THESE notes are based on researches which the author made during his official work in the Western Desert and in the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria. The evidence is arranged as far as possible in the chronological order of the records.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF MAREOTIS

The lake and vineyard district of Mareotis, situated to the south and west of Alexandria (Rhacotis), is perhaps referred to in remains of the Late Pre-dynastic period immediately before the time of Narmer (= Menes, founder of the First Dynasty, c. 3200 B.C.). At that time there existed, apparently, a Nome of the Fish at least at its western end, and the associated Nome of the Harpoon to the east of the lake.¹ In the famous palette of Narmer² himself is actually mentioned "Harpoon Lake", evidently Lake Mareotis, and also the "Great Door" (i.e. Port) of the Boat, which must have been in the region.

¹ For the (northern) fish and harpoon emblems see P. E. Newberry, in Man, v, pp. 132 ff. and V. G. Childe, The Most Ancient East (1928), pp. 95, 222. The former authority indicates that the Nome of the Harpoon was on the Canopic or western branch of the Nile; the other Nome, I believe, was to the west because, as will be seen later on, a famous fishing-port and also the cult of the fish existed there. In later times the harpoon-totem—its value I have established as rehu—was used in the names of the following Delta districts: (1) part of Vth Nome, (2) VIIth Nome, and (3) VIIIth Nome. H. Gauthier, Dictionnaire des Noms géographiques, iii, pp. 87 f., 121. In early titles we meet with "Great one of the harpoon of the boat", "Great one of the harpoon of the Lake of the Town of Horus (Mareotis?)". R. Weill, IIᵉ et IIIᵉ Dynasties Égyptiennes (1908), p. 276. See also S. A. B. Mercer, Horus Royal God of Egypt (1942), pp. 29, 50, 55.

² Figured in E. A. W. Budge, The Mummy (1925), p. 23. See also S. A. B. Mercer, op. cit. p. 19, Fig. 6, etc.

³ Cf. the early title, "Belonging to the office of the Great Door" (R. Weill, op. cit. p. 202), also the later mention of the "Doors of the Mediterranean" (H. Gauthier, op. cit. i, p. 132).
During the reign of Zoser, first king of the Third Dynasty (c. 2778 B.C.), somewhere in Mareotis there flourished a famous vineyard. The official in charge, Peher-nefer, bore the titles: Ruler of the town of Apis (=Zawyet Um el-Rakham, west of Marsa Matrouh, and on the ancient western boundary of Egypt); district-administrator of the [Mareotis] vineyard "Star-of-Horus-President-of-Heaven"; district-administrator of the Western Desert; director of vineyards [in general]; and district-administrator of the [Delta] Nome of the West. It seems possible that the name of the vineyard was actually based on that of the planet(?) "Star-of-Horus", for, at least in the late period, Horus was actually identified with a planet (Saturn). The town Hui, associated with the god Seth and, like Setheret, also mentioned in the Peher-nefer inscription, may have been somewhere in Mareotis or elsewhere.

The "Pyramid Texts" engraved in the pyramids of the kings of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (2563 B.C. onwards), and other inscriptions, mention the Mareotic site of Hamu (Ham, or Nehem), a fishing port renowned for its wines. This place I identify with Cheimo the Village of Ptolemy the Geographer, the Chimo of Stadiasmus Maris Magni, and the Chi of Polyaeenus the Macedonian. It is the modern el-Bordan situated at the extreme western end of the lake and on the coast. An inscription of King Osorkon I (929-893 B.C.) mentions Hamu in association with Suni, also famous for its wines, and from the meaning of its name "Pool" or similar, is perhaps to be identified with

1 Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography, etc., iii, pp. 98, 100 f. = R. Lepsius, Denkmäler (text vol.), i, p. 188.
4 §§ 5, 6. Prince Youssouf Kamal, Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti, ii, fasc. i (1928), publishes the texts of Ptolemy (written c A.D. 150) and of Stadiasmus, a book of sailing-directions for the Mediterranean coast giving distances in stages from point to point (written between A.D. 250-300).
5 Strategemata, ii, 28.2 (middle of second century A.D.).
6 E. Naville, Bubastis (1890), Pl. LI.
the classical site Halmyrae, "Brackish Springs", of Ptolemy the Geographer, the modern el-Hammam,¹ about 6 kilometres to the south-east of Chimo.

In the description of the Libyan wars of Rameses III (1198-1166 B.C.), the capital of Mareotis, later known as Meret and Marea, is, I believe, the town named "Town of [Rameses III] which is by the Mountain of Up-Ta² (i.e. Taenia Ridge)". A Mareotic stela text of the reign of Sheshonk IV (763-757 B.C.) refers to the gift of land to Hathor of Terenuthis—perhaps Kom Abou Billou—by a Libyan caravan-leader named Weshtehet, the land being in the town of Pa-Sebek.³ Sebek was a god who was worshipped in the Nome of Libya at a sanctuary called Deb,⁴ and in other regions of Egypt, particularly in the Faiyum. King Psammetichus II (594-588 B.C.) kept a strong garrison at Marea "against the Libyans",⁵ while Diodorus ⁶ mentions that it was at Marea that Amasis defeated Apries and was declared king of Egypt in place of the latter, ruling from 568-525 B.C. A stela, actually found in Mareotis, and dated in year one of Amasis, refers to a gift of land to Osiris, the chief deity of the region.⁷ A colossal statue from the same district, dating from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (663-525 B.C.), represents Wah-ib-ra, an overseer of the [western] frontier holding a naos of Osiris.⁸

The Persian Cambyses, who conquered Egypt in 525 B.C., allowed "Inaros the Libyan" to rule in Marea. In 460 B.C., in the time of Artaxerxes I (464-424 B.C.), Inaros with Mareotic and foreign aid (soldiers from Cyrene and the Athenian fleet) revolted against the Persians but was subsequently defeated and crucified in Susa in 455-454 B.C. After his death, Amyrtaeus of Sais was the only chief of the national movement against the Persians, remaining independent in the Delta until 449 B.C. In that year the new Persian satrap, having quashed the revolt in Egypt, placed Thanyras son of Inaros and Pausiris son of

² J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv, 83. Another name for the town was "Town of [Rameses III] the repulser of the Themehu-Libyans". *Up-Ta* means, literally, "Beginning of the Earth".
³ Porter and Moss, op. cit. iv, p. 6.
⁴ H. Gauthier, op. cit. vi, p. 89.
⁵ Herodotus, ii. 30.
⁶ i. 68.
⁷ Porter and Moss, iv, loc. cit.
⁸ Loc. cit.
Amrytaeus at the heads of the local governments respectively held by their fathers. A son of Pausiris, Amrytaeus, eventually became the sole king of the Twenty-eighth Dynasty (404-398 B.C.), and ruled over all Egypt.¹

From the Thirtieth Dynasty (378-341 B.C.), we have a long hieroglyphic inscription on a stela.² This gives details of Mareotis and certain neighbouring sites. Here are the details accompanied by my identifications of some of the sites:

1. "Lake Mareotis." The shores of the lake were rich in olives, vineyards, and a good quality of papyrus plants. The excellent quality of the local wines was known all over the Graeco-Roman world. Around the lake were the country-houses and gardens of the wealthy merchants of Alexandria. The lake itself was filled with Nile boats on their way to and from the port of Marea.³

2. "North of its lake—the Mouth of Lake Mareotis." This mouth must be the southern entrance to the short north-south canal connecting the sea with the lake; the "Old Canal of Alexandria" ran westwards from the Canopic branch of the Nile and emptied itself in the short canal, the latter being wholly in Rhacotis.

3. "Canals to the North of this lake." These are surely the "Old Canal of Alexandria" and the connecting north-south canal at the west. The small canal may well be, I believe, the Pi-Drakon mentioned by John of Nikiou who wrote in the late seventh century a.d.⁴ Its old Egyptian name seems to have been Aqa.⁵

4. "Merit (= Marea)" the capital of the district, situated south of the lake. The stone quays and two jetties are still visible. An uninscribed column and blocks of stone, all of red granite, and doubtless pharaonic in origin, are among the remains of the old city mound.


² G. Daressy, in Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, xvi, pp. 221 ff. This scholar gives his own identifications which differ from my own in many respects.

³ Strabo, xvii, 1. 7, 14, and Pliny, v, 11, both mention the lake.

⁴ For the Pi-Drakon, see A. J. Butler, Arab Conquest of Egypt (1902), pp. 14, 25, 293.

⁵ The Aqa canal is mentioned in the text of the stela of the priest Pa-shere-en-uptah, in the time of Ptolemy XI: "The Residence of the Ptolemies which is on the shore of the Mediterranean to the west of the Aqa-canal, and whose (i.e., the palace's) name is 'Rhacotis'." Cf. incomplete translation in E. Bevan, The Ptolemaic Dynasty (1927), p. 347. See also H. Gauthier, op. cit. i, p. 158.
5. "MAREA OF THE CULT PLACE IN THE MIDDLE OF LAKE MAREOTIS IN THE ‘BEAUTIFUL REGION’." Another name for no. 4, a name which perhaps indicates that Marea was once surrounded by water, or was on a promontory in the lake.

6. "THE BEAUTIFUL REGION." South of the lake, and apparently dedicated to the lunar god Khons.

7. "THE SECRET PLACE 2 OF THE ‘BEAUTIFUL REGION’ WITH THE PERSEA-TREE WHICH MEASURES SEVEN CUBITS 3 IN HEIGHT." In the Egyptian religious inscriptions the persea-tree is variously associated with Osiris, Ra, the phoenix, and the soul of the deceased, but as Osiris was the chief deity of Mareotis it must have been with this god that the local tree was connected.

8. "THE ‘FIELD OF THE SCORPION’ WHICH IS IN THIS LAND TO THE EAST." Evidently in part of the ‘Beautiful Region’. The scorpion was generally the emblem of the goddess Selkis. There was, however, a king Scorpion, who preceded Narmer founder of the First Dynasty, upon whose stone mace-head is symbolized the victory of certain Nomes of Upper Egypt over the Egyptians of the Delta and the nomadic populations of the oases and the desert plateaux.

9. "THE CASTLE TO THE EAST OF THE ‘SEAT’", the Seat doubtless being Marea where the seat of the local administration was established. Probably the modern Abou Seif Hasan to the east of Marea, where there exist some remains of a temple (?).

From Graeco-Roman times we have the following information. Alexander the Great, at the time of his visit to the Siwa Oasis, in order to consult the oracle of Ammon, passed through Mareotis, where he visited the site of Taposiris Magna on the north of the lake. The “Stela of the Satrap (i.e. Ptolemy)”, dated 311 B.C., contains an inscription referring to an Egyptian expedition to the “District (or Nome) of the Mertiu”, probably the people of Mareotis and not those of a region more to the west. In the time of Ptolemy II, about 274 B.C., Magas the Ptolemaic governor of Cyrenaica proclaimed his independence and attempted to invade Egypt. He reached as far as Chi[mo] (Hamu = el-Bordan) but eventually withdrew to Cyrene.

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2 That is, “cult place”.  
3 3.67 metres.  
5 É. Drioton et J. Vandier, op. cit. p. 133; S. A. B. Mercer, Horus Royal God of Egypt, pp. 18 f.
8 H. Gauthier, op. cit. iii, p. 54.
Under the Romans, the capital Marea, which had flourished as a harbour during the time of Ptolemies, declined and became practically nothing more than a village; it seems to have revived later on. In the Alexandrine war of 48 B.C. Caesar marched around the lake in order to attack the Alexandrine position. Under the later Caesars, and after Alexandria was occupied by the Arabs, the various canals which fed the lake were neglected, and its depth and compass materially reduced. With its modern history, and indeed that of Mareotis as a whole, we are not here concerned, but we may mention that in A.D. 1777, according to Savary, the bed of the lake was for the most part a sandy waste, remaining so until A.D. 1801, when the British Army, in order to annoy the French garrison at Alexandria, opened a natural barrier at the north-east of the lake and let in the sea. Later on the breach was repaired and the lake dried up once more.¹

Information concerning Mareotis from hieroglyphic sources is not exhausted by the inscriptions quoted above. Additional material is contained in H. Gauthier's *Dictionnaire des Noms géographiques*, etc., 1925-31, in seven volumes, from which I have extracted the hieroglyphic names of the following sites. I add some identifications of my own and some relevant information. The references are to Gauthier's work.

**MAREOTIS DISTRICT**

2. IHENY. A domain of Osiris. Twenty-sixth Dynasty, i, p. 103.
4. MERIT-IMENTI, "Mareotis of the Nome of the West", iii, p. 54. This name confirms ancient statements that in late times Mareotis formed part of the Third Nome of the Delta, variously known as the *Nome of the West* and the *Libyan* (or *Gynecopolite*) Nome, i, p. 75.
5. SEKHET-MERIT, "Field of Mareotis", v, p. 53. This must refer to the rich agricultural areas of the region.


² The chief deity of the Nome was Hathor, whose seat of worship was in the capital which bore various names such as "The Palm-Trees" (*Imau*), "Temple of the Lady of the Palm-Trees", etc. The site is today represented by Kom el-Hisn. H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms géographiques*, i, p. 70, ii, p. 91.
6. THEHENU. Said to be Taenia ridge, north of Lake Mareotis, vi, p. 81.¹

THE LAKE

MAREOTIC TOWNS
1. MERIT, "Marea", ii, p. 38.
3. BEKET. Sacred to the god Seker, ii, p. 33.
4. HAMU, HAM, NEHAM, "The Place of Catching Fish", iii, p. 97; iv, p. 29; v, p. 228; vi, p. 46. A fishing-port and vineyard site, the Chimo, etc., of classical writers—the modern el-Bordan west of the lake and on the coast. The variant "Chimo Vicus" appears in a large coloured map, c. A.D. 1570, of *Aegypti Recensor Descriptio*, mentioned by A. de Cosson, *Mareotis*, pp. 171 f. J. R. Pacho, *Voyage dans la Marmarique*, i (1827), indicates there were wells in his time at el-Bordan; see his map opposite p. 1. On the south side of the modern military road not far from the site are some large red granite blocks, obviously part of a local Rameside fort, a fort which barred the ancient sea-coast road leading eastwards along the rocky ridge (Taenia) to Rhacotis. Today at el-Bordan there are traces of a late enclosure over four hundred metres square walled on three sides.

[5. A PHARAONIC SITE not mentioned by Gauthier is el-Gharbaniyat, "The Westerly (?)"; its ancient name is unknown. It is situated south-west of Marea and like that town is also south of the lake. Here I identified a granite column, broken in two parts, bearing the names of Rameses II, 1298-1232 B.C., and scenes showing the king making offerings to the solar-god Ra-Harmachis. At el-Gharbaniyat, Hamu and Marea there were certainly anti-Libyan forts erected by Rameses II.]

MAREOTIC TEMPLES AND SANCTUARIES
1. HUT-ASAR-EN-MERIT, "House of Osiris of Mareotis". Twenty-sixth Dynasty, iv, p. 62. A variant seems to be HUT-ASAR, "House of Osiris", mentioned in the Osiris Chapel at Denderah, iv, p. 60. Obviously Taposiris Magna (Abusir) on Taenia ridge north of Lake Mareotis. The large temple on this site, of which only the enclosure walls exist, was built, I believe, by Ptolemy III about the same time as he erected the famous Serapeum of Alexandria the ruins of which (with their foundation plaques of gold) I discovered a few years ago. See my *Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria*, Cahier no. 2 of *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* (1946). Near the large temple is a smaller one evidently dedicated to the cult of fish and birds, the cemetery of the mumified remains of some of which is reached by a connecting narrow staircase.

¹ H. Gauthier, op. cit. v, p. 76, also mentions SET-MENTI, "Seat of the Two Thighs (of Osiris)", but I do not believe this place was in Mareotis because the thigh of the god was reputed to have been buried in the Temple of Osiris in the capital of the Libyan Nome of the Delta. Cf. op. cit. i, p. 26, iv, p. 74.
of twenty steps. The "cemetery" consists of a central apartment with four smaller rooms opening out of it. Among the remains are bones and mummies of different birds (falcons, ibises), and also an enormous quantity of fish, swathed in linen. The existence of the fish cult is interesting for it will be remembered that Mareotis was on the site of the supposed Predynastic Nome of the Fish, while the very ancient town of Hamu, "Place of Catching Fish", was a little to the west of Taposiris Magna. Not far from the "cemetery" is an interesting series of underground chambers, including two with domes (tholoi) which have a single row of niches cut all round the walls. A low step stands on the ground before each of these niches, and in front of the steps are small basins. I have no doubt that these particular chambers are part of that half-religious, half-profane, construction the Nymphaeum (cf. Daremberg, Saglio et Pottier, Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, iv, pp. 129 ff.; R. E. Wycherley, How the Greeks Built Cities (1949), p. 209, and bibliography on p. 222).

H. Thiersch, Pharos (1909), pp. 202 ff., gives a description of the site, plans of the temple enclosure and the Nymphaeum, etc., while J. B. Ward Perkins, in Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex., xxxvi, pp. 48 ff., describes a monastery which once existed in the enclosure. The temple itself was probably destroyed about A.D. 391, at the same time as the destruction of the Alexandria Serapeum. A general map of the Taposiris area is published by A. de Cosson, Mareotis, map opposite p. 110; this shows the temple enclosure, the pharos (the "Tower of the Arabs"), a Ptolemaic causeway—which has a bridge—over the lake, and the wall erected to keep out the "Barbarians" (Libyans). Objects from Taposiris Magna consist of masks of late mummies, a base of a votive statuette of black granite with Greek inscription dedicated by the priests of the temple, and several other inscriptions; cf. E. Breccia, Iscrizioni Greche et Latine, nos. 44, 393-8. Not far away came part of a granite statue of the hippopotamus goddess Thoueris dedicated to Ptolemy III and his Cyrenaican wife Berenice II; see my History of Ancient Cyrenaica, Cahier no. 12 of Annales du Service (1948), p. 40.1

2. Hur-Ast, "House of Isis". This Iseum is said to have been either in the Libyan Nome or in the Twelfth Nome of the Delta, iv, p. 131. If the former identification is correct the sanctuary may possibly have been in the island of Mahar el-Shuran, in Lake Mareotis, where there was found an inscribed statuette of Isis; the sides of the base bear two serpents in relief. Cf. G. Botti, Catalogue des Monuments, Alexandria (1900), p. 516: "Moi Dioskoros, fils de Petes... avec ma femme et mes enfants en prière devant Isis, la grande déesse qui écoute (les voeux) pour son bienfait, j'ai érigé (cette statuette)." The text appears in E. Breccia, Iscrizioni Greche et Latine, p. 67, no. 103.

1 Other references to Taposiris Magna are J. R. Pacho, Voyage dans la Mar-marie, i, pp. 7 ff. (= statement of Procopius, De Aedificiis, i, vi, i, that the tomb of Osiris was at Taposiris), ii, Pls. I, II; Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités, v, Pl. XLIII; E. Breccia, Alexandrea ad Aegyptum (1922), pp. 337 ff., with bibliography on p. 344.
MAREOTIC SERAPEUM

1. MERIT, iii, pp. 53 ff. Site unknown. Perhaps in Marea or Taposiris Magna. The so-called "Serapeum" of Gauthier may actually have been a temple of Osiris.

MAREOTIC NECROPOLI

1. IAT-MERIT, "Region of Mareotis", i, p. 26. Necropolis of Mareotis; at Taposiris Magna there are some tombs including trough-types of Ptolemaic date.

2. "LIBYAN" NECROPOLIS. Perhaps in Mareotis, iv, p. 159; v, p. 231.

From non-hieroglyphical sources I add from Ptolemy and other classical writers the following towns and villages of the Mareotic Nome, the names in capital letters being those of Ptolemy:

1. MONOCAMINUM, the Monogami of the Tabula Peutingeriana, c. A.D. 1265, modern el-Qasaba el-Gharbiya, 5 kilometres south of el-Alamein. Here are remains of Graeco-Roman tombs; see A. Adriani, Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain, 1935-1939 (1940), p. 161; also A. de Cosson, op. cit. pp. 122 ff., views opposite pp. 62, 124, and map at end. The site seems to be the "Kassaba Zargah el-Baharieh" and "el-Ghublieh" of R. Pacho, op. cit. i, pp. 22 ff., ii, Pl. IV.

2. HALYMRAE, "Brackish Springs", modern el-Hammam (south-east of el-Bordan and south of the lake); perhaps the pharaonic Suni mentioned in the "Book of the Dead" and elsewhere. But cf. Erman-Grapow, Wörterbuch, iv, p. 69, where Suni is said to be Pelusium. A. Adriani, Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano 1932-1933, i (1934), pp. 37 ff., publishes a Graeco-Roman tomb at el-Hammam.

3. TAPOSIRIS, mentioned also by Strabo, modern Abusir; the pharaonic "House of Osiris".

4. COBI; 5. ANTIPHILI; and 6. Hierax, placed by Ptolemy south-west of the lake. The name of Hierax indicates that the cult of the falcon-deity Horus obtained there.

7. PHAMOTHIS, placed by Ptolemy south-west of the lake. The name is perhaps derived from that of the deified official Amenephis (Amen-hetep), who lived in the reign of Amenophis III, 1405-1370 B.C., but was not deified until early in the Ptolemaic era. See my Newly-Identified Monuments in the Egyptian Museum Showing the Deification of the Dead, etc., in Annales du Service, xl, pp. 1 ff. Cf. also the names of the Coptic months Phamenothis (derived from Pa-en-Amen-hetep) and Pharmouthi.

8. PALAEMARIA, "Old Marea", situated south-west of Marea.

Ptolemy and others mention also the following sea-coast sites of Mareotis (on Taenia ridge north of the lake), which I give in geographical order from Alexandria to el-Bordan:

1 xvii, l. 14.
1. ALEXANDRIA, mentioned also in Strabo, and Stadiasmus. The ancient part of the city was of course called Rhacotis. I have established that Rhacotis itself was a strong frontier fort in the Western Delta at least since the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, about 1500 B.C.; in the reign of Rameses II it was still a great fort, a fort which remained with many rebuildings until the arrival of Alexander the Great when Rhacotis became the western suburb of the new city being then also named "Fort of... Alexander".

2. PHAROS ISLAND, mentioned also in Periplus of Scylax, c. 350 B.C., and Strabo; modern Qaitbai Fort. According to Stephanus of Byzantium, of the time of Justinian I, Pharos took its name from Pharos, the pilot of Menelaus who, bitten by a serpent on that island, died and was buried there.

3. LESSER CHERSONESUS HARBOUR, mentioned also in Scylax and Strabo, and in Stadiasmus as Chersonesus; modern el-Dikheila.

4. TWO ISLANDS DIDYMI, "the Twins", mentioned also in Stadiasmus as Dysmae; modern Marabit Island and Southern Agami Fort.

5. NICIUM, not mentioned in Ptolemy, but in Strabo; ruined site six kilometres north-east of Sidi Kireir.

6. PLINTHINE, mentioned also in Strabo and Stadiasmus; modern Sidi Kireir.

7. TAPOSIRIS, mentioned also in Stadiasmus; modern Abusir, sometimes called Taposiris Magna.

8. CHEIMO THE VILLAGE, mentioned also in Stadiasmus as Chimo; modern el-Bordan, the pharaonic Hamu, etc. On coast at western end of the lake.

THE CULTS, TOMBS, AND OTHER MONUMENTS OF MAREOTIS AND OF THE REGION TO THE WEST

Already reference has been made to cults, tombs, and sacred monuments of Mareotis and it may be of service to scholars if the details already given are assembled here with the addition of certain other details from the region in question and from the desert area to the west.

THE PHARAONIC PERIOD. In Late Pre-dynastic times the conquering "Followers of Horus" seem to have introduced the cult of their falcon-god (Horus) into Eastern Libya, at least among...
the Egyptianized Libyans. The famous "Lion-hunt" palette\(^1\) shows some of this race, armed with bows, throwing-sticks and spears carrying the sacred falcon-standard, engaged in hunting lions and other animals in the desert plateaux.\(^2\) At the end of the same early period the cult of the fish evidently obtained in Mareotis where, as was seen earlier, there was perhaps the *Nome of the Fish* and, later on, the port called "Place of Catching Fish", as well as the Ptolemaic fish-cult in the smaller of the two temples at Taposiris Magna. By the time of the First Dynasty, as doubtless indicated by the palette of Narmer (Menes), Horus was evidently the chief deity.

Secondary deities were Hathor (afterwards the tutelary goddess of the *Libyan Nome* of the Delta),\(^3\) and Neith, goddess of Sais in the Western Delta to whom a temple was erected by Aha, successor of Narmer. Aha's wife was actually named Neith-hetep, "Neith is Satisfied [with Her]".\(^4\) The cult of Neith was well established in Libya during the dynastic period, and a tattooed sign representing the emblem of her name—two bows tied in a package—appears on certain Libyans represented on Egyptian monuments.\(^5\) A statue of Neith, known to classical writers as Athena (Minerva), was sent to Battus II, king of Cyrene, by King Amasis of Egypt, 568-525 B.C.\(^6\)

Under Zoser, first king of the Third Dynasty, worship was paid to the bull-god Apis at Zawyet Um el-Rakham, west of Marsa Matrouh; to the planet(?) Star-of-Horus at Mareotis; and to the god Seth—later associated with the Osirian cult—at the Western Desert (?) site of Hui. During the Fifth Dynasty

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\(^1\) The palette is figured in V. G. Childe, op. cit. Pl. XI. S. A. B. Mercer, op. cit. p. 48, would date the palette from about the time of Menes, but it would appear to have been made a little before this reign.

\(^2\) For the Libyan culture and Oasis dwellers in predynastic times, see S. A. B. Mercer, op. cit. pp. 8, 12.

\(^3\) In the Fifth Dynasty Hathor had a shrine in the pyramid temple of Sahu-ra, c. 2550 B.C., at Abusir north of Saqqara, to which was dedicated some land in the *Libyan Nome*. References were made before to a stela of the time of Sheshonk IV, found in Mareotis, and referring to a gift of land to Hathor of Terenuthis, a site on the boundary of the Western Delta.

\(^4\) É. Drioton et J. Vandier, op. cit. p. 139.


\(^6\) Herodotus, ii, 182.
the god "Horus of Libya" (Her Thehenu) is named on the walls of certain temples.1

In the New Kingdom, actually from about 1425 B.C. onwards, the Egyptians erected temples at the military stations which, as I recently noticed, they then founded or rebuilt on certain coastal sites in the Western Desert, including sites on the western border of Egypt. Here are some details:

**MAREOTIS**
1. **EL-BORDAN (Hamu, etc.).** Rameses II, 1298-1232 B.C. Names of gods unknown.
2. **EL-gharbaniyat (pharaonic name unknown).** Rameses II. *Ra-Harmachis.*
3. **MAREA ("Town of Rameses III which is by [Taenia Ridge]").** Rameses III, 1198-1166 B.C. Names of gods unknown.

**WEST OF MAREOTIS**
1. **ZawyET Um El-Rakham (Apis).2** Rameses II. *The bull-god Aphis, Ptah of Memphis.*

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1 S. A. B. Mercer, op. cit. p. 49.
2 The commandant of this fort, as I discovered, was a certain Neb-ra, a "beloved real royal scribe, head of troops, and overseer of the desert lands."
2. El-Alamein, "The Two Way-Marks" (pharaonic name unknown). Rameses II. Horus-Beheaded, Ra, Shu, Ra-Harmachis, and also the tutelary god apparently named Imy-Mit, "He Who is the The Highway", perhaps an allusion to the desert road running along the coast between Libya and Egypt.

BOUNDARY BETWEEN MAREOTIS AND THE DELTA

1. Ezbet Abou-Shawish. a Tuthmosis IV, 1425-1405 B.C.; Merenptah, 1232-1224 B.C. Names of gods unknown.

2. El-Kurum El-Tuwal. a Rameses II and later. Heka, the god of magic (named on block from Late Egyptian temple). b A representation of some king must once have been on the monument and it is not impossible that he was Nectanebus II, 359-341 B.C., who was famed as a great magician, and whose sarcophagus was found in Alexandria many years ago.

3. Karm Abou-Girg. a Rameses II. Atum, the solar-god.

Although the cult of Osiris must have been known in the Western Desert much earlier, the sanctuary called "House of Osiris of Mareotis", later known as Taposiris Magna, is mentioned for the first time in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (663-525 B.C.). This sanctuary, together with two Mareotic monuments of the same dynasty, one the stela referring to a gift of land to Osiris (chief deity of the region) and the other the statue of a frontier overseer holding a naos of the god, have already been mentioned earlier as also has the statement of Procopius that the tomb of Osiris was at Taposiris. Procopius seems to confuse Taposiris with the capital of the neighbouring Libyan Nome of the Delta where the Temple of Osiris was believed to have contained the right thigh of the deity. Somewhere in Mareotis also was Iheny, a domain of Osiris in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

1 For the Western Delta see S. A. B. Mercer, op. cit. pp. 48 ff.

2 "The Village of the Father of the Soldier." In pharaonic times it was variously named Castle of Merenptah which is in Per-Ir; Hut-Sha (Rameses III, said to be 8 itera—20 kilometres—from the "Town of [Rameses III] which is by the Mountain of Up-Ta", namely, the town of Marea); and Hut-en-Sha (Thirtieth Dynasty).

3 The Long Vineyards.


5 "The Vineyard of the Father of George." Either this vineyard or the "Long Vineyards" may be the site anciently known as Castle of [Rameses II] beloved like Atum on the Western Waters; Fortress of the West (Merenptah); and House of [Rameses III] the town on the Western Canal. The canal in question, also known as "Western Waters" (Rameses II), and "Waters of the Sun-God" (Rameses III and Nectanebos II) is now represented in part by the Nubariya Canal. Cf. A. de Cosson, op. cit. map at end.
According to Herodotus, who visited Egypt about 450 B.C., the cult of Ammon of the Oasis of Siwa seems to have obtained both at Apis (Zawyet Um el-Rakham) and at Marea. Strabo mentions that Paraetonium (Marsa Matrouh) was sometimes called Ammonia, which is clear evidence of the existence there, at least in his time, of a temple of Ammon.

In the Thirtieth Dynasty, 378-341 B.C., there still existed the cult of the bull-god at Apis. Also, as we have already seen, there were the "Cult Place" of some deity (Osiris?) at Marea and, to the south of Lake Mareotis, the sacred persea-tree as well as the "Field of the Scorpion", perhaps connected with the goddess Selkis. There also existed in Mareotis the region Int-Bastet associated with the cat-goddess Bastet, the so-called Serapeum, and the town Beket sacred to the god Seker. Further, on the island in the lake there seems to have been an Iseum, on which island there was discovered some while ago a statuette of Isis belonging to the post-pharaonic period.

The Graeco-Roman Period. The following short list includes not only mentions of the cults of certain sites referred to in the classical records but also details of these sites and of other sites known from outside sources including excavation records:

1. Apis (Zawyet Um el-Rakham). Cult of the bull-god.

1 xi, 18. In the time of Scylax (c. 350 B.C.), cf. J. Ball, op. cit. p. 30—the government of the Egyptians extended to Apis; even in Ramesside times this town was on the western boundary of Egypt. The modern boundary is at Salloum (Catabathmus Major).
3. **El-Alamein.** (This name is said to have been given to the site by the ex-Khedive Abbas Hilmi—A. de Cosson, *Mareotis*, pp. 124 f.). Mausoleum with loculi. A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée Greco-Romain*, 1935-1939, p. 162.

![Image of Imy-Mit god](image)

**Fig. 2.—Imy-Mit god of el-Alamein (restored).** See Fig. 1.


5. **Catabathmus Minor** (el-Iqeiba). During the last World War some gold coins are said to have been discovered at a site to the north-west of Fuka, itself not far from el-Iqeiba. I am indebted to Professor Alan Wace for this information, which he had obtained from a competent source at Cambridge.

6. **Alam el-Milh,** "Way-Mark [of the Place] of Salt"; identified by A. de Cosson, op. cit. p. 125, with Leucaspis; the latter site, however, is regarded by J. Ball, op. cit. p. 67, as Marsa el-Hamra. Graeco-Roman town and cemetery.

7. **Khashm El-Elish,** 23 kilometres south-east of el-Alamein and on a great headland. Massive Graeco-Roman (?) remains. A. de Cosson, op. cit. p. 120 f., and plan opposite.

8. **Various other sites** are referred to in A. de Cosson, op. cit. pp. 106-54, but where his identifications differ from those of J. Ball, op. cit. the work of the latter, being more recent, should be followed.

We have already mentioned Ptolemaic tombs at Taposiris Magna; Graeco-Roman tombs at el-Hammam, south of Lake Mareotis, and at Qasaba el-Gharbiya (Monocaminum) near el-Alamein; also a large temple of Osiris, a small temple dedicated to the cult of fish and birds, and a Nymphaeum, all at Taposiris Magna;¹ an Iseum on an island in the lake; remains of a Graeco-Roman temple (?) at Abou Seif Hasan south of the lake; and the cult of the god Horus at Hierax and of that of the deified man Amenophis at Phamothis, both sites to the south-west of the lake.

From Stadismus we learn that at Leuce Acte, “White Cape” (Ras el-Hikma or Ras el-Kanayis), north of Catabathmus Minor, there was a “temple to Apollo (= the Egyptian Horus), with a celebrated oracle; and there is water by the side of the temple”.² Further, the name of another sea-coast place, Cynossema, “Dog’s Monument”, situated not far from Leucaspis, “White Shield”, and mentioned by Strabo,³ suggests either a cult of the jackal-god Anubis or even the presence of a dog-shaped rock. Compare the legendary rock in the form of a dog, supposed to bark at the approach of an enemy, situated at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kalb, “Dog River”, the ancient Lycos, in Syria.

Ptolemy the Geographer mentions three other sites in the regions west of Mareotis the names of which indicate the chief cults in those places:

1. NEMESIUM,⁴ south of Marsa Gargub, at the extreme west of the desert: The goddess Nemesis. There was a temple of Nemesis at Alexandria, near the site of the tomb of Sidi Abou-Dirda, from which came two monuments, one erected by the Nemesium to Moevia Tertia, daughter of Aulus, and the other dedicated by Titus Aelius Coelius to the goddess herself. Caesar had Pompey’s head buried within its precincts.⁵ Also, in the great Hadrianic

¹ According to E. Breccia, Alexandria ad Aegyptum (1922), p. 338, “Dioscorides and Pliny [state that] the region of Taposiris produced the best quality of Absinthium marinum, a plant which was much employed in the worship of Isis”. Miss E. M. Rosser, an Assistant Keeper of the Manchester Museum, informs me that the plant in question is actually a kind of wormwood—Artemisia species—closely related to the plant absinth (Artemisia absinthium, Linn.).
² J. Ball, op. cit. p. 131.
³ xvii, l. 14; also J. Ball, op. cit. p. 67.
⁴ J. Ball, op. cit. p. 113.
⁵ Cf. my article in Bull. de la Soc. Royale d’Arch. d’Alex., xxxv, pp. 28 ff.
catacombs of Kom el-Shukafa, in Alexandria, I found some burials of the priestesses of Nemesis; one priestess had interred with her a magnificent golden necklace with a pendant in the form of a wheel, the emblem of the deity. ¹

2. GLAUCUS ² promontory and village, the modern el-Imayid, west of Chimo; Place of cult of the marine deity Glaucus. Originally a fisherman of Anthedon, in Boeotia, Glaucus became immortal after eating part of the divine herb which Cronos had sown. He subsequently became a marine deity. In Greece it was believed that once in every year Glaucus visited all the coasts and islands and gave his prophecies. We may well assume that the Western Desert town of Glaucus was also the site of one of his yearly oracles, oracles which were patronized both by fishermen and sailors.

3. SELINUS.³ Selinus was son of Poseidon, god of the Mediterranean Sea. Herodotus ⁴ says that the Greeks obtained their knowledge of Poseidon from the Libyans.⁵

¹ Loc. cit. For various references to Nemesis in inscriptions from Alexandria, etc., see G. Botti, La Côte Alexandrine dans l’Antiquité (1897), pp. 35 ff.
⁴ ii, 50. For details of the Libyan sea-gods see O. Bates, The Eastern Libyans, pp. 185 f. Other Libyan deities are mentioned in op. cit. pp. 184 ff.
⁵ For further information on Mareotis, etc., the following works may be consulted:


(B) Various: E. Breccia, Iscrizioni Greche e Latine, pp. 105 f., no. 185 (lion’s head spout—for running water—on block with zodiacal inscription); G. Botti, Cat. des Monuments, Alexandria, p. 4, no. 16 (Byzantine funerary monument)—both objects came from Mareotis; A. Adriani, Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano, i (1934), pp. 37 ff. (finds at el-Hammam, Ezbet Abou-Shawish, “Elwet el-Saarig,” and “Elwet Abou Tafra”); G. Botti, Studio sul III° Nomo dell’Egitto inferiore e più specialmente sulla Regione Mareotica, in Bull. de la Soc. Royale d’Arch. d’Alex., iv (1902), pp. 41 ff.; A. Weedon, “Report on the Mariout District,” in Cairo Scientific Journal, vi (1912); B. St. John, Adventures in the Libyan Desert (1849); Mahmoud el-Falaki, Mémoire sur l’Antique Alexandrie (1872), pp. 69, 96 ff. (the Mareotis region); Description de l’Égypte, Carte Topographique, Pl. XXXVII (map of Mareotis); P. L. Prever, in Bull. de la Soc. Royale d’Arch. d’Alex., xxix, p. 327 ff. (report on the water of Lake Mareotis).

(C) Ancient Libyan Tribes Between the Nile Valley and Apis. Cf. O. Bates, The Eastern Libyans, pp. 50 ff., and Maps II-IX. (1) PHARAONIC ERA: The Thehenu to the north, with the Themehu far to the south-east and adjacent to the west bank of the Nile. (2) CLASSICAL, ETC., ERA: The Adyrmachidae, supplanting the earlier Thehenu (Herodotus, iv, 168—who mentions also, iv, 181,
As regards the Arabic geographical names in this article these have been generally given in their more or less popular forms because I have not been able in every instance to consult either the original Arabic spellings or even their English or other transliterations. For the sake of the ordinary reader dia-critical marks (as known to the Egyptologist) have been—with one exception, the word rehu¹ mentioned on page 128—omitted from the transliterations of the Egyptian hieroglyphical words.

the Ammonii of Siwa Oasis- and Scylax); the Mareotae of the lake region and the Adyrmachidae to the west (Pliny, v. 6); and, finally, from east to west, the Mareotae—with the Nitriotae to the south-east, the Goniate, Mastitae, Adyrmachidae and Zyges (Ptolemy the Geographer). In the time of Pliny and Ptolemy, at least, the region of the older Themehu was inhabited by the Libyaegyptae.

¹ Cf. the text on the clepsydra published in my article in Cahier no. 2 of Annales du Service des Antiqués de l’Égypte (1946).