A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WESTERN DESERT: II

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In this article we are mainly concerned with the Pharaonic, Ptolemaic, and Roman associations with the Western Desert and Cyrenaica.

At the time of Rameses II (1298-1232 B.C.) there were three main Libyan tribes or ethnic groups in Cyrenaica and the Western Desert, 2 which we must consider as a historical unit during this period, the Meshwesh being stationed in the western sector of Cyrenaica, the Lebu (whence the name “Libya”) partly in its eastern sector and partly in the Western Desert, the Thehenu in the region between Lebu land and the Nile Valley.

1 During the last war I acted as kind of liaison official between the British and Egyptian authorities for the antiquities in the so-called “Prohibited Military Area in the Western Desert.” I take this opportunity of thanking the British Military for the kind assistance they gave me and for the transport which enabled me to traverse in comparative safety the mine-infested region in question. I have also to thank many officers of the Royal Air Force especially those who, under my control, actually excavated a tomb of the Thirtieth Dynasty (378-341 B.C.) in a secret area at Aboukir near Alexandria; the “finds” were most interesting, consisting of nearly four hundred inscribed funerary figurines (ushebtys), some objects of gold, etc., all of which are in the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria.

My first acquaintance with Cyrenaica was in the months of May and August 1943, when I undertook special trips there at the request of the Civil Affairs Branch, British Military Authorities, Cairo, in order to compile a report on the conditions of the antiquities of the country.

2 For the earliest history of the fair-skinned Libyans and details of their association with the Pre-dynastic Egyptians of the Delta, see A. Moret, Le Nil et la Civilisation Égyptienne (1926), pp. 84 ff. The political periods of Prehistoric Egypt as a whole are dealt with by É. Drioton et J. Vandier, L’Égypte (1946), pp. 132 ff., 161 f. In connection with the supposed Nome of the Fish mentioned in my first article it seems that the ensign of the fish [nome] vanished from Egypt in the time of Narmer and subsequently appeared on the oldest Aegean ships in the Cycladic ports. V. Gordon Childe, The Most Ancient East (1928), pp. 95, 222.
See Map.\(^1\) Rameses invaded the land of the Thehenu, defeating them and their naval allies the Sherden (perhaps proto-Sardinians who may have originated in Asia Minor), and attacked the Lebu in their own land.\(^2\)

In order to protect the desert road to Egypt from assaults from the west Rameses was obliged to erect a line of six forts along the sea-coast of Thehenu land. It is probable that an inscription of his reign records the building of these defensive works although it does not give their names or state how many there were: "He (Rameses II) settled the Thehenu on the heights, filling strongholds which he built with the captivity of his mighty sword." The forts, which I recently identified, stretched for 341 kilometres (about 213 miles) roughly west of the town Rhacotis—much later to become a suburb of Alexandria. From at least the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards,\(^3\) as I hope to

\(^1\) Smaller Libyan tribes named in the hieroglyphic inscriptions are listed in O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (1914), pp. 47 f. Some pre-Ramesside contacts with the Libyans will be found in op. cit. pp. 210 ff.


\(^3\) An earlier foundation date for Rhacotis is perhaps indicated by the finding of part of a stela of Senwosret II or III, Twelfth Dynasty, in the Alexandria Serapeum; E. A. W. Budge, *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries*, etc. (1909), p. 86, No. 298. Apart from this stela the antiquity of Rhacotis is shown from the following names of kings I identified on monuments and other objects in Alexandria: Tuthmosis III and IV, Amenophis III, Horemheb, Sety I, Rameses II, Merenptah, Sety II, Rameses IX, Ra-meny of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, Psammetichus I and II, Apries, Amasis II, Achoris, Nectanebos I and II (= 1504–341 B.C.). An inscription of Amenophis III (J. H. Breasted, op. cit. ii, 892), found in Thebes, refers to a war against the Thehenu, the captives being set to work on an Egyptian fortress surrounded by a great wall and settled with Nubians. Could this have been Rhacotis wherein a monument bearing the king's name is a statue of himself mentioning the goddess "Sekhmet the Maid"? For later references to Alexandria see especially the two following works by A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937), pp. 303–7, 311 ff., 314, 329, 339, 346, 470–72, and *The Greek City* (1940), page numbers quoted on p. 374.
show in another article, Rhacotis was the chief frontier fortress in the north-west corner of the Delta. I refer the reader to the list of the forts in ADDENDUM A of this article and to certain details concerning them given in pages 139 ff. of my first article. The sixth fort, Apis (the Pharaonic Hut-Ka, "House of the Bull"), was apparently on the boundary between Thehenu land and Lebu land; the modern boundary between Egypt and the country now known as Cyrenaica is at Salloum. In addition to these six sea-coast forts (numbered i-vi on Map) there was another line of six forts running south-eastwards from Rhacotis (1-6 on Map) the purpose of which was to guard the western part of the Delta against the Meshwesh, Lebu and other Libyans and their confederates.

In 1227 B.C., during the reign of Merenptah (1232-1224 B.C.) and with the good will of the Hittites, the Lebu who had associated themselves with various peoples from the North Mediterranean and Asia Minor ("Northerners from all lands" = the so-called "Peoples of the Sea") including the Sherden and the Luka (proto-Lycians(?)), who had taken refuge in North Africa, attempted to invade Lower Egypt, but they got only as far as the Egyptian Delta-frontier fort called "Castle of Merenptah which is in Per-Ir", probably the modern Ezbet Abou-Shawish, where they were heavily defeated and pursued to the "Mountain of Up-Ta", evidently Taenia Ridge north of Lake Mareotis. See Map, inset. Merenptah later attacked the Meshwesh in their own land, being the first Pharaoh to reach Western Cyrenaica. He brought back twelve horses, some cattle and goats, "copper swords of the Meshwesh", armour, bows, and silver drinking-vessels. No doubt much of the military equipment mentioned had been introduced into Cyrenaica by the northern allies of the Meshwesh just as similar equipment must have been by the Sherden in the previous reign. The horse now appears for the first time in the historical records of Cyrenaica, and it is very possible that the animal, or at least that very fine breed of it generally associated with the country, especially in the Odes of Pindar many centuries later, was likewise of contemporary northern or Asiatic origin.¹

¹ See footnote 1 on opposite page.
In the reign of Rameses III (1198-1166 B.C.) two Libyan invasions of Lower Egypt were attempted. The first one occurred in 1194 B.C. when the Meshwesh and associated tribes temporarily overran the Delta. They were eventually thrown out and heavily defeated at the sea-coast fort "Town of [Rameses III] Repulser of Themehu (= 'Southern Libya')", probably situated on the site later called Marea, south of Lake Mareotis. See Map, inset. The second invasion occurred in 1188 B.C. when the Meshwesh and others only got as far as Hut-Shā, "Castle of Sand", a name then evidently given to the Delta-frontier fort previously called "Castle of Merenptah which is in Per-Ir" (Ezbet Abou-Shawish). From Hut-Shā they were driven north-westwards to the sea-coast fort "Town of [Rameses III] which is by the Mountain of Up-Ta" (probably the same fort as the "Town of [Rameses III] Repulser of Themehu" = Marea), a distance of "8 iteru", or about 20 kilometres. As practically confirming my identifications of (a) Hut-Shā with Ezbet Abou-Shawish (fort No. 1 on Map) and (b) "Town of [Rameses III] which is by the Mountain of Up-Ta" with Marea (fort No. i), it may be mentioned that the distance between the two Arab sites Ezbet Abou-Shawish and Marea is only slightly greater than that mentioned above, namely, 21 kilometres (8½ iteru)! Hut-Shā itself was on or near a contemporary canal called "Waters of the Sun-God" and "Western Canal", which then ran into Lake Mareotis. See my first article, p. 140, footnote 5. Rameses III also records that he invaded the Meshwesh country capturing chariots, army equipment, horses, cattle, asses, and over two

1 In the Museum of Sculpture, Cyrene, are monuments of the post-Ramesside period showing the horse, or the head of the horse, and even a chariot with horses. A Late Minoan seal-impression portraying a horse being carried in a one-masted vessel is interpreted by A. J. Evans as the first importation of a horse from Libya into Crete, but this view is not generally held. See O. Bates, op. cit. p. 28, n. 5. It must be noted that in Egypt the non-thoroughbred horse does not appear in the sculptures before the Eighteenth Dynasty; the skeleton of a mare of this period is exhibited in the Cairo Museum. R. Englebach, Introduction to Egyptian Archaeology, Cairo (1946), p. 261.

2 Actual measurements at el-Amarna have shown that the iteru, literally "river-measure", averaged 2,500 metres. J. Ball, Egypt in the Classical Geographers, Cairo (1942), p. 6; cf. also A. H. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar (1926), p. 199.
Map of Cyrenaica and the Western Desert showing the positions of (a) The three main Libyan tribes in Pharaonic times, the Meshwesh, Lebu and Thehenu; (b) The twelve anti-Libyan forts which protected the Western Delta and the sea-coast road to Egypt (see ADDENDUM A); and (c) Plataea Island where the Dorian colonizers of Cyrenaica landed in the seventh century B.C. Bomba promontory was once an island.
thousand people. These are the first chariots mentioned in connection with Cyrenaica and recall the four-horse chariots of the country described by Pindar. Herodotus says that the Greeks derived their knowledge of the quadriga from Libya.

After their final repulse by Rameses III in 1188 B.C. the Libyans gave up their attempts to enter Egypt by force, but soon infiltrated peacefully into that country. As they were essentially warriors they took service under the Pharaohs as mercenaries and, indeed, from before the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (which fell in 1085 B.C.), they formed the greater part of the Egyptian army. As soldiers they received grants of land. They created military colonies in Egypt which rapidly grew in importance. Each colony was commanded by a Libyan with the title "Great Chief of Meshwesh", which shows that the "Cyrenaican" element in the army was the strongest. They conserved their Libyan names and fixed a double plume in their hair which led them to be called "Bearers of the Double Plume".

Among the Libyan colonists was an important family at Heracleopolis Magna in Middle Egypt established by the "Great Chief" Musen. His father, Buyu-wawa, although called a "Thehenu" (probably because he lived in an oasis in Thehenu land) was evidently a Meshwesh chief. So powerful did the family eventually become that one of the successors of Musen, a "Great Chief of Meshwesh" named Nemrat, held not only the Heracleopolis region but also Abydos which he made the seat of his administration. When he died his son Sheshonk, also a "Great Chief of Meshwesh", who professed to be a supporter of the contemporary ruler Psousennes II, last king of the Twenty-first Dynasty (984-950 B.C.), became so strong that he took his place almost as a partner in the royal festivals and victories. After the death of Psousennes—he was buried at Thebes—Sheshonk made himself the founder, Sheshonk I, of the Twenty-second Dynasty. He ruled from 950-929 B.C.

It was apparently during the reign of Sheshonk I that the priest Wayeheset, the son of a "Chief of Meshwesh", was sent to el-Dakhla Oasis in Eastern Libya to reorganize the region, then

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1 iv, 189.  
2 É. Drioton et J. Vandier, op. cit. p. 500.  
in a state of a rebellion, and to inspect its wells and cisterns.\footnote{1} Another Meshwesh who had settled in Egypt about this time or later was Pa-en-sen-her, whose father bore the name Shashaq (Sheshonk), a fairly common one in the late period; his beautifully decorated wooden coffin is now in the British Museum.\footnote{2} The fact that the Egyptian army at this time largely consisted not only of Libyans but also of Nubians\footnote{3} explains why in the Old Testament Sheshonk I was said to have employed "Ethiopians and the Lubians (literally Lubim—from Lebu, see Map), a vast army with an enormous number of chariots and horsemen"\footnote{4} in order to invade Judah and sack Jerusalem.

Another "Great Chief of Meshwesh" in Egypt was Pediese. In 795 B.C., during the reign of Sheshonk III (823-772 B.C.) he conducted the burial of a sacred Apis bull in the Memphite Serapeum. He afterwards joined in the search for a new Apis in the same year. It was he who buried this bull also in the Serapeum twenty-six years later, that is to say, in the reign of Pami (772-767 B.C.), the successor of Sheshonk III.\footnote{5} Next must be mentioned Weshtehet the Libyan chief-caravaneer. He lived in the reign of Sheshonk IV, second king of the Twenty-third Dynasty (763-757 B.C.) and controlled the intercourse with the Oases in the Libyan desert. His superior was a "Great Chief of Lebu and Great Chief of Meshwesh" named Hethihenker.\footnote{6}

2. Published in colour in *A Handbook to the Egyptian Mummies and Coffins Exhibited in The British Museum* (1938), p. 47, Pl. XV.
4. 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3; xvi. 8. The chariot was of course greatly used by the Libyans. The "treasures of the house of the Lord" (1 Kings xiv. 26) removed by Sheshonk from Jerusalem recall the "presents from the Land of Kharu (Palestine)" which an Egyptian inscription records the king offered to the god Amen-Ra at Karnak. Monuments bearing the king's name have come from Megiddo and Beirut. See my *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*, (1936), pp. xxxvii ff. It may be mentioned here that the statement of O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, p. 259, that the Libyans are mentioned in an inscription (*temp. Ramses I I*) concerning the Asiatic fortress of Satuna is erroneous, for it has since been established that the reference to Libyans is a mistake of the ancient sculptor, afterwards corrected by him or another.
last of the known "Great Chiefs of Meshwesh" were small rulers in the Delta during the time of Piankhi the Nubian conqueror of Egypt (751-716 B.C.) and founder of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.¹

In connection with the history of Cyrenaica of the late eighth century B.C. we may note that a skyphos of this date (probably from Sparta) was actually found in Cyrene, afterwards being removed to the Berlin Museum.²

The Old Libyan Period of the country came to an end with the arrival of the Dorian from the island of Thera. Under their leader Battus, eventually their king (Battus I, 631-606 B.C.), they established their capital at Cyrene in the high mountains of Cyrenaica. The site on which they landed on the mainland after leaving the island of Plataea (see Map)—where they had previously remained for a little while—was called Aziris, identified by Mr. C. N. Johns, formerly Controller of Antiquities of Cyrenaica, in the Wadi el-Khalig, "Valley of the [Bomba] Gulf", about 25 kilometres east of Derna, and some 96 kilometres from Cyrene. Mr. Johns and I explored certain large areas to the east and west of Cyrene where we inspected some massive tombs of undressed masonry, so far uncleared and unpublished, of such an archaic-looking type as to lead us provisionally to suppose that some of the monuments in question belonged either to the more or less immediate successors of the original Dorians, or to people of a little more recent times who for some reason or other did not consider it necessary to have their tombs possess the generally finer appearance of those near the city itself. Only extensive excavations can decide this point.³

² Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts—Athenische Abteilung (Berlin), lii (1927), p. 32, Fig. 51. I thank Mr. V. R. D'A. Desborough for this reference. It may be recalled that the "Cyrenaic" ware—so named—also probably originated in Sparta. See references in my History of Ancient Cyrenaica, p. 77. We get hints from classical sources that during the Old Libyan Period Cyrenaica was known to pre-Dorian settlers from Crete(?), Thessaly, the Peloponnesse, as well as to people from Asia Minor and elsewhere.
³ Many tombs near Cyrene were subsequently excavated by the Manchester University Archaeological Expedition to Cyrenaica in 1952, and will be published later on. The official members of the expedition were the Rev. Dr. John Gray, Mr. Derek Buttle, and myself as leader.
In the time of Battus II of Cyrene (590-560 B.C.), according to Herodotus,\(^1\) king Amasis of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty of Egypt despatched to Cyrene a gilded statue of Athena (the Egyptian Neith) and a painted statue of himself. It seems not improbable, I believe, that certain Egyptian amulets discovered by the Italians in the oldest temple of Artemis at Cyrene were sent there at the same time as the statues, for it appears that the amulets are contemporary with the Twenty-sixth Dynasty type. The objects consist of three scarabs (two inscribed "Amen-Ra is Beautiful" and one "Horus is Strong") and a sacred eye, all of faience.\(^2\) We may note that two Egyptian scarabs dating from the Twenty-second to Twenty-sixth Dynasties have been found in the so-called "Archaic Grave" in Sellada, on Thera, the home of the Dorian colonizers of Cyrenaica.\(^3\)

After the end of the Battiad Dynasty in 450 B.C., a kind of republic was established in Cyrenaica. Herodotus himself actually visited Cyrene not long after that date, actually about 443 B.C., when the older Thehenu race of Libyans had at some unknown time before been supplanted by the Adyrmachidae, as also had the Lebu by the Giligamae, and the Meshwesh by the Nasamones. In the vicinity of Cyrene, but not reaching to the coast, which was held by the Cyrenaicans, there dwelt the Asbystae; from south of Barce to about Hesperides (see Map) lived the Auschisae, while at Tocra—between Tolmeita and Benghazi—were the Baccles, a small coastal tribe.

Two beautiful Athenian black-figured amphorae found some time ago at Benghazi, and now in the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, belong to the close of the republic. Each amphora mentions the name of the contemporary archon (one, Phrasicleides 371 B.C. and the other, Nicomachos, 341 B.C.), is inscribed with the words "From the Games at Athens", and bears the figure of the goddess Athena Promachos ("Champion"). After being filled with olive-oil—the olive tree itself was sacred to Athena—the amphorae were given to the victor-owners in the Panathenaic

\(^1\) ii, 181.  
\(^2\) Africa Italiana, iv, p. 203.  
\(^3\) J. D. S. Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca, A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area (1930), pp. 107 f.  
\(^4\) See my History of Ancient Cyrenaica, pp. 35 ff., Pl. XII.
Games in Athens before their return to Cyrenaica. The Manchester University Expedition came across in a cemetery near Cyrene a huge masonry tomb, shaped like an Egyptian mastaba (a rectangular structure with sides sloping towards a common centre and with flat top), dating from between the fifth to early fourth centuries B.C.

In 331 B.C. Alexander the Great annexed Egypt to his Empire after having driven out the Persians and it was then that Cyrenaica submitted to him. At his death, however, in 323 B.C.,1 civil war aided largely by mercenaries, broke out in Cyrenaica so that during the next year Ptolemy, satrap of Egypt for Alexander's successors (323-305 B.C.), was forced to send an officer, Ophelias of Olynthus, to establish Egypt's control there. A Greek inscription referring to a defensive war off the Cyrenaican coast, which occurred either during the civil war or at a slightly earlier date, is of much interest as it mentions the capture of three triremes, subsequently brought to Cyrene as a tithe for Apollo, by the local admirals Stheno, Kallipos, and Psapho.2

In the famous "Palace of the Columns" at Tolmeita (Ptolemais), the port of Barce, Dr. G. Pesce, former Italian Government Chief Inspector of Monuments, Cyrenaica, unearthed some parts of important Egyptian statues in stone, four of which bear hieroglyphic inscriptions. The monuments which indicate that an Egyptian colony and temples existed in the port, are Ptolemaic in date, evidently belonging, I believe, to the reign of Ptolemy III (247-221 B.C.). I now describe the four monuments and analyse their inscriptions, thus:—

1 Part of a column with funerary goddesses seemingly from the tomb of Ptolemy VI (181-145 B.C.), which I identified in Alexandria is, I believe, from the great mausoleum or Soma of Alexander the Great, for the tombs of the Ptolemies were of course included in the enclosure of the Soma. Op. cit. pp. 42 ff., Pl. IV.

2 Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, ix, no. 76; also G. Oliverio, in Documenti Antichi dell'Africa Italiana, ii (1933), pp. 94 ff., no. 59. Cf. further R. G. Goodchild, in Antiquity, no. 104 (December 1952), pp. 208 ff., who says that in 413 B.C., owing to Libyan attacks, Hesperides (which was in existence as early as 510 B.C.) had to be relieved by a Greek naval force. There actually stands in the market-place (agora) at Cyrene a naval-victory monument which, like others of its class, has representations of prows of enemy ships attached to it.

3 See my History of Ancient Cyrenaica, pp. 62 ff., Pl. XIV, for the first published accounts of monuments Nos. 2 and 3 (the accounts in the present
No. 1. STATUE OF PSAHMETICHUS. Only the base of this monument is preserved; its present whereabouts are unknown. The inscription, of which some signs are missing, prays that "Osiris . . ., the [Great] Prince, may grant life, health and strength, a long life, a long and happy old age to the army commander Psammetichus [son of the overseer of ship-builders (or carpenters) of the 'House of the King', Her-ef-en-ankh-shed (or -djed) -Khons(?) . . . .]". The "House of the King" may perhaps be the Tolmeita palace itself; the name of the father, a long one, is rather uncertain.

No. 2. STATUE OF SHER-AMEN. The head and feet of this statue are missing, but from some of the remaining parts we see that Sher-Amen, a royal scribe, holds a military standard of a Tolmeita(?) regiment in each hand. One standard is named "Neith (= Athena) Lady of Sais" and the other "Osiris Lord of the Abydos Necropolis", both names obviously being those of the regiments themselves, of which Sher-Amen was either a standard-bearer or a kind of commander. His father was Pa-en-djerty, a judge, and his mother, Mut-em-Int, a musician. On the front of the statue is a prayer for funerary offerings on behalf of Sher-Amen to "Osiris at the head of the Westerners (i.e. the dead)" and to "Neith Lady of Abydos". The title Lady of Abydos is a most surprising one for Neith, because in Egypt at least she was invariably Lady of Sais. The town Abydos mentioned on the statue may just possibly have been a Cyrenaican one (Cyrene(?)).

No. 3. STATUE OF HARPOCRATES. As in the case of the previous monument the upper and lower parts of this statue also are missing. Harpocrates was a chief commander of the soldiers, royal scribe of the accounting-house of Pharaoh (perhaps in the Tolmeita palace), prophet of various Nilotic gods, all doubtless worshipped in the town. His inscription states that he built a temple to Osiris, made of limestone from the Tura-Masara quarries in Egypt, and that cedar—which usually came from the Lebanon—was employed for its doors, which were overlaid with Asiatic copper. He provided for the door of the inner sanctuary of the temple an upper shutter of electrum so that the priests could gaze upon the face of the statue of Osiris and offer up incense without having to open the whole door. He tells us further that he made a portable sacred [boat] for carrying the statues of the gods around the temple precincts during the "New Year Festivals", and that he made a shrine of electrum inlaid with precious materials used in the temple follows a well-known cliché employed in descriptions of certain new temples in the Ptolemaic era, and is therefore not to be taken literally.
stones so that a status of Osiris could be exhibited in it on the day of the “Festival of Seker.” He relates too, that he replaced in what seems to have been an older temple of Osiris, the statues of various gods on their pedestals; the name of this older temple was “House of the ‘Tired-Heart (i.e. Osiris)’”. It is just possible, I suggest, that these fallen statues were among the images of Egyptian deities mentioned in the Canopic Decree of 237 B.C. as having been brought back by Ptolemy III, after his war with the Seleucids, from Asia, where they had been taken by the Persians during their second domination of Egypt, and evidently of Cyrenaica, about a century earlier. If such were the case it would show why the older temple of Osiris was damaged, as it apparently was, before the time of Harpocrates. The fact that the new temple was called “Temple of Osiris Lord of the ‘House of the Tamarisk Grove’” is of much interest as we learn from it that the Egyptian name for Tolemita was “House of the Tamarisk Grove”. The tamarisk-tree was of course associated with the cult of Osiris.

No. 4. STATUE OF HARMACHIS. The only part of this statue remaining is a fragment of its back, including a small portion of the perpendicular supporting pedestal. The object is now, with Nos. 2 and 3 above-mentioned, in the Museum of Sculpture at Cyrene, where I noticed it; it is here published for the first time. Harmachis was the son of a man called Erdy—(some signs are missing). According to the badly broken and weathered inscription Harmachis was a “... scribe, beloved of the King’s Sister (i.e. the queen), of the Fifth Phyle of the ‘Two Benefactor-Gods’...”. As the foundation of this phyle was established by the

1 A similar type of shrine is mentioned in the Rosetta Stone text of Ptolemy V (203-181 B.C.).

2 Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, xiii ff. The Egyptian deities mentioned in the texts on monuments Nos. 1-3 are Osiris, Anubis, Imhotep (the Imouthis of the Greeks and associated by them with Asclepius), Horus (= Apollo), Neith (= Athena), Khons (= Heracles), and Khnum the tutelary god of Aswan, whence perhaps came some of the Tolemita garrison. For classical references to the Egyptian deities Ammon, Isis, Horus, Apis and Serapis, worshipped in Cyrenaica, see L. Vitali, Fonti per la Storia della Religione Cyrenaica (1932), pp. 147 ff. Asclepius himself was revered at Cyrene and at Balagrae (the modern Sidi Rafa near Cyrene). O. Bates, op. cit. p. 185 (who refers also to a Semitic cult in Balagrae); J. Hamilton, Wanderings in North Africa (1856), pp. 122 ff.; F. Halbgherr, in Africa Italiana, iv, Nos. 3-4; E. S. G. Robinson, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica (1927), p. cxxxi; and L. Vitali, op. cit. pp. 36 ff.

3 Cf. the Harmachis mentioned in Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography, etc., iii, pp. 194, 214 f.

4 The five phyles are frequently mentioned in texts on Ptolemaic statues. Cf. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache, xxxii, pp. 64 f. = E. A. W. Budge, Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms (1922), p. 133, Exhibition No. 122, from Beirut; and M. A. Murray, in Ancient Egypt (1917), pp. 146 ff. = British Museum Collection No. 65443, statue of Sma-tauy. Thanks are due to Mr. I. E. S. Edwards of the British Museum and to Mr. V. Bothmer of Boston Museum of Fine Arts for some of these references.
Canopic Decree, it seems most probable that the Tolmeita statue dates from the reign of Ptolemy III and of his wife Berenice II, who are of course the "Two Benefactor-Gods".

A certain Demetrius, a soldier from Cyrene, who married an Egyptian wife named Thasis, had by her two daughters, who bore both Greek and Egyptian names; the daughters dedicated a sanctuary at Crocodilopolis in the Faiyum to the hippopotamus-goddess Thoueris in honour of Ptolemy III and Berenice II. A part of a statue of Thoueris (sometimes identified by the Greeks with Athena) was found at Taposiris Magna—see Map—and I believe the hieroglyphic inscription on it gives some hitherto unknown Egyptian titles of Berenice II. Under Ptolemy IV (221-203 B.C.) there were many thousands of Cyrenaicans enrolled in the new army which he had formed, some of them in the cavalry under Polycrates, three thousand of them armed like Macedonians under the commander Ammonius of Barce. In 162 B.C. an Egyptian named Sympetis, whose Greek name was Ptolemy, was appointed viceroy of Cyrenaica to govern during the absence in Rome of Ptolemy the Brother (afterwards Ptolemy VII).

To the Ptolemaic era of Cyrenaica belong a number of small bronze coins which show on the reverse the head-dress of the goddess Isis, a composite one consisting of the horns of a cow, the solar disk, and two lofty plumes. The head-dress of Isis is said to have disappeared from the coinage of the country after 110 B.C.

In the Roman era there were at least two temples of Isis in Cyrene, one near the Temple of Apollo, and the other in the market-place. From the latter sanctuary came a rather large coloured statue of a priestess of Isis with the head of Isis from another statue inserted in place of the original head.

1 The queen was a Cyrenaican, being the daughter of Magas a former viceroy of Cyrene.
3 See my History of Ancient Cyrenaica, p. 40, for the inscription.
6 Cf. Herodotus, iv, 186.
7 E. Bevan, op. cit. p. 329.
8 Notizario Archeologico, Fasc. iv (1927), p. 186. A view of the Isis temple in the sanctuary of Apollo is given in my History of Ancient Cyrenaica, Pl. V.
In the coastal region of the Western Desert there are the remains of cisterns belonging to the sites which flourished there during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods; the cisterns must evidently have still been in use in some of the stations which are stated to have been dotted all along the road between Cyrene and Alexandria when Nicetas, the general of Heraclius, began his victorious march on Alexandria in A.D. 609.¹

Finally, I may mention that when working on the Meydum Pyramid site on behalf of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania I came across a Roman fortified wall of brick, several kilometres long, which ran from the ancient Kerke Harbour on the Nile across the Libyan desert to Philadelphia in the Faiyum. This wall, which has rounded buttresses on its northern side, evidently protected the road (on its southern side) along which traffic passed to and from the Faiyum.²

**ADDENDUM A**

**LISTS OF PHARAONIC FORTS PROTECTING THE DESERT ROAD AND THE DELTA AGAINST THE LIBYANS**

These lists summarize the names of the Anti-Libyan forts mentioned in my first article and the present one and give the names of certain forts not mentioned before. The Pharaonic variant names (where such exist) for each fort are arranged chronologically. Details of the inscriptions found in the forts will be published elsewhere. Other forts may still be discovered along the sea-coast.

¹ Op. cit. p. 50; A. J. Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt* (1902), pp. 428 ff. It may here be added that identifications of classical sites in the Western Desert with modern sites, details of Roman roads in the same region, and information about the eparchies of Libya, are given by J. Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*. For further details about Cyrenaica and the Western Desert the reader may consult also A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937), pp. 351 ff., 484 ff. [Paraetonium itself—see my first article, p. 141—one of the four Greek cities of Egypt, the others were Alexandria, Naucratis and Ptolemais, is mentioned in pp. 307, 311, 344, 472, 539] and my *History of Ancient Cyrenaica*. Another Nymphaeum (see p. 135 of my first article) is in the side of the rocky hill near the Apollo sanctuary in Cyrene.

² Kerke Harbour was to the north of the pyramid; the wall itself recalls the late stone defensive wall against the Libyans at Taposiris Magna. See my first article, p. 135. I published a short account of the Meydum excavations in *The Museum Journal* (Philadelphia), xxii, No. 1, 1931; my complete account will presently be issued by the University Museum. Incidentally, some Roman forts in south-west Cyrenaica are described by R. G. Goodchild in *Antiquity*, No. 99 (September 1951), pp. 131 ff.
1. **SEA-COAST FORTS.**

The list of the main forts I identified in the coastal region of Thehenu land (eastern section of Western Desert)—running roughly westwards in the following order from the fortress of Rhacotis—is now given, modern names being in capitals and Pharaonic ones in italics. See Map, Nos. i-vi, also inset for Nos. i-iii.

(i) **MAREA,** south of Lake Mareotis; *Town of [Rameses III] Repulser of Themehu* (perhaps an error for Thehenu); *Town of [Rameses III] which is by the Mountain of Up-Ta; Meret, "The Lake [Town]"* (Thirtieth Dynasty).

(ii) **EL-GHARBANIYAT,** "Westerly(?)", also south of the lake but south-west of Marea.

(iii) **EL-BORDAN,** at extreme western end of the lake; *Hamu, "Place of Catching Fish"; evidently the Chimo of Ptolemy the Geographer.*

(iv) **SITE OF UNKNOWN NAME** between Nos. iii and v. Part of inscription of Rameses II found here.

(v) **EL-ALAMEIN,** "The Two Way-Marks".

(vi) **ZAWYET UM EL-RAKHAM,** "The Hospice of the Mother of the Vultures"; *Hut-ka, "House of the Bull"; Apis.*

For further details of these forts see my first article.

2. **DELTA FORTS.**

The list of the main forts which ran roughly south-eastwards from Rhacotis and guarded the western part of the Delta is as follows, commencing with the name of the fort next after Rhacotis. See Map, Nos. J^-6, also inset for No. J.

(1) **EZBET ABOU-SHAWISH,** "The Village of the Father of the Soldier"; *Castle of Merenptah which is in Per-It; Hut-Shā (Rameses III) and Hut-en-Shā (Thirtieth Dynasty), both names meaning "Castle of Sand".*

(2) **EL-KURUM EL-TUWAL,** "The Long Vineyards".

(3) **KARM ABOU-GIRG,** "The Vineyard of the Father of George".

(4) **KOM EL-ABQ'AIN,** Kebeq (Thirtieth Dynasty).

(5) **KOM FIRIN,** Yuyu(?).

(6) **KOM EL-HISN,** "The Mound of the Fort"; Imau, "Palm-trees", capital of the *Libyan or Third Nome* of the Delta.

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1 In my first article I indicated that Psammetichus II and also the Persians had to keep garrisons at Marea.

2 It is of course true that the initial ch does not usually interchange with the initial h, but we must remember that both Hamu and Chimo were certainly in Mareotis. We may assume that Ptolemy followed a form current in his own time.

3 The author of *Periplus of Scylax of Caryanda* (a work, composed about 350 B.C., to which the name of Scylax—cf. Herodotus, iv, 44—was attached merely for the purpose of attracting attention by its celebrity) says that in his time the government of the Egyptians extended to Apis, a town which as we have already seen was also on the boundary between Thehenu land and Lebu land.

4 Variants seem to be *lat-shā; Temple of Min, Lord of the Sand; and Nesht.*

5 G. Daressy, in *Annales du Service,* xvi, pp. 236 f.

Either No. 2 or No. 3 may be the site variously named Castle of [Rameses II] beloved like Atwn on the Western Waters (scarab text), Fortress of the West (Merenptah), and House of [Rameses III], the Town on the Western Canal. See my first article for further details about these forts and the famous canal.¹

**ADDENDUM B**

**GEOGRAPHICAL SITES, ETC., IN THE LIBYAN NOME**

I have until now reserved for special treatment the Libyan Nome (the variant names for which are given in my first article), a nome which originally was inside part of the western border of the Delta but was later extended to include at least the district of Mareotis.² The following references give a list of the geographical sites in the nome, mentioned in the hieroglyphic texts. The material is drawn from H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms géographiques*, with some identifications and notes of my own; the references are to Gauthier's work.

**The Capital (modern name Kom el-Hisn):**

1. IMAU, "The Palm-Trees", i, p. 70.
2. TEMPLE OF THE LADY OF THE PALM-TREES (i.e. Hathor), II, pp. 91, 93.
5. SHA-MENU, v, p. 103.

**VARIOUS DISTRICTS, ETC. (excluding the six Delta forts mentioned in ADDENDUM A):**

1. IAT-DJEB, town of the pehu, "back-lands", near a canal named Ān, i, p. 36.
2. BĀH-F, ii, p. 17.
3. PEHU-LANRU, marshes of rushes sacred to Hathor, ii, p. 146.
4. PER-MANU, "Temple of the Land of the Setting Sun", ii, p. 82.
5. PER-REMA, ii, pp. 106 f.
6. FEKAT, ii, pp. 160, 162.
7. RAKAIM, iii, p. 128.

¹ There was also a local hydraulic installation and vineyard called *The Great Basin of [Rameses II] in the Domain of Amen which is on the Waters of the Sun-God*. The cultivated strip of land at the west of the Delta protected by the Delta forts and extending as far south as Memphis was called "The Western Border". H. Gauthier, op. cit. iii, p. 133.

² For the suggested limits of the nome see G. Daressy, in *Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne*, ii, map opposite p. 120. For further maps showing some of the sites mentioned in our two articles see Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., iv, map opposite p. 270, vii, map VII; A. de Cosson, *Mareotis* (1935), map at end.

³ In late times the inhabitants of the capital were known as *Imautiu*. H. Gauthier, op. cit. i, p. 70.

⁴ In the Graeco-Roman period *Manu*, "The Land of the Setting Sun", was also a designation of Libya. Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, ii, p. 29.
10. HES-UR, a town(?) of the Fourth Dynasty, iv, p. 41.
15. SHEDEN, a town, v, p. 151.
17. TA-DEBU, a sanctuary of the god Sebek, vi, pp. 39, 89.

Canals, etc.:
1. ĀN (perhaps also the name of a "backlands"), i, pp. 36, 144, 145. Cf. iv, p. 55. Evidently the Canopic Branch of the Nile,¹ for Naucratis is said to have been built "on the bank of Ān", iii, p. 75.
2. KHONS, perhaps connected Lake Mareotis with the Canopic Branch, i, p. 12, iv, p. 177, vi, p. 150.

Sanctuaries:
The names for the Temple of Osiris (in the capital city), where was conserved the right thigh of the god, are as follows:
2. AKHET-IMENTI, "Horizon of the West", i, p. 8.
4. PER-AKHET-IMENTI, ii, p. 50.
7. HUT-AHET, "Castle of the Cow (= Hathor)", iv, p. 51.
8. HUT-UR, iv, p. 225.

Two other sanctuaries in the nome were:
1. DEB, dedicated to the god Sebek, vi, p. 89.
2. MAĀTI, dedicated to the sacred trees of the nome, iii, p. 2.²

¹ Another hieroglyphic name for the Canopic Branch was Iteru-āa, The Great River, the ὀ μέγας ποταμός of Ptolemy the Geographer. H. Gauthier, op. cit. i, p. 119. It ceased to function about the twelfth century A.D.
² Additional Notes: (1) The Cyrene Nymphaeum (p. 497) apparently belonged to the female votaries of Artemis. (2) For the Libyan oases, c.f. Porter and Moss, op. cit. vii, p.277 f. (3) My History of Ancient Cyrenaica (1948) is mainly intended to give a summary of the history of the country as well as an account of the Egyptian monuments at Tolmeita; the publications of the Italian authorities must be consulted for details of their archaeological finds as a whole.