

Napoleon Bonaparte meets Alexander the Great In the French Campaign in Egypt



By Andrew Michael Chugg



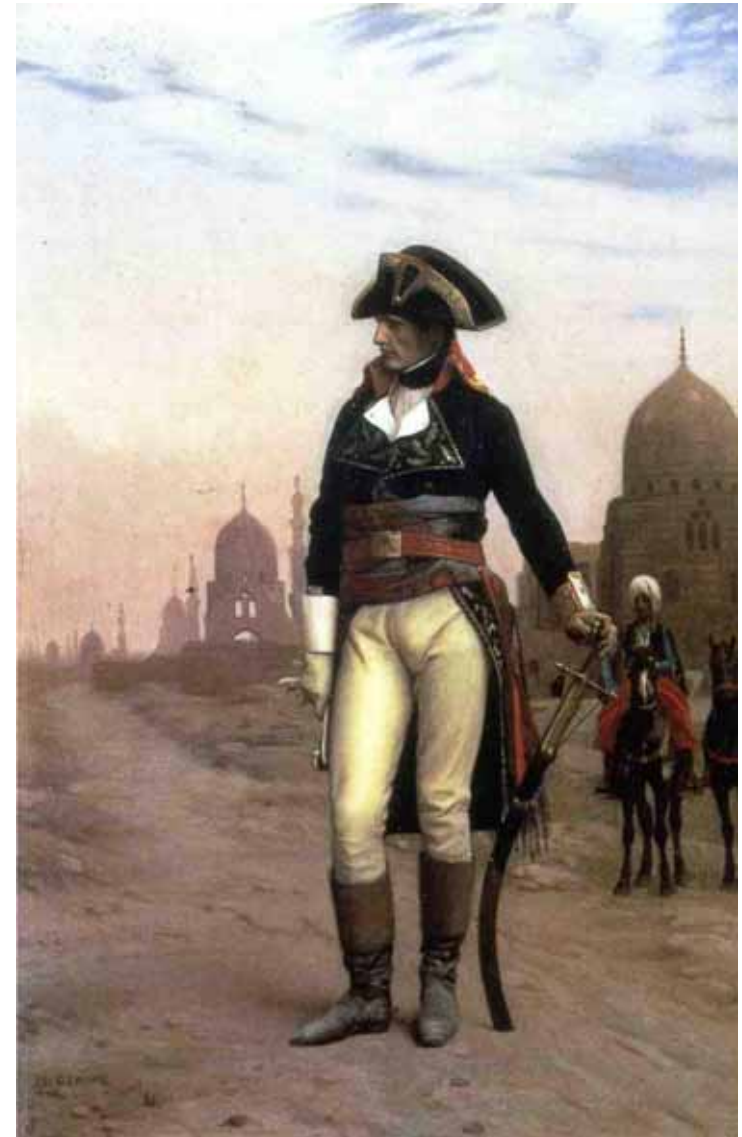
Outline



- Napoleon's campaign in Egypt and his attentions towards its antiquities
- Alexander the Great and Egypt
- The sarcophagus of the last native Egyptian Pharaoh
 - Its association with Alexander's tomb
 - Its modern story before and after Napoleon found it
- Synthesis: reconstructing an unrecorded history

Napoleon's Motives & Aims

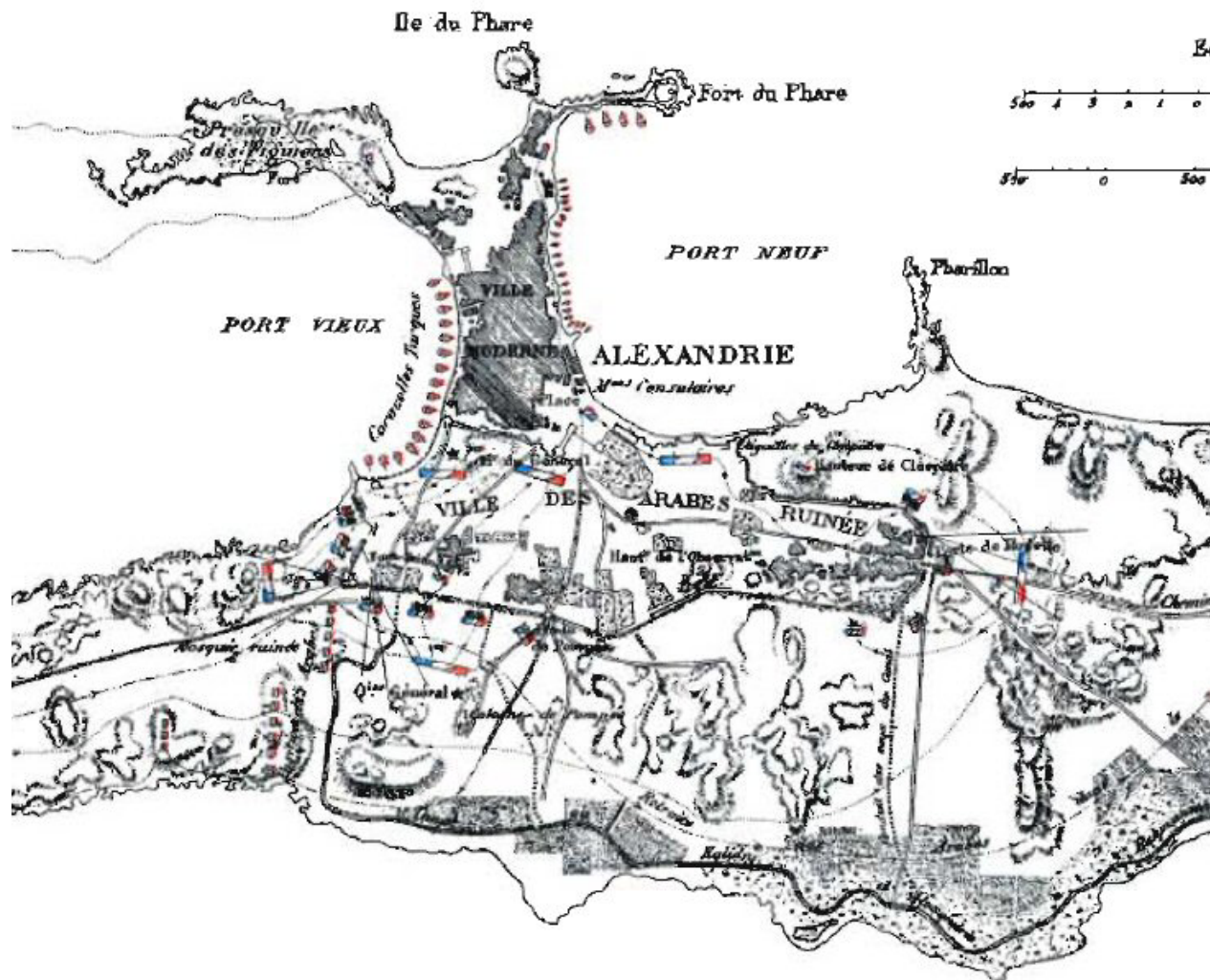
- Abandoned a plan to invade Britain in early 1798 due to inadequate naval power
- Proposed an expedition to seize Egypt to the Directory as an alternative
 - Aimed to unite with Islamic enemies of Britain
 - Proposed to send 15,000 men forward from Egypt to attack the British in India in alliance with Tipu Sultan
 - Appointed 167 scholars (les savants) to accompany him
- The Directory agreed - ostensibly in order to open up a French trade route with India
 - But it is believed that its membership were also happy to get Napoleon away from the centre of power



Napoleon in Egypt by Gerome 1868

The Invasion of Egypt in 1798

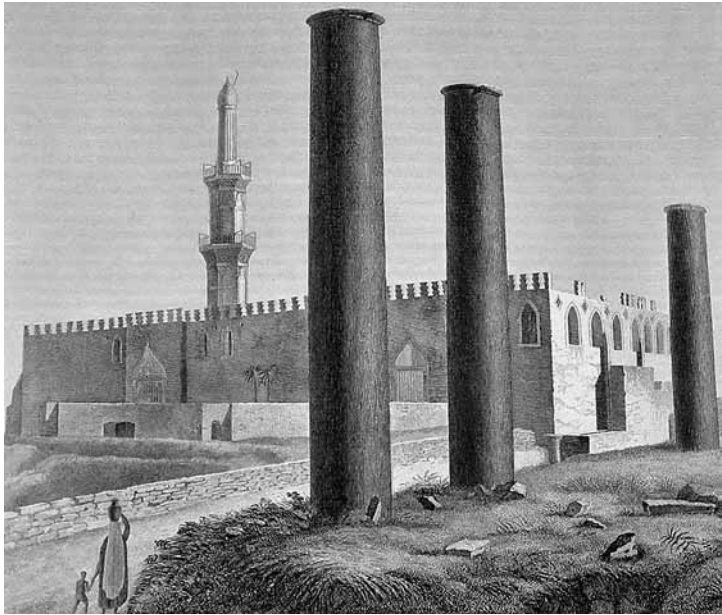
- Landings west of Alexandria on 1st July
- Investment and capture of Alexandria on 2nd July
- **PLAN DU DÉBARQUEMENT DE L'ARMÉE FRANÇAISE À ALEXANDRIE 1798** par H Gratien



**Napoleon enters Alexandria
by Colson 1800**



Napoleon's Visit to the Attarine Mosque in Alexandria



Circumstantial evidence makes it almost certain that Napoleon visited this mosque and viewed the ancient sarcophagus housed in the chapel in its courtyard.

Similarly, it is certain that he was told that the sarcophagus, then empty and being used as a cistern for ritual ablutions, was the tomb of Alexander the Great and that he planned to have it taken back to France as a trophy.

The Battle of the Pyramids

21st July 1798

- Soldats, songez que, du haut de ces pyramides, quarante siècles d'histoire vous contemplent!
 - Soldiers, bear in mind that from the peaks of these pyramids forty centuries of history are watching you!
- The Mameluke cavalry were mown down by Napoleon's infantry formations



The Capture of Cairo

- Establishment of the Institut d'Égypte: first meeting on 24th August 1798
- 48 Members including Vivant Denon and with Napoleon as its vice-president
- Took the decision to publish a Description de l'Égypte on 22nd November 1799



The Battle of the Nile - 1st August 1798

- Destruction of the French fleet at anchor in Aboukir Bay by Admiral Nelson

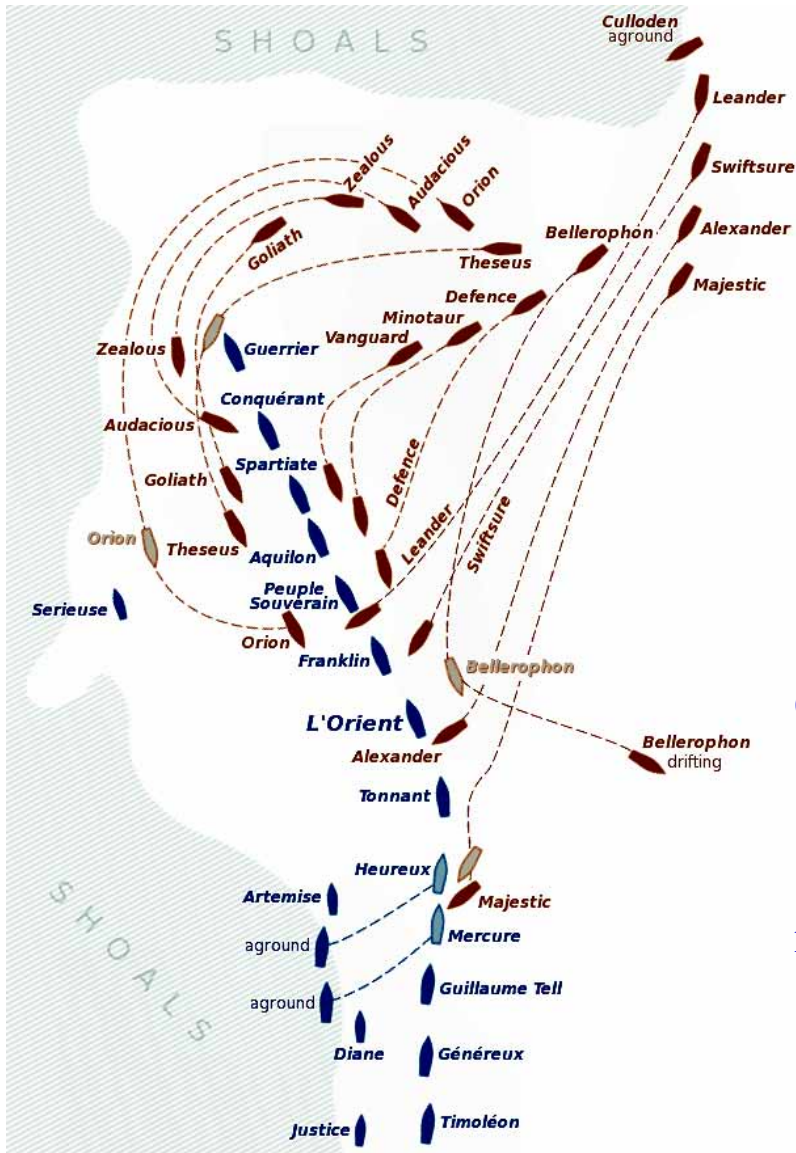
Inspired "**Casabianca**" by British poet Felicia Dorothea Hemans, *New Monthly Magazine*, August 1826:

The boy stood on the burning deck whence all but he had fled;
The flame that lit the battle's wreck shone round him o'er the dead.

Commemorates an actual incident aboard the French flagship *L'Orient*. The 12 year old son, Giocante, of commander Louis de Casabianca remained at his post and perished when the flames caused her magazine to explode.



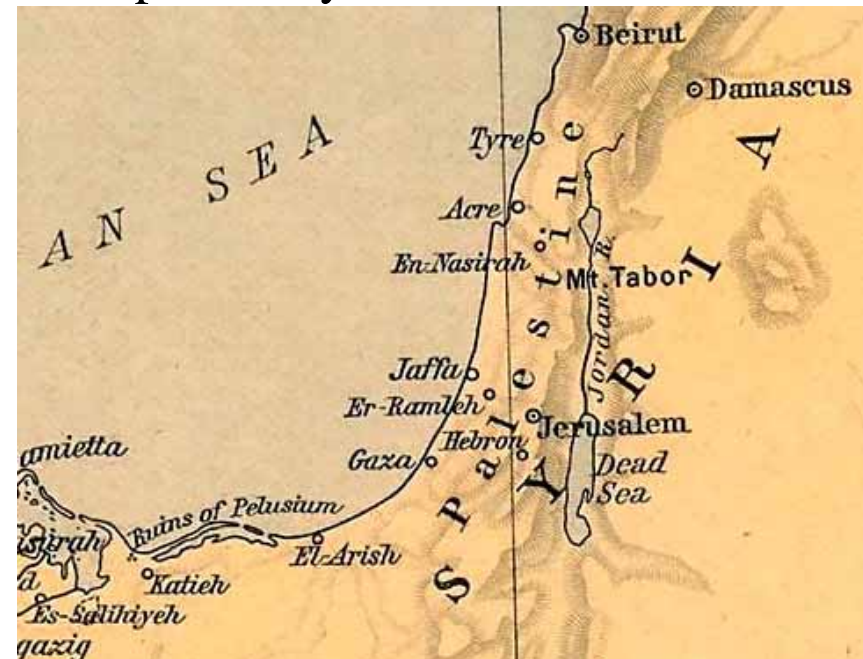
George Arnald. 1825-27



Napoleon's abortive attack on Syria

- Attacked Syria and Galilee in early 1799
- Led 13,000 French soldiers in the conquest of the coastal towns of Arish, Gaza, Jaffa, and Haifa
- He ordered the garrison and 1,400 prisoners to be executed by bayonet or drowning at Jaffa, because some were recognised as having broken parole
 - Men, women and children were robbed and murdered for three days
- But army was ravaged by disease—mostly bubonic plague—and poor supplies
- Failed to capture Acre and returned to Egypt in May
- To speed the retreat, he left those with plague behind with poison to avoid capture
- However most ended up being tortured and decapitated by the Ottomans

Napoleon visits plague victims at Jaffa by Antoine-Jean Gros



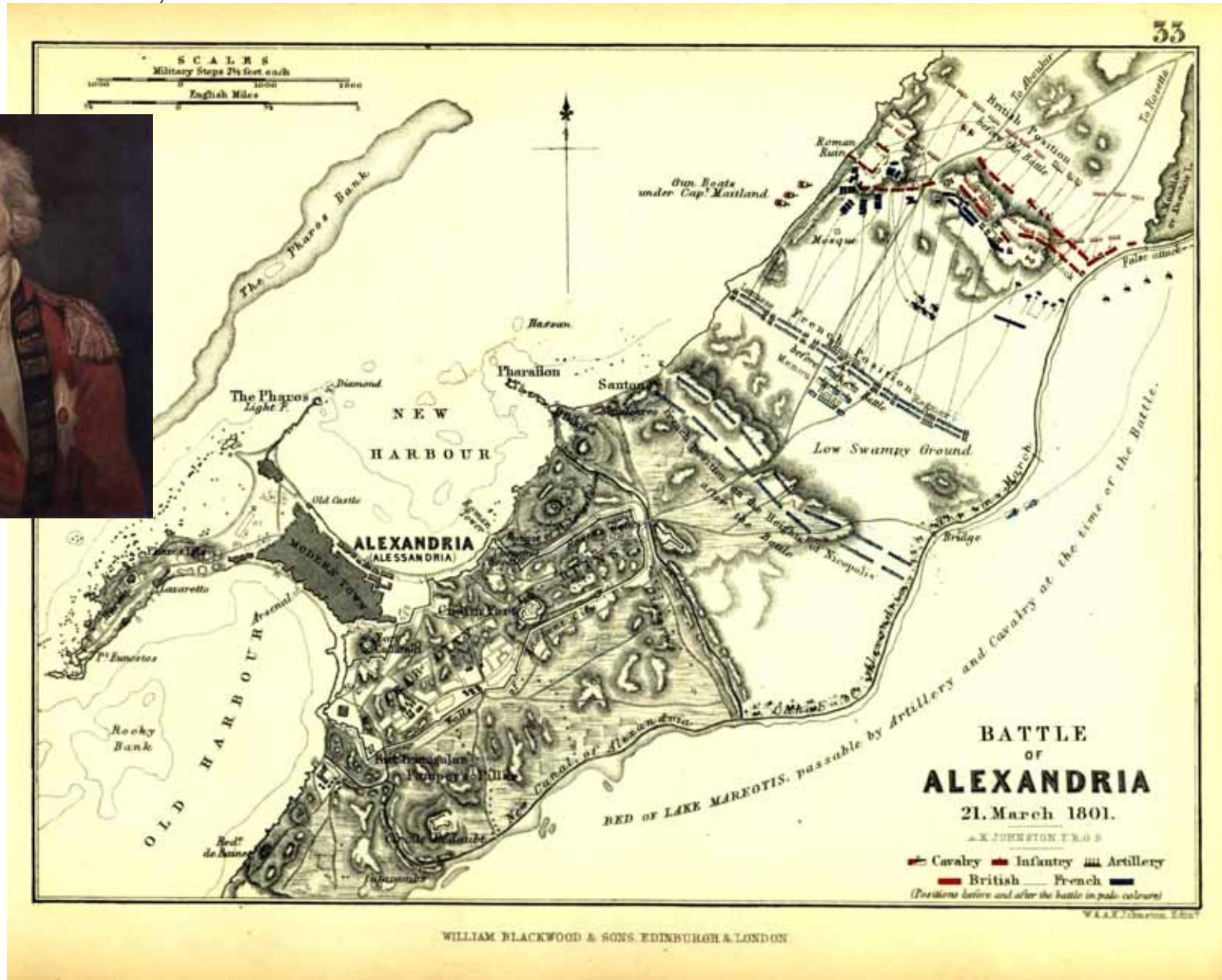
Return to France

- Returned to France virtually alone on the frigate *La Muiron* departing 24th August 1799 and arriving in France on 9th October 1799
 - Some accused him of desertion
- Overthrew the Directory in a Coup d'Etat on 9th November 1799 and made himself “First Consul”
 - Effectively a military Dictator



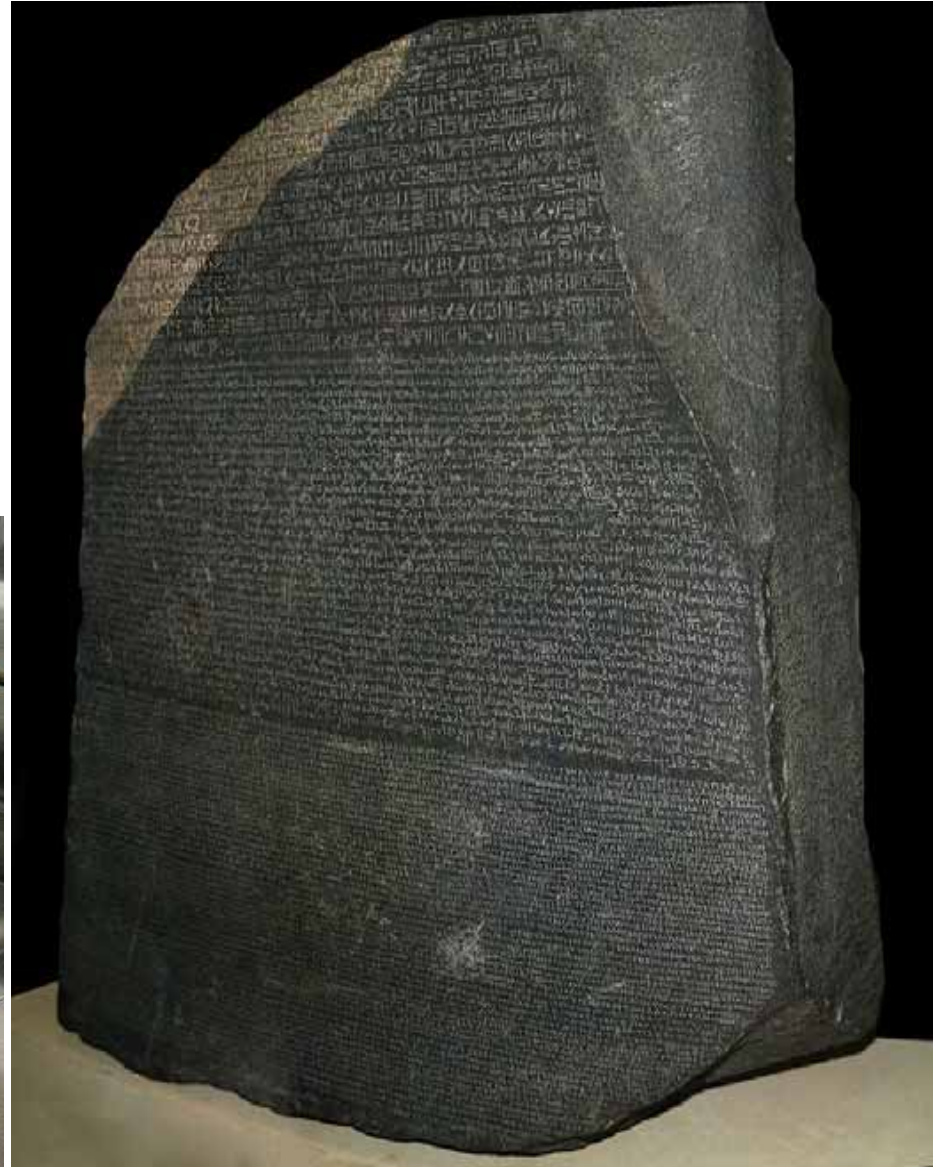
The Battle of Alexandria on 21st March 1801

- General Ralph Abercrombie forced the surrender of the French Army of the Orient, but died a week later of a musket wound from the battle



The Capture of the Antiquities

- Treaty clause stated that the antiquities be surrendered to the British
- Mission assigned to Edward Daniel Clarke by Lord Hutchinson
- Key items were the Rosetta Stone and the Tomb of Alexander
- The sarcophagus was found in the hold of *La Cause* in the harbour



Edward Daniel Clarke's account

some Arabs obtained'; and the great square.

The families of whom we were in distress for want of a father, surmised that the English had lived on a very unfit food, and a small portion committed by



Chief could be over gates, into and to some the greatest place, we found at the news the city. They black colour, and only allowed and enormities Chief.

We had scarcely reached the house in which we were to reside, when a party of the merchants of the place, who had heard the nature of our errand, came to congratulate us on the capture of Alexandria, and to express their anxiety to serve the English. As soon as the room was cleared of other visitants, speaking with great circumspection and in a low voice, they asked if our business in Alexandria related to the antiquities collected by the French? Upon being answered in the affirmative, and, in proof of it, the copy of the Rosetta Stone being produced, the principal of them said, "Does your Commander in Chief know that they have the Tomb of Alexander?" We desired them to describe it; upon which they said

¹ We had afterwards the happiness of hearing that they reached the Turkish camp.

it was a beautiful green stone, taken from the mosque of St. Athanasius; which, among the inhabitants, had always borne that appellation. Our letter and instructions from Cairo evidently referred to the same monument. "It is the object," they continued, "of our present visit; and we will shew you where they have concealed it." They then related the measures used by the French; the extraordinary care they had observed to prevent any intelligence of it; the indignation shewn by the Mahometans at its removal; the veneration in which they held it; and the tradition familiar to all of them respecting its origin. I conversed afterwards with several of the Mahometans, both Arabs and Turks, on the same subject; not only those who were natives and inhabitants of the city, but also dervises and pilgrims; persons from Constantinople, Smyrna, and Aleppo, who had visited, or who had resided at Alexandria; and they all agreed in one uniform tradition, namely, ITS BEING THE TOMB OF ISCANDER (*Alexander*), THE FOUNDER OF THE CITY OF ALEXANDRIA.

We were then told that it was in the hold of an hospital ship, in the inner harbour; and being provided with a boat, we there found it, half filled with filth, and covered with the rags of the sick people on board. Nothing could equal the admiration with which I viewed this beautiful Tomb, having never seen, among the fine works the antients have left us, an instance in which nature as well as art vie with each other to such perfection.

Coronation as Emperor on 2nd December 1804 and the Imperial Edition of the Description de l'Égypte

- Commission formed in February 1802
- Imperial edition published from 1809
 - 13 volumes of maps & engravings in elephant folio
 - 10 volumes of text
- Foundation of Egyptology
- Description de l' Égypte and the Rosetta Stone led to the decipherment of hieroglyphics by Champollion in 1822, the first time they had been read since the fifth century AD



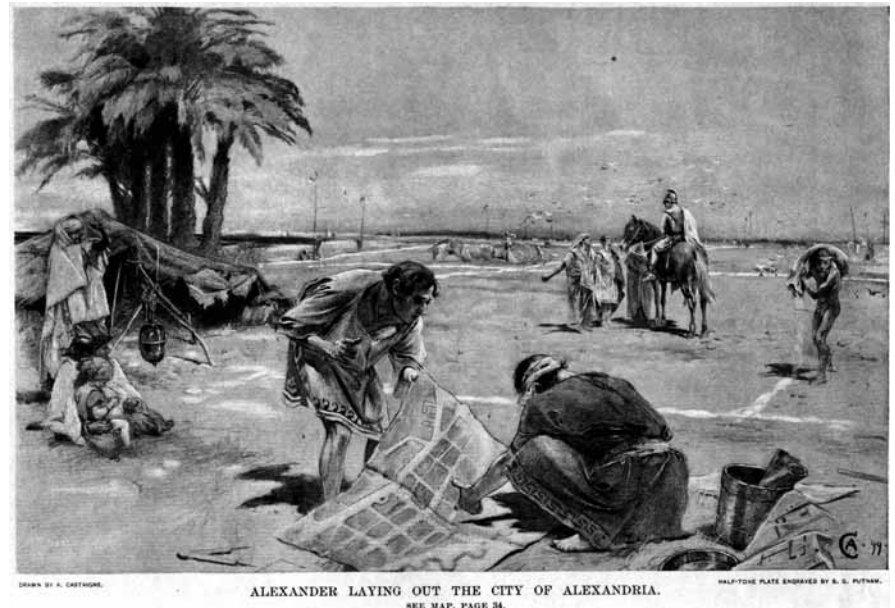
Summary of Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign

- Initial successes developed into a military disaster
 - Defeat and destruction of the French fleet and the “Army of the Orient” with no lasting territorial gains
- But Napoleon founded Egyptology as a science and recorded Egypt's monuments before the great ravages of the later 19th century
 - That is the valuable legacy
- Napoleon had the wit (or the luck?) to extricate himself from Egypt before the disaster had fully unfolded
 - Overthrew the Directory before they could use Egypt against him



Alexander's conquest of Egypt

- The Persian Empire had reconquered Egypt and caused its last native pharaoh to flee into Sudan a decade before Alexander's arrival
- Essentially a bloodless takeover by Alexander in December of 332BC
 - Persian occupation forces surrendered without a fight
- Enthusiastic welcome by the Egyptian priesthood
 - Alexander sacrificed to the Apis Bull, reversing the Persian policy of antagonism towards Egyptian religion
 - Crowned as Pharaoh in the capital Memphis
 - Forbade looting by his troops (a papyrus order from his commander Peukestas survives)
 - May have sailed up the Nile to Upper Egypt (Curtius)
- Visited the oracle of Zeus-Ammon at the Siwa oasis in the western desert
- Founded Alexandria on 7th April 331BC (Julian Calendar) *Pseudo-Callisthenes* 1.32.10
- Left Egypt around May 331BC: Battle of Gaugamela on 1st October 331BC
 - Declared himself King of Asia



ALEXANDER LAYING OUT THE CITY OF ALEXANDRIA.
SEE MAP, PAGE 34.

Pharaoh Alexander

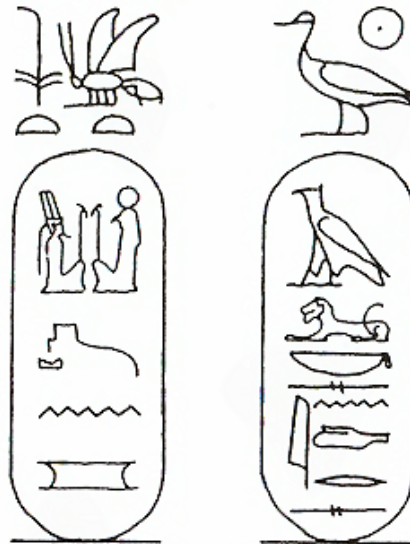
“When Alexander reached Memphis, they sat him on the throne of Hephestos (Ptah) and they dressed him in a robe, like an Egyptian king”

Pseudo-Callisthenes or The Alexander Romance (Armenian text)

“Alexander crossed the river to Memphis, where he sacrificed to the gods, especially Apis” *Arrian, Anabasis Alexandrou*

The King of Upper &
Lower Egypt,

Selected by Re,
Beloved of Ammon



The Son of Re,

Alexandros

Since the titulary made Alexander the son of the chief god Ammon-Re, he formally adopted the Greek title Diogenes, meaning “Sprung from Zeus”. Homer had given this epithet to several heroes in the Iliad and Alexander’s family claimed descent from Zeus

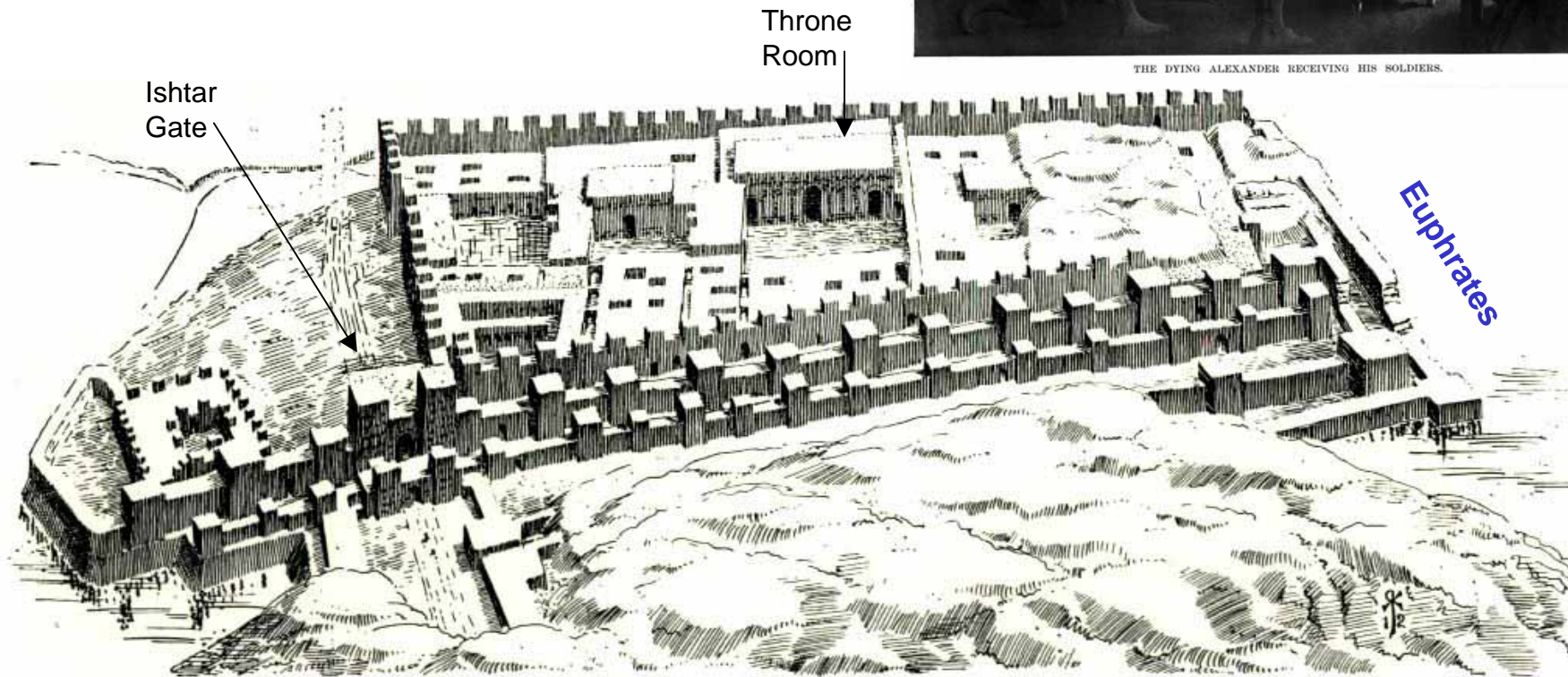
Alexander was pronounced dead in the palace at Babylon towards evening on 10th June 323BC

Alexander had requested that his body be sent to Egypt or to Ammon
(Lucian, Curtius, Justin, Liber de Morte)

The Macedonians initially agreed to this request at an Assembly after Alexander's death (Justin & Diodorus)



THE DYING ALEXANDER RECEIVING HIS SOLDIERS.



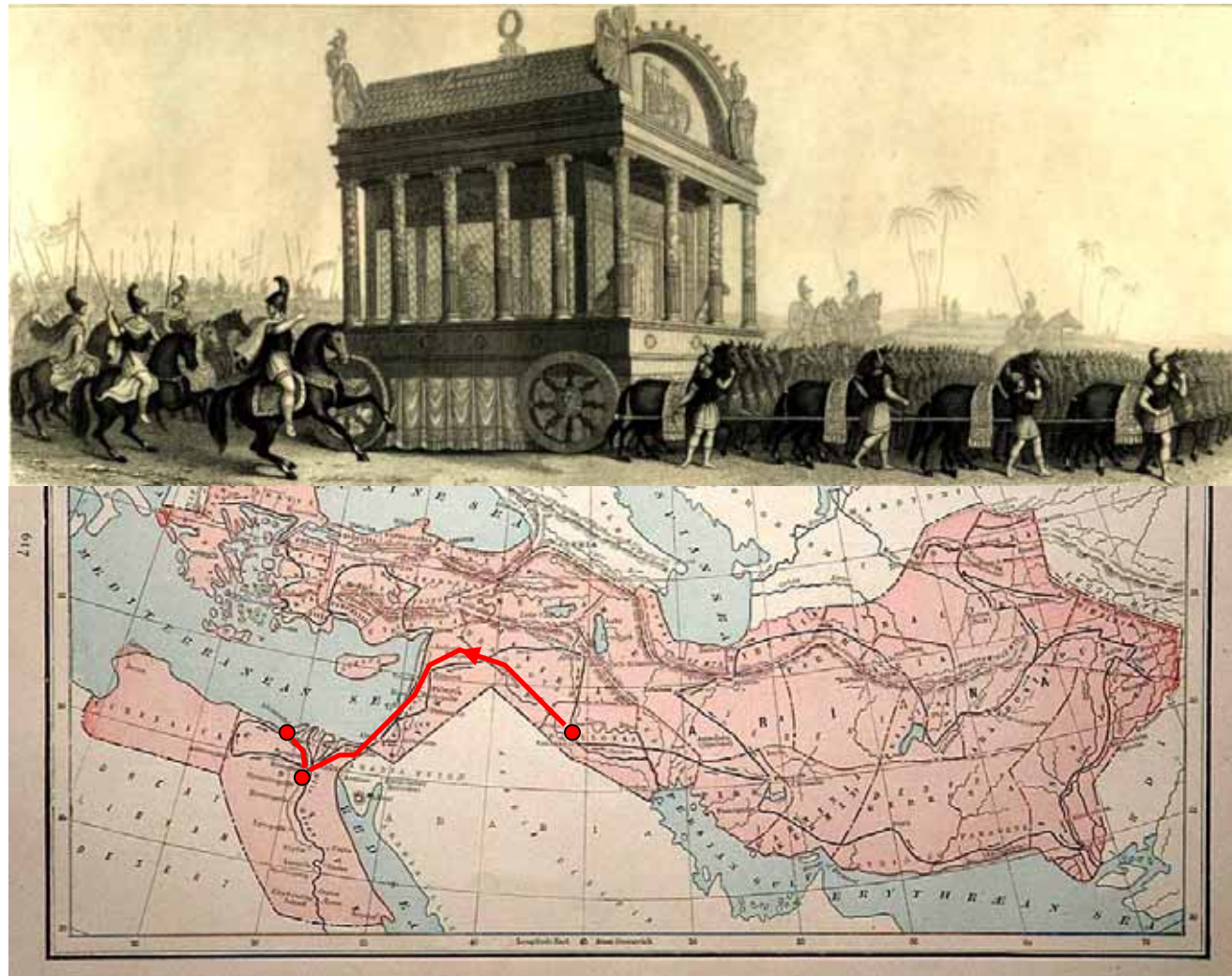
Alexander's catafalque and its escort

The catafalque is described by Diodorus quoting Hieronymus of Cardia

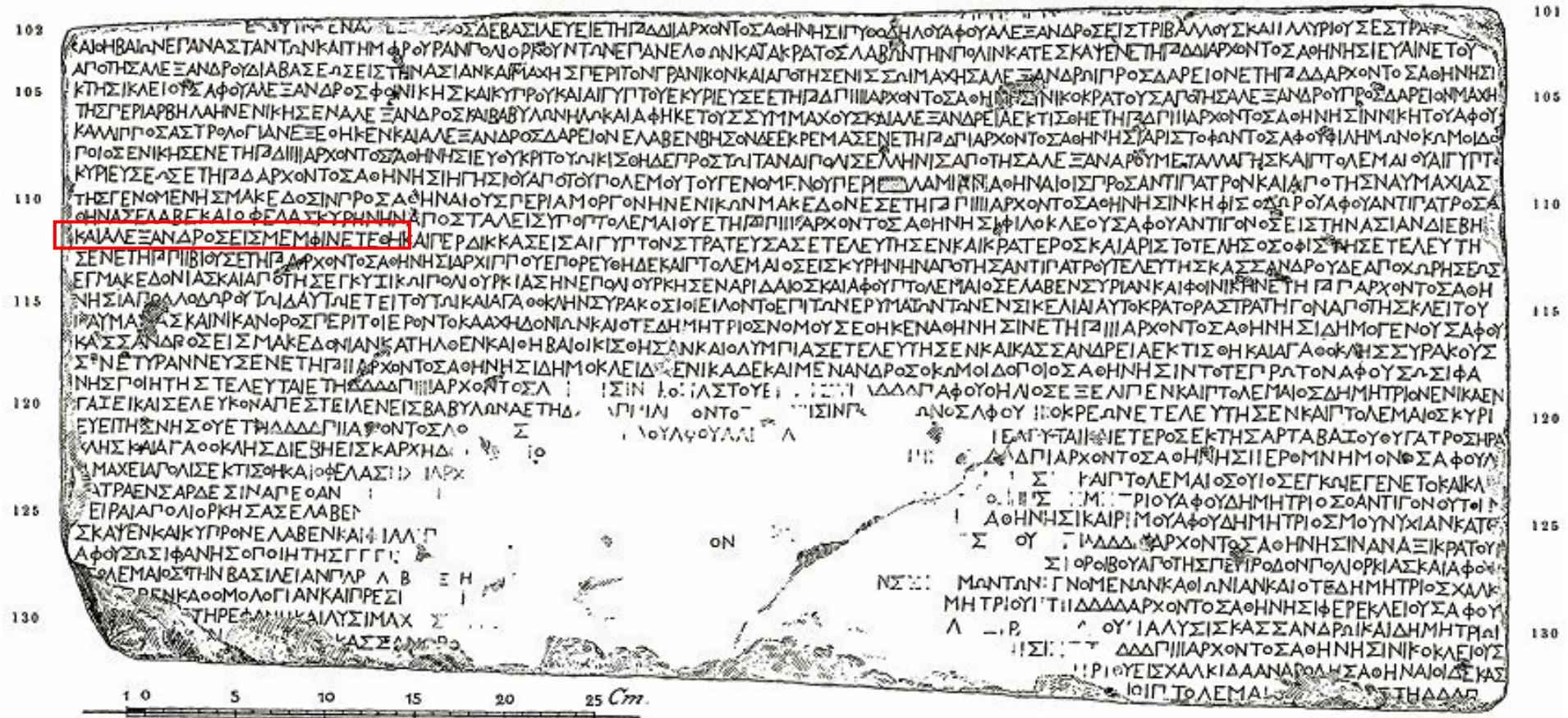
Arrhidaeus diverted the catafalque southwards through Damascus and was met by Ptolemy coming from Egypt with an army; Perdiccas sent Attalus & Polemon in hot pursuit, but they failed to retrieve Alexander's body; Perdiccas invaded Egypt a few months later...

Arrian, *Events after Alexander* & Aelian, *Varia Historia*

Ptolemy buried the body with Macedonian rites in Memphis after diverting it from Aegae - *Pausanias*



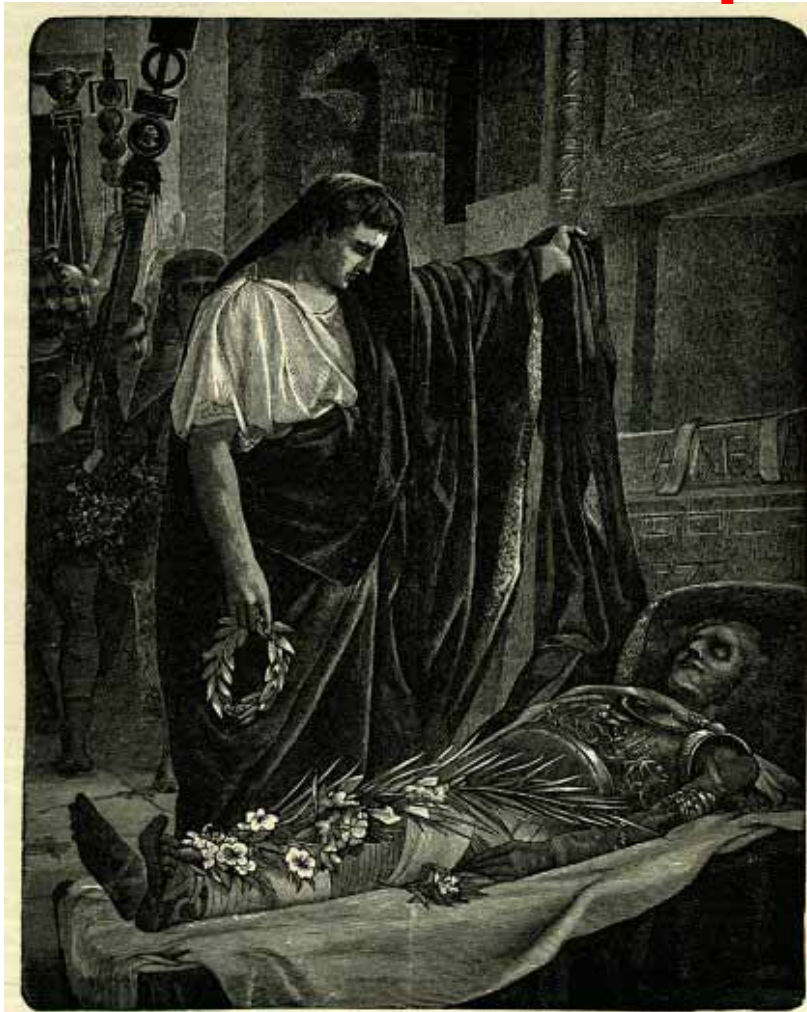
Records of Entombment at Memphis: The Parian Marble - Entry for the year 321-320BC



Curtius in concluding his *Deeds of Alexander*:

“Ptolemy, who had received Egypt, took the body to Memphis, whence it was moved to Alexandria some few years later...”

The Imperial Shrine



CÆSAR AT THE GRAVE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.
After the painting by H. Showmer.

c.280BC – Philadelphus moves body to Alexandria from Memphis

215BC – Ptolemy IV Philopator constructs a new mausoleum

89BC - Ptolemy X replaces gold coffin with one made of glass

48BC – Julius Caesar

30BC – Octavian (Augustus)

AD19 – Germanicus & Caligula?

AD131 – Hadrian & Antinous?

AD200 – Septimius Severus

AD215 – Caracalla

AD272 – Aurelian destroys the Bruchium

AD298 – Diocletian quells rebellion

AD361 – Patriarch Georgius threatens the Tomb of the Genius of Alexandria

AD365 – Earthquake & tsunami

AD390 – Alexander's corpse on display in Alexandria (Libanius, Oration 49.12)

AD391 – Theodosius outlaws paganism

* * *

c.AD400 – John Chrysostom says tomb unknown

c.AD430 – Theodoret lists tomb as missing

“Who could be the friend of such as these? When they behave like this for money's sake, would they keep their hands off temple offerings or tombs? If they were travelling with some companion who had a gold piece, would they not kill him and rob him of it, if they had the chance. And this evil, King, is universal, whether you mention Paltus or Alexandria where the corpse of Alexander is displayed, whether Balaneae or our own city [Antioch]. They may differ in size, but the same ailment afflicts them all.” Libanius, Oration XLIX, 11-12

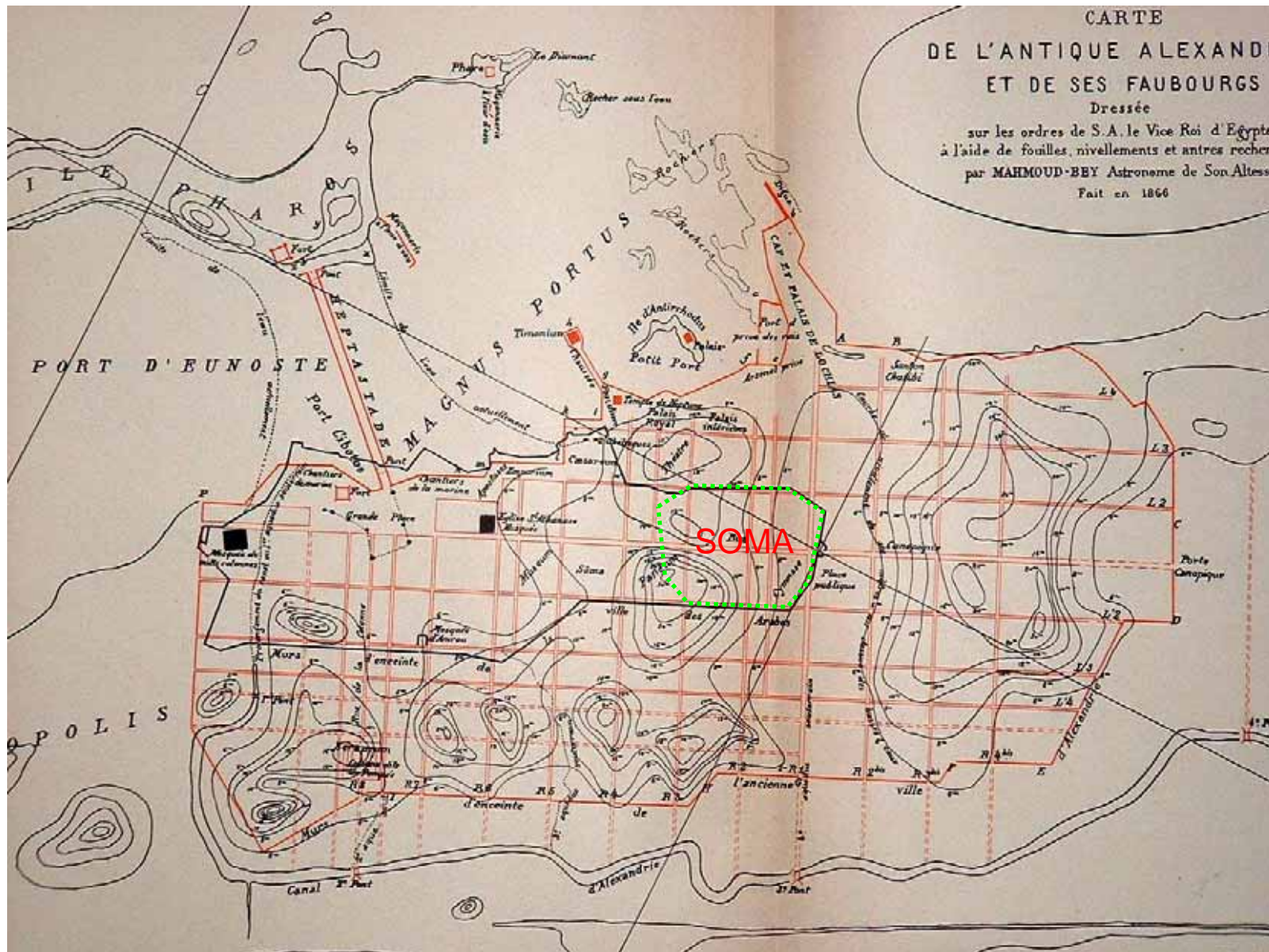
Alexander's tomb in Alexandria

- Pausanias: *And it was [Ptolemy Philadelphus] who brought down from Memphis the corpse of Alexander [to Alexandria]*
- Strabo: *Also a part of the Royal quarter is the so-called Soma that used to be the Enclosure Wall [of the city], which contains the Royal tombs and that of Alexander.*
- Achilles Tatius: *From the Sun Gate to the Moon Gate – these are the guardian divinities of the entrances – led a straight double row of columns, about the middle of which lies the open part of the town, and in it so many streets that walking in them you would fancy yourself abroad while still at home. Going a few stades further [stade = 165m], I came to the place called after Alexander, where I saw a second town; the splendor of this was cut into squares, for there was a row of columns intersected by another as long at right angles.*
- Zenobius (Didymus?): *Ptolemy Philopator built [in 215 BC] in the middle of the city of Alexandria a memorial building, which is now called the Sema, and he laid there all his forefathers together with his mother, and also Alexander the Macedonian.*

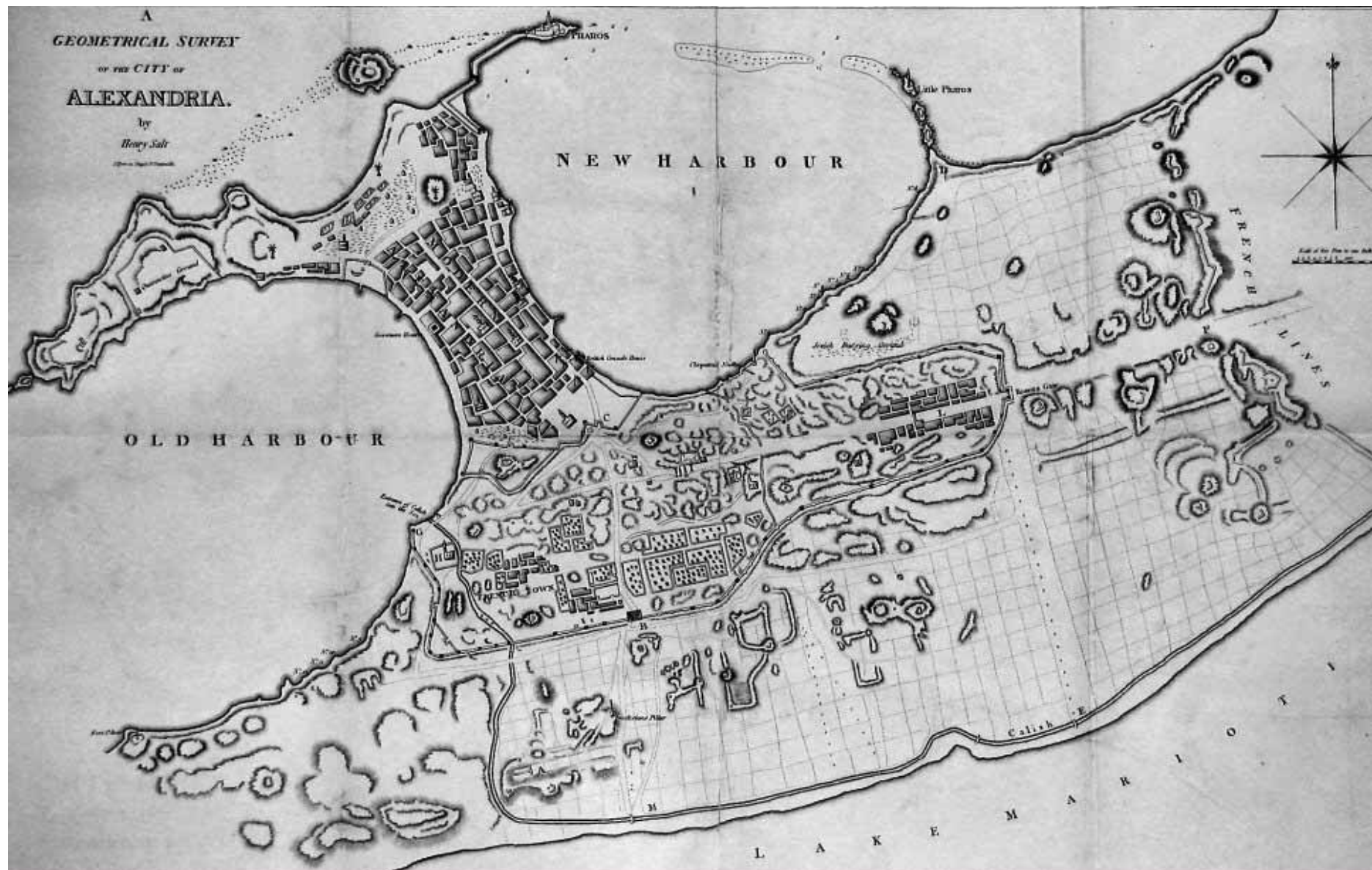
80. Zenob. iii. 94 (*Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 81): εὐνοὺς ὁ σφάκτης]· αὕτη ἡ παροιμία προηνέχθη ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁρέστου, ὡς καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐδήλωσεν . . . ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος· τὴν γὰρ μητέρα Βερενίκην καθεύξας ἐν μεγάροις καὶ παραδοὺς Σωσιβίῳ φυλάσσειν, ἡνίκα ἐκείνη οὐ φέρουσα τὴν κόλασιν ἔπιδε θανάσιμον βοτάνην καὶ τὸ φάρμακον πιούσα ἀπέθανε, διὰ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὀνείρων ταραχὰς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει μνῆμα οἰκοδομήσας, ὃ νῦν Σῆμα καλεῖται, πάντας ἐκεῖ τοὺς προπάτορας σὺν αὐτῇ κατέθετο, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αἰγιαλῶν δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτῇ ἰδρύσατο, ὃ ἐκάλουν Βερενίκης Σωιζούσης.

- Diodorus: *[In Alexandria] Ptolemy prepared a sacred precinct worthy of the glory of Alexander in size and construction; entombing him in this and honouring him with sacrifices such as are paid to demigods and with magnificent games...*

**Burial within a mausoleum in a great enclosure called the Soma ("Body")
next to the Royal District and straddling the central crossroads**



Henry Salt's plan of Alexandria in 1806



The Visit Made by Julius Caesar in 48BC & The Architecture of the Mausoleum



Reconstruction of the archetypal Mausoleum at Halicarnassus based on ancient descriptions and 19th century archaeology

Though you preserve the Macedonian in a consecrated grotto and the ashes of the kings rest beneath a loftily constructed edifice, though the dead Ptolemies and their unworthy dynasty are covered by pyramids and Mausoleums too good for them...

Then, with looks that ever masked his fears, undaunted, [Caesar] visited the temples of the gods and the ancient shrines of divinity, which attest the former might of Macedon.

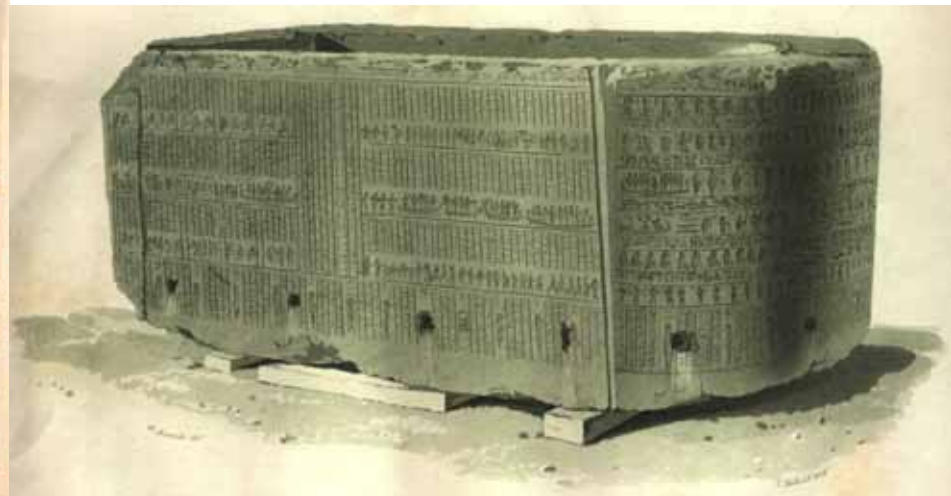
No thing of beauty attracted him, neither the gold and ornaments of the gods, nor the city walls; but in eager haste he went down into the grotto hewn out for a tomb.

There lies the mad son of Philip of Pella...

Lucan, *Pharsalia* 8.694-697 & 10.14-20

The Sarcophagus in the Attarine Mosque

The chapel containing the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II in the courtyard of the Attarine Mosque (Description de l'Egypte 1798; Clarke 1805; Luigi Mayer)

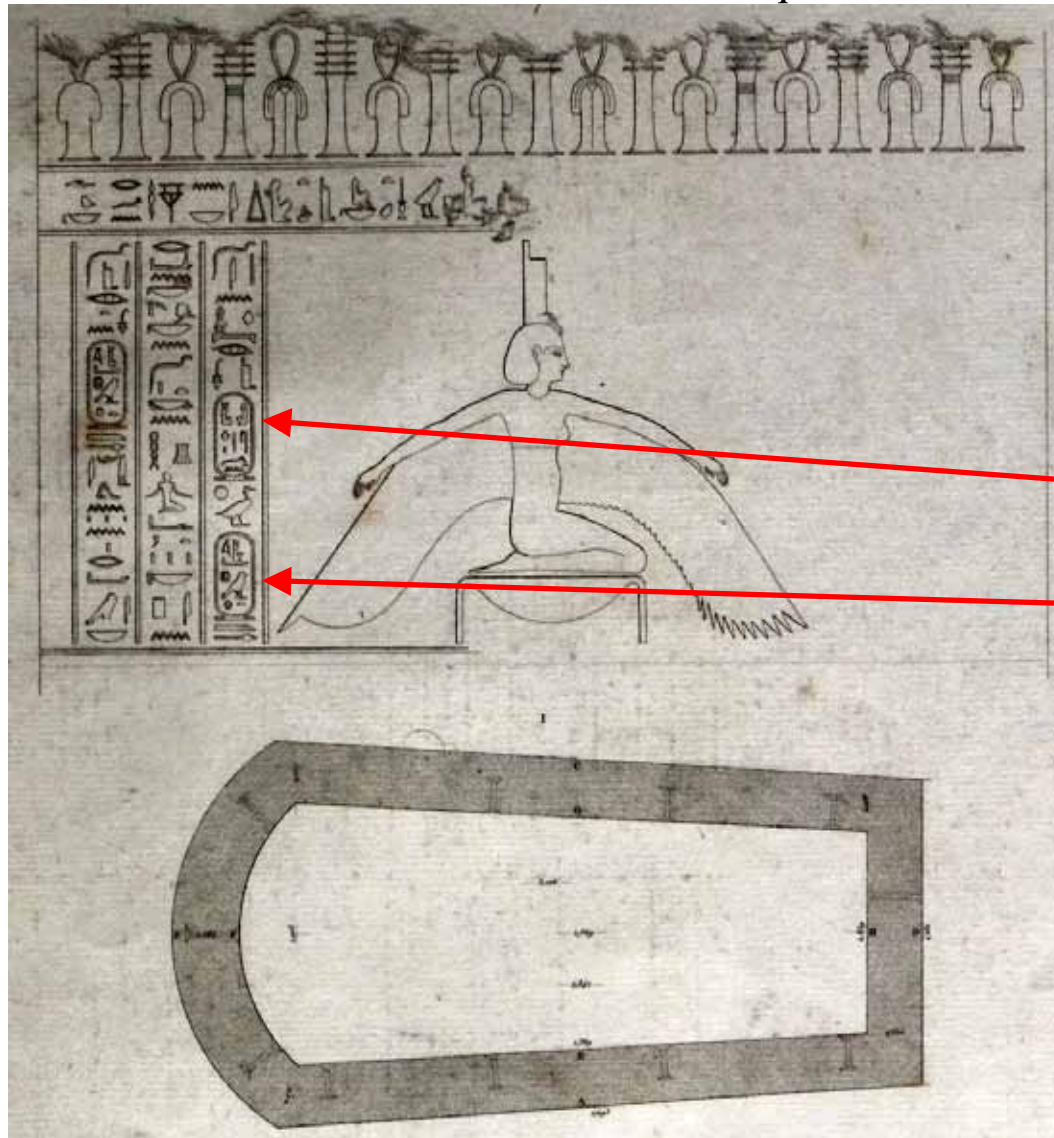


The Sarcophagus is now in the British Museum



A plan of the sarcophagus and transcriptions of its hieroglyphs

Sub-Section of Plate 40 of Vol 5 of Antiquities in the Description de l'Égypte



The cartouches match those of Nectanebo II from the 30th Dynasty, the last native Pharaoh



Text is from the *Amduat*, the Book of What Is In The Underworld – recounts the journey through the Underworld undertaken by the Pharaoh's soul to achieve resurrection

Associations with the last native Pharaoh: Nectanebo II



Alexander is greeted by
Nectanebo II (Nakhthorheb)
in a relief on the sanctuary
wall of the shrine restored
by Alexander in the Temple
of Ammon at Luxor

Nectanebo II in Pseudo-Callisthenes

- A sorcerer, who flees from Egypt to Macedon, where he seduced Olympias disguised as the god Ammon & became Alexander's progenitor:

I am the prophet of this god. If you will let me sleep here so that no one is disturbed or upset, I shall do the customary ablution for him and he will come to you." And Olympias said, "Let your will be done hereafter." And she said to her doorkeepers, "Give him the key to that room." And when he acted, he did so secretly; and indeed he came to her as many times as Olympias desired that he come to her. Ahead of time, she let her wishes be known through the prophet, and he, as was his custom, mated with Olympias, giving the illusion that he was Ammon.

- What could have inspired these legends, which go back at least as far as the early Roman period?



The Story of Alexander
illustrated by Robert Steele, 1894

The Arguments of AJB Wace

- English professor of archaeology
- Paper on *The Sarcophagus of Alexander the Great* in the *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of Farouk I University* in Alexandria in 1948
- Argued that the Nectanebo II sarcophagus was genuinely used for Alexander
- Mainly because Nectanebo II is Alexander's father in the Alexander Romance and because the sarcophagus would have been empty and available when Ptolemy entombed Alexander
- Also noted that the scepticism of scholars had been driven by a mistaken attribution of the sarcophagus to Nectanebo I
- But he tried to argue that Nectanebo's tomb had been located at Rhakotis, the fishing village at the site of Alexandria before its foundation, which is very unlikely
- In fact the transfer of Alexander's tomb from Memphis to Alexandria provides the more straightforward explanation of how the sarcophagus got to Alexandria



Would Ptolemy have used another Pharaoh's sarcophagus for Alexander?

- Ptolemy's son, Philadelphus, is attested to have used an obelisk quarried by Nectanebo for a shrine to his sister-wife, Arsinoë
- Ptolemy wished to ingratiate himself with the Egyptians
 - E.g. in the “Satrap Stele” of 311BC he firmly links himself with an Egyptian leader called Khabbash, who led an insurrection against the Persians in about 338-335BC
 - So it was an astute political ploy
- It avoided diverting monies needed to fund a war
- It avoided delaying the funeral for several years



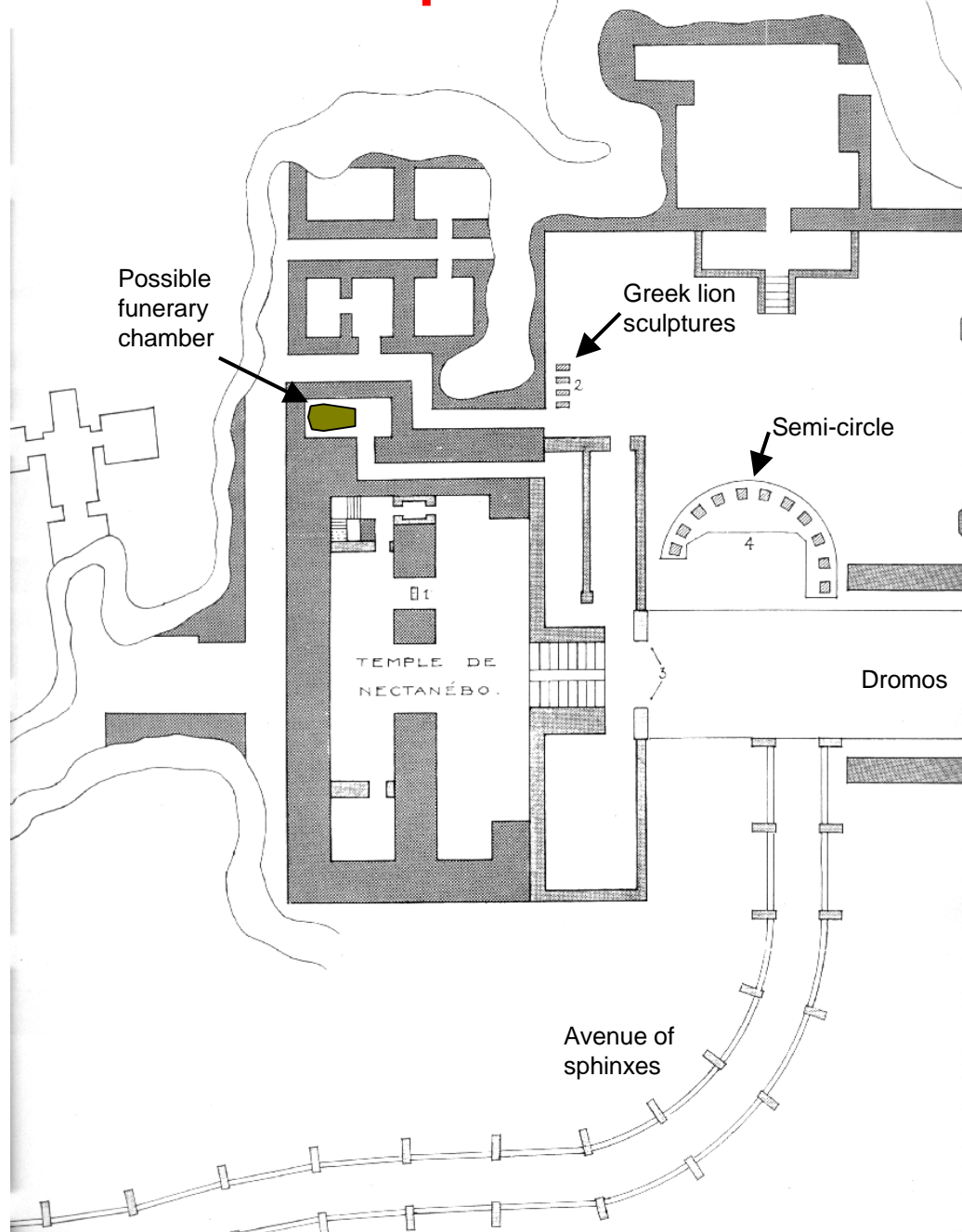
The upper section of the Satrap Stele

The Serapeum at Memphis

Brought to light by Auguste Mariette 1850-1851

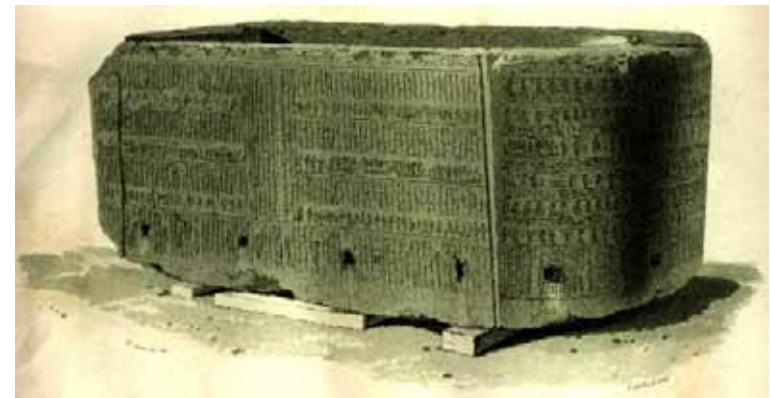


The Memphite tomb of Alexander (c. 321-280BC)

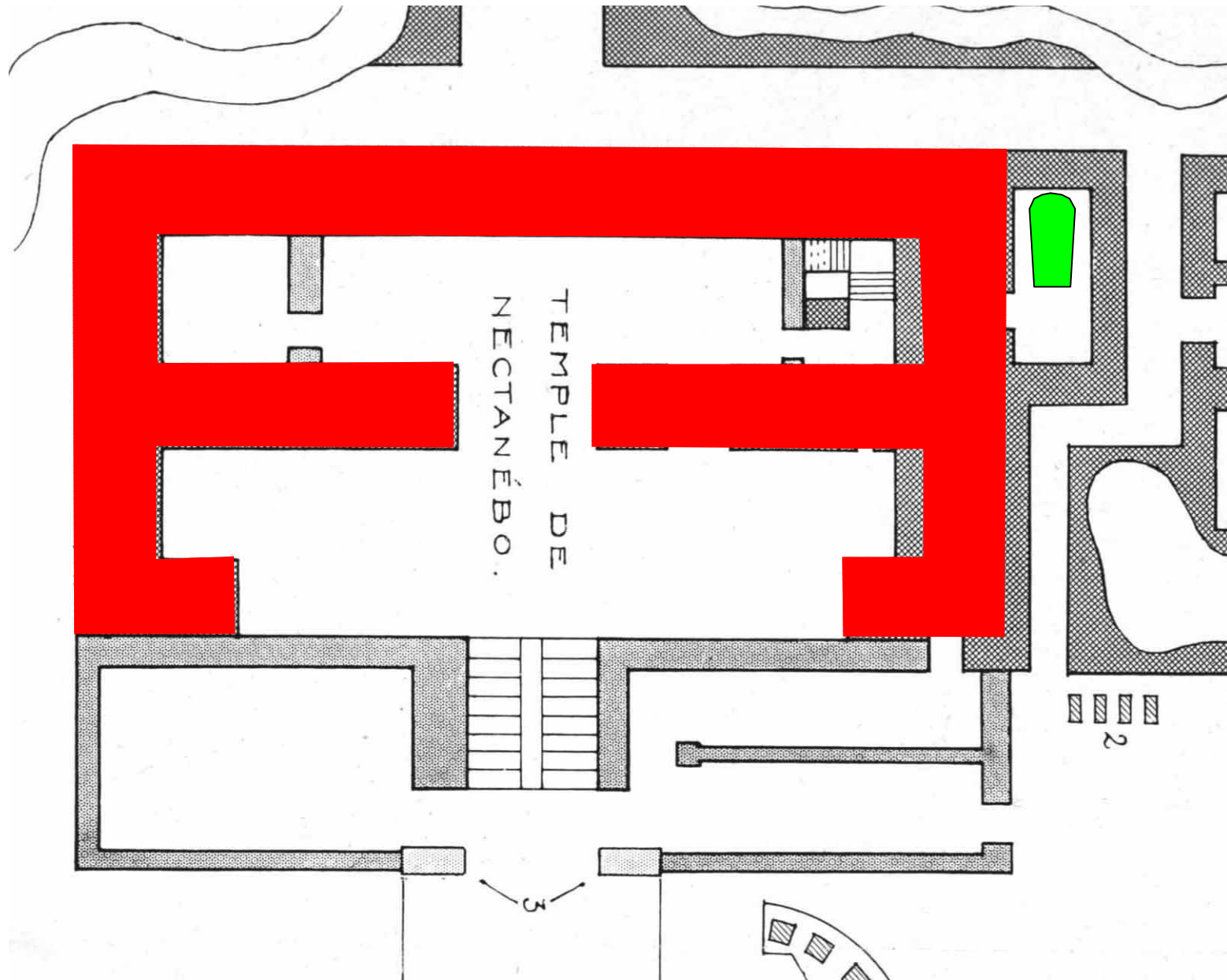


Curtius, Pausanias, Pseudo-
Callisthenes, Marmor Parium

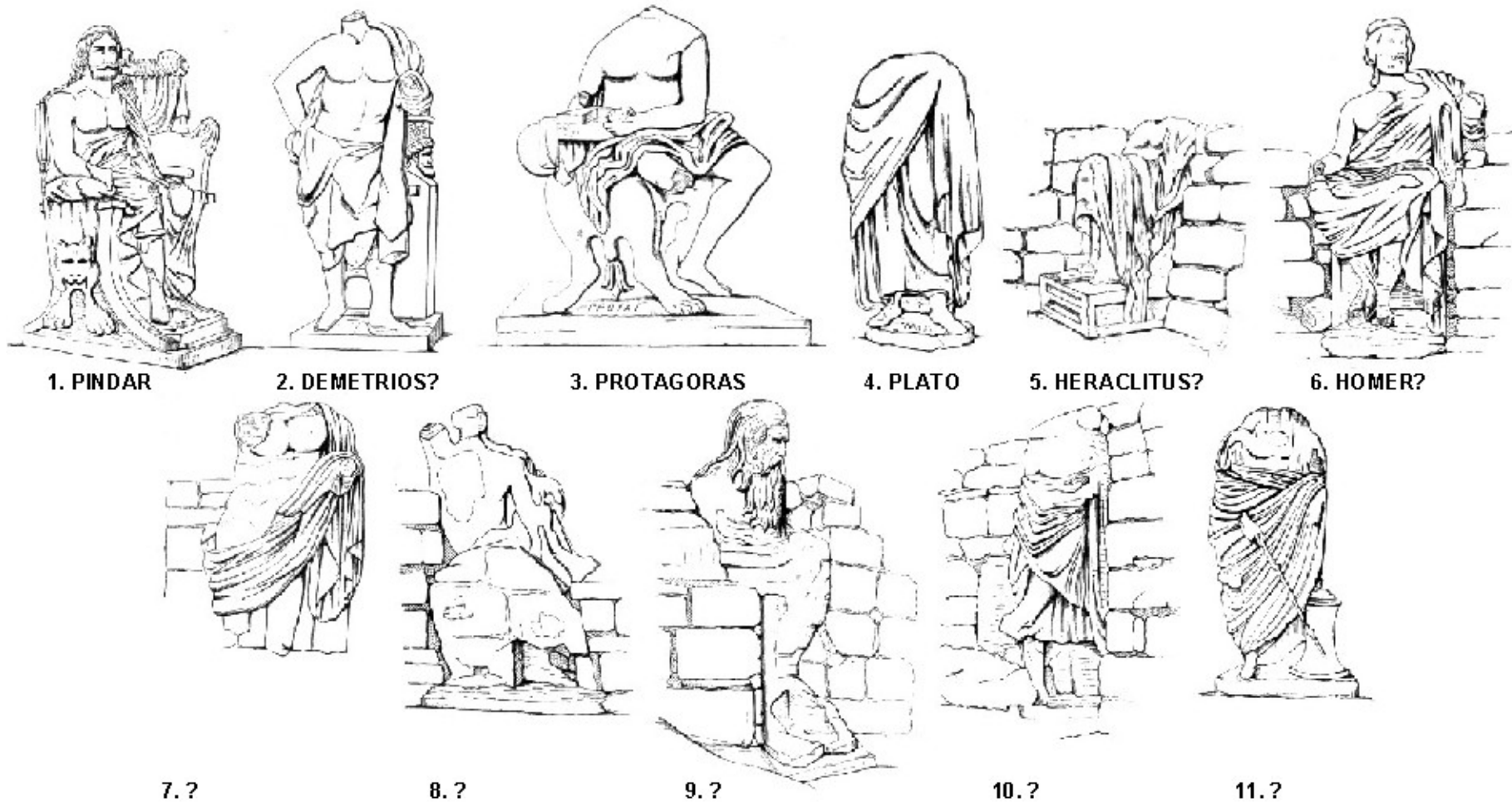
Edward Daniel Clarke, Auguste
Mariette, Dorothy Thompson,
Lauer & Picard



Was the Nectanebo Temple Modified to Add the Side Chamber?



The Statues of the Semicircle



Homer was Alexander's favourite poet

Alexander saved Pindar's house at Thebes

Plato was the teacher of Alexander's tutor, Aristotle

The *Domus Alexandri Magni* at the exact centre of the Braun & Hogenberg map of c.AD1573



This tomb of Alexander appears to be the chapel in the courtyard of the Attarine Mosque due to its location and the adjacent minaret

It must also be the tomb of Alexander within a small house in the form of a chapel which is recorded by Leo Africanus, who visited Alexandria ~1515-1520: *“It should not be omitted, that in the middle of the city amongst the ruins may be seen a little house in the form of a chapel, in which is a tomb much honoured by the Mahometans; since it is asserted that within it is kept the corpse of Alexander the Great, grand prophet and King, as may be read in the Koran. And many strangers come from distant lands to see and venerate this tomb, leaving at this spot great and frequent alms.”*

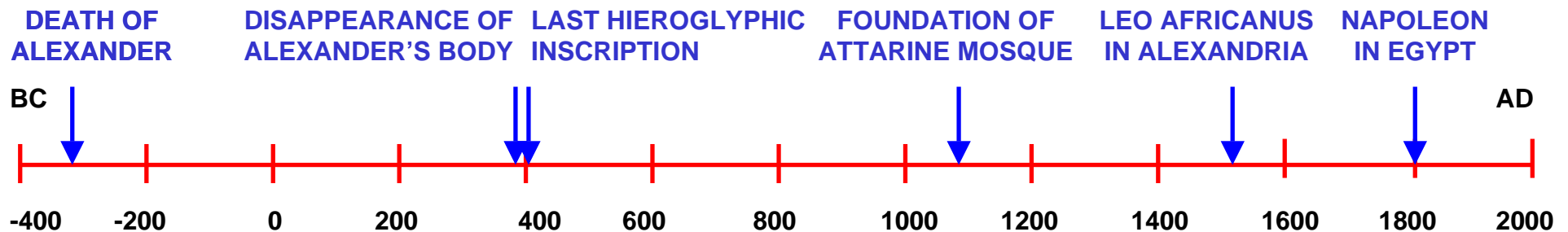
Hence the medieval tomb of Alexander seems to have been the Nectanebo II sarcophagus

The association of the sarcophagus with Alexander must therefore date back at least 500 years.



Why it is difficult for the sarcophagus not to have been used for Alexander

- Association with Alexander can be traced back 500 years
 - So any fake association perpetrated >500 years ago
- Connections between Nectanebo II and Alexander make the use of Nectanebo's sarcophagus for Alexander historically highly plausible
 - Nectanebo fled Egypt ten years before Alexander's arrival leaving his sarcophagus (and tomb) empty
 - Nectanebo is Alexander's real father in Pseudo-Callisthenes
 - Alexander's first tomb was at Memphis
 - The Temple of Nectanebo II at the Serapeum in the Memphite necropolis is guarded by Greek statues most probably erected by Ptolemy Soter and including men with whom Alexander is associated (Homer, Pindar, Plato...)
- Hieroglyphics on sarcophagus were not readable between the fifth century AD and 1822 so
 - Either a faker was incredibly fortunate in choosing a sarcophagus with several plausible associations with Alexander's entombment by pure chance
 - Or the fake was perpetrated earlier than the fifth century AD
 - But Alexander's real tomb existed in Alexandria until nearly the end of the 4th century AD
- There is hardly any time in which a forgery could knowingly have been perpetrated



Considerations supporting the use of the sarcophagus for Alexander

- It is difficult to find a convincing motive for anyone to move a 7-tonne sarcophagus to Alexandria from elsewhere in Egypt
 - Other than that it was moved when Alexander's tomb was moved from Memphis to Alexandria by Ptolemy Philadelphus around 280BC
- It is dubious whether any faker would have adopted an Egyptian-style sarcophagus for a Greek king
 - One of the main reasons that the attribution has been doubted by modern scholars is their preconception that Alexander's sarcophagus should be in a style like the "Alexander sarcophagus" from Sidon
- The use of Nectanebo's sarcophagus for Alexander by Ptolemy explains what inspired the ancient story in Pseudo-Callisthenes that Nectanebo was Alexander's true father

The so-called Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon

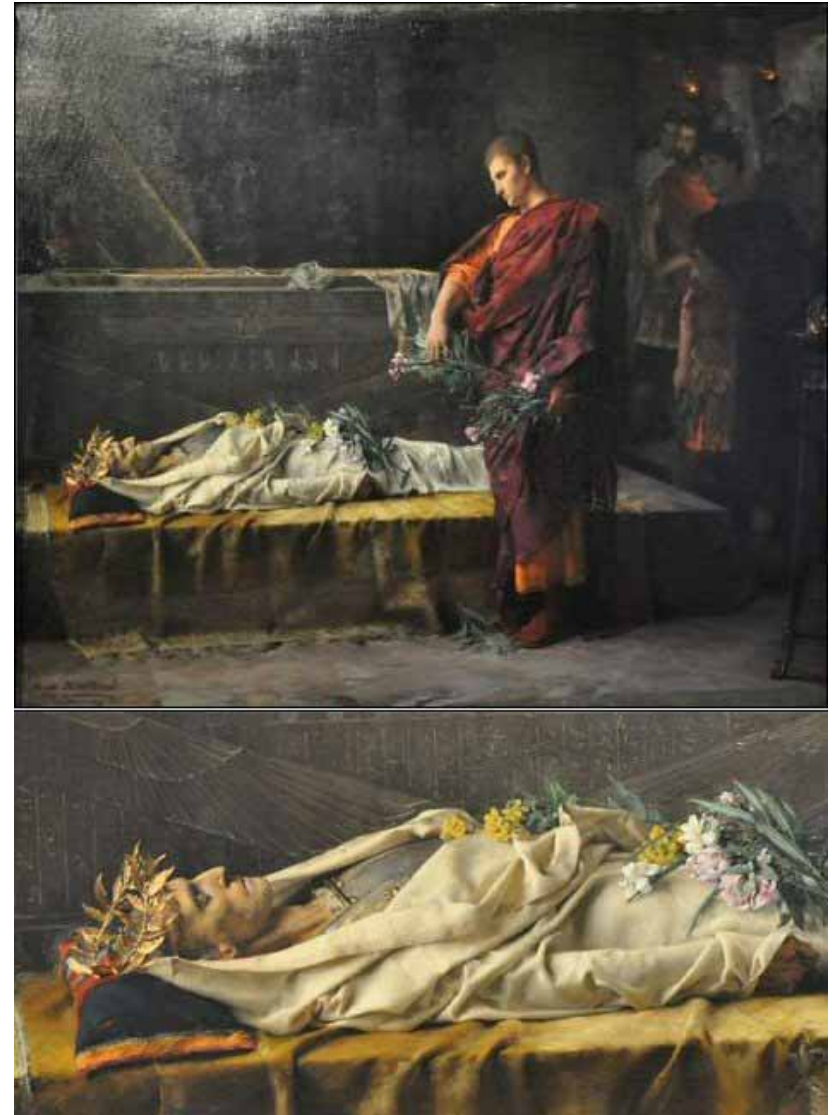
Reliefs (in Greek style) depict Alexander in battle and hunting

Actually believed to be the sarcophagus of King Abdalonymus of Sidon



Reconstructing An Unrecorded History

- The Memphite Tomb
 - Ptolemy Soter used the abandoned tomb and empty sarcophagus of Nectanebo II at the Nectanebo II temple in the Memphite Serapeum to create the first tomb of Alexander in 321BC
- The Soma Mausoleum in Alexandria
 - Ptolemy Philadelphus, the son of Ptolemy Soter, moved Alexander's body together with the sarcophagus to Alexandria in about 280BC
- Ptolemy IV built a magnificent new tomb for Alexander in a mausoleum at the centre of Alexandria in 215BC
- Alexander's body was on display in Alexandria in about AD390 and had probably therefore been removed from its sarcophagus
- The sarcophagus was rescued from the ruined mausoleum and was adapted to serve as a cistern for ritual ablutions in the courtyard of the Attarine mosque, which was founded in AD1084
- The sarcophagus was identified as the tomb of Alexander as is recorded by Leo Africanus, who visited it in around AD1515
- Napoleon visited the sarcophagus together with Vivant Denon in July 1798
- He was told that it was the tomb of Alexander and he planned to take it to France (some say Napoleon wished to be buried in it)



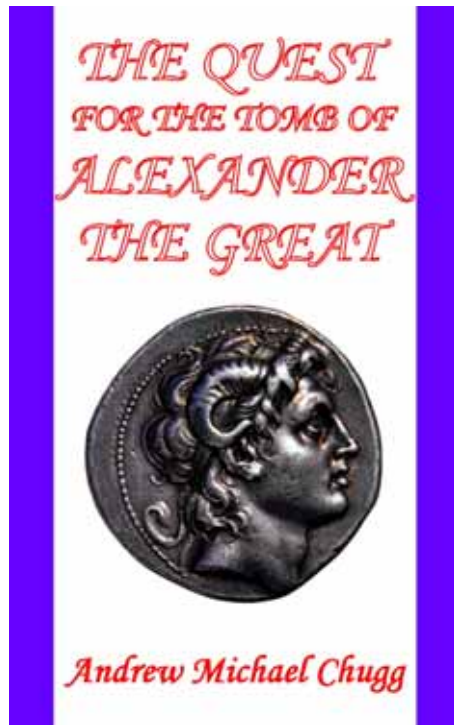
The visit of Augustus

Gustave Courtois 1878

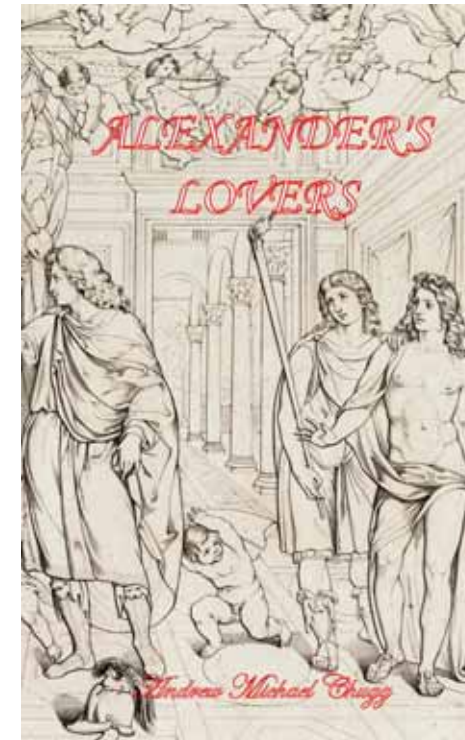
After Napoleon

- When the British captured Alexandria in March 1801, Edward Daniel Clarke found the sarcophagus in the harbour in the hold of the French hospital ship, La Cause
- Clarke arranged for the sarcophagus to be taken to England, where it entered the collection of the British Museum
- Napoleon instructed the French savants not to publish the association of the sarcophagus with Alexander's tomb, because it was in the hands of the English
- Edward Daniel Clarke's book on *The Tomb of Alexander* published in 1805
- The translation of the hieroglyphics on the sarcophagus after 1822
 - Initially but incorrectly thought to bear the cartouches of Nectanebo I
 - This was used to damn Clarke's identification of it as the Tomb of Alexander
- Wace noticed that there was a good case for its use by Alexander in 1948
- I made the extra connection with the Nectanebo temple at Memphis in 2002
- The British Museum still does not mention the association with Alexander on their label in the museum – but they state on their website: “A myth grew up around this object, that it was the sarcophagus of Alexander the Great. Once the hieroglyphs were translated in the nineteenth century and it became clear that they did not name Alexander, the story seems to have changed subtly, it being said that Alexander's tomb was on the site of the mosque. There seems to be no evidence to support either of these ideas.”
- But the one absolute certainty is that there is no evidence that the association of Alexander with the sarcophagus is a myth
- In two centuries nothing has been found that shows that it was not used for Alexander's tomb
- Ironically, its attribution to Nectanebo, the main thing that once sowed doubt, turns out to be the basis of a strong case for its authenticity

Books

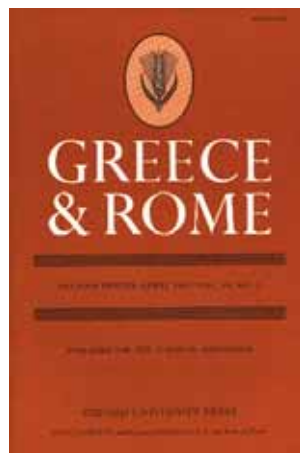


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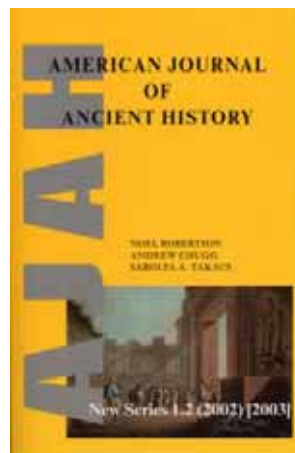
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APRIL 2002

**"THE
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OF ALEXANDER
THE GREAT?"**



**AJAH
2003**

**"THE TOMB OF
ALEXANDER
THE GREAT IN
ALEXANDRIA"**

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**"THE JOURNAL
OF ALEXANDER
THE GREAT"**

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