

# ALEXANDER & BURROWS CAVE

by

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## Introductory abstraction

JULY 1994 at Cocoa Beach, Fla. Brian (Harry) Hubbard and Paul (Kelly) Schaffranke of Melbourne, Fla., promulgated their commercial fantasy of Alexander the Great's "lost tomb" transferred to Burrows Cave in Illinois' Little Egypt along with remains of Kleopatra VII (with whom Marc Antony had been entombed). A cave specialist combat veteran of Korea & Vietnam (now Gen.) Russell E. Burrows, 47, then of Olney, Ill., discovered the cave April 2, 1982 which Prof. Warren Cook of Castleton College, Vt. when put in charge 1987 named *Burrows*.

The 1811 New Madrid earthquake had reconfigured the Cave's secluded valley and violently reverse-flooded the interior, forcing a massive repository of votive stones toward the entrance in silt to within 18-24" of a sooted ceiling. Yet the dozen masonry burial crypts lining either side of the stream constructed like those in the Valley of the Kings, West Thebes, held water-tight (thus air-tight). The last Yuchi sun-king (*zopathla*) Samuel Brown, Jr. confided to ethnologist/historian Joseph B. Mahan Oct. 1957 during a visit to Columbus, Ga. that such a royal mausoleum containing archive and gold lay secretly in the very vicinity where Burrows dropped to find it masonry sealed from inside. Another secret mausoleum, said Brown, lay booby-trapped somewhere in East Tennessee mountains. Was his "archive" the inscribed stones or papyrus rolls rising out of urns? (Juba's books?). Burrows did not risk unprofessional unrolling.

Yuchi shamans supervised the Great Shawano Medicine Society that bound numerous tribes from Great Lakes to Gulf, Rockies to Atlantic in cosmopolitan Middle-Woodland Hopewell. Range-datable Burrows Cave artifacts tend to 1st century B.C. - 3rd A.D. in Hopewell heyday. Nationalities represented in the Cave coincide with Roman Mauretania kingdom, later province. Conspicuous presence of Copts—Christian Egyptians writing in Ptolemaic Greek—whom countless burials attest in Michigan and Ohio extended to the Illinois Cave. They imply Christian discarding of Egyptian sea-venturing inhibition (unretrievable corpse for necessary afterlife rites if drowning). Rare exceptions: Queen Hatshepsut's Red Sea voyage to Punt, Tutmosy III's sole coasting transport of troops up to the Eleutheros to surprise Hittites at Qadesh, and Ramesu III's voyage to the Persian Gulf recounted in his tomb's *Great Papyrus Harris*, whose other voyage mentioned was not to Olmec Mexico asea as estimable R.A. Jairazbhoy misunderstood [*Rameses III: Fathrr of Ancient America* (Karnak House 1992), 9-29] but his sky-boat trip in death. Cedar Nile ships were surely seaworthy—more than Thor Heyerdahl's reed galleys, as George Carter insisted, nevertheless (contrary to him) Syrian, Libyan, Phoenician, or Greek-manned asea.

Egyptian ambience of the Cave and its crypts even to statues with one-foot-forward, bronze spears, arm bands, amphorae, etc. depended little on Copts; rather on Carthaginians and their descendants stranded after the 146 B.C. demise of Carthage, joined by Numidians, Celtiberians, and Mauretanian-Ptolemaic elite, all retaining Egyptian religion. Copt Christianity was still ethnic Egyptian, including limited hieroglyphic writing. Jews gained prominence among refugees from the 40-42 A.D. Mauretanian Revolt against Rome and 92-95-year-later Mauretanian Jewish Revolt in tandem with the Gibraltar-to-Parthia Bar Kokhba uprising, each Mauretanian upheaval on a scale requiring an entire army for more than a year to put down and follow up with deadly long-distance pursuit to and over Atlas Mts. to the Morocco coast.

Ceremonial use of the Cave by way of Roman lamps in walls every 25' continued centuries after funerary celebrations of Hopewell times. The latest potsherds Burrows collected from the

top foot of silt duplicate Early Mississippian Cahokia directly west across flat country, thus Cave sealing between 750 & 850 A.D. Artifacts did include gold; one reason for safeguarding location. Jackhammer-drilling to open a tight passage that a shifted block shut, dumped a ceiling-fall that Burrows had warned against, impeding if not terminating excavation already protracted, but Burrows' prior hauls of votive stones—crude to elegant, a large proportion glistening black like coal—have provided abundant evidence as thousands more await in deep silt. Publisher Wayne May identified the source of black specimens "mudstone" along Big Creek River in southern Illinois—malleable till air exposure hardens to rock, then burnishable shiny ["Mudstone' Source for Burrows Cave Found," *The Ancient American* IV/29 (Oct./Nov. 1999), 37-39]. Burrows explored and expertly mapped 200 yards of the Cave to invisible rushing water, without finding the exit whereby entrance sealers escaped.

HUBBARD & SCHAFFFRANKE prepared videos of Schaffranke's stone translations, several of which hold up as retrograde Latin in the Chalkidic alphabet, but hundred after hundred inscriptions fall also in 6 other languages spoken in Mauretania (Algeria/Morocco, not modern Mauritania down the African west coast) and in formerly Carthaginian southern Iberia: Egyptian, Neo-Punic, Numidian, Celtiberic, Greek, and Hebrew—the same mix incredibly creolized in subsequent Central Algonquin, otherwise unaccountable. Roman officials and veterans in Spain used Chalkidic or its Etruscan-derived alphabet, writing as in Etruscan retrograde, because hailing largely from Tuscany, which held longest to Etruscan, or Campania, the most Greek segment of Italy, longest retaining originally introduced Euboean Chalkidic, at first written retrograde; while Ligurians between the Arno and Po still spoke Celtic, as in Cisalpine Gaul.

Hubbard & Schaffranke presented their case at the Saturday April 22, 1995 ISAC Conference, Columbus, Ga. (skewing the schedule by insisted switching from morning to afternoon), to demonstrate close study of selected portrait-stones with captions. Impresario Mahan listened noninterjectingly down right, with impassive honored guest Kyle McCarter, expert in origin of the Greek alphabet; Paul Chapman down left silently enraged, Burrows beside me quietly bemused. Vincent Mooney, who cavalierly rejected the Cave yet visited the incorporated youths in Florida, went overtime in a critique of Schaffranke's Latin which his percentage rating per specimen rather bore out. McCarter saw appropriateness in Schaffranke translations but suggested better readings of Roman-monument abbreviations such as *RAUMILIS*; not "Romans," who (as Mooney noted) never called themselves Romulans despite mythic descent from Romulus but, with better syntax, Roman abbreviation for *ROMULUS MILITIS* ("Roman soldiers") which Schaffranke did not welcome. Not till summer did I recall the *Colonia Romulensis* Caesar founded for veterans on the Baetis south bank; whereby the stone might refer to these veteran lodgings, *romulans* literally.

Prof. James Scherz (U. Wis.) wrote a summary of the symposium that included references to my paper the day before correcting the Alexander twist. Hubbard said my remarks could be consulted in the *Midwest Epigraphic Journal* VIII which, however, reprinted the Nov./Dec 1994 *ISAC Report* "Reflection on Burrows Cave" before anyone heard of Hubbard, who initiated a series of phone calls to me beginning July 12, 1996 and sent a packet of assorted materials dated July 16 which included Scherz' summary (with Hubbard's amateurish rejoinders). Hubbard doubted the Hebrew curse on a Burrows Stone which Dr. Arnold Murray impressively deciphered at the symposium was Hebrew and berated him for believing in the Cave's ogam; he (Hubbard) & Schaffranke having ruled ogam entirely out of North America [exposing embarrassing ignorance], and rejected as nonexistent the Hebraic Cabalistic tradition Don Eckler of Houghton, N.Y. knowledgeably adduced. He announced a project to debunk history's greatest epigrapher Barry Fell who, Hubbard averred, concocted alphabets of Tifinag, ogam, Basque, Catalan, etc. out of thin air. He further libeled eminent epigrapher Donal Buchanan "Conn the Great" and outwitter Burrows "Col. Clod." (Buchanan early recognized Mediterranean scripts in Burrows stones but none of their messages.)

After Harry's 3rd phone call and several videos, I wrote a 6-page reply July 28-Aug. 1, 1996 which commended Schaffranke's method and Alexandros Helios connection (which Mahan had perceived years past) but ruled out impossible logistical or historical tomb transfer or Kleopatra

as the head-fractured sacrificed woman in a second Cave crypt. (Kleopatra did not die by hatcheting her head.)

THE ROMULANS STONE OBVERSE presented an engraved map of the Guadalquivir (correctly called *Baetis*) with dots representing Munda and Urso of Caesar's final two Civil War massacres. This specimen matches Burrows Stones which map the progressively-explored Mississippi system south-north, including Roman dots for settlements. (Same style and lettering show these stones date nearly current with the Baetis mapstone, not as some good scholars thought, in an archaic prior era.) Schaffranke's "UFO" Stone ingeniously failed. Michel-Gérald Boutet of Laval (Canada) eventually translated it as Celtiberic explicating a Celtic myth. So not all lettered scripts of the Stones read retrograde Latin. Uncounted messages were not lettered but clear, elegant ogam, which Hubbard & Schaffranke rejected by definition.

Many perusers had recognized Hebrew, Neo-Punic, Egyptian, faded Greek, and finally Numidian, while untold tantalizing inscriptions defy translation to date. Fell surely would have made headway had photos not caught his cursory attention in hostile mood and he too soon died. Few linguists are trained in Numidian or Celtiberic or, for that matter, historians in ancient North Africa and Iberia, while their late-19th-century premises preclude Mediterranean languages, not to mention North European and Asian in America before Columbus though there they were. (Independent invention?)

I NAIVELY TRIED to apprise Hubbard of historio-graphical method that eschews *ad hominem* attacks, mere assertions, *non sequiturs*, dismissal of prior studies, and divine fiats, to no avail. Hubbard did, however, appreciate references he had not known, such as Jacoby in *Paulys* and a number of missed Classical authors, since he looked some of them up. He claimed superior information from the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, a fortunate grounding. I also tried correcting careless statements like Caesar returned Auletes to the Egyptian throne or Numidia was Mauretania (they got exchanged). My futile letter, however, based an incongruous chapter published later that 1996.

Schaffranke joined Hubbard's phone calls Aug. 1, '96 (subsequently solo as late as June 5, 1997). On Thursday July 18, '96 Hubbard showed signs of derangement (which others had preceded my detecting) in libelous threats to Burrows addressed by e-mail to his innocent night-nurse wife Lila, renewed yet more viciously Oct. 29. Hubbard resumed phoning me Jan. 29, 1997 during currency of the Jan./Feb. *Ancient American*, which he largely financed that culminated the team's Alexander case, Hubbard's lead article by-lined Horatio Rybnikar featuring excellent portrait-stone photos. Jan. 30, '97 Hubbard phoned me yelling, out of his mind. The following June 14 he wrote Burrows a sad, extremely obscene e-mail in Latin, I learned by Burrows' request to translate, although Burrows decoded well on his own. The improbable story is much longer and soap-opera convoluted but skippable.

NOW TRAGIC YEARS LATER, truly pitying Hubbard's deterioration/desperation, I redo the published '96 essay at Editor J.J. White's importuning to clarify residual public confusion.

#### Hellenika note

XENOPHON's *Hellenika* vignettes resume the Peloponnesian War that supposedly ended 404 B.C. for a further 42 years to the Battle of Mantinea in Arkadia 37 mi. north of Sparta where, though Epaminondas of Thebes once again broke the Spartan right with his redoubled left, he fell. Both sides claimed victory. With nearly the whole of Greece engaged on one side or the other, said Xenophon (whose son Gryllos, he did not mention, lay among the fallen), the battle failed to determine the expected future dominant power.

At his death 7 years later at c.79, Xenophon still could foresee no solution to Greek degeneration, which occurred with Philip II of Macedon's military dictatorship, decided Aug. 338 at Chaeronea, due east of Delphi just across the NW border of Boeotia, when adroit, brutal Philip,

44, defeated the combined armies of Thebes and Athens which hastily allied notwithstanding mutual hate.

## Philip II

AS SURETY IN THEBES when a boy, Prince Philip grew up in the military school of Epaminondas, who had epochally defeated the Spartan army of 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse (the latter in poor shape) on hills and small plain near the village of Leuktra, 9 mi. SW of Thebes July 371 by staggering his right wing farther back than his middle and exaggeratedly supplemented left, overcoming Sparta's usually strongest right to reverse the usual counterclockwise movement of battle. This is the tactic we saw he repeated at Mantinea. Philip repeated it at Chaeronea. The Athenian left thought it was winning when rushing into the trap toward Philip's held-back right, while Philip's arrogant 18-year-old son Alexander commanding the Macedonian cavalry left, together with Philip's transferred heavy infantry, closed around clockwise. Three thousand Athenians fell, a third dead, Demosthenes bolting with Athenians fleet enough to outrun. So Philip ended Greece's suicidal, cannibalistic city-state rivalry, initiating the Hellenistic era of large kingdoms replacing city-state units.

He was the 3rd son of King Amyntas II, but the eldest brother was assassinated and the second, King Perdikkas III, killed in battle, leaving Philip regent for Perdikkas' infant son. It seemed impractical to play guardian for the next quarter-century in a turbulent time, so Philip seized the throne, incurring no resistance that could have organized. A pleasing fatherly expression that heavy mustache and short beard enhanced disarmed acquaintances, belying imperial ruthlessness. An alcoholic, vulgar, amoral, feral, he was gifted in generalship and statesmanship and very valorous--lost his right eye at the Thessalian coastal siege of Methone 354 (whereupon destroyed Methone), sustained a smashed shinbone 345 on the lower Drin in North Illyria, suffered a Triballian spear thrust through a thigh that killed his horse winter 339 on the Danube (2 years recovering), etc.

The same year as the Chaeronea victory he took a 7th wife into his harem (in addition to uncounted concubines)—Kleopatra (whom he renamed Eurydike), niece of his general and royal guardsman Attalos. A king's marriage to a Macedonian broke tradition, certain to set off local rivalries, especially for the succession. Little did mighty Philip appreciate the vengefulness of his narcissistic, superstitious first wife obsessed with her only son and whose counter infidelities had raised even Philip's doubts about Alexander's paternity. On Samothrace (*Samothráki*) Island 21 years before Chaeronea, Philip had fallen in love with her, daughter of King Neoptolemos of NW-neighboring Molossos, a kingdom in Epiros, and wed the same 359 that he arrogated the throne but in latter days recoiled, especially after she poisoned one of Alexander's half-brothers to insanity.

At the new wedding feast, father-of-the-young-bride Gen. Attalos, drunk-on-wine, invited fellow nobles to join in praying to the gods for a *legitimate* heir. "You call me a bastard?" said Alexander, and flung his cup of wine in Attalos' face, at which Philip, drunker than Attalos, jumped up, drew his sword, and tripped down. Alexander jeered at his passed-out father and took his mother to Molossos exile, himself withdrawing into Lynkestis hills and visting Illyrian nobles. Philip thereupon banished his son's friends including 10-years-older burly Ptolemaios, son of Lagos (whom let us follow anglicizing custom and call Ptolemy, as we call Alexandros Alexander) but, coming to his senses, Philip realized the last thing he wanted was to alienate Olympias' brother, Philip-installed Alexander, new king of Molossos, so invited Olympias and son Alexander back and, to placate, agreed to marry a daughter Keopatra, to the young king. When Philip's new wife Kleopatra/Eurydike bore Philip a daughter, Olympias contrived to have her wrested from Kleopatra's arms and murdered, then Kleopatra herself. Olympias fled to Molossos, joined by her son.

Ptolemy, already in exile by banishment, was a son of Philip's concubine Arsinoë. Do not think Macedonians did not speculate he were a bastard offspring of the king. That would explain

the half-brothers' closeness but, on the other hand, would make him a rival for the succession whom Alexander would have had slain.

PAUSANIOS, one of Philip's 7-man bodyguard and distinguished soldier, had been a teen-age page along with a hundred or more boys at court (actually noble hostages) whom officers routinely seduced or raped. While still a page, Pausanios taunted a fellow page as Attalos' wench, ending in the disgraced boy's suicide. Long later, when Pausanios was a grown royal guardsman, Attalos got him drunk at dinner and turned him over to ruffian muleteers for sexual abuse. Pausanios complained to Philip, who was shocked but could hardly chastise a noble relative slated to co-command (with Parmenio, who would be Alexander's oldest general) the imminent advance into Persia, so tried to appease with handsome gifts; whereat Pausanios turned his wrath from Attalos to Philip, manipulated by Olympias, who had returned and provided getaway horses (plural implying more than one assassin planned). At the October wedding of Princess Kleopatra and King Alexander in the theater of the Aigai palace SSW of Pella—delaying the invasion of Asia, where a vanguard had taken up stations the previous spring—Philip made his white-robed regal entrance last and was acknowledging cheers standing in the orchestra when Pausanios sprang to thrust him dead. Three of the bodyguard ran instantly to Philip, the other three for Pausanios, who might have reached a waiting horse but tripped and was fallen upon.

Nov. 1977 Manolis Andronicos discovered Philip's lavish tomb among a series of royal tumuli at Aigai = Vergina.

In routine digging, a Montana rancher found a silver tetradrachm of Philip II 4' deep on his ranch [Riley Sunderland, *Epigraphic Soc. Occ. Pubs.* VII #174 (April 1979), II, 236]. This does not mean a Macedonian Greek sojourned to Montana in the 4th century B.C. but empirically documents something unself-explanatory.

### Alexander ascendant

SON ALEXANDER properly oversaw the funeral and had every conspirator plus every opponent of his own including Attalos murdered, then all relatives who could ever contest his power. Eradication of anybody who might conceivably implicate him, at the same time eradicated any proof of complicity in his criminal mother's plot on his behalf. (Like mother, like son? She got away back to Molossos again.) So we cannot say he colluded but have no reason to believe him less coldblooded than his parents. Court philosopher Aristotle said it was but revenge for the assassin's personal grievance, perhaps discounting extensiveness of the plot. If not a party to it, Alexander took overthorough advantage as pretext for *his* personal grievances and ambition.

He thus inherited a throne, a seasoned army with able generals, his father's plan underway to invade peaceful Persia, and a regimented impoverished country whose manpower he used in unprovoked slaughter and city destruction on a scale that made him Great and shifted the Greek-world center SE in a new order that his death divided into totalitarian kingdoms. He meanwhile installed his own teacher of moderation Aristotle at unwelcoming Athens. Wise Dante placed Alexander neck deep in the River of Blood.

AMONG THE ORIGINAL 13 of Alexander's bodyguard who freely returned from Philip's banishment came Ptolemy, whose profile on later gold coins strikingly resembles Elvis Presley at heaviest. In company with Alexander, Ptolemy took a fancy to Persian Egypt, where Persian-hating natives from Pelusium to Memphis to Lake Mareotis offered little or no resistance. On the salubrious plain west of Rhakotis Village April 331 B.C. Alexander marked out a city he meant to displace Tyre, specifying location of temples to gods including Isis, who thereby gained permanent sanction at Alexandria, hence throughout the Mediterranean, which in hardly more than a generation took its cultural cue from Alexandria. (Ptolemy in time refurbished Isis' consort Osiris as Serapis, raising him too to Greek veneration.) While about future locations Alexander bade creation of an artificial mole to Pharos Island that created two harbors, the eastern of which,

heavily fortified, ultimately berthed the navy (oriented north and northeast, seldom west), while the western became the relatively free, unmatched emporium of international trade.

From his marking-off site, taking Ptolemy among the privileged few honored to accompany, Alexander sailed 200 mi. (1600 stades) on west to strike hazardously a yet farther distance inland to the remote oracular temple of Amon on an acropolis at the caravan depôt Siwa Oasis, properly Ammonia, whose language creolized Egyptian/Sudanese/Libyan of founding colonists sent by Thebes (and to this day resists Arabic). Siwa exported salt which was better than sea-derived to its far-south affluent port Kyrene, in turn assuring a strong Greek and Jewish influence since Saïte times. One of antiquity's three most prestigious oracles (with Delphi and Epirot Dodona), Siwa also served as the Carthaginian Vatican, the religion of Carthage since founding having remained Egyptian—*Ba'al Hammon Punic Lord Amon*, as David Soren's international excavational team belatedly verified 1990. Carthage's Tophet retained Egyptian-type shrines and patently Egyptian itself as ritual language, following from long-Egyptianized mother-Phoenician precedent. Carthage had risen during Assyrian domination of Phoenicia and Egypt, implying a city of Nineveh-type ziggurats, which eradication by Romans and the rebuilt Roman city that displaced Punic ruins deprives us of knowing. Greek-blocked by sea from Egypt (or Phoenicia), Carthage maintained contact with Siwa by regular 12-day caravan.

Libyans had self-Egyptianized at this and other Libyan-Desert oases even before taking over Egypt at the 22nd Dynasty beginning with Sheshonq 940 B.C., insisting on traditional Egyptian forms and religion. (The Assyrian-loyal Saïte Renaissance commenced 664 B.C. when Carthage was already indefinitely older than a century.) Libyan dynasts left Siwa virtually autonomous. Greek-accommodating Saïtes continued this policy; so the chief of Siwa could call himself king. Alexander extracted a revelation of descent from Amon, legitimizing pharoanic succession, especially if an unverified coronation took place in Memphis that divinely anointed his interrupted conquest.

ARRIAN & PLUTARCH, our best sources on Alexander in the loss of *their* sources, both men writing in Greek in Roman imperial times, *end* their accounts with Alexander's death, as do most modern historians of Greece, as if the earth stopped rotating June 10, 323 when Alexander in speechless delirium expired in a Babylonian palace at 32. Arrian, quoting the *Royal Diary* kept by Alexander's (previously Philip's) secretary, exceedingly able Eumenes of Kardia, Thrace, which Arrian said differed little from accounts of Ptolemy and Aristaboulos (who had accompanied Alexander), said he binge-drank far into two successive nights at the house of Medius, issuing in fever (sounding like malaria) and progressive illness. The 8th day after that he was conveyed from a park into the palace, where his officers found him unable to speak though raising his right hand in recognition. Two days later he died. Eventual suspected poisoning was unnecessary due to self-administered acute alcoholic poisoning in wrathful compulsive drinking to stupor his last 7 years, John Maxwell O'Brien authoritatively diagnosed 1980. The addiction had changed his already contemptuous personality to treacherous paranoia. He had killed his best friend, his best general, the expedition historian, *et al.* to his of course great remorse respectively.

Gen. Perdikkas, appointed regent for Alexander's widow Roxane, princess of Sogidana (Uzbekistan), and her infant King Alexander IV, won out at Babylon in nominal charge, in the absence of the other most trusted living general, Krateros, whom Alexander had sent to Kilikia to relieve aging Gen. Antípatros and secure the plundered gold (transferred there, nearer Europe) and, while away, chosen by his fellow generals at Babylon to lead the army back to Macedonia. Perdikkas held Alexander's royal seal. He had the corpse embalmed with asphalt (not mummified) and organized an elaborate funeral chariot cortège 322, intending burial with Macedonian ancestors at Aigai. At Damascus Gen. Ptolemy (who had distinguished himself commanding a third of the army in Pakistan mountains and in organizing Nearchos' historic Indika voyage), as satrap of Egypt (Persian organization retained in the defunct empire) bribed away the hearse-chariot (probably from Arrhidaios, who had charge of the funeral [Walter M. Ellis, *Ptolemy of Egypt* (Routledge 1994), 35] while Perdikkas detoured up to eastern Asia Minor—to fetch the gold that had been transferred there? and/or combine Krateros' troops to his?

Krateros in any case became his follower till defecting winter 322/21 from Perdikkas' despotism. At that time, Ptolemy, who had intercepted Perdikkas' interception, joined Krateros' coalition. Ex-Secretary Eumenes then assumed his leader Perdikkas' cause, hoping to keep Alexander's conquest intact as one empire.

AT MEMPHIS where Satrap Ptolemy temporarily interred Alexander's embalmed corpse, he disinterred and sheathed it in gold enclosed in a glass sarcophagus, which he displayed before reburial in Alexandria. He claimed Alexander wished burial at Siwa.

#### Alexander's purported will

THE MEDIEVAL *Romance of Alexander* drew on since-lost accounts, hearsay, and imagination, interpolating a propaganda pamphlet, *The Last Days & Testament of Alexander the Great* that survives in both Greek and Latin versions. An Illyrian staffman of Alexander, one Holias, forged this pamphlet 6 years after Alexander's death but had been present at the Babylonian funeral. His description of last rites gives no reason to doubt it, or his account of further treatment of the "mummy" in Egypt which he did not witness.

Strabo and Diodoros, also writing in Greek, preserved details of Alexander's plan to ensconce in Arabia, round Africa clockwise, conquer Carthage by sea, then lay a road across North Africa. Enormous preparations for these projects were dutifully underway at his death. With his prestige, a public will would have prevented the scramble among his generals in a vacuum.

*THE LAST WILL & TESTAMENT* identifies Alexander a son of Amon and Olympias. He had allowed panegyrist to call him son of Zeus but not Amon, yet had ridiculously appeared at banquets as Amon-Re wearing bullhorns. Holias said he, Holias, read Alexander's will to the assembled troops at Babylon. He betrayed his authorship in willing himself rule of his native Illyria, otherwise unattested (but not entirely implausible). He shows up in no other document. On Alexander's death he entered the service of Perdikkas and, at Perdikkas' assassination by mutiny after 2 Delta losses during his invasion of Egypt against Ptolemy summer 320, the service of Perdikkas' Macedonian successor Polycheron, another of Alexander's generals—which clarifies *The Last Days'* safe considerateness of Perdikkas while accepting Ptolemy's *fait accompli*—neither anti-Ptolemy nor ant-Perdikkas in promoting Polycheron.

Specialists spent a long time pinning down his partisanship. Waldemar Heckel at Stuttgart 1988 could finally report the whole problem solved [A *Prosopographic Study. Historia LVI*], largely because already May 1979 Stanley Mayer Burstein recognized the forged pamphlet had to date 317 B.C.: Holias was describing a *status quo* which did not exist till then. Perdikkas e.g. had not married Alexander's widow Roxane or Ptolemy established himself king of Egypt married to Alexander's sister Kleopatra even by 320, well after Perdikkas had returned to Macedonia and Ptolemy to Egypt. Holias was specific about Macedonian affairs which did not reach the stage he described till 317 after Perdikkas' death. *The Last Days* Sec. 111:

*...Perdikkas and those in the palace [at Babylon] set the dead king in a coffin, dressed him in a tunic and purple cloak and put a crown on his head. They added many perfumes mixed with honey and covered the coffin with a purple mantle over which they set a Babylonian tapestry [Heckel 14].*

Article V Sec. 119 of the alleged will:

*The priests in Egypt are to be granted 2,000 talents in gold coin from the public purse, and Ptolemy is to take care of the transportation to Egypt of my body, which the priests of Egypt are to tend as*

they think best. The sarcophagus in which the body is to be laid is to be made from 200 talents of gold [ibid. 16].

The *Romance* specifies a sarcophagus of glass for the gold-sheathed “mummy” at Memphis but the one at Alexandria was alabaster.

A GREEK ARCHAEOLOGIST Liana Souvaltzi announced Jan. 31, 1995 her discovery of a 43 1/3 x 211 1/3-yd. tomb of Macedonian construction near Siwa with 2 limestone plaques in Greek identifying it as Alexander’s, one of them a proclamation of Ptolemy, the other corroborating death by poison. A third tablet recorded a visit of Trajan. Within a week a checkup Greek team disputed whether either building were a tomb or temple. They pronounced it Roman, while the current Director of Egyptian Antiquities confirmed Liana. In Egyptian tradition for a king it would have been both tomb and temple. Liana relocated the old oracular temple on the acropolis and temple below on the SW side.

Baron von Minutoli notably had drawn these ruins among their palm-trees 1830—both temples in clear sight of each other, and Liana knew of the Director of Egyptian Antiquities Ahmed Fakhry’s second excavation which World War II interrupted which she resumed 1994. Frescoes in rock-cut tombs disclose unsuspected sophistication and affluence, merging Egyptian with Greek formal styles and motifs over many centuries, at times Persian and Assyrian, yet always faithfully and correctly Egyptian, as in tomb-depicted deities riding the sky-boat with deceased’s *ka*.

Ptolemy I Soter (Nov. 7, 305-Dec. 28, 285)

IT SURPRISINGLY took 18 years and 5+ months for Satrap Ptolemy to establish himself officially as Ptolemy I, later adding Soter (“Savior”) Nov. 305. In that interval his field-general Ophellas conquered west-neighboring Kyrenaika (then called *Libya*) for him, consequently restoring aristocrats of Kyrene.

In Cappadocia, Asia Minor 321 Eumenes defeated Krateros, who died in the battle. Antigonos, satrap of Greater Phrygia, surprise-captured and executed Eumenes in his Kilikian winter quarters 317.

Eighty-year-old Regent Antípatros had appointed Polýcheron regent of Europe 319, whereat Polycheron invited redoubtable dowager-mother Olympias, safe in Epiros, to share in administering the empire. Ptolemy joined the coalition of *diadochoi* (Alexander’s survivor generals) which Kassandros headed to oppose Polycheron. Alexander’s half-witted half-brother Philip III Arrhidaíos, whom Olympias despised, and his managing wife Eurydike sided with Kassandros, who deposed Polycheron by decree; at which Olympias led an army into Macedonia who captured and executed king and queen fall 317, also 100 prominent Macedonians. Eurydike committed suicide. Epirot troops’ abandoning Olympias early 315 forced her surrender to Kassandros, whose military tribunal condemned her to execution. King Alexander IV, born to Roxane 323, subject to the regency of Peridkkas and brought to Macedonia with his mother, fell into Kassandros’ clutches upon Perdikkas’ Delta assassination.

MEANWHILE, 318-15 during the 2nd War of the Succession Ptolemy annexed miscalled *Koile-Syria* (“Hollow Syria”)—southern Syria below the Eleutheros plus Palestine to Egypt. Ptolemy left vulnerable garrisons, so for not the last time Egypt lost the region, which successors retook now and then. Ptolemy’s friend Seleukos, yet another of Alexander’s generals, together with Ptolemy’s brother Menelaos, gained Cyprus for the “Satrap”; which also required subsequent retakings. At Gaza 312 Ptolemy defeated Demetrios I of Macedonia, thereby saving Rhodes from him, the origin of his name *Soter*.

Early fall 311 pertinent *diadochoi* concluded a peace confirming the *status quo* and designating Kassandros European *strategos* (supreme commander) till Alexander IV came of age. The boy was languishing with Roxane in custody at Amphipolis, a city Athens had colonized on the lower Strymon. Kassandros 310 or 309 quietly ordered Roxane and 13-year-old Alexander IV put to death [Diodoros & Justin].

PTOLEMY & FRIEND SELEUKOS, each with different objective, jointly won the fall 312 Battle of Gaza against Demetrios I (later called *Poliokeres*) son of Antígonos Monophthalmos, satrap of Greater Phrygia. While obliged to retreat the following spring as Antigonos reclaimed Syria, Ptolemy took large numbers of Jewish captives back to Alexandria and kept the 43 Indian elephants captured. The Silk Road extended to Antioch, whereby Antigonos and Demetrios, like later Seleukids, acquired Indian elephants to Egypt's disadvantage. Thus extraordinary subsequent efforts of Ptolemies (delayed by usual north & NE priorities) to acquire African elephants though not as good for warfare. In 310 and 309 Ptolemy I expeditioned to Kilikia and acquired cities in Lykia and Karia, SW Asia Minor. In 308 he took Korinth and two other southern Greek cities but held them only into 306, losing a naval battle off Salamis, East Cyprus.

WARS AMONG THE *DIADOCHOI* drove a massive migration from Palestine to Egypt 323-301. Ptolemy purportedly brought in 100,000 captive Jews, conscripting 30,000 of them as a garrison at the eastern approach to the Delta, enslaving women and children—contradicting Alexander's personal invitation to Jews to Alexandria where in time they came to form a co-aristocracy with Macedonian Greeks.

By 294 Ptolemy had asserted hegemony over the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean up to Miletos, inland to Damascus, and for capital of Koile-Syria colonized Ptolemais (Acre = 'Akko, North Israel) a surprisingly intact transplant of Egypt. Cyprus by then had been fully incorporated into the Ptolemaic Empire, along with Pamphylia and Phoenician cities. Phoenicians served as Egyptian governors. By 285 despite Athenian revolt, Ptolemy reigned Protectorate of the Aegean Island League. Around that time he encouraged Demetrius of Phaleron (*Palaión Fáliron*, on the coast sw of Athens) to begin collecting Greek book-scrolls and appointed the Ephesian scholar Zenódotus first head of the Library, which stood within the Mouseion complex. Euclid came to Alexandria when c.40 from the Platonic school at Athens in Ptolemy Soter's reign, continuing into the next, developing mathematics and optics at the Mouseion; died c.270.

At age 80 or 81, 286/84, Ptolemy associated his 23-or-24-year-old son Philadelphos ("*Brother/Sister-Loving*") as co-regent and died 283/82 at 84.

### Ptolemies & the Cave

PTOLEMY I occurs on at least one Burrows Stone, right-profiled in magnificent Macedonian battle helmet and labeled *PTILE A GIPTI* ("Ptolemy I of Egypt") Greek *alpha* as first letter of the alphabet standing for 1. Hubbard & Schaffranke must be credited with detecting this and also right-profiled King Juba in Numidian turban-type peaked helmet, labeled *IUBA*. We have already noted a Burrows mapstone showing awareness of Caesar's concluding Civil War massacres, but he himself appears, unbearded, unmistakable, as H & S among viewers years ahead of them espied, again right-profiled, in Egyptian uraeus headdress, labeled *KAISR* ("Caesar").

It was a long way from Ptolemy I to Caesar and Juba II, but from the point of view of the Burrows royal mausoleum, the same tradition, considering Caesar by "marriage" to Kleopatra VII the next legitimate king of Egypt. His successor Octavius/Caesar Augustus, 27 B.C., married Julius' Numidian ward Juba II to Antony & Kleopatra's daughter Kleopatra Selene ("*Moon*") and, 25, installed Juba & Selene king & queen at the old Carthaginian port Iol, renamed for Augustus *Caesaria* (today Cherchell, Algeria), capital of the Roman kingdom Mauretania. Selene brought Ptolemaic Greek of her coin legends, Ptolemaic Egyptian religion—particularly cult of Isis (her coins attest)—and whole Ptolemaic tradition to the western Mediterranean. Juba brought his

Numidian inheritance, but Augustus in 30 had traded former Numidia for underdeveloped Mauretania to add Numidia to Rome's African Province of Tunisia.

When Selene gave birth to a son 20 B.C. she named him Ptolemy, eventual successor of Juba II. Her twin brother Alexandros Helios ("Sun") likely followed the Carthaginian secret route to the Gulf of Mexico. As successors of Carthage which had civilized Berber nomads (hence Latin *Numidia*), Numidian kings inherited the secret and spoke Punic as well as Old-Libyan Numidian. The route inside Florida to the Mississippi and up to the Ohio was as old as Olmec-times' distant traders of Poverty Point, expanded more distantly by Adena shifters upriver and by their culminating-amalgamating Hopewell successors. (*Poverty Point* derives from its river/lagoon site in Louisiana, *Adena* from the manor-house on territorial governor Thomas Worthington's estate overlooking the Scioto near Chillicothe where William C. Mills first excavated a mound of that culture, and *Hopewell* from the farm of Mordecai C. Hopewell near Chillicothe whose myriad of mounds identified this advanced culture.)

HELIOS under the rubric  $\Lambda$ II (retrograde *He-le-*) recurs repeatedly on Burrows Stones, including the afore-mentioned Baetis, often with associated sunburst and/or Ptolemaic lion, captioning a young, middle-aged, or old man, in Macedonian, Roman, or native dress and once with Libyan 3-feather headdress—patently the king who occupied the inner & outer sarcophagi that Burrows found on a great block in the main crypt. (Neither lions nor elephants depicted frequently on Burrows Stones were of course native to America. When archaeologists react to a Burrows Stone, "*This is not native American!*" that is what we have been trying to tell them.) Juba II wrote 50 books, 1/3 Greek, 2/3 Latin. Pliny said he sent forth the voyage that discovered all 9 Fortunate Isles (Canaries) when Romans knew only 2.

When Helios was 20 in 20 B.C., the birth of Ptolemy XV that cut him out of the succession likely occasioned his departure to found a kingdom of his own, outfitted by his exploring-minded brother-in-law with fleet, arms, and gold. (Helios disappears at this time from Roman records. His younger brother Philadelphos, though Octavius permitted him to live, remained unrecorded after that decision.) Hubbard & Schaffranke got the wrong Alexander in Burrows Cave and never the *Sema* (Tomb complex) wherein Alexander the Great lay enshrined—or Kleopatra, who had her separate mausoleum. Both monuments with the whole civic center *toppled* into the east harbor in a series of earthquakes that began in the 4th century A.D. and continued intermittently the next millennium [William La Riche, *Alexandria the Sunken City* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1996), 12], not just in one 8th century convulsion. Jean-Yves Empereur organized a large team of French marine archaeologists *et al.* who Oct. 1995 began pulling up heavy granite objects and mapping their location on the sea-bottom, which Empereur said lay *carpeted* with 3,000 or so columns and column fragments, sphinxes, obelisks, and human statues from the ancient civic center [*Alexandria Rediscovered* (George Brazillier 1998), 73-80].

## Alexandria

THE WHOLE DELTA REGION lay monotonously but conveniently flat and providentially green with 3 crops a year. Nile traffic flowed through Alexandria's Lake Mareotis harbor at the west side of Alexander's 1400-yd. mole (*Hepastadion*). On Pharos Island (it was then still an island) Ptolemy II bade Sostratos of Knidos erect the celebrated lighthouse *c.*200 yds. high (=40 stories). Internal Delta traffic exceeded even that to and from the sea in the open west harbor. Back of this harbor spread the jammed Egyptian quarter Rhakotis. The navy's east Great Harbor surveilled Cyprus and the Aegean. Although Ptolemaic influence spread the length of the Mediterranean, Ptolemies concentrated as had preceding dynasties almost exclusively on the Levant, Cyprus, Crete plus Aegean, sometimes Asia Minor, and neighboring-west Kyrenaika. Exceptions were trade with Rome and Carthage (long interrupted by their mortal wars) with a single voyage past Carthage, and largely-futile encouragement of Red Sea rather than caravan traffic with India.

STRABO VISITED Alexandria and wrote two long passages of first-hand description. Philo wrote a whole book from personal observation. A white marble palace-complex stood on Lochias Promontory opposite the lighthouse at the mouth of the east harbor, down whose edge SW ran the theater, a temple to Poseidon, the tenemos called *Sema* enclosing the magnificent mausoleum of Alexander and tombs of Ptolemies around its base, the Library backed by arcades and halls of the Mouseion which Ptolemy I founded to further music, literature, and astronomy; finally a park to the mid-city intersection of two colonnaded, 33-yd.-wide boulevards, the N/S one continuing the Hepastadion from its Moon Gate to the many-mi.-distant south-wall Sun Gate, behind which stretched the lake that isolated Alexandria from Egyptian Egypt. South across the right-angled E/W boulevard (Middle or Kanopos Ave.) behind the theater on higher ground, so also visible from the sea, rose the Paneion (temple to Pan) in fir-cone shape [Strabo], then back west the agora or forum across from the Poseidon temple and 200+-porticoes of the Gymnasium, adjoined west by the courts of justice set in a park across from the Museum and next to Sun/Moon Boulevard, alongside whose east side a fortified line down to marshes of Mareotis fenced off this *Brukeiron*, or Royal Area, from the polyglot west city.

Reversing back east along Middle Ave. one would pass the Jewish *politeuma* called Delta (named, said Caesar, because forming the Greek letter *delta*) on the elite east side of Alexandria SE of the sea-front palace-complex, extending to the east-wall Kanopos Gate. Delta was not a ghetto, since Jews resided in all parts of the city oriented to numerous synagogues and schools. Adult male Jews of this period, like Greek and Roman, were usually soldiers but also farmers, shepherds, vine-dressers (Greeks demanded wine in place of Egyptian beer), day-laborers, merchants, and bankers. In Delta stood the greatest of Alexandria's synagogues with 71 gold chairs for 71 elders à *la* Talmud.

Beyond Kanopos Gate stood the Hippodrome and graves, according to Aryeh Kasher 1985, although Nekropolis Gate opened at the opposite side. Past the Hippodrome east throve an amusement-village Eleusis, and 3 mi. from the city wall a city-size bathing resort Nikópolis [Strabo]. and farther the town Kánopos (*Abuqir*) near cape top. Naukratis, the Alexandria of its day and still thriving, stood on the Nile Kanopic channel which emptied between Alexandria and Kanopos. By more than 3 centuries Naukratis anticipated Alexandrian *politeumatai* with 4 distinct quarters: Milesian, Samian, Aiginetan, and miscellaneous other Greek. Greek and Jewish *politeumatai* together dominated innumerable other *politeumatai*. Pioneer Macedonian colonists had settled at Alexandria as a *politeumata* intending to keep separate from while dominating Egypt.

Although most of the Greek/Jewish aristocracy eventually grew as Egyptian bilingual as Naukratis Greeks, no Hellenistic ruler before the last, Kleopatra, learned or cared to speak Egyptian [Plutarch]. Jews over the decades forgot Aramaic and Hebrew (as today in Central Asia notoriously singing Jews speak a Tadjik dialect, and Arabs Uzbek or Tadjik instead of Arabic [Ya. I. Kalonnntarov & B. Kh. Kamysheva, resp., *Central Asian Review* XII/4 (1964), 274, 271]). Greeks like Ptolemy Philadelphos initiated the Septuagint translation of the Torah, probably toward 150 B.C. Alexandrine Jews then used it instead of the Hebrew original. They struggled, according to Charles Aberro 1976, for political equality, not freedom from persecution, which awaited Romans and Christians, but Aberro discovered Ptolemaic literary antisemitism. A majority of gentiles, he found, believed Jews annually sacrificed a Greek.

Ptolemy II Philadelphos (Jan./summer 282 - Jan. 26, 246)

IT WAS PHILADELPHOS who evidently commissioned bilingual Manetho of Sebennytyos in the central Delta, probable high priest of Heliopolis, to write his history of Egypt which, although surviving only in epitomes, has proved not only indispensable but increasingly verified.

THE ETHNICALLY ECUMENICAL volatile, witty city mob consisted largely of Greek/Egyptian creoles, but runaway slaves, debtors, outlaws, freedmen, ex-mercenaries and pirates, ne'er-do-

wells—every variety of immigrant from countries near and far—flocked to this world’s greatest emporium, mainly youths and men admitted on condition of military service. The irreverent underclass/bohemian street throng therefore featured veterans as well as mangy or foppish loafers subject to draft, scorned but feared and aped.

Ptolemaic kings appeased native Egyptians to ensure power, while queens courted Jews to oppose brother-husbands. Jews more decisively flourished by the reign of Ptolemy VI.

THE UNPRECEDENTEDLY ELABORATE grand procession that Philadelphos fielded in honor of his father perhaps at the first anniversary of Soter’s death but the exact year unknown despite Athenaios of Naukratis’ endless excerpt from Kalixeinios of Rhodes’ since-lost mammoth *All About Alexandria* [redacted and annotated by E.E. Rice, Oxford U. 1983] included then-novel elephants. If Indian, they would have survived from Ptolemy I’s 312 capture at Gaza. If African, from Ptolemy II’s c.275 expedition to Lower Nubia (between 1st and 2nd Cataracts) using suppression of a nomad incursion as pretext to get gold and elephants; in which case the grand procession would date sometime after 275. Philadelphos established also an every-4th-year festival, *Ptolemaieia*, honoring his father.

It was mainly the military need of elephants that moved Philadelphos 270/69 to reconstruct the silted Persian Canal connecting the eastern Delta near Bubastis to the Gulf of Suez, founding of ports on both Egyptian and opposite Arabian coasts and subsequent encouragement of trade with India for its incense. Not yet knowing of the monsoon, Egyptian sailors coasted the dangerously rocky shores (the Red Sea additionally treacherous beyond them). Elephants roamed in Lower Nubia and between 5th & 6th Cataracts in the Meroë region.

Notice this further preoccupation east (and south) but, from around the time of the first Lower Nubian expedition, Philadelphos established good relations with Carthage that grew out of commercial rivalry with Kyrenaika while Kyrenaika revolted from Egypt under King Magas. In this cordial détente a Philadelphos *strategos* (high admiral) Timosthenes of Rhodes uniquely got Carthaginian permission c.269 ±4 to visit ports west of Carthage to the Pillars but no farther. Timosthenes’ *On Harbors*, lost but quoted by Eratosthenes and others, described these with ports elsewhere. Despite Alexandrian cultural supremacy throughout the Mediterranean, no other Ptolemaic ship ever got past Carthage while it remained Punic. (Roman Carthage rose on the ruins.) Philadelphos exchanged ambassadors with Rome 273. Alexandrine ships traded heavily with both Carthage and Rome till the 1st Punic War erupted 264 to last the balance of Philadelphos’ reign and till 241 in the next. Philadelphos’ neutrality preserved good relations with both sides, commercially costly.

PHILADELPHOS’ WARS included the inconclusive c.275 mutually failing campaigns with Kyrene; the 274-71 1st Syrian War against Antiochos I; a naval expedition to the Black Sea supporting Byzantion; 267-61 Chremonidean War supporting Athens against Antígonas II Gonatas of Macedonia which the Ptolemaic coalition lost, yet Ptolemy gained bases in east Crete, Kos, and Thera and c.262 regained Ephesos; 2nd Syrian War against Antiochos II 260-53; loss of Ephesos in the naval Battle of Ephesos c.254/53 when Rhodians defeated Chremónides; and loss of Aegean Island League protectorate. The peace of 253 with Antiochos II confirmed Philadelphos’ loss of Ephesos, Miletos, Samos, Pamphylia, and Kilikia, sealed by the marriage of Antiochos and Philadelphos’ daughter Berenike.

A 251/48 inscription (at Pataliputra?) of the great converted-Buddhist Aśoka recorded mutual diplomacy with Ptolemy II and Magas of Kyrene (preceded by Seleukos I’s ambassador Megasthenes). By 250 Philadelphos’ son Prince Ptolemy Euergetes (“Benefactor”) was engaged to Berenike, daughter of Magas, and Magas died. About that same year 250, the Ptolemaic fleet defeated Antigonos Gonatas.

Ptolemy III

AT PHILADELPHOS' DEATH Jan. 29, 246, newly succeeded Ptolemy III Euergetes (who looked like a less thuggish Alexander) married Berenike [II] and within the year regained her native Kyrenaika.

ERATOSTHENES OF KYRENE at Athens (a pupil of Zeno) was c.40 when Ptolemy III invited him to succeed refined *Argonautika* poet Apollonios of Rhodes (who resigned) as head of the Library, where Eratosthenes by gnomon propounded the earth's circumference at 250,000 *stades* (subsequently adding 2,000 to total c,24,662 mi., less than 200 short). To test, Ptolemy III his year 15 (232 B.C.) sent an expedition manned by Libyans, Rata capt., Maui navigator/recorder, into the Red Sea to verify. The expeditionists left wall epigraphy in Irian Caves, New Guinea (now "laminated" under translucent stalagmite) which included an annular eclipse Nov. 13, 232 and next recording Year 16 at the cave called Casa Pintada in Chile, having coasted that far south without finding a passage through [Barry Fell, "Newly Deciphered Naval Records of Ptolemy III," *ESOP* I #17 (Nov. 13, 1974), 1-2; "A Proposition by Eratosthenese," *ibid.* I #18), 1-6; "The Polynesian Discovery of America 231 B.C.," *ibid.* #21 (Dec. 13, 1974), 1-8; & "Karl Storp's Discovery of La Casa Pintada in 1885," tr. Mina Brand, *ibid.* II #23 (Jan. 1975), 1-2. Together with his concurrent solution of the Phaistos Disk, this was Fell's first major epigraphic triumph, thereafter rapidly outdistancing all epigraphers of history, to the gratitude of historians & etymologists but intense jealousy of most linguists, who knew fewer languages, left stagnating in their obsolete premises. Often linguists do good work within their self-imposed limits, but uncomprehended genius eludes their best.]

SOMETIME in Ptolemy III or his son's reign, another towering genius, Archimedes of Syrakuse, visited Alexandria where, said Diodoros (who failed to say when), he invented the "Archaimedeian Screw."

At the death of Ptolemy III between Oct. 18 & Dec. 31 222 he had lost Damascus. Koile-Syria remained Egyptian but, along with Egypt's Aegean empire, began stagnating next year from home embroilments. Seleukid Antiochos III arrogated Antioch as his capital 219 and the balance of Koile-Syria by 200. Thus the Jewish Diaspora roughly 200 B.C.-200 A.D. correlates with declining Hellenistic Egypt and also Syria despite its apparent resurgence, and with rise and decline of Rome.

### Roman tentacles

BY 200 B.C. Rome had wrested control of the western Mediterranean from Carthage, without interdicting Carthaginian caravan or sea trade. Siwa, incidentally, had joined the doomed defense of Carthage 207. The modern-scale 2nd Punic War staggered Egypt's economy, which had grown largely dependent on trade with Rome, Carthage, and Syracuse. Even during that war but focally afterward Rome abetted fratricidal destabilizing of Hellenistic Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt. Outside of Aramaic-speaking Judaea, where Greek of Seleukid rulers was also spoken, Jews prevailingly spoke Greek *koine*, like Apostle Paul of Greek Tarsos in Kilikia and Jews of Alexandria and Kyrene whose synagogues used the Septuagint. In organized communities Jews streamed steadily on to Italy, across North Africa, and massively to Gaul and Iberia. (Sephardic Jews were Jews in Spain—*Sephardim*, Hebrew for "Spain," which they regarded a Second Jerusalem.)

### Ptolemy IV & 2nd Punic War

ABOUT THE TIME HANNIBAL was crossing marshes of the middle Arno 217 B.C. (losing an eye as well as horses, baggage, and many Gauls) chubby Ptolemy IV Philopator ("Father-loving") won a Pyrrhic victory over Antiochos III of Syria at Raphia below Gaza, because Antiochos, commanding at the front right corner of his right wing (*polemarch*), outraced his main army too far after overcoming the Egyptian left. Yet the battle overstrained crumbling Ptolemaic resources. Vizier Sosibos' feat in conscripting native Egyptians to assemble the 20,000-troop resistance generated native resistance to the Greek/Jewish aristocracy and a nativist reaction

back to Bronze ways, then war-veteran recoil from higher taxes to pay for the battle triumph. Suppressing internal rebels drained the treasury, obliging harsher exactions, prolonging neglect of revenue-rich Aegean islands. Rome's disaster at Cannae coincided.

Ptolemy IV Philopator nevertheless appears to have resumed his father's interest in Eratoshenes and/or world exploration by sending out a fleet known only from a bronze tetradrachm in Queensland, Australia at NE coastal Cairns that Andy Henderson uncovered digging postholes c.1910. Its reverse shows the unmistakable Ptolemaic eagle perched on a thunderbolt, and legend in Greek: "*Of King Ptolemy!*" [ESOP VII/ II #172 (April 1979), 234].

THE DEADLY 2ND PUNIC WAR raged the rest of IV's hectic reign.

Publius Cornelius Scipio fought 5 years in Spain before prevailing 205, capturing the island Gades 50 mi. NW of Gibraltar, then proceeded to Africa and won the war an October day 202 at desert Zama 100 mi. SW of Carthage. Hannibal lost at least 20,000 killed, Scipio c.2,000, his ally King Masinissa of Numidia at least 2,500. (The disparate tongues shouting on the Carthaginian side which Polybios remarked continued to characterize Roman Mauretania.)

Punicized, goateed, curly-haired, sturdy young Masinissa got virtual autonomy as well as subduing of Carthaginian competition. In the next half-century he settled Numidians into towns and onto farms, converting his country to a vast prospering power, Punic in civilization, native Old Libyan (Numidian = Mauri or Moorish) in language, Egyptian in religion.

PTOLEMY IV's death sometime the summer 205, kept secret indefinite days or weeks, till early September, unleashed chaos in the Delta when known. Sister/widow Arsinoë was murdered. Secession of a Nubian dynasty at Thebes cut off gold from southern mines.

#### Ptolemy V Epiphanes; Rosetta Stone; Syrian successions

ANTIOCHOS (before he became III) had bestowed his daughter Kleopatra (I) on hapless boy-king Ptolemy V Epiphanes ("*God-manifest*"), whom self-styled guardians Sósibos & Agathokles (murderers of his mother Arsonoë III? [Polybios]) managed to install by Sept. 8, 204. Vizier Agáthokles was mob-lynched and Sosibos eliminated mysteriously 203 in the continuing disturbance.

AS THE GREAT 2ND PUNIC WAR ended in the west, Antiochos III swept to Gaza again 201—again checked, this time by able Gen. Skopes. But next year at Panion, near the source of the Jordan opposite Tyre, Egypt lost a battle and its empire excepting Kyrenaika and Cyprus—Year 8 of Ptolemy V, when Memphis priests proclaimed his benefactions on the Rosetta Stone March 27, 196 in "*sacred language*" hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek. Beneath its rhetoric emerged a sadly regressed country.

Antiochos III lost Asia Minor to Rome 188, saddled with a heavy indemnity for which he gave up his son Deleukos as pledge and next year tried to plunder the Temple of Ba'al at Elyais, Elam, losing his life in the clash. By Roman leave, Deleukos IV succeeded at Antioch, Syria's capital since Panion. His country was rich enough to meet the indemnity but Rome's paring away Anatolia and Greece deprived him of manpower to rule repressively.

Ptolemy V with enormous effort recovered Thebes 187 and suppressed a Delta rebellion 182 but died at 28 by courtier poisoning sometime Sept. 2 - Oct. 6, 180.

Heliódoros, chief minister of Antiochos III, assassinated him 175. Seleukos' brother Antiochos IV Epiphanes, hostage in Rome from 189 and educated there—an official in Athens on release but Hellenizing instead of Romanizing—beat out his brother-heir Seleukos (who would have been V) at Antioch, backed by Roman-pawn Eumenes I of Pergamon. Antiochos IV found

himself caught between Rome and Parthia, which had taken Elam. [See F(rancis).E. Peters, *The Harvest of Hellenism* (Simon & Schuster Touchstone 1970), 250-60, 274, 280.]

### Brothers VI & VII, vs. Antiochos IV

WHEN WIDOW/QUEEN/REGENT Kleopatra I died 173, ministers of gentle 14-year-old Ptolemy VI Philometer ("Mother-loving") bent to recover Koile-Syria, but Antiochos IV preemptively invaded Egypt 169, capturing Memphis along with young Ptolemy who was escaping to Samothrace. But Antiochos withdrew east when Alexandria reinstated VI's younger brother as Ptolemy VII (later Ptolemy VIII Physkon). Brothers VI & VII semi-reconciled into a dual monarchy, prompting Antiochos IV resumption, defeating the two pharaohs and reoccupying Pelusium at the Delta east tip that same 169. The pharaohs dislodged him next year. Antiochos retreated north, wrath with Jews for rebelling behind his back hoping him dead. Besides massacring, he abrogated Mosaic Law which, with chronic oppression, stiffened Jews in place rather than generating further exodus. The Hasmonaean house waged its Maccabaeen ("Hammer") guerilla war—not against specific Seleukid acts but, as Peters discerned, the Hellenic *polis* system that institutionalized oppression [282].

DESPITE A NABATAEAN uprising, Antiochos tried to annex Egypt again 168, actually occupying the Delta and Cyprus. But a Roman army had just annihilated Macedonia's army at Pydna (on the Thermaic Gulf, Macedonia). The future-great historian Polybios was among a thousand Achaians taken hostage to Rome. The Senate did not want Syria to expand or encroach on Delta wheat shipments to Rome. When Antiochos extended his hand at Pelusium, Gen. Gaius Popilius Laenas drew a circle around him with a vine stick and said he must answer the Senate before stepping out. Embarrassed silence; Antiochos deferred; handshakes. Antiochos withdrew in high dudgeon, said Polybios, who thought overbearing Laenas would not have persuaded. Pydna had.

PTOLEMY VI APPEALED unsuccessfully to the Senate, then retired to Cyprus exile. Alexandrians, recoiling from tyranny of Ptolemy VII Physkon who had assumed the title *Euergetes II*, recalled Ptolemy VI, who (queasy at traditional murder) *expelled* Physkon, who appealed to Rome. The Senate officially returned Egypt and Cyprus to Ptolemy VI and awarded Kyrenaika to Physkon, who felt unequally treated.

Parthia annexed Elam where, 163, underaking a campaign to regain, Antiochos IV died.

An Antiochos IV bronze tetradrachm was found 1882 on a farm east of Illinois River (Cass County) within the Hopewell domain.

ANTIOCHOS EPIPHANES' 10-year-old son succeeded as Antiochos V, whose cousin Demetrios, 23, son of Seleukos IV, impressed the Senate with a speech claiming greater right but showing vigor. Senators preferred a weak child (suiting Syrian nobles) and sent commissioners to burn decked ships, hamstringing elephants, and generally debilitate military capability. Hostage Demetrios presently escaped Rome to popular reception in Syria, where Antiochos V, resisting overthrow 162, was slain by his own soldiers.

THAT SAME 162 Ptolemy VII Physkon regaled the Senate in Rome against his brother with such bitterness that senators took pity on him, although apprized of his countrymen's loathing. Polybios said the real reason they refused to hear the brother's ambassadors and added Cyprus to VII's Kyrenaika was the danger of Egypt if competently headed.

Parthians having taken Babylon and, with it, Seleukid Persian Gulf monopoly at the death of Antiochos IV, Demetrios I grew sufficiently distracted with affairs east for Rome to ignore.

### Scipio in Africa

AT AGE 87 (151 B.C.) Masinissa provoked Carthage to retaliation, which Rome seized as pretext for the 3rd Punic War which, not going well by 148, moved the Senate to a formal request of Masinissa's aid. Envoys found him on his deathbed at his walled capital Cirta (later Constantine) on a desert river far WSW of Carthage where he wished the advice of Publius Cornelius Aemilianus Scipio (Africanus Minor), adopted grandson of Masinissa's old benefactor and Zama hero Scipio Africanus Major.

Aemilianus at this time was military tribune of the 4th Legion. Reaching Cirta the 3rd day after Masinissa's death at 90 to find himself executor of Numidia, he awarded the title *king* to all three elder legitimate sons, granting the eldest, Micipsa (*Mekswn*) Cirta and civil government, the next, Giusa, the army, and Mastanabal the judiciary. Deaths of the latter two from disease, said Sallust [*Jugurthine War* II. 1] shortly left Micipsa sole king, who in Libyan on Egyptian-style gold plaque to erstwhile Carthaginian subjects overseas announced himself successor of Masinissa (who had inherited the Carthaginian empire) and pharaoh of Egypt (since Ptolemaic eclipse at Panion) [Fell, *Saga America* (Times Bks. 1980), 98, 240]. A bronze coin of Micipsa was found c.1985 near an Indian mound at Deer Creek NW of Chillicothe, O. [Victor & Beverley Moseley, *ESOP XVI* (1987), 14].

Scipio, meanwhile elected consul to command the Roman army in Africa despite still 5 years under the required age of 43, took, looted, and burned Carthage 146. On Senate orders, Consul Lucianus Memnius razed Korinth, the leading Achaian-League city, to complete Roman takeover of both Mediterranean halves that same summer.

#### Ptolemy VI & the Levant

DEMETRIOS I his Year 15 (147) had tried to engineer a coup on Egyptian Cyprus which drove Ptolemy VI at Alexandria to collusion with Attalos I of Pergamon, sponsor of Alexander Balas, a pretended son of Antiochos IV, whom he did resemble. Antiochos IV's old minister Herakleides escorted him with Antiochos' daughter Laodike to Rome, where the Senate decreed them children of their friend and ally whom Rome would assist.

Attalos put Balas ashore at Ptolemais 153 with Pergamene and Egyptian troops and promise of the high Priesthood of Judaea to buy Jonathan Maccabaeus, brother-successor of Judas as leader of the Maccabean movement who, assuming office Oct. 152, cleared the way for Balas through Judaea 150 to trap and kill Demetrios and usurp at Antioch.

Jonathan and Ptolemy VI attended the Ptolemais wedding of Balas and Kleopatra Thea, daughter of Ptolemy VI & Kleopatra III. (Kleopatra I, daughter of Antiochos III, sister of Antiochos IV, queen of Ptolemy V, by whom mother of Ptolemy VI and Kleopatra II, married her brother Ptolemy VII Physkon, by whom issued Kleopatra Thea, whose first of 3 husbands was Balas.)

When Balas had executed Antiochos IV's widow Laodike and son Seleukos, he missed the two younger sons, Demetrios Jr. and Antiochos VII, who frolicked in foster care at Side, Pamphylia (south-coast Asia Minor). Leaving the government at Antioch to ministers Diódotos and Hiéras, Balas preferred to reside in the lazier Egyptian atmosphere of Ptolemais in royal debauchery. Kleopatra Thea bore a son he named Antiochos.

SUDDENLY ONE DAY in 147 teen-ager Demetrios Jr. appeared at Antioch with a mercenary army of Cretan ruffians under a pirate, Lástheneis. The Syrian governor of Tyre declared for Demetrios II. High Priest Jonathan held Judaea loyally in line as Balas rushed north to crush.

Magnanimous Ptolemy VI Philometer ("Mother-loving") had weathered a long reign sometimes helpless or humiliated, distracted by chronic insurrections, reprisals, and concessions, but did keep up his great-great grandfather Ptolemy II's harbors Berénike and Philótera on the Red Sea. Whether sustaining the ocean venture(s) therefrom of Great-Grandfather Ptolemy III we do not know, but was also more intent on enlarging his elephant parks and East-Desert gold-mine production, determined to recover Koile-Syria. Any oceanic activity during the Ptolemaic

era took place from Red Sea harbors, whence Alexander the Great had intended re-circumnavigating Africa to conquer Carthage.

While Balas battled Lasthenes' pirates outside Antioch, Ptolemy VI struck Judaea by land and sea; defeated Jonathan's troops garrison by garrison, repossessed Kleopatra Thea at Ptolemais, and retook Koile-Syria, but declined the Syrian throne in favor of Demetrios II, whom he pressed upon the Antioch populace and gave him Kleopatra Thea in marriage 146.

Balas sallied from Kilikian exile the following year. Ptolemy proceeded against him but fell wounded in battle near Antioch. Syrian officers assassinated Balas and brought his head to dying Ptolemy, with whose death Sept. 145 Egyptian personnel evaporated from Koile-Syria, forfeiting their won objective.

TOO YOUNG TO GOVERN, Demetrios II late 145 summoned his vassal Jonathan, virtual controller of the South, to put down civil rebellion at Antioch with 3,000 crack troops, in apparent tandem with Demetrios' Cretan ruffians, whose murders and looting largely impelled the rebellion. Gen. Diodotos, whom Demetrios retained from Balas' ministry, capitalized on public hate of Demetrios & Cretans to ally with Jonathan, whose troops fought for Diodotos the length of Palestine 143-42.

Diodotos fetched Balas' infant from Arab hiding 143 and installed him as Antiochos VI Theos, himself regent; which made Kleopatra Thea queen-mother. She apprehensively moved to Seleuka Pieria, Antioch's port on a Musa Daugh spur overlooking the harbor. Tiny Antiochos VI died 142, suspectedly at the hands of Diodotos, who proclaimed himself King Tryphon, executed Jonathan late that year as a perceived rival, and appealed to Rome in vain for recognition.

Demetrios had sired two sons, Seleukos V and Antiochos VIII Grypos ("Hooknose") and a daughter, Laodike, by the time he interrupted his civil war against Tryphon to recover Syria's eastern empire, marching 140 with his Cretans, who retook Babylon but pursued the old emperor Mithradates too far into Iranian highlands to avoid capture. Under court arrest at Ekbatana(?), Demetrios made such a hit that Hellenic-admiring Mithradates gave him his daughter Rhodogune in marriage.

#### Ptolemy VII=VIII, Kleopatra II-III, & Kleopatra Thea

WHEN NEWS of Ptolemy VI's death reached Kyrene, cruel, bloated Ptolemy VII, now as VIII Euergetes II, whom Alexandrians called *Physkon* ("Pot Belly"), slipped into Alexandria, brushed his brother's heir Ptolemy Neos Philópator aside and married his brother's unscrupulous widow/sister Kleopatra II (also *his* sister and irate mother of Ptolemy Neos), legitimizing himself despite mutual antipathy and capitalized the moment to sire a son Memphites (born in Memphis 144). Queen Kleopatra led elite Greek/Jewish subversion.

Physkon took a second wife, his bossy niece Kleopatra III, daughter of Kleopatra II and sister of Kleopatra Thea. Ptolemy VI in 154 had betrothed one of these sisters to his brother.

The bizarre troika makeshifted by re-Egyptianizing a degenerating chaotic country, as the Alexandrian aristocracy itself Egyptianized. Physkon conspicuously ingratiated native Egyptian priests and soldiers. Vicious, dissolute, he paradoxically patronized high culture, science, and exploration. Yet the Library lost its prestige as high culture stagnated from Physkon's indiscriminate slaughter of Greeks, taking revenge for former expulsion, innately reptilian.

KLEOPATRA II FOMENTED a Greek/Jewish-aristocratic revolution that again drove Physkon out of Alexandria 131. He took Kleopatra III and her children to Cyprus, also his and Kleopatra II's teen-age son Memphites, whom he put to death and (according to Diodoros) sent back dismembered to his mother at her birthday feast.

AMIDST THE 4-YEAR continuing civil war in Alexandria, a longtime great mathematical genius at the Mouseion, Hipparchos of Nikaia (Nicaea in Bithynia, North Asia Minor, south of Nikomedia), was c.59 in 131, invented trigonometry, discovered the precession of the equinoxes, and catalogued 1080 stars, among astounding achievements between c.160 & 125. Mapping of the Black Sea, Aegean, and Mediterranean could not have occurred (as on 13th-18th-century *portolani* retaining Alexandria as base line) before Hipparchos' trigonometry, notwithstanding Mallory, Hapgood, and other full-grown men & women who confusedly believed these Alexandria-based *portolani* derived from the Ice Age, misjudging from Turkish Admiral Piri's 1513 Alexandria-based map of South America copied at the Hellespont from Amerigo Vespucci's 1501 data of pioneer eclipse-determined longitude and the not-yet-mastered longitude of his 1499 voyage, therefore Piri's' 2 equators & 2 Amazons, not realizing Voyage 3 largely superseded Voyage 1 (which had shown no passage through Mexico, implying a try far south).

Physkon exploited mounting nativist Egyptian pressures to force his brother's daughter Kleopatra II's 129 flight to her sister Kleopatra Thea, who had had a dramatic decade-plus.

DEMETRIOS' YOUNGER BROTHER Antiochos VII Sidetes had been residing on Rhodes when he joyously received from Selukia Pieria Demetrios' wife Kleopatra Thea's 138 proposal of bigamous marriage (strengthening his Seleukid claim). With immense popular support he defeated Tryphon, whose 3-year rule rested on Syrian hate of Demetrios and now-dead Jonathan. Chased downcoast to Dor, Tryphon committed suicide. Antiochos VII proved a splendid vigorous king. He sired a son Antiochos IX Kyzikenos, so nicknamed because his mother Kleopatra Thea sent him to grow up at Kyzikos on the Propontis (Sea of Marmara). She had sent little Antiochos VIII by Demetrios II to Athens.

Her doubled husband Antiochos VII expedited east 130 to recover Babylon and rescue his brother, taking along Demetrios' son Seleukos and daughter Laodike, and successfully obliged Phrastes II, who had succeeded Mithradates, to release young Demetrios, who returned with Seleukos, but Mithradates kept beautiful Laodike for his queen. Antiochos VII stayed in Mesopotamia fighting, only to die 129 in a surprise Parthian dawn attack on his camp.

KLEOPATRA II had located Kleopatra Thea 129 at Ptolemais, to beg her bid Demetrios abet her war against Physkon. Because of assistance Demetrios did give, Physkon from Cyprus exile imposed his pawn, Alexander Zebinas king at Antioch 128 and fought back into Alexandria himself 127.

Zebinas defeated Demetrios, who repaired back to Ptolemais to claim his wayward queen, who refused admittance and got the governor of Tyre to assassinate him 125, enraged at his marrying Rhodogune [according to Josephus]. Assuming herself sovereign, she had silver tetradrachms struck bearing her veiled, crowned profile. When that same 125 her other son defied her and proclaimed himself King Seleukos V she slew him with her own hand, Appian suggested because she feared revenge for his father's death.

Grypos defeated Zebinas 123 to become Antiochos VIII. Kleopatra Thea had to admit his profile with hers on coins but hers superimposed in front. Physkon bestowed on him his daughter Tryphaina, Kleopatra Thea's niece. The joint rule would have to end anyway 121 when Grypos reached his majority and wed, but ended when, hot from hunting, he took Kleopatra Thea's proffered cool poisoned wine and forced her to drink it herself [Justin].

FOR ANOTHER 8 YEARS the Alexandrian troika muddled, jointly signing edicts as the country ignored their authority. Amnesty/compromise/reform decrees 118 sound too enlightened for the Physkon whom Polybios and other contemporaries painted. Biographer Grace Harriet Macurdy (1937) suspected Kleopatra II's acumen, but mighty historian M[ichael] I[vanovich] Rostovtzeff (1941) suggested repetition of old traditional forms.

Physkon took a mercenary interest in discoveries of a Greek mariner, Eudoxos of Kyzikos, who had arrived in Alexandria as envoy/herald for Kyzikos' Persephone-festival truce, when rescuers brought a nearly-dead crewman from the Red-Sea shore to court who, when able to

comprehend enough Geek, said he was sole survivor of a boat sailing from India [according to Strabo quoting Posidonios]. Alexandrian sophisticate skepticism of India confirms a lapse of the previous century's east seafaring (as Iron Age Chinese forgot their distant Bronze voyaging). Physkon sent Eudoxos to check, with the rescuee as guide, from Berenike Harbor to Muziris (Magalona) below Calicut—70 days, said Pliny when Romans had learned (as Rostovtzeff discerned Eudoxos had) the monsoon secret for nonstop open-sea crossing that bypassed Arabia & Persian Gulf. Eudoxos got back with a cargo which Physkon confiscated and shortly died, June 116, bequeathing Kyrenaika to his bastard son Ptolemy Apion, and Egypt to Kleopatra III's choice of sons, herself regent.

### Ptolemy VIII & IX

SHE WANTED the younger. Alexandrians, disdaining the will, forced her to take the older, Ptolemy VIII Soter II (discounting Physkon's arrogation of VII), irreverently calling Soter II *Lathýros* ("Chickpea"). Kleopatra III thereupon sent her younger son Ptolemy Alexander to Cyprus as viceroy but forced Soter to divorce his sister/wife Kleopatra IV and replace with his younger sister Kleopatra V Selene. Biographer P.M. Meyer (1902) suspected Kleopatra III murdered her mother Kleopatra II, who died about this time extremely old for that day at c.75.

India perfume, gems, etc. persuaded Kleopatra III to send Eudoxos on a larger expedition that same year. Measures to strengthen security of Red-Sea harbors and roads connecting with the Nile signified to Rostovtzeff expanding, regular India trade. Han China mirror-duplicated.

Affluent, affronted Kleopatra IV rushed to her brother Alexander at Cyprus and raised an army which she ferried to Seleukia Pieria and offered it with herself, to her cousin Kyzikenos who was under siege by his half-brother Grypos, who captured Antioch with now Queen Kleopatra IV inside. Her sister, Queen-of-Damascus Tryphaina, mistaking Grypos' intention to spare as amorous, had IV assassinated at the temple altar. Kyzikenos recaptured Antioch and slew Tryphaina, to make himself Kleopatra III's worst enemy and Grypos her ally.

THE SUMMER MONSOON blew Eudoxos from India off-course to a shore "*below Aithiopia*" [Strabo, quoting Posidonios] which Walter Woodburn Hyde placed below Cape Guardafui, Somalia [*Ancient Greek Mariners* (Oxford U. 1947), 201]. Eudoxos took the horse-head prow of a wrecked ship floating in that vicinity back to Alexandria c.114, where old salts recognized a Carthaginian Gádes (Cádiz) type. One captain even recognized the ship—lost beyond the Lixos (Wadi Draa) on Morocco's NW coast. Pharaoh Soter confiscated Eudoxos' cargo as had his father. Eudoxos sailed home to Kyzikos, then for Gades in a 50-oar galley determined to circumnavigate Africa to circumvent Alexandria—actually got around clockwise to the Atlantic shore of Morocco in a boat built from his wrecked galley. He found the Jugurthine War raging when hiking to West Mauretanian king Bocchus I's palace where, intuiting malevolence (Bocchus had attempted to maroon him) escaped—into oblivion. Old-salt knowledge of Cádiz and Lixos reminds us that Carthage had been unable to block past Sardinia after 146 B.C.

PTOLEMY VIII SOTER his Year 10 (108) without consent of his anti-Kyzikenos, pro-Jewish mother acceded to his brother-in-law Kyzikenos' request for 6,000 men to raise High-Priest Hýrkanos' siege of Samaria. Kleopatra III had men castrated and displayed as so suffering in her defense—to incense the mob to expel her older son [according to Pausanias]. He fled to Cyprus, enabling Kleopatra to recall his brother Alexander fall 107 as Ptolemy IX.

The army she sent after Soter Lathyros defected to him, all but its Jewish contingent. Kleopatra executed the returning commander. Soter retreated temporarily to Seleukia Pieria. When back on Cyprus he received an appeal from the city Ptolemais against High-Priest Alexander Jannaíos' mercenary army of Kilikian Greeks. Although Ptolemaisians changed their mind by the time Soter arrived, he laid Judaea waste anyway, past Gaza.

In fear he was heading to Alexandria, Kleopatra III in 102 sent her daughter Selene to Grypos at Damascus with a dowry, left two grandchildren in the sanctuary of Askoulepios on Cos Island, led the army of Egypt NE with 2 Jewish generals, and ordered Alexander to bring the navy to Ptolemais, which they together captured. Grypos failed to send aid; one of her generals had perished; and Jews protested her reclaiming Koile-Syria or fighting Jannaïos, with whom at Scythópolis (Beth-shan) in the Jordan valley she settled for alliance.

Though thus blocking Soter from Alexandria, she returned there without chastising him or Kyzikenos. Alexander decamped from Egypt, possibly to raise an army against his mother, who bade him back. He complied, then [according to Justin & Pausanias] assassinated her Sept. or Oct. 101.

She had had herself worshipped as Isis (subsequent Kleopatras emulating), reinforcing Mediterranean-wide inclusion of Isis in the Greek pantheon. (Inclusion extended to the Amazon in rites and cliff epigraphy of Hellenistic Greek war-captive slaves of Carthage.)

Apion occupied Kyrene before 100 in accordance with Physkon's "dead letter" testament, which worked out as designed—Kyrenaika, Cyprus, and Nile independent kingdoms. Apion died 96, uniquely bequeathing Kyre-naika to Rome.

AS SOLE RULER OF EGYPT Ptolemy IX Alexander by 31 Oct. 101 (first papyrus documentation of him and his niece together) married Kleopatra Berenike III Philadelphos, only (legitimate) heir of his brother Soter II, by either Kleopatra IV or Kleopatra V Selene. Alexander had a daughter by Berenike—also another by evidently Kleopatra IV when the latter repaired to him on Cyprus, and a son, Alexander II, by an unknown mother. These were the grandchildren Kleopatra III left on Cos 102. Mithradates IV of Pontus (Black Sea SE shore) kidnapped them and other illegitimate Ptolemy children, whom he reared at his court—machiavellian education.

Alexander grew so obese and drunken that a slave on either side had to support him. Foreseeing eviction by a disgusted populace, he surely was the Ptolemy Strabo said melted the gold coffin of Alexander the Great for coinage to buy a mercenary army. A mob drove him out in 89 and recalled Soter Lathyros from Cyprus.

WHENEVER ALEXANDER and entourage fled, he broke back into Alexandria, only to flee again, to Syria. We next pick him up (*via* Cicero) in Lykia, whence he sailed to take refuge with his brother or overthrow him; but the royal Alexandrine navy intercepted and killed Alexander off Cyprus a day or a few days before Sept. 14. Berenike reached shore, evidently escorted by her husband's vanquishers.

She accompanied her father to a warm welcome in Alexandria, where he had become known in his time-retouching absence as "Pious" for refraining from battle with his mother on Cyprus or in Palestine. But he confronted organized robbery at Herakléópolis in Middle Egypt (endemic since Ptolemy VI), work strikes, and a major revolt in Upper Egypt, whose 3-year crushing practically destroyed Thebes [Pausanias] but revived the India trade, royally fostered through the Thebaid governor in charge. Refugees did not flee downriver to the Mediterranean but upriver to Nubia and the Sudan or NW to Fayyum swamps or far on to Libyan Desert oases. With restabilization merchants, not refugees, swelled traffic on the Red Sea. Commerce, however, also increased north and west in the Mediterranean.

THE MARCH 80 DEATH of shrewd, brutal Soter Lathyros left the throne to Berenike. Consul Lucianus Cornelius Sulla dispatched her nephew/stepson Alexander II, who had escaped Pontus to Rome, as king of Egypt, bolting into Alexandria Aug. 80. He forced his aunt/stepmother to legitimize him Ptolemy X by marriage, and in 19 days assassinated her. She had reigned 6 months and co-reigned 19 days. Sulla notwithstanding, the mob haled Alexander to the Gymnasium and lynched.

## Ptolemy XI Auletes

ALEXANDRIANS that early September chose as successor Lathyros' bastard son Ptolemy XI Philopator Neos Dionysos, a lad c.15 then in Syria—another of the children Mithradates IV had kidnapped, as was his sister or half-sister Kleopatra VI Tryphaina, whom he wed 79, following coronation Sept. 80. The Cypriot mother of neither is known.

Already dissolute Ptolemy XI had taken up the double-reed double *aulos*, the mistranslated "flute" perhaps suggested by his name Dionysos. An aulos solely accompanied Classical tragedy in theaters of Dionysos, the god associated with lecherous drunken abandon which described his namesake, whose constant tooting gave him his better-known nickname *Auletes* ("Aulos-player"). Officially he too was a god.

American tribes, who knew end-blown flutes (recorders), called Auletes whom they did not know, *Kokopelli* in the Tewa language of San Juan and 4 other Rio Grande pueblos north of Santa Fe, plus a village on the Hopi East Mesa of NE Arizona. He had also been a Hohokam legend and nearly universal in the Greater Southwest. The detachable hump in desert drawings represented bribes for a bride [cf. Norman Totten, *ESOP XI/2* (1983), 185-90, who suspected no Egyptian connection]—in Auletes' case, bribes of Roman senators and a governor of Syria to remain in and return to power, which for 22 years sustained him amid Alexandrian ridicule that the whole Mediterranean echoed (so retold by emigrants from anywhere on its shores into the Atlantic long after), as he notoriously sought Roman confirmation, further impoverishing his country but appeasing the native faction by temple additions. So it is *his* idealized silhouette with upraised arm to bludgeon that adorns both pylon-tower façades of the great Edfu temple.

MEANWHILE IN SYRIA, Kleopatra V Selene, whom Kleopatra III forced on Soter Lathyros (whereby maybe mother of Berenike III) and whom Kleopatra III gave to Grypos 102, became his widow 8 years later. His half-brother Kyzikenos wed her to reunite Syria but died the following year, 95. Kyzikenos' son Antiochos X Eusebes (Pious) married her, contesting the Syrian throne with his cousin Demetrios III, a son of Grypos who seized the Damascus throne. Subjects of Antiochos X called him Pious because he married his stepmother.

Selene bore him 2 sons. He defeated Grypos' son Antiochos XI Epiphanes in 92 but both kings died that year, succeeded by another Grypos son, Antiochos XII Dionysos, who died in 85. Tigranes I of Armenia, son-in-law of Mithradates IV of Pontus but whose dynasty had been founded by Antiochos III's general Artaxias, swept Syria 83 and made Antioch one of his residential cities. From Ptolomais Selene sent her 2 sons to Rome, 75, to claim the throne of Egypt. Consul Lucius Licinus Lucullus invaded Armenia 69, defeated Tigranes, captured his new capital Tigranocerta on the upper Euphrates, and forced his relinquishing Syria. A withdrawing garrison there appears to have whisked Selene to Tigranocerta, where the Armenian emperor slew her.

Lucullus restored her elder son Antiochos XIII Asiaticos at Antioch as vassal-king over much of Syria. When Pompey defeated Tigranes in 66 he divested Asiaticos to make Syria a Roman province under Tigranes as vassal, Antioch a free city. Pompey explained that Seleukid princes had ceased to govern. An Arab sheik killed Asiaticos.

AULETES' ENORMOUS BRIBE 59 B.C. promised Pompey and Caesar of the Triumvirate (the 3rd member, Crassus, was inimical following his abortive attempt to seize Egypt) inclined them to recognize him at last, but heavy exactions laid on Egyptians to pay it enraged them to depose. Macurdy rather thought Auletes slipped away to dissemble ouster at Rome as a way to military restoration, thus recognition. He borrowed heavily from Roman usurers to lobby. Pompey and ex-Consul Lucullus so competed for the mission that they stalemated it.

Kleopatra Tryphaina ruled as regent at Alexandria a year. Her 57 death may have been murder at the hands of Berenike IV, her eldest daughter, who assumed the throne and, once news reached Alexandria Auletes was alive subverting in Rome, sent 100 men to refute her father's allegations. He however bought off, intimidated, or murdered the 100, causing enough

scandal and Senate recoil to quash his suit and impel flight to Temple-of-Artemis sanctuary, Ephesos, whence he got Pompey's man Gabinius, proconsul of Syria, to take a colossal 10,000-talent bribe.

Alexandrians meanwhile alit on an uncouth Seleukid they called Kybiosaktes ("Fish-packer") to marry Berenike, who right after the wedding had him strangled. On her own she took up with Archelaos, pretended son of the late Mithradates VI ("the Great"), who died 63. Archelaos had bribed Pompey to make him high priest at Comana on Mt. Eryx, Palermo, Sicily and also bribed Gabinius through his friend and cavalry commander, burly Marc Antony (Marcus Antonius; Caesar referred to him by both names, Cicero only Antonius). Gabinius did not like Pompey's order to install Archelaos in view of Auletes' 10,000 talents, so is suspect in Archelaos' death during the battle for gateway Pelusium.

Gabinius forthwith illegally bade Antony take the city on Auletes' behalf. Then Antony had to restrain depraved Auletes from massacring all prisoners—his last recorded deed of restraint. It was here at Pelusium that Auletes' daughter Kleopatra VII, 14, first caught the eye of black-bearded Antony, 27. Gabinius had to stand trial twice in Rome, for taking 10,000 talents and for extortion. Pompey got him off at the first, partly because a weak, dependent king of Egypt was in Rome's interest. Caesar amnestied his exile (48) for the second (so conveniently available to Kleopatra's sister Arsinoë).

Regaining the throne *via* a Roman army spring 55, Auletes immediately slew Berenike. Gabinius' army of mainly Germans and Gauls settled in Alexandria.

#### Kleopatra, Antony, Caesar, Octavius, & Cicero

AULETES' UNLAMENTED DEATH early Jan. 47 at 44 left Kleopatra VII, now 17, his oldest surviving heir. His will made her and her 10-year-old next-brother, Ptolemy XII, joint rulers.

The eunuch palace-majordomo Póthinos; tutor Theódotos of Chios; & Egyptian general Achíllias who ran affairs for the royal minors, saw Kleopatra slipping from their control and though plausibly accused her 48 of intending to do away with her brother, she saw their intent to do away with her and resourcefully raised a mercenary army—Macurdy supposed from Arabia; likelier Aegean islands and mainland Greece, full of impoverished veterans nominally subjects of Egypt, ignoring Gabinius & his veterans at hand (for the moment sedentary playing safely loyal). Physkon had sought help from the friendly king of Sikyon below Korinth on the Gulf of Korinth.

CAESAR AT PHARSALAS (Thessaly) defeated his son-in-law Pompey (*Pompeius Magnus*) early June (Aug. 9 Julian) that fateful year 48—6,000 Pompeians dead on the battlefield, including those Antony, commanding the left wing, ordered executed whom Caesar, according to Cicero, would have pardoned, 24,000 prisoners, another 20,000 in flight including Pompey galloping by a back gate NW. (Caesar inexplicably did not mention this world-historic battle in his book on the civil war. Plutarch mentioned without describing.) Caesar pursued to the Hellespont, then a month and a half asea to Alexandria, where Theódotos brought aboard the head of Pompey, slain 3 days before (Sept. 28) by one of Pompey's men in the boat carrying him ashore.

Caesar landed Oct. 2 and summoned Ptolemy XII, whose battle-camp stood opposite Kleopatra's at Pelusium. Kleopatra followed in a small boat that eluded Póthinos' patrols. A Syrian merchant delivered her at the palace rolled in a rug.

Pothinos ordered Achillias to fetch the 20,000 foot, 2,000 horse army from the Sinai whose Pompey veterans greatly increased its threat. As Caesar anxiously awaited reinforcements his barber detected Pothinos' plot to poison. Caesar executed the majordomo. Detaining all 4 Auletes children, he allayed the restive populace by confirming Auletes' will, then joined Kleopatra with Ptolemy XII in co-regency-marriage. He also made the 15-year-old jealous sister Arsinoë (IV) co-ruler of Cyprus with the other brother.

Arsinoë, allowed escape to the Egyptian army, bade Achillias assassinated, took command, and with opportunistic Gabinius abetting, proclaimed herself queen of Egypt. Caesar

closed off the coastal palace district and seized both harbors as well as the dividing mole and lighthouse in Egyptian soldiers' disoriented moment and, short of troops, burned docked ships to prevent their use against him. Fire spread to the great Library in Mouseion environs of the palace district to consume c.400,000 papyrus rolls. Plutarch said that when Caesar saw his communication threatened "*he was forced to divert that danger by setting fire to his own ships, which, after burning the docks, thence spread on and destroyed the great library*" [Caesar 49, tr. Dryden]. Pliny wrote the standard account, which Seneca and 5th century Orosius followed. Second century Aulus Gellius in Athens wrote independently. Ammianus Marcellinus in 4th century Antioch confirmed the "*conflagration*." P.M. Fraser in his magisterial *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford U. 1972), II 403 n224 reproduced the Latin of all but Livy, and Greek in the case of Plutarch, giving most weight to Plutarch for intimate familiarity with Alexandria.

Caesar admitted to losing more than 110 ships in the dockyards [*Civil War*, "The Alexandrian War" I.12], yet dust-threw: "*Alexandria is almost entirely secure against fire...*" [*ibid.* 1]. Alexandrians pragmatically reversed to welcome Caesar, who acceded to their petition to release their king, who promised loyalty but sped to command Egyptian troops' interception of Roman reinforcements marching through the Sinai. Caesar stormed his camp. The teen-age king drowned in a Nile branch fleeing.

Caesar replaced him with his now-12-year-old younger brother as Ptolemy XIII and Kleopatra's consort Jan. 47, then took Arsinoë to Rome *via* Syria.

THE 5-YEAR CIVIL WAR that began with the Rubicon crossing Jan. 49 encircled the sea. It may be linguistically significant that Caesar's army had been recruited largely from Etrurians and Ligurians while he had been stationed as consul in Cisalpine Gaul. As retirees in Caesar-founded Spanish romulans they wrote Latin retrograde in the Etruscan/Chalkidic alphabet, or Celtiberic. Between Arno and Po Rivers the population, as in Cisalpine Gaul, was Ligurian and spoke Celtic.

At Thapsus Feb. 6, 47 (Julian April 9) on the east Tunisian coast below Carthage the 30 elephants of fierce, cruel, vain King Juba I of Numidia wheeled and stampeded his own 4-legion "*horde of barbarians*." Caesar's army overran camps of Juba and Pompey's father-in-law Metellus Scipio, commander of Pompey's center at Pharsalos. Caesar's veterans left a carnage of 50,000 dead at a cost of 50 of their own—perhaps since Caesar had withdrawn to his tent shaking from "*his usual distemper*" [Plutarch] (epilepsy, though sounding like recurrent malaria). Some accounts credited Caesar with leading the charge and allowing gratuitous slaughter after the battle, but others, said Plutarch, fixed his collapse just as he was setting his army in order. Metellus committed suicide—also Sen. Porcius Cato at Utica, where he commanded and preferred death to Caesar's clemency.

Juba fled NW to his capital Cirta with Marcus Petreius, a Pompey lieutenant since the war's first year. They found the gates shut. Petreius slew Juba. A servant did Petreius the same favor. Caesar arrived, made dispositions, appropriated 3-year-old Prince Juba as hostage and made Numidia's quarreling neighbors Bocchus II and Bocchus' younger brother Bogud co-kings of vastly stretching Mauretania, east and west respectively. Augustus later confirmed.

CONTRARY WINDS protracted Caesar's crossing back to Rome, which he reached July 25 (May 26 Julian). Arsinoë marched in chains in the 2nd of his 4 triumphs Sept. 20-Oct. 1 (July 20-30 Julian). Numidian Prince Juba II, now 4, was carried "*the happiest captive that ever was*" [Plutarch] and brought up in the household of Caesar's grandniece Octavia, half-sister of Octavius/Caesar Augustus and 2nd wife of Antony, for future nonbarbarian vassalage. Caesar's first, or Gallic triumph featured Vercingetoris in chains. Pliny totaled Caesar's slain excluding civilians 1,092,000. Already risking *hybris*, Caesar played with the fire of Roman patriotism by erecting a gold statue of Kleopatra in the Temple of Venus Genetrix beside that of this divine ancestress of the Julii in the Forum Julium, which he dedicated Sept. 26 (July 25).

PONTIFFS HAD NOT been intercalating the customary 22-day month every 2nd year and 23-day every 4th in the 365-day lunar calendar. Even with their insertion of a 23-day month after Feb. 24, 45, the Roman calendar outraced the sun by 2 months. Caesar as pontifex maximus

inserted another 67 days between November & December, stretching Year 45 to 445 days. Jan. 1, 45 the Julian calendar realigned with the solar year (off c.11 minutes per year too many), adopting Sosigenes of Alexandria's refinement of the Egyptian 365-day solar calendar which went slowly in and out of alignment for lack of a leap year. If only they had known the Maya calendar! (conceivably originated with the Egyptian, since its base date Aug. 11, 3114 B.C. looks suspiciously coincidental with the great William C. Hayes' unsuperseded 3114 for founding of the 1st Dynasty [*Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd edition 1962 fascicle; I/1 (1970), 73].

THE CIVIL WAR ended bloodier yet, in Spain, where Caesar had first taken it outside Italy to deprive Pompey of his loyal forces there before pursuing him east. Pompey had been governor of the 2 Roman Spanish provinces 54-49 and retained favor in Hither Spain (east coast, or Spanish Levant) as principal patron, popular despite suppression. Of his two main advisers, Equestrian Lucius Cornelius Balbus, nephew and namesake of Caesar's captain of engineers, was a native of Gades. After Thapsus, Pompey's eldest son Gnaeus Pompeius accepted command of a native Spanish uprising, to prolong the war on an appalling scale. Caesar fought his last battle March 17, 45 outside Munda (between Seville & Málaga), killing 30,000 of 50,000+ Pompeians. Vassal King Bogud, although in reserve with a Numidian army, played a key rôle in Caesar's victory when giving Pompeians the misimpression of retreat. Letdown set them up for Roman slaughter. Legionnaires tracked Gnaeus, disabled by a leg wound, to a Gibraltar cave and beheaded.

GAUNTLY OLD at 55, cynic Caesar [*cf.* Matthias Gelzer, *Caesar*, 6th edition 1959, tr. Peter Needham (Harvard U. 1968), 333] returned June 45 to his trans-Tiber Gardens on the Janiculum, where Kleopatra with Caesarion (Ptolemy Caesar) had resided a year. Cicero hated her for her arrogance there. April following the fatal Ides of March 44 she withdrew to Alexandria and poisoned Ptolemy XIII, her brother/legal husband/co-regent, to make Ptolemy XIV Caesar co-regent. (Alexandrians' nickname *Caesarion* meant "Caesar's bastard.") Arsinoë took refuge in the Temple of Artemis, Ephesos.

#### Murder of Cicero

ON AN ISLAND in the River Bononia (Bologna, Etruscan *Felsina*) Oct. 43 Octavius, 20, consented to the murder of Cicero in a package of criminal deals with master-of-horse Aemilius Lepidus, resulting in massive proscription and estate-confiscation for revenge and proceeds to pay troops. The Tribal Assembly legalized their authority and pact in the *lex Titia* Nov. 27 to take effect Jan. 1, 42. Without waiting, Antony sent Ruffian C. Popilius Laenas whom Cicero had once defended in a trial, who sought the honor (at high pay) to murder the renowned Senator, 63, at Cateta on the tip of the cape that bounds the Gulf of Gaeta north of the Bay of Naples, done 7 Dec. 43, and affix his head and hands to the Forum rostra whence he had delivered his 4th & 6th "Phillipics" against Antony Dec. 19, 44 & Jan 4, 43. The 14th and last Phillipic came in the Senate April 21.

The 1st Phillipic, Sept. 2, 44, had been a moderate address to the Senate explaining why he had set out on his voyage to Athens but cut it short, replying to Antony's tirade against him for not showing up the day before. (Cicero had returned to Rome amidst cheering crowds Aug. 31 but feared assassination by Antony's 6,000-man bodyguard.) Antony was not present to hear this reply, having departed for the Tibur (*Tivoli*) villa 20 mi. east of Rome of his host Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, who had served as consul with Pompey 52 and been his general in Syria and Egypt, to compose a vehement denunciation of Cicero which he "*spewed*," Cicero described though not present Sept. 19, ironically in the Temple of Concord. This oration bears out Plutarch's assessment that Antony's hostility to Cicero went back to 63 when Cicero as consul uncovered and defeated the Cataline Conspiracy and brought about the death of Antony's stepfather P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, one of the conspirators. Antony charged Cicero first with

murder of the Catalinarians [see Sallust, *Cataline's Conspiracy*], then assassination of Publius Clodius, a violent patrician whom Cicero had prosecuted in 62 and who as tribune 58 drove Cicero into exile then died in a street brawl 52. Antony next blamed Cicero for the civil war by causing the fatal rupture between Pompey and Caesar and, finally, instigator of Caesar's assassination.

Cicero retired to his Formae villa on the coast above Cumae to write the 2nd Phillipic in reply as if having delivered it Sept. 19 immediately following Antony. It was not delivered but published about the end of November, accusing Antony rather of instigating the civil war by vetoing with co-tribune Quintus Cassius the Senate order to Caesar to disband his army, then chronicling Antony's unspeakable debauchery since boyhood but praising him for his law terminating dictatorship, admitting to having advised and rejoiced at that "*glorious*" act of assassination. Since no one was unwilling the deed be done or disapproved afterward, all men were guilty of it—"all good men, as far as it depended on them, bore a part in the slaying...every one had the inclination." Throughout this Phillipic Cicero upheld Assassin Brutus. The defender of aristocratic corruption now definitely defended the dead Republic, law, and liberty with the valor he had shown for them in 63.

### Antony & Kleopatra

KLEOPATRA MET Caesar's left wing general Antony by lavish galley-row in 43 at Knydos, Kilikia and captivated him into having Arsinoë assassinated.

BRUTUS HAD SEIZED MACEDONIA following the assassination and his co-assassin Cassius Syria. Cassius joined Brutus at Smyrna, whence they took up a defensible seacoast position east of the Strymon in Macedonia where, 42, Octavius and Antony defeated the left wing Cassius commanded, at which he committed suicide. At the second defeat 2 weeks later, Brutus committed suicide. No Republican force remained. Tacitus summarized early in his *Annals*, Octavius found the whole state exhausted from internal dissension and formed his personal Protectorate.

ANTONY FOLLOWED Kleopatra back to Alexandria 41, returned in 40 and again 38. They rendezvoused variously at Antioch; Athens; a Phoenician harbor between Sidon & Bertos; and on Samos. She accompanied his Parthian expedition as far as the Euphrates. Beside him sat her twins Alexandros Helios and Kleopatra Selene, born 40, the year Widower Antony wed Widow Octavia. Antony acknowledged paternity of the twins at Antioch 36. His son Ptolemy Philadelphos by Kleopatra was born the end of 36.

Antony returned again to Alexandria from Araxes winter 34, riding a chariot in Rome-style triumph. Kleopatra ritually received him in the Serapeion enthroned as Isis, making him her Osiris. The great Temple of Serapis stood in the Rhakotis native SW quarter. Standing in front 2¼ centuries later and since, misnamed "*Pompey's Pillar*," an Aswan granite shaft rising 32 1/3 yds., 9' diam. at base, 7½ at top, surmounted by a magnificent Korinthian capital, atop which, as we know from a 5th-century-A.D. Sapphiris (Israel) mosaic depicting it, had stood a porphyry statue of Diocletian, right arm outstretched, left holding a staff. Beside it still rests a recumbent female sphinx, her duplicate lately raised from harbor bottom. An inscription on the Pillar's west side identifies Prefect of Egypt Publius dedicator of the monument to Diocletian 291. Diocletian not only visited Alexandria but in 8 months from early fall 297 reconquered the country, which had revolted against his reform for equitable taxation [cf. Stephen Williams, *Diocletian & the Roman Recovery* (Methuen 1985), 81-82]. Nothing whatever remains of the Serapeion immediately behind since its Christian demolition in the Pillar year 291. (Diocletian 284-305 again rescued the Roman Empire.)

AT AN ELABORATE CEREMONY a day or two after the Serapeion gala in the Gymnasium (*Stadion* in Cassius Dio's account) Kleopatra and Antony sat side by side on gold thrones, their 3 children and Caesarion on a tier beneath, Antony proclaimed Kleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, &

Koile-Syria. Besides grandiose awards of other countries to the children, he certified Caesarion Caesar's legitimate son of maternal royal Macedonian lineage and proclaimed him co-regent with Kleopatra.

This pronouncement undercut Gaius Octavius (Octavian) as Caesar's posthumously adopted heir who would turn 27 next month, Sept. 24. Antony had announced Caesar's paternity of Caesarion because Roman law forbade illegitimate heirs. But Caesar had declared himself childless (his daughter Julia, wife of Pompey, had died in 54), yet wished to explore whether Roman law could be construed to allow 2 wives. He may have decreed any law as dictator for life had he lived longer, already systematically destroying the Republic by fiat.

### Dénouement in Alexandria

KLEOPATRA INTENDED to establish herself in India after Actium (southern Epiros) 31, but Antony lost—had in fact beforehand and was attempting a surprise dawn retreat out of the bay which was succeeding when his crews failed to raise sails timely. Kleopatra got through with all 60 of her galleys, Antony straggling after, minus most of his. Syria-Gov. Quintus Didius bade Petra Arabs burn Kleopatra's getaway fleet in the Red Sea. She sent 17-year-old Caesarion (born June 47) with a great sum of money to Ethiopia (Nubia or the Sudan) to embark for India. In one version, the captain of his ship betrayed him. In another, Caesarion's tutor Rhodon persuaded him to turn back, and in a third, Octavius' cavalry overtook him.

Antony, watching his crews and then cavalry defect as Octavius' ships put in at Alexandria, fled into the city crying Kleopatra had betrayed him. She locked herself in her unfinished mausoleum and sent a messenger to say she was dead. Suetonius stated Octavius sent Antony an order to commit suicide. Eros, the slave whom Antony ordered to despatch him, slew himself instead. Antony then thrust into his own belly. When he came to, he was taken to Kleopatra's monument (at his order or her request) where she with 2 serving women inside hoisted him up through a window with terrific strain. Kleopatra went into hysterics, getting smeared with his blood, etc. He tried to allay her, drank wine, and died in her arms at c.52 (Plutarch thought either 53 or 56).

Octavius' lieutenant Procupeius got in through the same window by scaling ladders and grabbed Kleopatra's dagger before she could stab herself. She threw herself nearly naked at Octavius' feet in a subsequent parley, to no avail for once. Some days later, Aug. 12 Julian, Octavius found her (still in the tomb) dead at 39 on a gold bed, her maidservant Iras dead and the other one, Charmion, dying [Plutarch's *Antony*]. No one saw the purported asp that made 2 punctures on Kleopatra's arm. The other 2 women in the same room had taken turns with it?

Antyllus, Antony's eldest son, by Fulva, hid in the temple Kleopatra had built to the god Julius, but the boy's tutor Theodoros betrayed. Octavius sent soldiers to drag out and behead Antyllus, whose necklace Theodoros stole.

OCTAVIUS, from his entry into Alexandria, used the venerable Alexandrian philosopher Areios for legitimizing and seemed to defer to his intercession in sparing many lives, so could give Areios responsibility for replying, when consulted what to do with Caesarion: "*Too many Caesars are not well*" [Plutarch *ibid.*]. Octavius delayed the lad's execution till after Kleopatra's death. He ordered Kleopatra's mausoleum completed and allowed her burial in it *with* Antony. He spared the other 6 children of Antony by 3 wives, permitting Iullus (by Fulva) to inherit. Antony's divorced 2nd wife Octavia brought them up with her son and 2 daughters by her 1st husband Marcellus as her own, together with excelling-student Prince Juba II.

In Alexandria Octavius had Alexander's alabaster sarcophagus pulled out of its mausoleum and opened. The unmentioned gold coffin had after all evidently been melted. The corpse nose, Cassius Dio said it was said, broke off at Octavius' touch. Suetonius reported Octavius laying a gold diadem on Alexander's head and flowers on his torso. Invited to see the rest of the Ptolemies in the *Sema*, Octavius declined. Monster Caracalla verified intactness 215 before

ordering his general massacre from the Serapeion. So the corpse could not have been moved before 215—long post Helios.

Octavius had also permitted completion of the elaborate *Kaisarion* (that Philo Judaios called *Sebastion*) which Kleopatra had begun that faced the harbors from a high platform to celebrate Caesar-on-Shipboard. By use as a church it survived to the early 10th century. Two obelisks that stood sentinel before it till the late 19th century have since stood in London and in New York's Central Park.

OCTAVIUS, Tacitus related, seduced the army with bonuses and civilians with a cheap food policy. War or judicial murder [including 2/3 of the Senate!] disposed of all men of spirit, said Tacitus. Bribery replaced justice. Upper-class survivors found slavish obedience the way to succeed, "*and there was nothing left of the fine old Roman character*" [tr. Michael Grant].

### Caligula & Ptolemy XV

DEPRAVITY ONLY INCREASED, top down. While avaricious Gaius Caligula, usually drunk, toured Gaul and Spain 40 A.D. for rich people to dispossess, he summoned Ptolemy XV, who had succeeded Juba II in Mauretania c.19 A.D., to Lugdunum (*Lyon*) where, or after taken to Rome, assassination ensued. Cassius Dio: While the Senate was enforcing imperial messages, Gaius sent for Ptolemy, "*and on hearing that he was wealthy put him to death...*" [*Romaike Historia* LIX 20, 6]. Caligula's pretext that Ptolemy though a king had flaunted a purple cloak in his presence dissembled avarice and simultaneously eliminated a half-cousin rival heir of Antony [Sally-Ann Ashton, *The Last Queens of Egypt* (Pearson 2003), 143. See Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars* IV, "Gaius Caligula" 35, & Max Hoffman, "Ptolemaios von Mauretaniën," *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classische Altertums Wissenschaft* XXIII, pt. 2, 1768-87. Hoffman placed the cloak incident in Lugdunum, Suetonius in the Roman amphitheater. Seneca said he saw Ptolemy in prison in Rome, where remanded before or after Caligula returned.]

Ex-Gladiator Thracian colonels of the Praetorian Guard shortly assassinated mad 29-year-old Caligula Jan. 24, 41 in a covered passageway beneath the Roman palace as he ambled from the Theatre to lunch [Suetonius 58-59]. The Mauretanian army which ahead of Caligula's minions had spirited the treasure from its fabulously luxurious Caesaria palace (archaeology surprisingly divulged) formed the rearguard of hordes escaping a Roman army commanded by C. Suetonius Paulinus, dispatched by Successor-Emperor Claudius which more than a year, into 42, subdued and pursued over mountains to the Sahara coast [Max Cary, *A History of Rome* 541], presenting the terrible dilemma to still-multitudinous survivors: proceed to slavery in Senegal (*Dakar*) or turn boat people. If they followed the time-honored Carthaginian/Poverty Point/Adena/Hopewell route of Helios they may have found him still alive at c.65 in the valley of Burrows Cave or in any case joined compatriots. Did they not carry with them the royal Mauretanian treasury? Scrolls of Juba's books? Claudius rewarded Paulinus with the governorship of Britain and converted the vast vassal kingdom of Mauretania to a double Roman province. Long before Christian pogroms in Alexandria created new refugee waves far west, Jews had been swarming to Spain, Portugal, and Mauretania. Humane Juba II once sent a ship to Naples to pick up imploring Jews who had got that far (or possibly started therefrom).

THE JEWISH REVOLT of Mauretania as part of the Gibraltar-to-Parthia Bar Kokhba uprising when Helios had been dead perhaps 185 years, required another entire army to crush just in North Africa, surely adding, together with refugees who desperately shipped from the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, a substantial accretion to the American Mauretanian colony and/or Hopewell centers generally. Romans also evidently lumped Copts (as well as other Christians) with Jews before Constantine and Emperor Licinius' 313 Edict of Milan. That newcomers again sailed *via* Gulf & Mississippi appears from the Bat Creek, Tenn. Bar Kokhba stone and Bar Kokhba coins from 3 sites in Georgia of the Hopewell domain and another from the bottom of the St. Francis tributary of the Mississippi in Hopewell Missouri.

## Within & without

THE HASMONEAN TRIANGLE-BASED menorah Zena Halpern of Syosset, N.Y. recognized on a Burrows Stone was used in Judaea only 40-4 B.C.; which together with the mapstone demarking Caesar's final two Civil War battles and another of Caesar himself as pharaoh, possible only between 48 & 44 B.C., gold horse-head Carthaginian coins dating from 146 B.C. or much earlier but legal tender in the Western Hemisphere indefinitely, glorification of Alexandros Helios (if it were he, likeliest candidate) who departed the Mediterranean evidently 20 B.C. when 20, Ptolemaic style *koine* and Very Late Egyptian hieroglyphics; Ptolemaic-insignia lions & sunbursts, Mauretanian and Iberian associations roughly 1st century B.C.-1st 2 centuries A.D., pictured ships of this period, along with Roman helmets, breastplates, & short swords in addition to actual bronze spears; oil lamps, amphorae, & scrolls matching that period; etc. pretty well narrow down the Cave's heyday, after which sacred ceremonies continued in honor of the entombed king and retainers another half millennium or more until Late-Woodland Early-Mississippian sealing.

Artifacts inside ran consistent with themselves—late-B.C., early A.D. Mediterranean era—and Hopewell context. The Coptic *Jahweh* "Mystic Symbol" in Burrows Cave occurred vastly in Hopewell burial mounds. Coptic was Greek-laden Egyptian written in the Greek alphabet, reaching Midwest America probably 3rd century. Six dialects of it flourished in Egypt through the 5th, in the 6th only 3 [Roger S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton U. 1993), 237-40]. Hebrew inscriptions occurred conspicuously at Hopewell Newark; a Cave curse-prayer's Hebrew script is that of the Bar Kokhba Bat Creek Stone. The Thruston Tablet from Castalian Springs, Tenn. shows the Star of David plus warriors and boat like same on Burrows Stones. Gloria Farley has turned up the Cave's Carthaginian goddess Tanit in 9 states and Mexico. Burrows Stone portraits of the Egyptian cemetery guardian Anubis also recurs distantly, notably at solstice-reckoning Anubis Caves in the Oklahoma Panhandle, as Aton sunrays of the Pontotoc, Okla. cliff stele repeat on Burrows Stones. Celtiberic and Numidian—in letters and ogam—appear variously, e.g. along Oklahoma's Cimarron. Elephants and snakes on Burrows Stones duplicate as widely as Tanit, particularly a mythic form of Burrows Cave snake at the mid-Kansas Lyons sunken serpent effigy, Rice Lake, Ont. Serpent Mound, and Great Serpent Mound of South Ohio (this last probably Late or Post-Hopewell in the period of the Cave sealing). These representations afar repeat the many Burrows Stone versions of Egyptian *Apep* swallowing or about to swallow the sun on its nightly journey under the earth [cf. John J. White, "Ancient Serpents of Southern Illinois," *The Ancient American* IV #26 (Jan./Feb. 1999), 22-23, line drawings Beverley Moseley, and for the Colorado Serpent Tablet, Donald Cyr photo, *Midwestern Epigraphic Journal* IX/1 (1995), 22].

## Zenobia & Palmyrene Arabic

ROMANIAN SUN-WORSHIPER AURELIAN, generous, fierce-tempered rescuer of the Roman Empire, was commanding the Lower Danube at Emperor Claudius Gothicus' Jan. 270 plague death and bested rivals to succeed. He began his 12' thick, 20' high circumvallation wall 271 to secure the city of Rome against Germans. Astute, ambitious Widow Queen Zenobia, black-eyed beauty of Egyptian Macedonian ancestry, with the eldest of her 3 sons, Valballathus, denizens of the caravan-city Palmyra, shifted court NW to Antioch, *seized Egypt*, and seceded as an independent state. During their 270-72 vengeful domination at Alexandria, Palmyrenians so thoroughly destroyed the palace complex, Sema included, that its tombs remained unlocatable centuries before toppling to harbor bottom. Aurelian, who did not like fighting a woman, defeated Zenobia summer 272, drove her to Palmyra, then returned and razed the city when it revolted. After exhibiting Zenobia in a Roman triumph he provided her a villa at Tivoli [Gibbon, chap XI, Dell paperback 9].

Sometime in or before 1976 Fell was mystified, he said, to recognize the script of an old Cree birch-bark manuscript in the Peabody Museum as Palmyrene, whose Arabic script had been

deciphered from steles in ruined Palmyra ["Ancient Arabic Script & Vocabulary of the Algonquin Indians," *ESOP* III #54 (Sept. 1976), 1-3]. Palmyrene refugees who took their language and script to Algonquin Cree & Ojibway NE America could hardly have been those dispossessed in the destruction of Palmyra who, without means, would have faced a daunting Roman gauntlet the length of the Mediterranean. They might despairingly have ventured the formidable caravan along the Silk Road and its ultimate extension *via* otter-fur depôts to the Amur mouth—Arab compounds at every stop along the way—and caught the Kamchatka Current but would not have influenced NE rather than western tribes. Arabic & Libyan that Fell found in Pima and Zuñi do suggest west-coast entry, perhaps related to the Uto-Aztec migration, even Japanese that Nancy Yaw Davis found at Zuñi Pueblo [*The Zuñi Enigma* (Norton 2000)], but not from Syria. Anomalous Arabic that creolized in Cree surprises as Palmyrene rather than Moroccan/Andalusian Kufi.

Literate bureaucrats of the Palmyrene regime *in Egypt* whose desecration of Alexandria's civic center had made them hated overlords must have departed Alexandria at word of Aurelian's first march to Palmyra summer 272 or, at latest, on news of his second when they could still have sailed instead of opting for the endless caravan *via* Libyan Desert oases/Rome's Tunisian African Province/Mauretania highway to the Pillars. Palmyrenes likely also took ship from the port of their new capital Antioch ahead of Aurelian or while he belaid Palmyra. To escape Rome in both cases would have required continuing well beyond the Pillars. Medieval migrants to eastern America could not remember how they arrived, when, or wherefrom. Designated rememberers perished in wholesale depopulation from pandemics, especially after 1491, thus uselessness of tribal legends for interpreting history before 500 or even 900 A.D. Arabic in any event did not reach Burrows Cave before its sealing, yet in that very period creolized northeastward in Cree & Ojibway, before Iroquois drove Ojibway up the St. Lawrence to Wisconsin, if not also when Cree groups spread from Hudson & James Bays up-rivers far west.

In 1975 Fell had acquired transcripts of a long inscription on a Mid-Atlas rock cliff that G.B.M. Flamand discovered 1921 at El-Hadj-Mimoun, site of a monastery near Figuig Oasis at the eastern boundary of Morocco. (Other cliffs in the vicinity also bore pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions.) Fell deciphered the narrative as Kufi Arabic in Numidian letters which told of the 429 Vandal invasion of the Mediterranean from Andalusia and of monks fleeing across the sea beyond the sunset to a continent called *Asqa-Shamal* (North Land) [*asqa* "continent"; *šamal* "north"]. Some of the monks eventually returned to indite their story [Fell, "A Fifth-Century Moroccan Emigration to North America," *ibid.* #46, 1-10, & "An Arabic Dialect in Ancient Moroccan Inscriptions," *ibid.* #48, 1-12; also Totten, "Implications of the Figuig Decipherment," *ibid.* #47, 1-10]. Vandals meanwhile never learned of the remote monastery.

Fell assumed Figuig monks took the route Palmyra refugees had taken 159 years before ["Ancient Arabic Script," 3]. But monks had to have departed the Morocco coast below or west of Vandal swarming into the Mediterranean. Palmyrene refugees who got through the Roman-controlled Mediterranean when that was still possible had to have embarked from Alexandria and/or Antioch. Fell naturally assumed Palmyrene refugees those bereft at Palmyra itself, when they could not have evaded Roman patrols the length of the Mediterranean even if reaching the sea from their oasis and acquired boats free. Escape asea had to have happened while Aurelian was heading to or engaged in deep inland Syria. At Alexandria, Greek and Jewish natives together with city mob likely drove them out at first word of Zenobia's inevitable doom.

Needless to say, they would not have encumbered themselves with crypts or even corpses of Alexander and Kleopatra some 232 years after the royal Burrows mausoleum entombment.

**Bibliographical note.** The *Hellenika* is available in many editions besides Greek, including Rex Warner's translation as *History of My Times* (Penguin 1966), reprinted 1979 with rather unfortunate 1977 introduction by the University College Oxford don George Cawkwell who, though a learned expert, fell too uncritically for the fragmentary rhapsodic Oxyrhynchos *Hellenika* (author unknown) published 1909. (Longer is not necessarily more accurate. Xenophon's conciseness is a virtue, and primary reliance on personal experience rather than others' gives both vividness and credibility.) Xenophon's biography of the diminutive Spartan general Agisilaos, with whom Xenophon served as rearguard general, also becomes pertinent. Philip figures not only in Plutarch's *Alexander* but many other of the *Lives*, hardly at all in Arrian's

*Anabasis of Alexander*, a major source with Plutarch for Alexander. Arrian's principal source was the lost history of Ptolemy, an incomparable witness of key events in Philip's reign, total career of Alexander, and immediate aftermath years. Diodoros' Book XVI, utilizing the *Oxyrhynchos* history, is least critical of Philip among surviving Classical sources including Strabo (who relied on the expedition historian Kallisthenes, nephew of Aristotle), Quintus Curtius, & Justin, but supplied fuller information at certain points. (Justin dealt almost wholly with Alexander at the oracle.) E.I. McQueen has most elaborately translated Diodoros' account of Philip (Bristol Classical Press 1995). Nicholas G.L. Hammond, *Philip of Macedon* (Johns Hopkins U. 1994) most thoroughly analyzed the sources of our Classical sources and geography of Greek sites. Legion other sources on both Philip and Alexander are usually worthy. We must single out the usefulness of J.R. Ellis, *Philip II & Macedonian Imperialism* (Princeton U. 1986); none other than Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon* (Faber & Faber 1978); *Philip of Macedon*, ed. Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos & Louisa D. Loukopoulos (Ekdotika Athanas S.A. 1908); W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2 vols. (Cambridge U. 1948; Beacon Press reduction 1956), which overdoes Alexander's unity-of-mankind but remains itself a classic, together with his *The Greeks in Bactria & India* (Cambridge U. 1951) and Eugene R. Borza's splendid compilation, *The Impact of Alexander the Great: Civilizer or Destroyer?* (Dryden Press 1974). Ellis, *Ptolemy of Egypt*, *op. cit.* freshly reviewed Ptolemy I and his relationship to Alexander. Ahmed Fakhry revealed the most about Siwa, from both his and earlier excavations: *Siwa Oasis: Its History & Antiquities* (Cairo: Gov't. Press, Bulâq 1944) and *The Oasis of Siwa; Its Customs, History & Monuments* (Cairo: Wadhi el-Nil 1950).

M.I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, together with F.E. Peters, *op. cit.*, & P.M. Fraser's comparably imposing *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. (Oxford U. 1972) remain unexcelled though supplemented by Chrotopher Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography & Social Confilct*, Ancient Soc. & Hist. (Johns Hopkins U. 1996), M.M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (Cambridge U. 1981), Alan K Bowman, *Egypt After the Pharaohs...to the Arab Conquest* (U. Calif. 1986/89), R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, *op. cit.*, & Günther Hölbl, *Ptolemaic Empire*, tr. Tina Saavedra (Routledge 2001), all of which range splendidly comprehensive. Edmond Van 't Dack & Hans Hauben, "L'Apport Égyptien a l'Armée Navale Lagide" occurs in Herwig Maehler & Voker Michael Strocka, *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, Acts of the International Symposiums 27-29 Sept. 1976 Berlin (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern 1978), pgs. 59-94 particularly pertinent.

For what is inferable from residual Punic Carthage ruins, the long-delayed report of David Soren, Atcha ben Abed ben Khader, & Hedi Slim, *Carthage* (Simon & Schuster 1990) outmodes. *The Civil War* by Caesar *et al.* is most accessible in Jane F. Mitchell's Penguin 1967 translation.

Gelzer's 1921 *Caesar, Politician & Statesman*, *op. cit.* seemed definitive till Arthur D. Kahn finely employed anthropology, sociology, & economics in *The Education of Julius Caesar* (Schocken Books 1986).

Edward Gibbon's great *Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire* (1787) is available abridged or unabridged in innumerable editions, single vol. or sets including the 2-vol. U. Chicago *Great Books*. They usually utilize unequaled notes & appendices of John Bagnell Bury's staggering 1909-13 edition. His 1900 *A History of Greece*, rev. 1913 (Modern Library c.1942) remains standard. His early-century lectures *The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians* (posth. pub. Macmillan 1928, slightly edited by F.J.C. Hearnshaw) becomes pertinent from the 3rd century A.D. on to Franks & Lombards. Cary's *History of Rome*, *op. cit.* is still best 1-vol. history of Rome. Sir Paul Harvey authored the incomplete but indispensable *Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* 1937/1940/1946.

The large literature on Burrows Cave would probably best begin with original source material in Burrows & Fred Rydholm, *The Mystery Cave of Many Faces: A History of Burrows Cave*, ed. Buck Trawicky (Marquette: Superior Heartland 1992). Burrows published *The Discovery of Burrows Cave* (Atlanta, Ind.: Seven Stars 1990), wherein he promised that once study of the Cave's contents had been completed he intended to write a book with full details. ■