicily as ordered by the Senate, eventually went to Africa in search of Pompey; on his way he learnt of the death of the latter so proceeded to Cyrene, whence he subsequently marched across the Syrtes⁽¹⁾. In 44 B. C. Crete and Cyrene were given to Brutus and Cassius as separate provinces, while in 36 B. C. ANTONY bestowed Cyrenaica to Cleopatra Selene, his daughter⁽²⁾. Shortly before the battle of Actium in 31 B. C., L. P. Scarpus was placed

⁽¹⁾ W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, I, p. 649. The people of Cyrene had earlier refused admittance to Labienus.

⁽²⁾ Cf. A. H. M. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 360. But E. S. G. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. xvii,

says that the separation into two provinces in 44 B. C. was only nominal for it was Antony who raised Crete and Cyrenaica into a single province for his daughter.

by Antony over Cyrene and the neighbouring country with four legions⁽¹⁾. AUGUSTUS reannexed Cyrenaica and reunited it with Crete in 27 B. C. and handed over the double province (*Creta-Cyrene*) to the Senate. A notable historical event near the middle of the 1st cent. A. D. was the introduction of Christianity into Cyrenaica and Egypt by the Apostle Mark, himself a native of Cyrene; his father's name was Aristobulus⁽²⁾. Other more or less contemporary early Christians were Simon of Cyrene, father of Alexander and Rufus (*Matt.*, XXVII, 32, *Mark*, XV, 21); Lucius of Cyrene—in the Church at Antioch (*Acts*, XIII, 1); men of Cyrene at Antioch (*Acts*, XI, 20); and certain Cyrenæans who disputed with Stephen (*Acts*, VI, 9)⁽³⁾. By the time of NERO (54-68 A. D.) the growth of the *silphium* plant in Cyrenaica had almost died out, as is shown by the fact that in his reign a solitary stalk was sent to Rome as a curiosity. See PLINY, *Nat. Hist.*, XIX, 15. Under VESPASIAN (69-79 A. D.)⁽⁴⁾ and particularly under TRAJAN (98-117 A. D.) the Jews of Cyrenaica, whose ancestors had entered the country under the early Ptolemies⁽⁵⁾, made a

⁽¹⁾ W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, III, p. 735.

⁽²⁾ See E. EVETTS, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, I, 1904, p. 135 f; the date of the document is the Xth cent. A. D. Reference from Banoub Eff. Habashi, Inspector of the Graeco-Roman Museum.

⁽³⁾ Note that *Quirinius* (*Luke*, II, 2 — name of the governor of Syria under Augustus) is the latin form of the Greek *Cyrenius*. For a concise account of the Christian history and monuments of Cyrenaica see CABROL et LECLERQ, *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, III, 1914, cols. 3220 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ M. Valerius Catullus Messallinus was governor of the Pentapolis under Vespasian and Titus (79-81 A. D.). W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1054. In the time of Vespasian the chief legions forming the garrison of Egypt were the III.

Cyrenaica and the XXII. *Deiotarina*, J. G. MILNE, *History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, 1924, p. 31. Cf. also DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, VI, p. 1079 f for the III. *Cyrenaica* legion; in the time of Nero this legion bore the surname *Claudia*. It was Catullus who put to death three thousand of the Jewish rebels (including a certain Alexander and his wife Berenice) in the earlier revolt; their leader, a certain weaver of Cyrene named Jonathan, was subsequently killed by order of Vespasian. Also, M. Valerius Paulinus, the prefect who served in the general war against the Jews under Vespasian, was in Cyrene for a time.

⁽⁵⁾ Jason of Cyrene (after 162 B. C.) wrote the history of the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes and his son Eupator, etc. W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, II, p. 555.

revolution. In the revolt under the latter reign—it took place in 115-116 A. D.—much destruction was done by the rebels to the cities, which were so depopulated that HADRIAN (117-138 A. D.) was compelled to bring in settlers from other parts of the empire. He also founded the city of Hadriane or Hadrianopolis which lay between Teucheira and Hesperides, and restored the baths at Cyrene (built by Trajan) which had been destroyed in the revolt. Cf. Pls. III,—2, 3, VIII (Fig. 1). The Capitoleum at Cyrene (Pl. II, -E), dedicated to Jupiter, Juno and

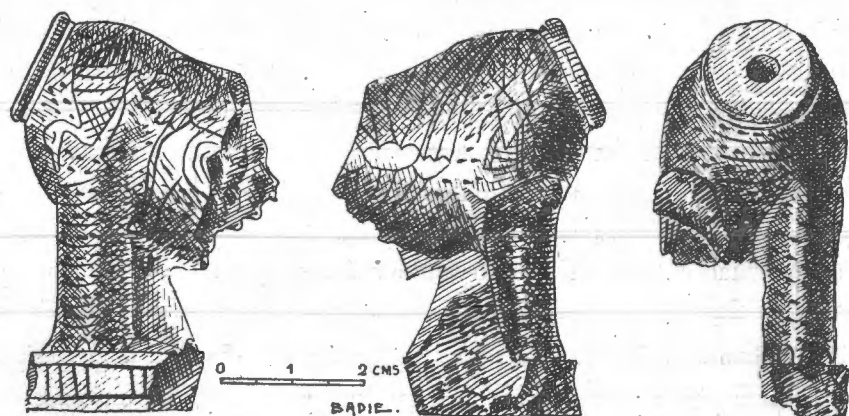


Fig. 10.—Small sphinx found by the author near catacombs of Kôm el-Chougafa, Alexandria. Late Ptolemaic. Now in Graeco-Roman Museum. Reg. No. P. 10451. This object shows foreign influences. Note the amphora on the stand with crossed lotus stems.

Minerva (Athena), was built in the reigns of Hadrian and ANTONINUS PIUS, c. 138 A. D. The eastern part of Cyrenaica was given to Egypt in the 1st or early 2nd cent. A. D., and made into the *Nome of Marmarice*⁽¹⁾. See Fig. 9, and W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, II,

⁽¹⁾ Cf. H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. des Noms Géog.*, IV, p. 161, *khastiou Tehenou* (?), "The Foreigners of Libya", apparently the people who inhabited a part of this region (later called Marmarice) in the Saitic-Persian epoch. The district was subsequently

called "The District (Nome) of the Inhabitants of Marmarice (*Mertiou*) [?]" ; *op. cit.*, III, p. 54 = stela of the satrap, ΣΕΡΗΣ, *Urk. griech.-röm. Zeit*, p. 15, but perhaps the reference is actually to Mareotis (*Merti*).

p. 277 f. A certain P. Septimius Geta, who was elected to the consulship in 203 A. D., had previously held the offices of *quæstor*, *prætor* of Crete, and of Cyrene⁽¹⁾. In the time of CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS (268-270 A. D.) Cyrene took the name of *Claudiopolis* in honour of a Marmaric victory of that ruler; an earlier Marmaric war had occurred in the reign of Augustus. The crown lands left to the Roman people since the death of Apion were much neglected, as appears from the fact that two special commissioners were sent to Cyrenaica from Rome, one by Vespasian (for a garden in Ptolemais and an estate called the *Ptolemæum* in Cyrene), and one by Claudius (for lands near Cyrene)⁽²⁾. The combined province of *Creta-Cyrene*, which, as E. S. G. Robinson points out, was governed by a *prætor pro consule* with a *legatus* and *quæstor* under him, lasted until the time of DIOCLETIAN (284-305 A. D.) who made Cyrenaica a separate province called *Pentapolis Libyæ*⁽³⁾. Under the great Christian emperor CONSTANTINE (323-337 A. D.), Cyrenaica was attached to Constantinople, and placed under the government of a *præses*; it became a diocese of the Church of Alexandria. Ammianus Marcellinus, IVth cent. A. D., describes the province as he saw it and mentions Cyrenè ("an ancient city but deserted"), Hesperides, Ptolemais and Teucheira. He mentions also the small cities of Chærecla and Neapolis in the interior⁽⁴⁾. The sufferings of Cyrenaica at the beginning of the Vth cent. A. D. from

⁽¹⁾ W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, II, p. 267.

⁽²⁾ Cf. A. H. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 361. See also G. OLIVERIO, *Scavi di Cirene*, 1931, p. 16, who after referring to the commissioner of Vespasian (Q. Paconius Agrippino) adds:—"In un'altra iscrizione bilingue, rinvenuta da me a Taurguni, nell'uadi Ruehima, è detto che Nerone per mezzo del suo legato L. Acilio Strabone *finis occupatos a privatis p. r. restituit*. Ed è questa la formula stessa che Hygino gromatico riferisce essere stata incisa nelle iscrizioni dei terreni di Apino: 'in provincia Cyrensi . . . agri sunt regii, id est illi, quos Ptolemeus

rex populo Romano reliquit; — lapides vero inscripti nomine divi Vespasiani sub clausula tali OCCUPATI A PRIVATIS FINES: P. R. RESTITUIT."

⁽³⁾ For the Greek and Roman inscriptions of Cyrenaica see especially SMITH and PORCHER, *op. cit.*, and J. R. PACHO, *Voyage dans la Marmarique et la Cyrenaïque*, I, II, 1827/28; also the Ptolemais bibliography in Section V of this article.

⁽⁴⁾ See A. H. M. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 363, who mentions also that the Nome of Marmarice at this time had been divided into three cities, Darnis, Antipyrgus and Marmarice, presumably the inland capital.

various causes, such as attacks on the cities by the Libyans, ravages of locusts, plagues and earthquakes, are vividly described by Synesius of Cyrene, one of the most elegant of the ancient Christian writers, who was ordained bishop of Ptolemais in 410 A. D. ⁽¹⁾ The Vandals established for a while a kingdom in North Africa which lasted until 533 A. D., thereby separating Cyrenaica from Constantinople. Under JUSTINIAN (527-565 A. D.), and at the fall of the Vandal power, Cyrenaica was returned to Constantinople and united with Tripoli into one province. Several cities were fortified and the aqueducts of Ptolemais restored. The interior cities seem to have been abandoned. "Cyrenaica", writes Professor Aziz Suryal Atiya, to whom I am indebted for the information on the Vandals already given before, "became conspicuous again in the revolt of Heraclius against the emperor PHOCAS. An army of rebels was mustered in that distant province, and it was from Cyrene that the victorious march on Alexandria began under general Nicetas in 609 A. D. — a march which won Egypt and ultimately the imperial crown to HERACLIUS". At this time stations or towns were dotted all along the road between Cyrene and Alexandria ⁽²⁾. In 616 A. D. CHOSROES II overthrew the Cyrenaica cities so thoroughly that the Arab conquerors, who finally overran the country in 643 A. D., came across the results of the Persian destruction everywhere ⁽³⁾. Cyrenaica was subjugated by the Turks, who took its modern capital, Tripoli, in 1551 A. D. and, as part of Tripolitania, made it nominally a province of the Ottoman Empire. Soon after its conquest, however, it gradually fell into the hands of a hereditary dynasty of Beys, who were all but independent of Turkey. In 1808 this dynasty was expelled by the SULTAN MAHMOUD when the state of Tripoli became actually a province of Turkey ⁽⁴⁾. With its later occupation by Italy (1911 A. D.) and subsequent events we are not here concerned.

⁽¹⁾ W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, p. 733, and his *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*, etc., III, p. 962. See also A. FITZGERALD, *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene*, 1926.

⁽²⁾ A. J. BUTLER, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 1902, p. 428 f. Compare the "sta-

tions" of Rameses II mentioned before.

⁽³⁾ So W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, p. 733. See also A. J. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10, 12, 91, and Chapter XXVI ("Conquest of Pentapolis").

⁽⁴⁾ SMITH and PORCHER, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

IV.—PHILOSOPHERS, WRITERS, ETC., OF CYRENAICA.

In order to complete as far as possible our brief history of Cyrenaica a provisional list of its philosophers, writers, etc., not already specially dealt with before, is now given. Some of these persons had associations with Egypt. The list is arranged in alphabetical order. SDB = W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*, etc.

ANNICERIS, a Cyrenaic philosopher, of whom are left vague and contradictory accounts. One account says he ransomed Plato from Dionysius of Syracuse, and another that he was a disciple of Parabates, a distant successor of Aristippus (cf. below). SDB, I, p. 180.

ANTIPATER of Cyrene, one of the disciples of the philosopher Aristippus. SDB, I, p. 202.

ARETE, daughter of Aristippus, and a philosopher. SDB, I, p. 278.

ARISTIPPUS, son of Aritades, born at Cyrene. A disciple of Socrates, and founder of the Cyrenaic School of Philosophy. DIODORUS (XV, 76) indicates 366 B. C. as his date; cf. SDB, I, p. 298. See also *Encyc. Brit.*, VI, p. 936 f.

ARISTOTELES of Cyrene, mentioned by DIOGENES LAERTIUS (V, 35). Author of the work *Περὶ Ποιητικῆς*. SDB, I, p. 344.

CALLIMACHUS, one of the most celebrated Alexandrian grammarians and poets, born in Cyrene. His father was a Cyrenæan named Battus and his mother Mesatme; and the poet, who is often called "Battiades", seems to have claimed descent from the royal blood. He became the second Librarian in order of date of the great Alexandrian Library ⁽¹⁾, the first being Zenodotus of Ephesus who held the office from the end of

⁽¹⁾ For the old Alexandrian librarians and the Museum and Libraries see two articles by R. M. BLOMFIELD in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, 1904,

p. 15-37; also my article *Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria*, Cahier n° 2, *Annales du Service*, 1946, pp. 25 ff.

the reign of Ptolemy I till 245 B. C. or later, that is, in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy III. SDB, I, pp. 478, 571 f; E. BEVAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 74, 125, 126, 192. [J. Y. BRINTON], *Cyrenaica, Notes on its History and Ruins*, American Red Cross, Alexandria, 1943, p. 21, quotes the poet's own epitaph (trans. R. A. Furness) :—

*Here lies the son of Battus. He
Knew well the art of poesy,
And how in season to combine
Friendly laughter with his wine.*

Mr. Brinton also gives the epitaph of the poet's father (after Furness), and those of two other Cyrenæans (1) Saon, the Acanthian, son of Dicon—trans. H. Macnaghten; and (2) Philips Nicoteles, a twelve year lad—trans. R. C. K. Ensor.

CARNEADES, son of Epicomus or Philocomus, born at Cyrene c. 213 B. C. Studied logic under Diogenes. SDB, I, p. 614 f.

DAMON of Cyrene, a Greek writer of uncertain date who wrote a work on philosophers. SDB, I, p. 936.

ERATOSTHENES of Cyrenaica (born at Apollonia), the geographer; became Librarian of the Great Alexandrian Library about 235 B. C., that is, in time of Ptolemy III. Born c. 276 or 275 B. C., and died about 195 B. C., in time of Ptolemy V. His greatest contribution to scientific geography was his attempt to determine the magnitude of the earth, of which he computed the circumference as 252,000 stades (= 46,695 km.), which is only about one-seventh too great, the true figure being 40,008 km. He also calculated the distance between Alexandria and Syênê as 5,000 stades, which is too great by 456 stades, or about ten per cent. SDB, II, pp. 44 ff; E. BEVAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 126; J. BALL, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, pp. 34 ff. The figures quoted are from Ball's work.

HEGESIAS, a Cyrenaic philosopher, said to have been the disciple of Paræbates, and a fellow-student of Anniceris (see above). Perhaps contemporary with Epicurus (born c. 342 B. C. in Samos). SDB, II, p. 368.

LYSANIAS of Cyrene, a Greek grammarian, and author of a work on the Iambic poets. One of the tutors of Eratosthenes (see above). SDB, II, pp. 44, 864.

MENECLAS of Barce, an historian; perhaps author of a work on Libya, and one on Battus of Cyrene, etc. *Tempus* Ptolemy VII. SDB, II, p. 1035; E. BEVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

PHILOSTEPHANUS of Cyrene, an Alexandrian writer of history and geography, the friend or disciple of Callimachus (see above). SDB, III, p. 322.

PTOLEMY of Cyrene, a sceptic. He was a disciple of Eubulus, the disciple of Euphranor, the disciple of Timon; the last flourished c. 279 B. C. and onwards. SDB, III, p. 567.

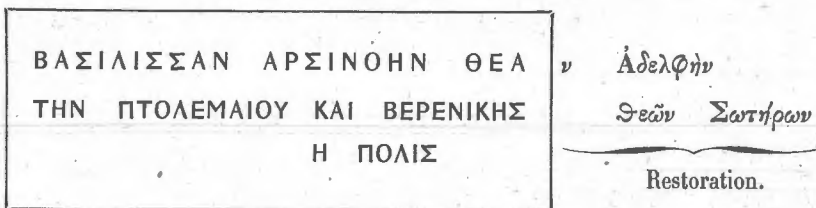
THEODORUS CYRENAICUS, a native of Cyrene, and a philosopher of the Cyrenaic School (cf. Aristippus, above), to one branch of which he gave the name of "Theodorians". Belonged to the age of Alexander and his successors. He was banished from Cyrene, and on leaving said: "Ye men of Cyrene, ye do ill in banishing me from Cyrene to Greece". SDB, III, p. 1051.

THEODORUS of Cyrene, a Pythagorean philosopher of the age of Pericles. It is stated that Plato went to Cyrene to study geometry under Theodore the mathematician, apparently Theodorus of Cyrene. SDB, III, p. 1051; also E. BEVAN, *History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 9, footnote 2 (referring to the fact that Theodorus in PLATO (*Polit.*, 257 b) speaks of Ammon of Cyrenaica as "our god").

V.—THE CITY OF PTOLEMAIS (TOLMEITA).

Having so far dealt with the general history of Ægypto-Cyrenæan relations we now pass on to a brief description of Ptolemais, where I noticed the two hieroglyphic monuments in 1943. Ptolemais, as we have seen, was the port of Barce and although it is usually believed that this name was bestowed upon it by Ptolemy III, a few other authorities

think that it was Ptolemy II who was responsible⁽¹⁾. Some support for the latter idea is perhaps afforded by part of a text found at Ptolemais which indicates that the town honoured Arsinoë [II] daughter of Ptolemy [I] and of Berenice [I], for Arsinoë II, Philadelphus, was of course the sister and second wife of Ptolemy II. The whole question is perhaps whether or not the inscription is a contemporary one. M. Letronne's restored copy of the text, translation and brief remarks are as follows :—



«La ville [de Ptolémaïs honore par ce monument] la reine Arsinoë, déesse sœur, fille de Ptolémée et de Bérénice, dieux sauveurs. C'est une dédicace qui fut probablement placée entière sur la base d'une statue, érigée peut-être à l'époque et à l'occasion du mariage d'Arsinoë avec son frère, en 276 avant J.-C.»⁽²⁾

Whatever may be the exact date of the city-name *Ptolemais* it is certain, as we have seen before and shall again mention in Section VI, that the hieroglyphic name of the port in the early Ptolemaic period was "House of the Tamarisk Grove" (𓏏 𓏏 𓏏 𓏏 𓏏 𓏏, *Hut-Isert*). The pre-Ptolemaic name, if indeed, as I believe, the port existed in the latter part of the pharaonic period⁽³⁾, is quite unknown. One thing is clear and that is

⁽¹⁾ As for instance L. V. BERTARELLI, *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano*, 1929, p. 477.

⁽²⁾ See in J. R. PACHO, *op. cit.*, p. 398 f.

⁽³⁾ As according to HERODOTUS (*Bk. II, c. 96*) the Egyptian made rafts of tamarisk wood, some of this material may just possibly have been obtained from *Hut-Isert*; if so, the port dates from at least the middle of the Vth century B. C. [In the same chapter he refers to

the Acantha a tree in growth "like the Cyrenaic lotus"]. Incidentally, the Egyptians were in the habit of obtaining cedar wood from the Lebanon. It was also sent thence to Ptolemais; see Statue No. II — Section IX of this article. A copper axe-head belonging to the royal cedar-cutting boat-crew of king Cheops, IVth Dynasty, is published by myself in *Cat. of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in Palestine Archaeological Museum*, 1936,

either Ptolemy II or III did make a large new port on the site to which was removed a great part of the inhabitants of Barce⁽¹⁾ which henceforth steadily lost its importance to Ptolemais which gradually took its place. Very little is recorded of the history of Ptolemais, however, but we may recall the honouring of Ptolemy VI by the town, and the restoration of its garden to the Roman people by Vespasian (see before); and may also mention another local inscription reading—according to the restoration of M. Letronne⁽²⁾ — «Le peuple philosébaste de Ptolémaïs, à Antonia, femme de Claude Néron Drusus Germanicus. L'an . . . de César, au mois de phamenoth». By the time of the Romans Ptolemais had completely supplanted Barce. The most important of the earliest existing remains in Ptolemais consist of a rectangular grid of streets one of which, an avenue or forum⁽³⁾, has the traces of a triumphal arch; the Ptolemaic

pp. 283 ff; see also *Additional Corrigenda and Addenda*, p. f (mention of an Egyptian scribe of royal carpenters at Byblos, IIIrd Dynasty). The axe-head, found at mouth of Nahr Ibrahim, Syria, bears the name of the 𓏏 foundation gang of the 𓏏 port watch of the 𓏏 boat-crew named 𓏏 𓏏 "Pacified-are-the-Two-Falcons-of-Gold" (a title of Cheops). Boat-crews were divided into three main classes :— (1) *The main crew* (𓏏), usually named after the king; it must also have been the name of the boat itself. This crew was divided into (2) *watches* (𓏏), such as port (𓏏 𓏏), starboard (𓏏 𓏏), bow (𓏏 𓏏), stern (𓏏 𓏏), and hold (𓏏 𓏏). The watch itself was divided into (3) *small gangs*, such as "foundation", "antelope", "ibis", etc. The nomenclature was early transferred to companies of workmen engaged in building pyramids, temples, tombs, and so forth. A copper chisel of the IVth Dynasty

[giving the name of the 𓏏 South-

Libyan gang of the 𓏏 double-division of the bow watch, of the 𓏏 Kamu crew (name of some person)], was discovered in the diorite quarries in the southern part of the Western Desert. It was published by myself in *Annales du Service*, XXXVIII, pp. 391 ff.

⁽¹⁾ W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, p. 378. Our new evidence shows that about this time there was an Egyptian colony and two Egyptian temples in Ptolemais, also two Ptolemaic army divisions with Egyptian names.

⁽²⁾ In J. R. PACHO, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

⁽³⁾ This avenue, a monumental one, has blocks bearing the names of some of the later Roman emperors, such as Gratianus, Valentinianus, Arcadius and Honorius. Cf. [J. Y. BRINTON], *Cyrenaica, Notes on its History and Ruins*, American Red Cross, Alexandria, 1943, p. 13.

gate and part of city wall at the west; a Greek theatre; a Roman theatre; an odeon; an amphitheatre; a stadium; a Ptolemaic "palace"; a bridge with Roman aqueduct near the ancient city gate at the east; large reservoirs; and a cemetery with rock-cut tombs and sarcophagi⁽¹⁾. For further details the reader is referred to the following provisional bibliography of Ptolemais, and to the forthcoming publication of Dr. Gennaro Pesce (we are not concerned in this article with details of the later remains and history of the site); Dr. Pesce has already published statues of Eros and Psyche, Harpocrates, and Dionysus, found in Ptolemais. See in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, 34, pp. 40 ff.

PROVISIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PTOLEMAIS⁽²⁾ :—

- A. C. AMATUCCI and others, *Africa Romana*, 1935, Section *La Cirenaica Romana*. Pl. VIII, apse of the great basilica; Pl. IX, Roman bridge.
- S. AURIGEMMA, in *Africa Italiana*, III, p. 242 f. Mission to Ptolemais.
- L. V. BERTARELLI, *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano*, 1929, pp. 477 ff. Description of site.
- Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXIII, 1937, p. 977. Plan of Ptolemais.
- E. MALATESTA, in *Famiglia Fascista*, VI, 1939, p. 29. View of cupola of basilica. Ministero delle Colonie, *Notiziario Archeologico*, I, 1915, pp. 114-154. Description of site.
- G. OLIVERIO, in *Africa Italiana*, IV, pp. 254 ff. Mission to Ptolemais with plan of site and views.
- G. OLIVERIO, *Iscrizione di Tolmeta*, in *Cirenaica*, II, fasc. I, 1933, p. 132 f. Restoration of Ptolemais garden to Roman people by Vespasian.
- G. OLIVERIO, *Iscrizioni di Tolemaide*, in *op. cit.*, II, fasc. II, 1936, pp. 243 ff, 283. Inscriptions.
- J. R. PACHO, *Voyage dans la Marmarique et la Cyrénaïque*. Vol. I. — Description of site, pp. 175, 178 ff; inscriptions, pp. 397 ff. Vol. II. — Views, Pls. LXVII-LXXI; inscriptions, Pls. LXXIII-LXXIX.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. J. B. Ward PERKINS, *Notes on the Ancient Cities of Cyrenaica*, second edition, Cyrenaica District H/Q, no date; sketch-plan of Ptolemais at end of

pamphlet.

⁽²⁾ Some of the works have been cited before, but not specifically in regard to Ptolemais.


- A. L. PIETROGRANDE, in *Africa Italiana*, III, pp. 108 ff. Decorated sarcophagi of the site.
- E. S. G. ROBINSON, *Cat. of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica*. For coins of Ptolemais see pp. CLIX, CLXIII, CLXVI, CCI (in the Roman period a mint was established in Ptolemais by the magistrate Crassus from which he issued a *Dupondius* or coin of two *asses*), CCVI seq., CCXXI, CCXXII (turreted head on coin as emblem of city of Ptolemais—cf. Pl. XLII, No. 10). The turreted head was also an emblem of the city of Alexandria; cf. E. BRECCIA, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain 1925-1931*, 1932, cover, etc.
- SMITH and PORCHER, *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*. Description of site, pp. 65 ff; views, Pls. L-LIII; inscriptions, Pl. LIV.
- A. H. DE VILLEFOSSE, *Cat. Sommaire des Marbres Antiques*, Musée du Louvre, 1896, p. 103, No. 1786. Edict of Anastasius (491-518 A.D.) relative to the military administration of Libya; found in Ptolemais.

VI.—THE EGYPTIAN NAME FOR PTOLEMAIS (*HUT-ISERT*).

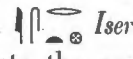
Having thus given a brief review of the history of Ptolemais we may now pass on to the subject of the name bestowed upon it by the Egyptians ("House of the Tamarisk Grove") at least as early as the beginning of the Ptolemaic era when, as to-day, the tamarisk flourished on the site. First of all let us see the various references to the tree in the literature.


A. SOME REFERENCES TO THE TAMARISK (*ISERT*) IN THE HIEROGLYPHIC TEXTS :


Dates.

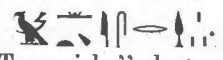
- Pyr. Texts. L. SPELEERS, *Textes des Pyramides égyptiennes*, 1923, I, p. 114, No. 1962: "...à l'intérieur du Champ du  Tamarisque, à la source des dieux".
- *Op. cit.*, I, p. 13, No. 126. «Le juge se lève; Thot (lune) est élevé. Les dormeurs s'éveillent. Les habitants de Nubie se dressent devant le grand trembleur qui sort du Nil (devant) Upwât qui sort du buisson.» The *Vocabulaire* (II), p. 14, shows that *buisson* refers to the tamarisk bush—the original text is not in our Museum.

Dates.

XVIIIth Dyn. E. A. W. BUDGE, *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, Text vol. III, 1910, p. 83; Translation vol. III, p. 605 = Chap. CLXXVIII of "Book of the Dead". "Give offerings in the presence of Thoth, the great one, who comes forth from the Nile, and of Wepwawet who comes forth from  Iseri (i. e., Town of the Tamarisk)". This reflects the second Pyramid Texts' reference given above.

— *Op. cit.*, Text vol. I, p. 146; Translation vol. I, p. 176 = Chap. XLII . "I am the backbone of the god (i. e., evidently Osiris) within the tamarisk tree". Twice mentioned.

XIX Dyn. H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. des Noms Géog.*, I, p. 105.  Iseri, or "Town of the Tamarisk", mentioned in Funerary Temple of Rameses I at Abydos. Associated with Wepwawet.

Ptolemaic. *Op. cit.*, III, p. 4. . Gauthier translates "Isle of the Tamarisks", but according to *Wört.*, II, p. 27, *m3wt* actually means not "isle" but "new" land or surface-soil recently deposited by the Nile. Mentioned in Edfu Temple;—a region of Edfu.

B. SOME REFERENCES TO THE TAMARISK (*MURIKE, MYRICA, ERICA*) BY CLASSICAL WRITERS :

Dates.

Vth cent. B.C. HERODOTUS (visited Cyrene c. 443 B. C.), *Bk. VII*, c. 31, refers to the Asia Minor town of "Callatêbus, where the men live who make honey out of wheat and the fruit of the tamarisk"—*tempus* Xerxes. Cf. also *Bk. II*, c. 96, for Egyptian rafts made of tamarisk wood.

Ist. cent. A. D. PLINY, *Natural History*, XIII, 37.—Italy produced the *myrica* = tamarisk. XVI, 33.—Tamarisk does not

Dates.

Ist. cent. A. D. lose its leaves (*sic*). XXIV, 41.—*Myrica*, or *erica* = tamarisk. Mixed with wine and honey it heals sores. (*contd.*) Its juice used for affections of the spleen; a sprig alloys pains in bowels if applied to the body. Common people look on tree as ill-omened, because it bears no fruit (*sic*) and is never propagated from seed. [For trees in general in Cyrenaica see XIII, 33] ⁽¹⁾.


— PLUTARCH, *Isis and Osiris*, XIII ff. Says that after the body of Osiris had been placed in a chest it was carried by the waves of the sea to Byblos in Syria, and "there gently lodged in the branches of a bush of tamarisk, which in a short time had shot up into a large and beautiful tree, growing around the chest and enclosing it on every side [a scene in Denderah Temple shows the god in the chest amidst the branches of the tamarisk—see Pl. XIII (Fig. 2) ⁽²⁾], so that it was not to be seen; and farther that the king of the country, amazed at its unusual size, had cut the tree down, and made that part of the trunk, wherein the chest was concealed to support the roof of his house". Subsequently Isis, on learning of the situation of the chest went to Byblos and managed to get the king give the roof-pillar to her. She then took it down, and cutting it open, removed the chest with its contents to somewhere in the Nile Delta. Here it was discovered by Seth who tore the body into fourteen

⁽¹⁾ HERODOTUS, *Bk. IV*, c. 199, gives an interesting account of the rich crops of Cyrenaica, and adds, "the harvest-time of the Cyrenæans continues... for eight months".

⁽²⁾ After E. A. W. BUDGE, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, I, 1911, p. 5. See further, II, p. 40, soul of Osiris on



the tamarisk tree, — also at Denderah. An association between Byblos, or the Lebanon, and Ptolemais is clearly indicated in the inscription on statue No. II — Section IX — which refers to cedar wood imported for use in the Temple of Osiris in the latter city.

Dates.

Ist. cent. A. D. (concluded). pieces scattering them all over the country. Isis then set out in search of the pieces and wherever she found one she made a sepulchre for it on the spot. The hieroglyphic texts (cf. E. A. W. BUDGE, *Gods of the Egyptians*, II, 1904, pp. 126 ff) give at times fourteen and at others sixteen, as the number of portions into which Seth tore the body; the texts also give the names of the sites of the sepulchres. One sepulchre was at  Wabet in the metropolis⁽¹⁾ of the Libyan or IIIrd Nome. E. A. W. BUDGE, *op. cit.*, II, p. 127, and H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. des Noms Géog.*, I, p. 185 f. See also J. G. FRAZER, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, II, 1919, pp. 7 ff.

C. OTHER REFERENCES TO THE TAMARISK :

LIDDELL and SCOTT, *Greek-English Lexicon*, VI, 1932, p. 1154. References to the tamarisk (μύρτη = latin *Myrica*) in Greek literature. [Hdt. VII, 31 is not cited; see B. before].

⁽¹⁾ This metropolis was named  *Imau*, "The Palm-trees", and is represented to-day by Kôm el-Hisn. Cf. F. LI. Griffith, in PETRIE and GARDNER, *Naukratis*, II, pp. 77 ff; PORTER and MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., IV, p. 51 f; H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. des Noms Géog.*, I, p. 70, and list in VII, p. 30. The nome was called  *Imenti*, "The West"; H. GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, I, p. 75. A cemetery, dating from IXth-Xth Dynasties, was discovered at Kôm el-Hisn in 1942 by Victor Eff. Guirgis, now Assistant Director of Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria. The burials were made in elongated graves of brick; the most notable finds (in the Egyptian Museum,

Cairo) consisting of a beautiful necklace of about 778 small thin disks of gold; a shorter necklace of hollow ball beads and cylinders; some scarabs, one of gold; and a few amulets. Excavations were continued in the cemetery by Messrs A. Hamada and M. el-Amir — this was in 1943 — who published the results in *Annales du Service*, XLVI, pp. 101 ff, followed by a note (pp. 143 ff) by Mr. G. Brunton on the date of the graves. Newspaper articles of 1948 report new finds some later in date than the older ones. Kôm el-Hisn is west of the Delta, a little south of Naukratis; see PORTER and MOSS, *op. cit.*, IV, map opposite p. 270.

M. O. Guéraud, in a personal letter, informs me that an island in the Arabian Gulf was called *Murike*, but apart from that nothing is known about it. Owing to the illness of M. Guéraud I have been unable to obtain the reference.


J. G. WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, III, 1878, p. 524 (Index). References to tamarisk as sacred to Osiris; as represented in tombs, etc.

J. G. FRAZER, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, II, p. 110 f. Association of Osiris with the tamarisk as seen at Denderah, Diospolis Parva, and Isis Temple at Philæ.

DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, VI, p. 1247. Description of tamarisk.

ORIC BATES, *The Eastern Libyans*, p. 27. Refers to the existence to-day of the tamarisk in Cyrenaica⁽¹⁾, "especially in the west". Its fruit is now used in tanning leather.

L. V. BERTARELLI, *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano*, p. 415. Presence of tamarisk in modern Cyrenaica.

I can find no site called *Murike* in the hieroglyphic texts, the closest to it being  *Muriqa*, a region not-identified of North Syria, under the XVIIIth Dynasty; see H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. des Noms Géog.*, III, p. 14. A town named *Μυρικόυς* (*Myricus*) was on the coast of Troy, and is mentioned only by Stephanus of Byzantium; cf. W. SMITH, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, II, p. 388.

Summing up the above references we see that apart from its fruit and wood being used for practical purposes the tamarisk was associated with the Egyptian gods :


- (1) WEPWAWET, from the time of the Pyramid Texts onwards; and
- (2) OSIRIS, from the XVIIIth Dynasty onwards, that is, if the "backbone" mentioned in Chap. XLII of the "Book of the Dead" does actually refer to that of the god. The connexion of the tree with the funerary chest of Osiris (Byblos legend) is perhaps not generally earlier than the Græco-Roman era.

⁽¹⁾ *Tamarix articulata*, *T. gallica*, *T. pauciovulata*, *T. laxiflora*.

Also, the only Egyptian geographical names associated with the tamarisk (as known to me) are :

(1) ISERT, "Town of the Tamarisk", mentioned in Chap. CLXXVIII of the "Book of the Dead" (XVIIIth Dynasty) and in the Funerary Temple at Abydos (XIXth Dynasty).

(2) MAUT-ISERT, "New-land of the Tamarisks", at Edfu (Ptolemaic).

(3) HUT-ISERT , "House of the Tamarisk Grove", which appears only on one of the two Ptolemaic statues at Ptolemais (Statue No. II of this article). The name was perhaps originally given to the site because of the numerous tamarisks there; it may even have been a translation of a Libyan name for the port. The owner of the statue in question, the official Harpocrates, says that he erected a temple to Osiris "Lord of Hut-Isert", quite a natural thing to do in view of the association of the tree with the god⁽¹⁾. He states further that the warrior-god Horus-nekht-khepesh also was "Lord of Hut-Isert".

I have searched in vain in the classical records concerning Cyrenaica for a possible rendering of Hut-Isert by the Greek *murike* ("tamarisk"). That *Murike* was used elsewhere as a geographical name is proved by the name of the island in the Arabian Gulf referred to before.

VII.—THE EGYPTIAN REMAINS AT PTOLEMAIS.

As mentioned in my *Introductory Remarks* I was very surprised to see two Egyptian statues at Ptolemais during the course of my visit in 1943. Dr. Gennaro Pesce, informs me that he discovered them in the local "Palace of the Columns", which he describes as a great and sumptuous building. In his opinion, and I am sure he is right, the Palace was the residence of the chief officer representing the Ptolemies in the city and, later, the "residence of the Roman magistrate during the Roman Empire".

⁽¹⁾ There may even have been a local legend that one of the pieces of the body of Osiris was buried at Ptolemais.

We have already stated before that one piece was interred in the capital of the Libyan Nome.

Dr. Pesce further states that there were many other Egyptian statues found in the building, and also the base of a statue in black basalt bearing "a hieroglyphic inscription referring to a general called Psammetichus⁽¹⁾, official of the Ptolemaic kings". The base, he says, is no longer there, "having been dispersed during the first military occupation of Cyrenaica in February, 1941. There are three films [of the base], not yet printed, bearing the numbers 7989, 7990, 8001, in the photographic archives of the Excavation Office at Cyrene". The Ptolemais Palace seems actually to be mentioned in the inscription on Statue No. II—see Section IX.

All this evidence shows clearly that there were Egyptian high administrative officials, and also doubtless an Egyptian colony, at Ptolemais,—probably in the time of Ptolemy III (or II), but perhaps even earlier. The names and titles of these officials (so far known to me) are :

(1) PSAMMETICHUS, the general—referred to by Dr. Pesce.

(2) SHERE-AMEN, the royal scribe—Statue No. I of this article. He was the son of Pa-en-djerty a judge and of Mut-em-int a sistrum-bearer.

(3) HARPOCRATES, the chief of first soldiers of the king, the scribe of office of the [Ptolemais] Palace accounts, the prophet, and the builder of a local temple to Osiris—Statue No. II of this article. His wife was Hathor-ityet. . . . and his daughter Nebt-reshut, a musician of the goddess Sekhmet. The father of Harpocrates was :

(4) HORUS, who as he held similar offices to those of his son, must also have been an official at Ptolemais.




For the names and offices of the owners of the other Egyptian statues from the Palace at Ptolemais we must await the published report of the excavator.




⁽¹⁾ Cf. AHMED BEY KAMAL, *Stèles Ptolémaïques et Romaines*, I, 1905, list on p. 227, for other persons named Psammetichus who lived (in Egypt) in the period covered by his publication. Incidentally, in the VIIIth cent. B.C.,

when Egypt and Corinth had close associations the tyrants of the latter place gave their sons the Egyptian names Psammetichus, Psammis. See J. D. S. PENDLEBURY, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 71, and *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, p. 552.

In conclusion, it must be added that the inscription of Harpocrates indicates that there was an Egyptian temple at Ptolemais older than the one he built in the town to Osiris—see end of line II of hieroglyphic text (reference to re-erection of statues which had fallen from their bases).

VIII.—STATUE NO. I (THE SCRIBE SHERE-AMEN).

This statue is of dark brown stone; the head and feet are unfortunately missing⁽¹⁾. See Pl. XIV (Fig. 1). It represents the royal [military] scribe  Shere-amen son of the judge  Pa-en-djerty and of the sistrum-bearer (musician)  Mut-em-int. The scribe, who was obviously posted at Ptolemais, was attached to the Ptolemaic army as is shown by the fact that he holds two standards each doubtless representing one of the divisions (or regiments) stationed in that town.



Standard in Right Hand.—This is in the shape of a papyrus stem (see Fig. 11), and bears the name “NEITH, LADY OF SAIS”—probably a Græco-Egyptian division from Sais. We already know from HERODOTUS, *Bk. II*, c. 164 ff, that in his time, the warriors from Sais belonged to one of the two great sections into which the army of Egypt was divided, namely, the *Hermotybian* section; the other section was the *Calasirian*⁽²⁾. The origin of the name *Hermotybian* is not certain, but *Calasirian* is perhaps derived from  *Kar(i)-sheri* (later,  *Ger(i)-sheri*), that is, roughly, “Little Karian”, *Kari* (i. e.,  being a region of the Sudan⁽³⁾; the *Calasirians* were therefore Nubian mercenaries. But Dr. DRIOTON, *L'Égypte*, 1938, p. 544, refers to certain tentative suggestions that *Hermotybian* is derived either from *remet-heteru*, “cavalry”, or from *remet-djeba*, “archers”, and that possibly *Calasirian* (although originally designating Nubian mercenaries) meant later “young recruits”,

⁽¹⁾ As I had no measure with me at the time I saw Statues Nos. I and II at Ptolemais I am unfortunately not able to give their heights. But they are less than life-size.

⁽²⁾ Cf. J. G. WILKINSON, *Manners and*

Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, I, 1878, p. 188. See also HERODOTUS, *Bk. IX*, c. 32, for *Calasirians* and *Hermotybian*s in the fleet of Xerxes.

⁽³⁾ H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. des Noms. Géog.*, V, p. 189, also *Wört.*, V, p. 135.

namely, infantry. Neith, the Greek Athena, was the tutelary goddess of Sais, where she had a great temple which is described by HERODOTUS, *Bk. II*, c. 175; cf. further, II, c. 59, 62, 169-171⁽¹⁾. For her temple and statues at Cyrene and the fact that the Libyans bore a Neith-like tattoo emblem, see our description of the reign of Battus II. The attributes of Neith-Athena are discussed by ORIC BATES, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 205 ff, E. A. W. BUDGE, *Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 1904, pp. 450 ff, and M. MALLET, *Le Culte de Neit à Sais*, 1888. See also M. REVILLOUT, in *Revue Égyptologique*, I, pp. 72 ff. As showing his personal and official attachment to the famous goddess the scribe Shere-amen wears a necklace with a pendant in the form of her emblem (). To the left of the emblem is represented the goddess “Singer of the South” and to the right her counterpart “Singer of the North”, each kneeling on the sign for gold ().

Standard in Left Hand.—This is in the shape of a lotus stem (see Fig. 11), and bears the name

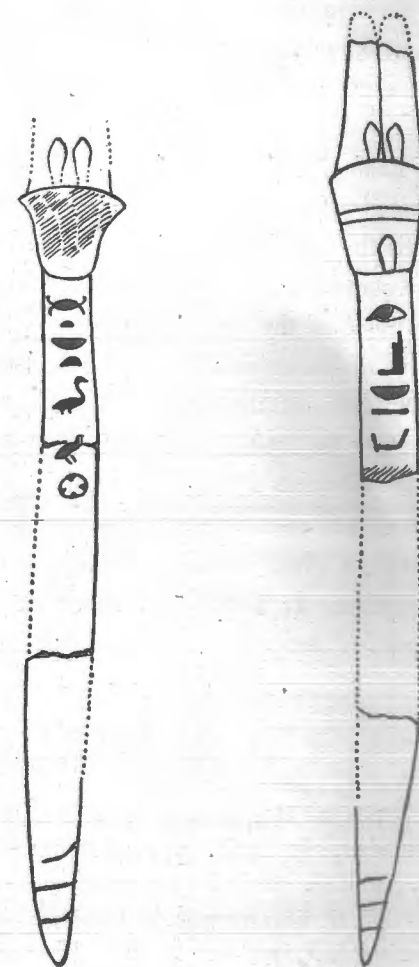



Fig. 11.—Standards of two early Ptolemaic army divisions or regiments in Ptolemais, Cyrenaica. The one to left is named “Neith, Lady of Sais”, and the other “Osiris, Lord of the Holy Land”. From Statue No. I described in this article (of the scribe Shere-amen).

⁽¹⁾ The temple at Sais was called  *Hut-Neith*. H. GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 88; cf. also pp. 84, 100;

and V, p. 79 f. For the antiquities of Sais cf. PORTER and MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., IV, pp. 46 ff.

“Father of the Gods”⁽¹⁾ and Osiris-Atem, the “Bull of the Company of Gods”⁽²⁾.

THE HIEROGLYPHIC TEXTS ON THE STATUE.

1.—Front of Statue — Vertical Lines :



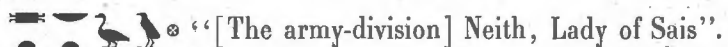
(I) “[All] that appears [on the altar] of Osiris-khenty-amentyu (= ‘Osiris-at-the-head-of-the-westerners, i. e., the dead’) and of Neith, lady of Abydos, to” (II) “the royal scribe, Shere-amen, son of the judge, Pa-en-djerty [A]”; (III) “the royal [scribe], Shere-[a]men, born of the sistrum-player [B] Mut-en-int”.

NOTES.

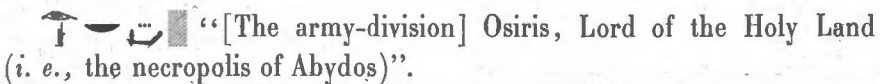
[A] Lit., “He-who-is-of-Djerty”, Djerty being a town of the Theban Nome. Cf. H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. des Noms Géog.*, VI, p. 130 f.

[B] On ♀ for “sistrum”, “sistrum-player”, see A. H. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 518, Sign Y. 8, and *Wört.*, IV, p. 252.

2.—Papyrus-standard :



3.—Lotus-standard :



⁽¹⁾ A designation of various deities. *Wört.*, I, p. 141.

⁽²⁾ In the Saitic Recension of the “Book of the Dead” Osiris was identified with

“Atem the Bull of the Corporation of the Great Company of Gods”. E. A. W. BUDGE, *op. cit.*, II, p. 183. For , corporation [of the divine ennead], cf. *Wört.*, III, p. 357.

4.—Figures over Vertical Lines :

Left—goddess with sign of “south” on head kneeling on “gold” sign. She is “The Singer of the South” [*mrt šm*, —].

Right—goddess with sign of “north” on head kneeling on “gold” sign. She is “The Singer of the North” [*mrt mht*, —].

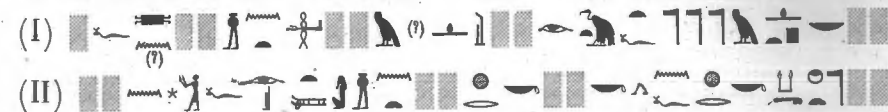
NOTES.

For these two goddesses compare R. V. LANZONE, *Dizion. di mitologia*, I, p. 317 f, and A. H. GARDINER, *Admonitions*, p. 59 (references from Dr. Ét. Drioton). On their association with Osiris see E. A. W. BUDGE, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, I, pp. 45, 47; II, pp. 33, 55. Cf. also *Wört.*, II, p. 107.

5.—Loose Fragment Above :



6.—Back of Statue :








Texts badly broken. They contain references, in the right vertical column (I), to Neith, and to the Father of the Gods; the left vertical column (II) mentions the praising of the god Osiris-Atem, the Bull of the Company of [God[s] (“... he came to you O Bull of the Company of God[s]...”).

IX.—STATUE NO. II (THE OFFICIAL HARPOCRATES).


This statue is of schist or greywacke⁽¹⁾; its head and feet are missing. See Pl. XIV (Fig. 2). It represents the military chief, scribe of office of the palace accounts, prophet of various deities, and temple-builder,

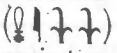

⁽¹⁾ This stone, known to the Egyptians as *bekhen*, came from the Wâdi el-Hamâmât in Upper Egypt. See

A. LUCAS and Alan ROWE, *The Ancient Egyptian Bekhen-Stone*, in *Annales du Service*, XXXVIII, pp. 127 ff.

 Harpocrates, son of the official with similar offices  Horus and of the "lady of the house"  Hat. . . . Harpocrates, as also obviously his father⁽¹⁾, was stationed at Ptolemais where he was connected mainly with the Ptolemaic army. Whether or not he was a contemporary of the local military scribe Shere-amen (represented in Statue No. I) cannot be said. On the left side of the long supporting pedestal which is behind Statue No. II is a small figure of the beloved married daughter of Harpocrates, whose name is  Nebt-reshut, a "good musician"⁽²⁾ of the goddess Sekhmet. Her mother's name is  Hathor-ityet. . . .


Inscription on Back of Pedestal.—This is in three vertical lines, the upper and lower parts of which are lacking. The text commences with the six titles of Harpocrates, which are as follows :

- (1) Chief of first soldiers of the king—obviously at Ptolemais.
- (2) Scribe of office of accounts of the palace ()—quite evidently the administrative "Palace of the Columns" at Ptolemais; this is the first known mention of it in the hieroglyphic texts. Cf. Section VII before.
- (3) Prophet⁽³⁾ of the god Horus-nekht-khepesh, lord of *Hut-Isert* (Ptolemais).
- (4) Prophet of the god Khnum in *Hut-urdju-ib* (=Temple of *Urdju-ib*, namely, "Tired-Heart", a title of Osiris).

⁽¹⁾ This is indicated by the fact that among the "similar offices" () is that of prophet in the Ptolemais temples. Harpocrates may have succeeded to the offices of his father at the old age of the latter or may even have been his associate. Anyhow, the father does not possess the usual epithet of a dead person, "true of word" () .

⁽²⁾ With regard to the temple-musicians mentioned in the inscriptions in Statues Nos. I and II, it is interesting to

compare HERODOTUS (*Bk. IV, c. 189*) who says that the loud cries uttered in the sacred rites in Greece come from the sweet cries of the woman of Libya. He also refers (*Bk. II, c. 54 ff*) to two temple-woman who had been carried off from Thebes in Egypt by the Phœnicians, one going to Libya and the other to Greece.

⁽³⁾  was usually translated by the Greeks as *προφήτης*.

(5) Prophet of the god Khons, lord of *Hut-urdju-ib*.

(6) Prophet of the deified Imhotep⁽¹⁾, son of the god Ptaḥ, in *Hut-urdju-ib*.

Some of these deities were identified with Greek ones—Horus with *Apollo*, Khons with *Heracles*, and Ptaḥ with *Hephaistos*, while Imhotep became *Imouthis* and associated with *Asclepius*. Apollo, Heracles and Asclepius were generally worshipped in Cyrenaica. See ADDENDUM No. IV.

The text on the pedestal next names the parents of Harpocrates and goes on to give the words of his address (end missing) to all prophets, priests and persons who enter "this temple", namely, the temple in which his statue was erected, asking them to pronounce his name [so that he might receive the customary funerary offerings and so forth]. It next details the following works carried out by Harpocrates at Ptolemais :—

1. [He]. . . . upon their places, with all things of *this temple*, since a long time. Doubtless the missing part is to be reconstructed according to No. 3 below. Thus Harpocrates apparently not only restored the statues of the gods to their places, but also the temple equipment, fallen or missing since a long time. (Could some of the damage have been done by the Old Persians?). The statement, like No. 3 below, therefore indicates an older or ruined temple at Ptolemais restored by Harpocrates. His own statue was put in it, for his inscription refers to the building as "this temple", a description he would not use if the statue were erected elsewhere.

2. He built the Temple of Osiris, lord of *Hut-Isert* (Ptolemais). The material is said to have consisted of limestone from Tura-Mašara in Egypt, and of cedar [from the Lebanons] for the doors, the doors

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Alan Rowe, *Newly-Identified Monuments in the Egyptian Museum showing the Deification of the Dead, together with Brief Details of Similar Objects elsewhere*, in *Annales du Service*, XL,

p. 30 f. Imhotep, originally the great architect of king Zoser, IIIrd Dynasty, was deified from the Saitic period onwards.

themselves being adorned with copper from Asia. It seems probable, however, that the imported limestone was used only for the architraves and jambs of the doors and other important parts of the building which had to bear hieroglyphic inscriptions, the rest being constructed of local stone. The mention of cedar, which of course come from the Lebanons⁽¹⁾, where it was evidently shipped to Ptolemais through Byblos (𓆎𓆏𓆐) *Kepni*), is most interesting in view of the contemporary belief that at the latter port grew the sacred tamarisk tree which enclosed the funerary chest of Osiris, a species of tree which gave its Egyptian name to Ptolemais where the cult of the god also obtained. No doubt, therefore, Byblos as well as Egypt, had some influence upon the worship at Ptolemais of the great Egyptian god of the Other World.

3. He restored the fallen statues of the gods upon their places. This statement most certainly refers to an older Egyptian temple at Ptolemais. Cf. No. 1 above.

4. He made [a sacred boat?] for *this* temple so that the deities of the temple could make their appearance in it at the Festivals of the Beginning of the Year. This supposed boat was carried around the temple precincts by the priests.

5. He made a naos, or small shrine, of electrum (= gold and silver alloy) inlaid with precious stones so that the statue of Osiris could be carried around in it—probably in the sacred boat referred to before—on the day of the Festival of the god Seker.


6. He made an upper shutter of electrum for the door of the inner sanctuary. This shutter saved the whole door from being opened when those permitted to do so wished merely to gaze upon the *face* of Osiris.


7. He built. (rest of text missing)⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. VIRGIL, *Georg.*, 440, who says pine for ships, and cedar and cyprus for houses were obtained from the wind-swept forests at the top of the Caucasus.

⁽²⁾ The texts do not indicate to which of the two temples the statements Nos. 5-7 belong; No. 4 obviously refers to the older temple.

As we thus see from the inscriptions on Statue No. II there seem to have been two contemporary Egyptian temples at Ptolemais, an older one (of unknown date of foundation) and the newer one built by Harpocrates.

The Old Temple.—This was apparently called  *Hut-urdju-ib*, "Temple of the Tired-Heart". As its name implies it was dedicated to Osiris, the other gods in it being Khnum, Khons (a lunar deity), and Imhotep son of Ptaḥ⁽¹⁾, each of whom had the title of "in (or lord of) *Hut-urdju-ib*". As to Khnum he was of course the tutelary god of the cataract at Aswān; his worship at Ptolemais is just possibly an indication of the presence in that port of Nubian mercenaries (Calasirians), that is to say, if such mercenaries regarded him as one of their gods. Compare Section VIII before. The above deities must have been the ones whose fallen statues were restored to their places by Harpocrates.

The New Temple.—This was named  "Temple of Osiris, lord of *Hut-Isert*". Its chief deity was of course Osiris. Further, it seems that the warrior-god Horus-nekht-khepesh ("Horus-with-strong-arm"), the son of Osiris, was worshipped in the temple, for in the inscription he is said to be "lord of *Hut-Isert*", and not "lord of *Hut-urdju-ib*".

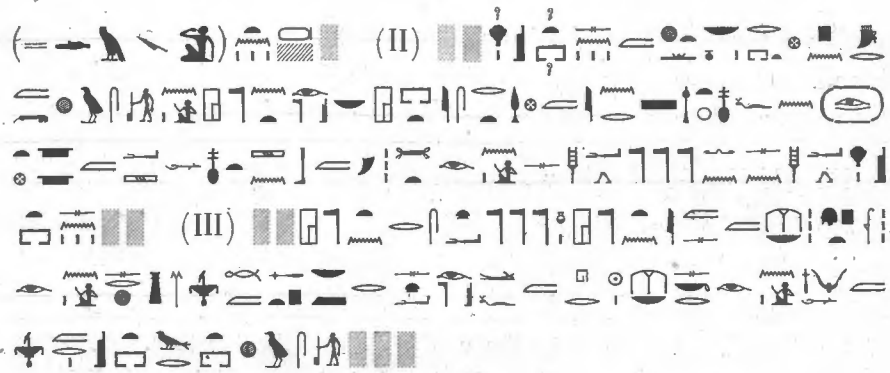
Inscription on Fragment of Base.—This contains part of a prayer, evidently to Osiris, for life, health, strength and so forth, on behalf of Harpocrates.

1.— *Back of Pedestal of Statue :*



⁽¹⁾ The goddess Sekhmet (wife of Ptaḥ), of whom the daughter of Harpocrates was the musician, must also

have been adored in one of the two temples, as also certainly was Seker (perhaps in the older temple).



(I) “.; Chief of first soldiers of the king; Scribe of office of accounts of the Palace [of Ptolemis]; Prophet of Horus-*nekht-khepesh* (= ‘Horus-with-strong-arm’), lord of *Hut-Isert* (= Ptolemis); Prophet of Khnum in *Hut-urdju-ib* (= ‘Temple of the Tired-Heart’); Prophet of Khons, lord of *Hut-urdju-ib*; Prophet of Imhotep, son of Ptah, in *Hut-urdju-ib*; HAPPOCRATES, son of the one with similar offices, HORUS, born of the lady of the house, HAT. *He says* : ‘O all prophets, all priests, and all men, who enter this temple, pronounce ye [my] name.’”

(II) “[‘I made?]. upon their places, with all things of this temple, since the beginning. I built [A] the Temple of Osiris, lord of *Hut-Isert*, of beautiful white stone of ‘Ayan (= limestone of Tura-Ma’sara), the doors [being] of beautiful cedar adorned with Asiatic copper. I erected [the statues of] the gods when they were not standing upon their places.’”

(III) “[‘I made] (signs missing — a sacred boat?) [for?] this temple, in order to make appear the gods of this temple in it (I) in the Beginning of the Year Festivals. I made a naos [B] of electrum inlaid with all real (= precious) stones [C], in order to make appear Osiris in it (II) on the Day of the Festival of the god Seker. I made an upper-shutter [D] of electrum for the door of the inner sanctuary [E]. I built.’”

NOTES.

[A] Cf. “I built.” in the building inscription of Senu-she-shepses from Koptos (tempus Ptolemy II). W. M. F. PETRIE, *Koptos*, 1896, p. 20, and G. ROEDER, *Naos*, 1914, p. 117.

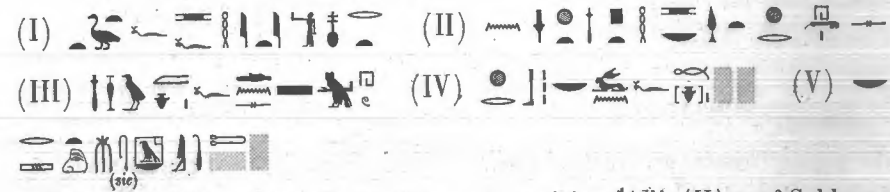
[B] Cf. “I made a naos of *bekhen*-stone for Horus, Isis and Osiris” in the above-mentioned inscription. *Loc. cit.*

[C] Cf. the “magnificent naos of electrum inlaid with all real stones” (I) mentioned in Rosetta Stone (tempus Ptolemy V),—E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Rosetta Stone*, I, 1904, p. 214.

[D] I owe this rendering to Dr. Ét. Drioton, who writes me concerning the group (I). «Je vous proposerai sous toute réserve d’y voir un ‘vantail d’ouverture’ c’est-à-dire un de ces volets dans la partie supérieure de la porte, qu’on trouve dans les naos en bois de basse époque et qui permettaient, la porte étant fermée, de voir la partie supérieure de la divinité». (Judging from the sign → the shutter was probably made of wood covered with electrum). For shrines with small upper doors see G. ROEDER, *Naos*, Pl. XXXVII (of Pebasa, XXVIIth Dyn., No. 70027), Pls. XLIV a, LVII a (of an ape, Saïtic or later, No. 29752); also E. BRECCIA, *Monuments de l’Égypte Gréco-Romaine*, I, 1926, Pl. LXIII (of the crocodile deity in temple at Theadelphia, Fayûm, tempus Ptolemy VII). See also the ancient exhibition case with two upper small doors for revealing the face of the mummy of Harmachis, a high priest of Amen; from an embalmer’s cache at Deir el-Bahri. c. XXVIth Dyn.—J. LEBOVITCH, *Ancient Egypt*, 1938, p. 179. Another example is shown by A. ERMAN, *La Religion des Égyptiens*, 1937, p. 409, fig. 176.

[E] *Št-wrt*, which has also the meaning of “portable chapel”, etc.—*Wört.*, IV, p. 7.

2.—Left side of Pedestal :



(I) “His beloved daughter, the good musician [A]” (II) “of Sekhmet the great, beloved of Ptah, the favourite with her husband”, (III) “highly respected in his heart, respected as noble [B]” (IV) “in every place in which he is, [his] confident.”, (V) “Nebt-reshut, born of Hathor-ityet [C].”

NOTES.

[A] *Ihit nefert*. Cf. AHMED BEY KAMAL, *Stèles Ptolémaïques et Romaines*, I, p. 253.

[B] *Dens mehu* (cf. *Wört.*, V, p. 469). According to Dr. Ét. Drioton the literal rendering is «importante de famille, c’est-à-dire, respectée comme noble, considérée comme noble».

[C] Cf. A. KAMAL, *op. cit.*, I, p. 239.

3.—Base of Statue (fragment) :



“ , life, strength, health, a long lifetime, and a great happy old age. ”

Alan Rowe.

ADDENDA.

No. I.—Milton's "Ceasing of the [Delphic] Oracles". Cf. latin version given above in footnote of III. BRIEF HISTORY. — Greek Period. Milton lived 1608-1674 A. D.

*"The Oracles are dumb,
No voice or hideous drum
Runs through the arched roof in words
deceiving :
Apollo from his shrine
Can no more divine,
With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos
leaving.
No nightly trance, or breathed spell,
Inspires the pale-ey'd priests from the
prophetic cell.*

*"The lonely mountains o'er,
And the resounding shore,
A voice of weeping heard and loud
lament;
From haunted spring and dale,
Edg'd with poplar pale,
The parting genius is with sighing
sent.
With flower-inwoven tresses torn,
The Nymphs in twilight shade of
tangled thickets mourn.*

*"In consecrated earth,
And on the holy hearth,
The Lars and Lemures moan with midnight plaint;
In urns and altars round,
A drear and dying sound
Affrights the Flamens at their service quaint;
And the chill marble seems to sweat,
While each peculiar Power forgoes his wonted seat".*

No. II.—The inscription referring to Ptaḥ in the temple-fort of Zāwyet Um el-Rakham (see *Tribes in Cyrenaica, etc., in Pharaonic Times*) is as follows :— (for , or similar), "[Ptah lord of] Ankh-tawy (=Memphis), beautiful of face, owner of the throne. He gives a beautiful habitation and a body full of joy. . . ." The text is on a limestone door-jamb now in our Museum, Reg. No. P. 10384. For position in inner door see Fig. 5, Stone No. 1. The other text, already given before, which mentions the name and titles of the official Neb-rā, is on Stone No. 2, Fig. 5. This latter door-jamb had been anciently removed from its original position. The lower part of a duplicate text is on Stone No. 3, Fig. 5; this jamb was *in situ* in the inner door. Reg. Nos.—No. 2, P. 10382, No. 3, P. 10383. All the visible surface remains of the building are indicated in Fig. 5; they consist of tops of limestone wall-foundations and perhaps of column bases. As the upper parts of the texts on stone Nos. 2 and 3 are missing it is not clear whether Neb-rā was the founder of the building or was his father.

No. III.—Cyrene, which incidentally had a treasury at Olympia, kept constant relations with Greece from early times onwards. Two archaic female statues discovered in Cyrene resemble finds in Delos and on the Athenian Acropolis. A Lindian temple-chronicle shows early associations with Rhodes. The so-called "Cyrenaic" ware probably originated in Sparta. Examples have also been found at Tarentum, Phigalea in Arcadia, at Naucratis in Egypt, Samos, Sardes and Massilia. These finds implement the written records associating VIth cent. B. C. Cyrene with Egypt, Samos and the Peloponnese. See *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, p. 668; IV, p. 111 f; also A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, 1914, pp. 92 ff.

No. IV.—Apart from the Egyptian deities at Ptolemais the deities worshipped in Cyrenaica were mostly imported from Greece and Rome, but a few were of more or less local origin. A provisional list is now given. Some have already been mentioned before in our text. See also Pls. II, III, for the positions of the temples of the divinities of Cyrene. RCGC = E. S. G. ROBINSON, *Cat. of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica*. The names, which include those of nymphs, are arranged in alphabetical

order :—*Ammon*, the chief deity of Cyrenaica, RCGC, p. ccxxxiii⁽¹⁾; *Aphrodite* or *Venus* (= Egyptian Hathor); *Apollo* (= Eg. Horus); *Aristæus* (= Libyan Dionysus), son of Cyrene and Apollo, RCGC, pp. ccxli, ccxlvii; *Artemis*; *Asclépius* (= Eg. Imhotep); *Athena* or *Minerva* (= Eg. Neith); *Bacchus*; and *Carneius*. This last deity was an early Peloponnesian ram-god of agriculture and pastoral pursuits. He had a beardless horned head, and was usually associated with Apollo. His temple was on the "Hill of Myrtles" overlooking the Fountain of Apollo at Cyrène. See Pl. III of this article. He was the principal deity of Cyrenaica after Ammon. RCGC, pp. ccxl ff. *Cyrene*, RCGC, pp. ccxliiv ff; *Demeter-Persephone* (= Isis); *Diana*; *Dionysus*; *Hades-Pluto*; *Hecate*; *Hera* or *Juno*; *Heracles* (= Eg. Khons); *Hermes* (= Eg. Thoth); *Isis*; *Jupiter*; *Libya*; *Nike*; *Zeus Lyceus*, RCGC, p. ccxxxix f; and *Tyche* (head on Ptolemais coin), RCGC, p. ccvi. Many of the names without references will also be found in RCGC. The *Egyptian deities* mentioned on Statues Nos. I and II at Ptolemais are :—*Father of the Gods*; *Horus-nekht-khepesh* (Horus = Apollo); *Imhotep* (= Imouthis) *son of Ptah* (= Hephaistos); *Khnum*; *Khons* (= Heracles); *Neith* (= Athena); *Neith*, "lady of Abydos"; *Neith*, "lady of Saïs"; *Osiris* (var., "Tired-Heart"); *Osiris-Atem*, "bull of the Company of Gods"; *Osiris-khent-amentyu*; *Osiris*, "lord of the Holy Land" (= Abydos necropolis); *Seker*; *Sekhmet* (wife of Ptah); "Singer of the North"; and "Singer of the South".

No. V.—For the general reader who may desire to see the great extent to which Egyptian influence and remains (from the earliest times up to and including the Græco-Roman Era) are found in regions of the ancient world, other than those dealt with in this article, I would recommend him firstly to consult the following publications :

(1) *Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, India*.—D. G. HOGARTH, *Egyptian Empire in Asia*, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, I, pp. 9 ff.

⁽¹⁾ Around the temple of Ammon at Siwa were a number of columns, surmounted by dolphins, and inscribed ΚΥΡΕΝΑΙΩΝ ΘΕΩΡΩΝ in testimony of the gratitude of his Cyrenæan votaries. Oric BATES, *The Eastern Libyans*, p. 191.

Alan ROWE, *Egypto-Canaanite Contacts*, in *Cat. of Egyptian Scarabs, etc.*, in *Palestine Archaeological Museum*, 1936, pp. 13 ff.

—Egyptian remains in Palestine and Syria dating from Pre-dynastic times onwards.

Alan ROWE, Addenda to same in *Quarterly of Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine*, VIII, pp. 72 ff.

Alan ROWE, *Topography and History of Beth-shan*, 1930.

Alan ROWE, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-shan*, 1940. This deals with four Egyptian fortresses in Palestine dating respectively from the times of Tuthmosis III, Amenophis III, Sety I, and Rameses III, covering the period 1504-1166 B. C. The fortress of Tuthmosis III seems to have been made by the builder Amen-em-ipt⁽¹⁾, who dedicated there a stela to the local god Mekal, the great god, the lord of Beth-shan. Mekal may be connected with the verb *âkal*—see for instance, II Kings, i, 14—meaning "to devour". Mekal will then mean "The Fierce Devourer". As to the site-name *Beth-shan*, Shan was a later form of the Mesopotamian serpent deity Shahan, Shakhan, or Sakan. The temple in the fortress of Amenophis III closely resembled certain tomb-chapels and a shrine in the

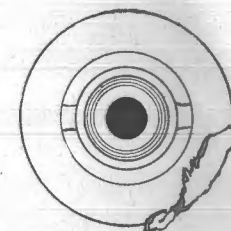
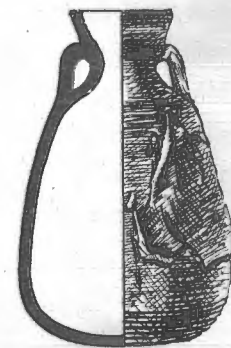







Fig. 12.—Model of amphora with broken attachment. Pottery. Roman. Found in Essex, England. Now in Graeco-Roman Museum. Reg. No. P. 10452. It resembles full-sized amphoræ discovered in Alexandria, Egypt. Cf. ADDENDUM No. V (5).


⁽¹⁾ The father of Amen-em-ipt was Pa-râ-em-heb. The stela of another official, Amen-em-ipt, was found in the fortress of Rameses III; he seems to have been an overseer of the double granaries of the Lord of the Two Lands, and steward. The name recalls that of the *maher* or trained


scribe, Amen-em-ipt, mentioned in the Anastasi Papyrus of the time of Rameses II (from whose reign the monument seems to date), who is questioned about Beth-shan and other places by Hori, a scribe. Cf. my *Topography, etc.*, p. 37. Beth-shan, later called Scythopolis, is known to-day as Beisan.

River Temple built by Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, and there must be some connection between them. The fortress of Rameses III was in charge of the Egyptian official, "Overseer of soldiers, commander of bowmen of the Lord of the Two Lands, royal scribe, great steward  Rameses-wesr-khepesh, son of the fan-bearer at the right hand of the king, chief of bowmen, and overseer of foreign countries,  Tuthmosis".

Howard CARTER, *An Ostrakon Depicting a Red Jungle-Fowl*, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, IX, pp. 1 ff, Pl. XX (Fig. 1). The earliest known drawing of the domestic cock is shown on a limestone ostrakon, dating between XVth-XIIth cents. B. C., found at Thebes in Upper Egypt. See Fig. 14. The bird must have come overland from India which country (together with Malaysia) was the original home of the genus—really the Red Jungle-Fowl, *Gallus ferrugineus ferrugineus* Gmelin—in its early domestic form. An inscription of the time of Tuthmosis III, XVIIIth Dynasty (SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 700), actually refers to  "four birds of this country [of Asia]; they bear (*i. e.*, lay eggs) every day". These hens, which were brought to Egypt, can only have been Jungle-Fowls. The male bird is shown also on the Lycian marbles of c. 550 B. C., and on Old Persian pottery in association with the swastika. Aristophanes, c. 448-385 B. C., calls it Περσικὸς ὄρνις, "Persian bird".

(2) *Malta*.—E. A. W. BUDGE, *General Introductory Guide to Egyptian Collections*, 1930, p. 323, Fig. 172, and *Guide to Egyptian Collections (Sculpture)*, 1909, p. 54 f. Stela of the  bronze-worker  Ankef. *Tempus* Amen-em-hat III, XIIth Dynasty, 1850-1800 B. C.

E. A. W. BUDGE, *op. cit.*, p. 149. Stela of  Tetity. XVIIIth Dynasty or later.

E. A. W. BUDGE, *op. cit.*, p. 150. Stela of  Nub-nefert. XVIIIth Dynasty, 1580-1320 B. C.

(3) *Ægean*, etc.—J. D. S. PENDLEBURY, *Ægyptiaca, A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Ægean Area*, 1930. Contains references to :—

(1) Egyptian remains, dating from early times to end of XXVIth Dynasty,

found in Greece (mainland and islands), Crete, and Cyprus—for the last site cf. pp. xvii, 54. (2) *Presumed North Egyptian immigration into Crete at end of the Pre-dynastic age*; cf. pp. 3, 28. (3) *Ægean pottery of Bronze Age found on sites in Egypt ranging from Anibe in Lower Nubia to Abûsir south of the Delta*. Its earliest examples [sherds] date from Middle Minoan II Era (= XIIth Dynasty) and its latest [a stirrup vase discovered in grave of a grandson of Pinezem I, XXIst Dynasty] from Late Helladic III Era. Perhaps *Ægean pottery* was actually first introduced into Egypt in the time of Mentu-ḥetep V, Seânkh-ka-râ, last king of the XIth Dynasty (cf. ÉT. DRIOTON, *L'Égypte*, 1938, p. 599),

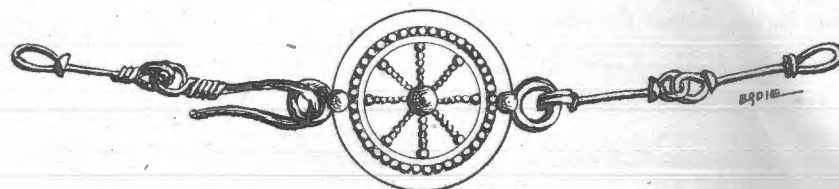


Fig. 13.—Part of golden necklace (enlarged) showing the emblem of the goddess Nemesis. Roman. IInd cent. A. D. Found by the author in catacombs of Kôm el-Chougafa, Alexandria. Now in Graeco-Roman Museum. Reg. No. P. 2144. Two similar necklaces are said to have been discovered in Wales. Cf. ADDENDUM No. V (5).

who says he "quelled the *Hau-nebut*", or people of the North Mediterranean. See J. H. BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I, p. 209.

J. D. S. PENDLEBURY, *Egypt and the Ægean in the Late Bronze Age*, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XVI, pp. 75 ff.

A. J. EVANS, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*. Contains mentions of Cretan associations with Egypt, commencing with details of Egyptian stone vases of Pre-dynastic and Proto-dynastic types from Knossos.

V. GORDON CHILDE, *The Most Ancient East*, 1928, p. 222, referring to the Late-predynastic colony established in Crete believes it was founded by some "Egyptianized Libyans, plausibly regarded as refugees from the conquering Menes". [Menes must obviously be Nârmer, conqueror of the Delta, for he is the first king who wore the crown of Upper Egypt and the crown of Lower Egypt; compare his palette from Hieraconpolis.—A.R.]

ÉT. DRIOTON, *L'Égypte*, 1938, p. 226. Details of publications concerning Egyptian associations with Crete.

(4) *Continent of Europe.*—A. ERMAN, *La Religion des Égyptiens*, 1937. Chap. xxii—on Egyptian religion in Europe. Refers to IVth cent. B. C. sanctuary of Isis in the Piræus, and to Egyptian deities worshipped in the Græco-Roman era at Rhodes, Lesbos, Thera, Smyrna, Cyprus, Sicily, Antioch, Athens (here also was a tomb of a priest of Isis, c. middle of IVth cent. A. D., interred with his sacred materials of silver), Rome, Pompeii, Cologne (Roman statue of Isis = ISIDI INVICTE), etc.

S. Dow, *The Egyptian Cults in Athens*, in *Harvard Theological Review*, XXX, pp. 184 ff. Refers among other things to the fact that the cult of Serapis (the great god of the Alexandria Serapeum)⁽¹⁾ was carried from Egypt across the Mediterranean. This evidence is a Greek decree dated 215 B. C. indicating that a Society of Serapis had already been in existence some years previously in Athens, perhaps towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy III. Other deities of the Egyptian pantheon in Athens, under the Ptolemaic era, were Isis (whose cult there preceded that of Serapis), Harpocrates and Anubis. During the Roman Empire, Osiris, Nephthys and Horus were added to the Athenaic pantheon.

E. A. W. BUDGE, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, 1911, II. Egyptian cults in Rome, etc.

(5) *England and Wales.*—A. H. SAYCE, *The Date of Stonehenge*, and H. R. HALL, *Egyptian Beads in Britain*, both articles in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, I, pp. 18, 19. Refer to supposed "Egyptian" beads in barrows at Stonehenge, Lake, Tan Hill, etc.; the authors date the beads c. 1400-1300 B. C. But Stonehenge itself seems to have been founded at the beginning of the Bronze Age, c. 1600 B. C. It is now believed, however (cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, p. 597) that these barrow beads are not of Egyptian manufacture; it would be a good thing if a committee of competent Egyptologists could examine them. I take this opportunity of publishing here the two following objects:—(1) Model two-handed amphora of reddish brown pottery found many years ago in Essex, England. Height, 5.35 cm. This model seems to have been

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Alan ROWE, *Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria. Supplément aux Annales du Service*, Cahier No. 2, 1946.

imported into England in the Roman era; it resembles full-sized amphoræ of the same date discovered in Alexandria, Egypt, the only difference being that it has a broken projection on one side showing it once to have been attached to some other object. On the base is a spiral design running out from the centre. Model is now in our Museum. Reg. No. P. 10452 (the donor believed at first that it was a modern object). See Fig. 12 of this article. (2) The wheel-emblem of the goddess Nemesis from a golden necklace unearthed by me in the Roman catacombs

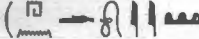






Fig. 14.—Earliest known drawing of the domestic cock (Red Jungle-Fowl); this represents a bird introduced into Egypt between the XVth-XIIIth cents. B. C., evidently from India, original home of the genus. From photograph of a Theban ostrakon published by Howard CARTER, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, IX, Pl. XX (Fig. 1). Cf. ADDENDUM No. V (5).


of Kôm el-Chougafa, Alexandria. Length of necklace, 37.4 cm. Reg. No. P. 2144. Date IIrd cent. A. D. Two similar necklaces of local gold were found, I am told, in Carmarthenshire, Wales, and are of the same date as our own necklace. Cf. Alan ROWE, in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, XXV, p. 29, Pl. XIV. See Fig. 13 of this article⁽¹⁾.



⁽¹⁾ Since this section has been written I have noticed an interesting article by Meta G. WILLIAMS, *Roman Exeter and Alexandria*, in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, 34, pp. 91 ff. It mentions scores of coins, some Ptolemaic, and some Roman Imperial minted in Alex-

andria, Egypt, all found in Exeter, in southern England, as also was "part of a faience sistrum in the form of a bifrontal head of Isis [i. e., Hathor], Egyptian, XXVth Dynasty.... dug up on Bel-Hill, South Street, Exeter, August 1833".

In conclusion it may be noted that although large numbers of foreign place-names are met with in the Egyptian hieroglyphic texts the greater part of them refer to sites in Western Asia; even India ( *Hendui*) is mentioned ⁽¹⁾. Very few European names are given. We get mentions of Rome ( *Harum*) ⁽²⁾, Cyprus ( *Nebinai*) ⁽³⁾, Crete ( *Qefti*) ⁽⁴⁾, and Sardinia ( *Shairden*) ⁽⁵⁾, but strangely enough no mentions of Malta (where the three hieroglyphic stelæ were found) or even of the great city of Athens (where three Egyptian statuettes came to light, one of bronze and two of faience, dating from XXIInd-XXVIth Dynasties—cf. J. D. S. PENDLEBURY, *Ægyptiaca*, p. 77 f.) ⁽⁶⁾.

A. R.

⁽¹⁾ A variant is  *Hentu*. Cf. H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. des Noms Géog.*, IV, p. 6.

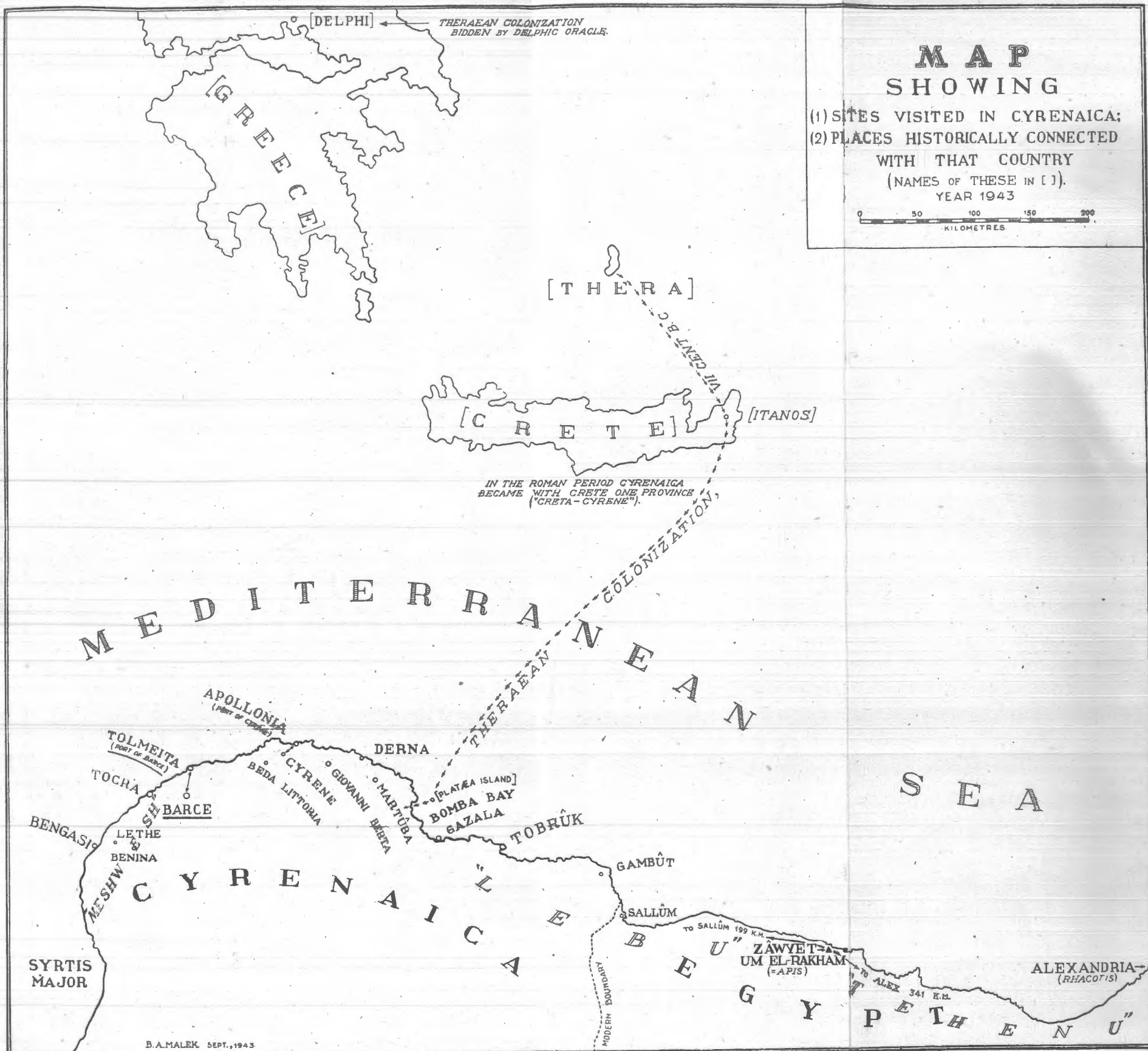
⁽²⁾ Variants,  *Herum* (*op. cit.*, IV, p. 2) and  *Rhum* (*op. cit.*, III, p. 136).

⁽³⁾ *Op. cit.*, III, p. 83; also I, p. 57 f.

⁽⁴⁾ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 148; V, p. 174.

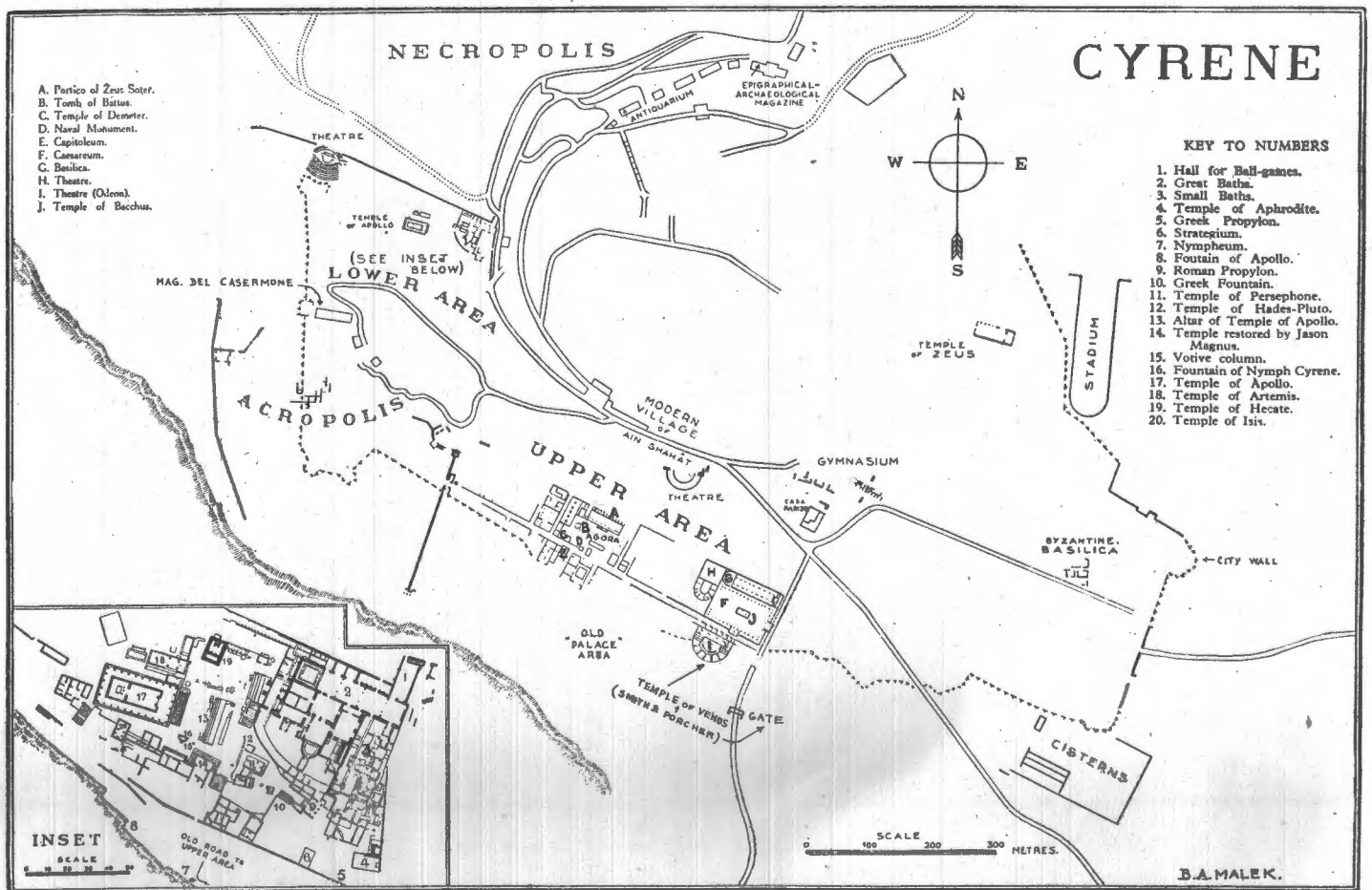
⁽⁵⁾ *Op. cit.*, V, p. 105.

⁽⁶⁾ Since the above section has been in page-proofs I have noticed that a *ushebty*-figure of Nectanebus I, XXXth Dynasty, 378-360 B. C., was found in Pompeii. Cf. H. GAUTHIER, *Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, IV, p. 191.

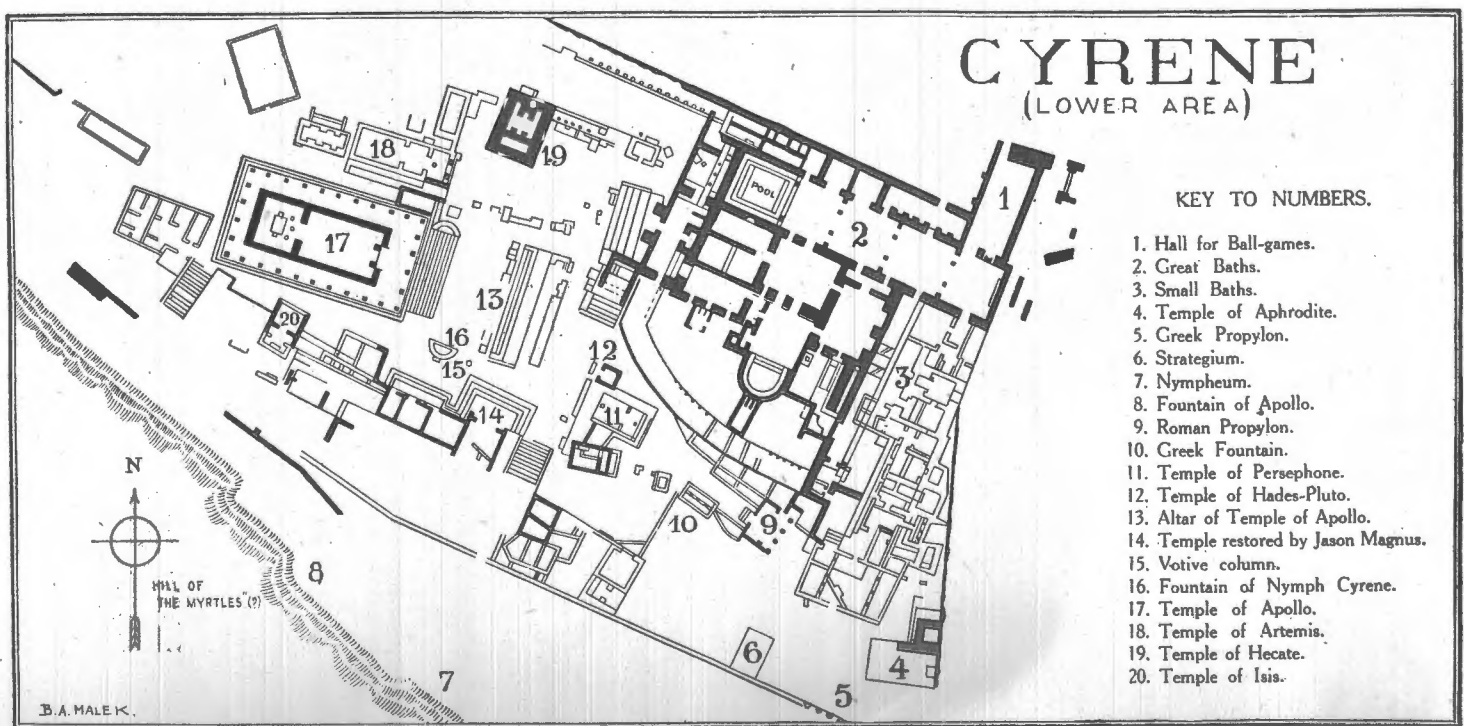


Map showing archaeological sites visited in North Africa by Alan Rowe in 1943. On it are also indicated:—

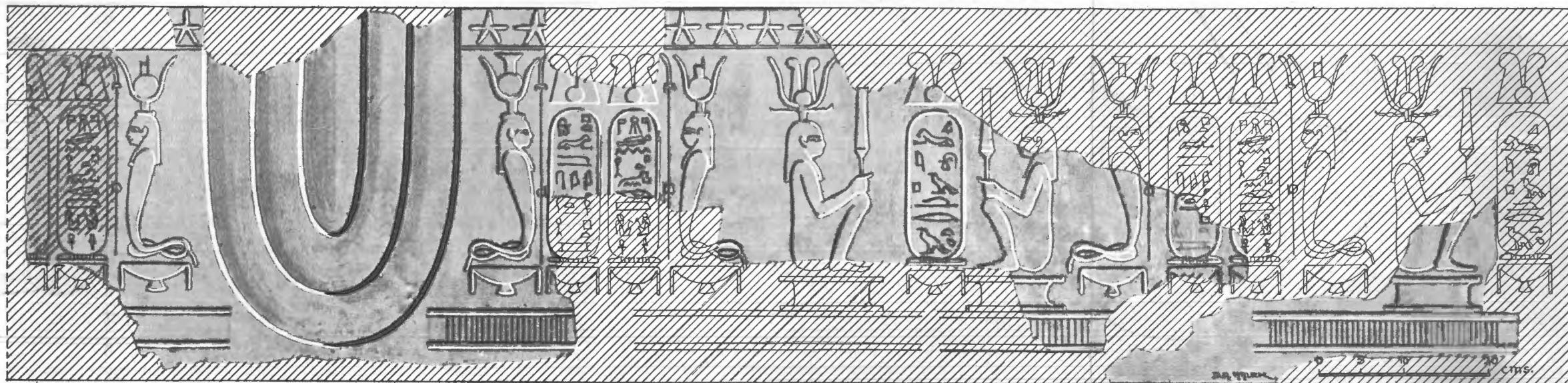
- 1) The regions inhabited by the Libyan tribes of Tehenu, Lebu and Meshwesh, referred to in the hieroglyphic texts;
- 2) The site of the newly-discovered temple-fort of Rameses II at Zawyet Um el-Rakham;
- 3) The route of Greek colonization from Thera via Crete and Platæa Island to Cyrenaica, in VIIIth cent. B. C.; and
- 4) The site of Delphi where the oracle ordered the colonization.



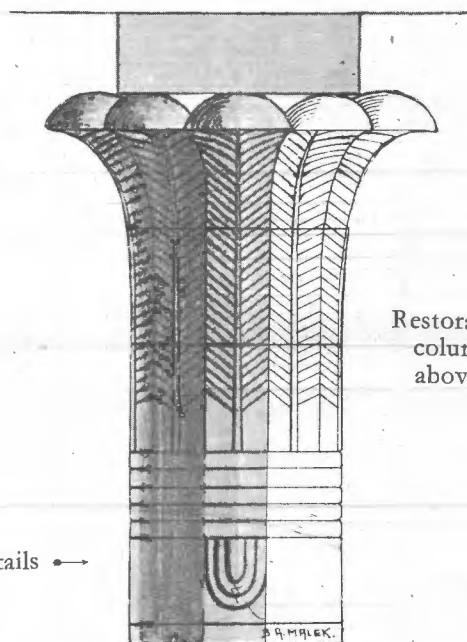
General map of Ancient Cyrene showing remains in Upper and Lower Areas. The Old Persian expedition to Cyrenaica camped for a while upon the hill of the Temple of Zeus in the reign of Battus IV, 510-470 B. C.



Enlarged map of Lower Area of Ancient Cyrene.



Details around column upper part.



Restoration of upper part of column (showing position of above details), capital, etc.

Details →

Upper part of nummulitic limestone column with names of Ptolemy VI and his wife Cleopatra II; vignettes of protecting funerary deities (Isis, Nephthys, and Osiris in lunar form?); etc. Perhaps originally from the tomb of the king which, as well as the tombs of other Ptolemies, was inside the enclosure containing the tomb of Alexander the Great. Found in Alexandria, and now in Graeco-Roman Museum. Reg. No. S.G: 727.



1. General view of Lower Temple Area at Cyrene. Looking south-west. X = Temple of Apollo; Y = Temple of Isis; and Z = Pool of Roman bath for men. The author faces the camera.



2. Front view of Temple of Isis at Cyrene. Looking south. Cf. Fig. 1 above (Y), and Pl. III, -No. 20.



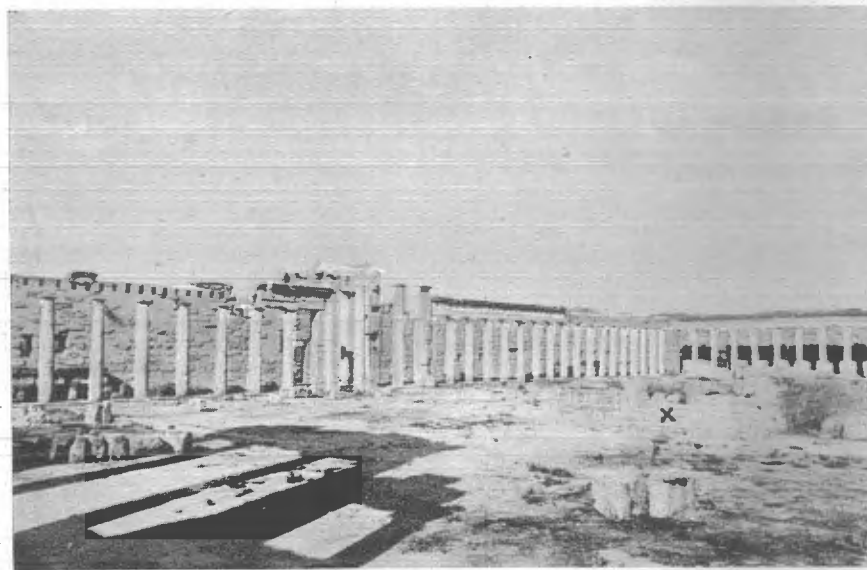
1. View of Temple of Apollo at Cyrene. Looking south-west.
Cf. Pl. III, No. 17.



2. Front view of above temple. Looking west.



1. Inside view of East Gate of Cæsareum at Cyrene. Looking east.
Cf. Pl. II, F.



2. General view inside the Cæsareum. Looking south-west.
X = Temple of Bacchus. Cf. Pl. II, J.



1. View of pool of Roman bath for men at Cyrene. Looking south-west.
Cf. Pl. III,-No. 2.



2. View of Tombs by side of road at Cyrene.



1. View of Circular Tomb of King Battus I, c. 651-606 B.C.,
founder of Cyrene. Cf. Pl. II,-B.



2. View of another Circular Tomb, evidently royal, at Cyrene.
Near the Epigraphical-Archæological Magazine. Cf. Pl. II, also Pl. X (Fig. 1).



1. View of top of Tomb seen in Pl. IX (Fig. 2).



2. View of the famous Fountain of Apollo at Cyrene. Cf. Pl. III, No. 8. Some water from this fountain is exhibited in the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria; it was brought from Cyrene by the author.



1. View of upper part of Greek Theatre at Cyrene.
Looking east. Cf. Pl. II, upper left corner. For the stage see Pl. XVI (Fig. 1).



2. View of Odeon at Cyrene. Looking south-west. Cf. Pl. II, -I.



1. Prize-amphora from the Olympic Games; found in Bengasi. Date, 371 B.C. Now in Graeco-Roman Museum. Reg. No. 18239.



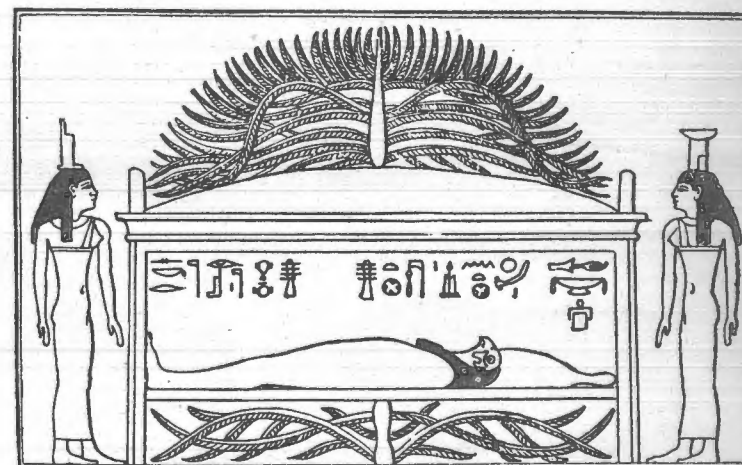
2. Prize-jar from Local (?) Games; found in Barce. Date, c. IVth cent. B.C.



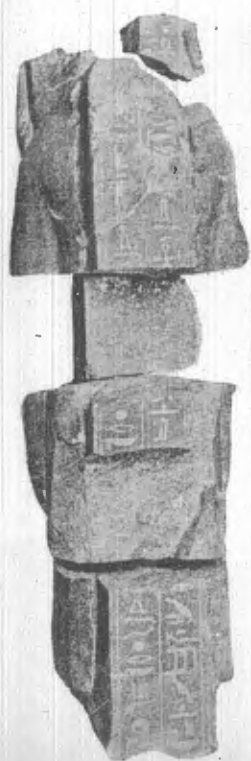
3. Prize-amphora from the Olympic Games; found in Bengasi. Date, 341 B. C. Now in Graeco-Roman Museum. Reg. No. 18238.



1. Arcesilaus II, king of Cyrene, c. 560-550 B. C., assisting, on the deck of a ship, the weighing and shipping of *silphium*. From DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, VI, p. 1764, fig. 4925.

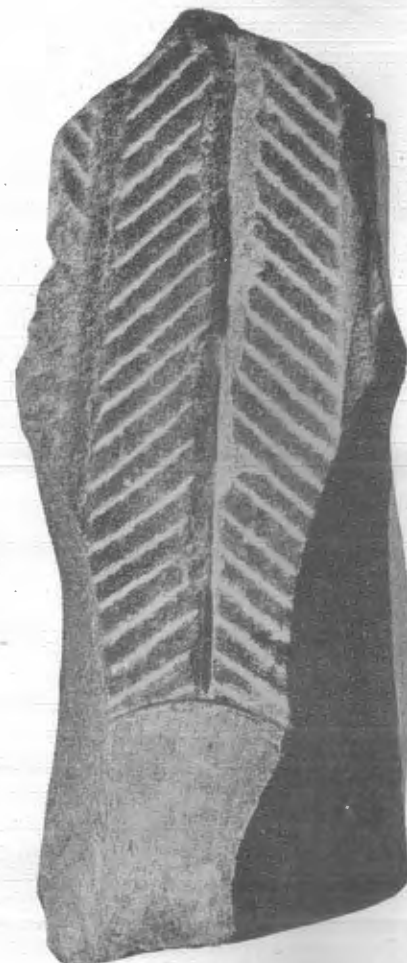


2. The god Osiris (in the form of Seker-Osiris) in his funerary chest protected by the tamarisk tree. To the left is Isis and to the right Nephthys. Ptolemaic. From Denderah Temple. After E. A. W. BUDGE, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, I, 1911, p. 5.



1. Front and back views of Statue No. I (the scribe Shere-amen) found in Ptolemais, Cyrenaica. Note loose fragment above. Date, Early Ptolemaic.

2. Back and side views of Statue No. II (the official Hippocrates) found in Ptolemais, Cyrenaica. Note loose fragment below. Date, Early Ptolemaic.



1. Front view of part of statue of the goddess Thoueris made about time of Ptolemy III, 247-221 B. C. Found Bourg el-Arab, Western Desert, and now in Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Reg. No. 64826.

2. Back view of the statue part.



1. View of stage of Greek Theatre at Cyrene;
the upper part of theatre is shown in Pl. XI (Fig. 1). Looking north.



2. Ancient cemetery site at north-east of Cyrene. Looking north-east.

