

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WESTERN DESERT : III

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THE present article in this Western Desert archaeological series is divided into two parts, the first dealing with *The Temple-Tombs of Alexander the Great and his Palace in Rhacotis* and the second with *The Great Wall of the Libyan Desert*. Previous articles in the series appeared in the BULLETIN, XXXVI (September, 1953), pp. 128 ff., and XXXVI (March, 1954), pp. 484 ff.

I. THE TEMPLE-TOMBS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND HIS PALACE IN RHACOTIS¹

Alexander the Great died abroad, at Babylon (323 B.C.), and was buried abroad, although ancient custom decreed that the kings of Macedonia should always be buried at Aegae (Edessa) in Macedonia. Why was ancient custom not followed in Alexander's case? In obedience to the oracle of Zeus at Babylon, according to one account,² or in view of a promise

¹ Bibliographies to most of the classical and other sources used in this article (sources which by no means exhaust the subjects dealt with) will be found in the following publications: E. D. Clarke, *The Tomb of Alexander* (1805); G. Botti, *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne* (1897), pp. 43 ff. (includes extracts from an early Coptic manuscript); E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, English edn. (1922), pp. 96 ff.; E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927), p. 408 (*Sema*)—the system of numbering of the Ptolemies adopted in this article is that proposed by Bevan; E. Breccia, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain 1925-1931* (1932), pp. 37 ff.; A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei Nomi Geografici et Topografici dell' Egitto Greco-Romano* (1935), s.v. *Alexandria: Soma*; my notes in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, xxxv, pp. 26 ff.; A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University*, ii (1944), pp. 6 ff.; G. A. Voutopoulos, *L'Emplacement du Tombeau d'Alexandre le Grand*, Alexandria (1946); A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., iv (1948), pp. 1 ff.

² W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni* (1926), p. 145, lines 10 ff. For another oracle associated with the death of the king (an oracle which declared that

alleged to have been made by Ptolemy (one of Alexander's generals) to take the body to Egypt so that it should be buried there and become one of the gods of the country, according to still another account.¹ But more probably, as E. Bevan has suggested,² the custom was deviated from because Ptolemy, shortly to become satrap (323-305 B.C.) and finally Ptolemy I, Soter I of Egypt (305-282/3 B.C.), saw here an opportunity to enhance the prestige of Egypt by having Alexander's body in that country as "a fetish of extraordinary power over the minds of men". Whatever the reason, the body of Alexander was placed in a golden anthropoid coffin³ adorned with royal insignia and wheeled in funeral procession to Memphis, to temporary burial there in a "temple-sepulchre"⁴ (cf. the

Alexander's body should not be carried into the sanctuary of the so-called "Temple of Serapis" at Babylon but left where he died in his palace), see P. Jouguet, *Macedonian Imperialism and the Hellenization of the East* (1928), p. 60; W. N. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, i (1948), p. 120. Alexander's visit to the oracle of Amun in the Siwa Oasis is described by Ahmed Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis* (1944), pp. 35 ff. In some of the Ptolemaic temples in the Faiyûm a small entrance leads into a secret chamber inside the altar, a fact which indicates that a priest hid there in order to give the oracles. The altar would have been covered with a cloth during the time the priest was functioning.

¹ *Lucian*, i, p. 290, edn. Amstelod. Blaeu (cited by E. D. Clarke, op. cit. p. 49, n. (b)). Although the promise is mentioned in a legendary dialogue between Diogenes and Alexander it may possibly have had some foundation in fact. For details of the last days of Alexander, from the 15th to the 28 Daesios (13 June 323 B.C.), see P. Jouguet, op. cit. pp. 58 ff. The anniversary of the day of the death was kept in Alexandria as a holy day. A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., ii, p. 11. Other festivals in honour of the dead king are mentioned in P. Jouguet, op. cit. p. 361. For his deification, cf. E. D. Clarke, op. cit. pp. 9 ff., 48 ff., 119 ff.; G. Maspero, *Comment Alexandre devint Dieu en Égypte* (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Annuaire 1897); P. Jouguet, op. cit. pp. 288, 291 f.; W. N. Tarn, op. cit. i, pp. 43, 77; ii, pp. 347 ff. Royal persons were deified in pharaonic Egypt also. See my article in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (1939), pp. 37 ff.

² E. Bevan, op. cit. p. 19.

³ Diodorus (xviii. 26) indicates that the coffin was anthropoid. See also Appendix to the present article.

⁴ E. Bevan, op. cit. p. 20. A fragment of the Parian Marble (Bevan, op. cit. p. 19, n. 1 = *Athen. Mittheil.*, xxii, p. 187) confirms that the body was in the first instance deposited at Memphis. For sarcophagi and other remains of the Ptolemaic period in the Memphite Serapeum, near where Alexander may have been buried, see Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., iii, pp. 214 f.

four-wheeled bier in Fig. 1, inset, below). The Memphis burial is mentioned by Pausanias who adds that Ptolemy II, Philadelphus (283-245 B.C.) transferred it to what was intended to be its

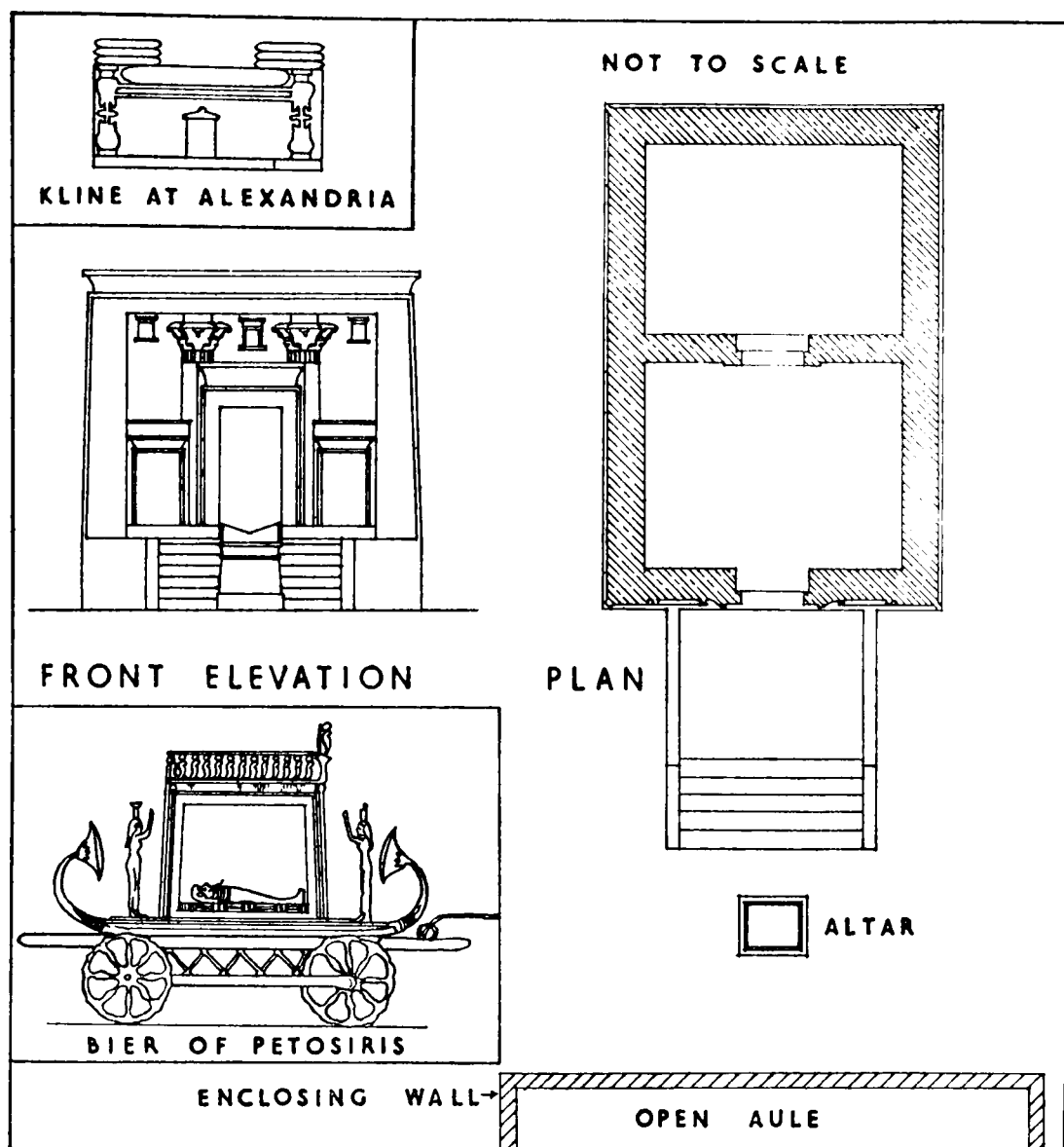


FIG. 1.—Suggested restoration of the *Soma* cult-temple showing plan and front elevation together with part of the open *aule* (cf. Fig. 2). INSETS:—*Left, above*: A *kline* or bed-shaped sarcophagus in Ptolemaic tomb A at Chatby, Eastern Alexandria. After E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, ii (1912), Pl. V. In the centre of the side is sculptured a funerary stela; cf. the Cairo Museum stela in the shape of a distyle portico with angular pediment, in J. G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions* (1905), p. 57, Pl. IX, No. 9251. *Left, below*: Funerary bier of the *deified* priest Petosiris (tomb at Hermopolis West) who lived before, during, and after the reign of Alexander, for comparison with the wheeled bier of the great Macedonian, a suggested reconstruction of which is in *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum* (1905), pp. 698 ff., and figures (this reference from Dr. G. Zuntz of Manchester).

final resting place in Alexandria. Pseudo-Callisthenes is more explicit, for he says that the transferred burial took place “in the town which he (i.e. Alexander) hath founded at Rhacotis” and “in a tomb in the holy place called ‘*Soma* (*Sema*) of

Alexander ' ".¹ Although Diodorus,² Strabo,³ and Quintus Curtius⁴ say that it was Ptolemy I who placed the burial in the Soma at Alexandria, it is pointed out by E. Bevan that "possibly this is the truth, and the fact behind the statement of Pausanias would then be simply that the body reposed for some years in Memphis, till the sepulchre at Alexandria was ready for it".⁵ We hope to show further on that the second burial was actually made in Rhacotis and that the burial-place of Alexander which was indicated by Strabo and Zenobius as being in Neapolis was actually a third and final one.

It has sometimes been argued that the body of Alexander was placed in the massive stone sarcophagus of the last native pharaoh, Nectanebo II (359-341 B.C.), found many years ago in Alexandria (see p. 150). In support of this view are adduced two details:⁶ *first*, the popular belief fostered at the time that Alexander was either Nectanebo II returned rejuvenated to deliver his country from the Persians, or else the son of Nectanebo; *second*, the fact that Nectanebo died in Upper Egypt⁷ and therefore could not have been buried in the sarcophagus originally intended for him. The vacant sarcophagus of the "father" was occupied by the son. The first detail derives from the untrue statement in *The Romance of Alexander* (Pseudo-Callisthenes).⁸ The second detail does not lead to the conclusion suggested. Moreover, as the available evidence seems to indicate, the sarcophagus

¹ E. A. W. Budge, *A History of Egypt*, vii (1902), p. 155; Strabo (edn. Loeb, viii, p. 34, n. 4, including remarks on *Soma* and *Sema*). For Rhacotis see Fig. 2.

² xviii. 28.

³ xvii. 1, 8.

⁴ *Cæterum corpus ejus a Ptolemæo, cui Ægyptus cesserat, Memphim; et inde, paucis post annis, Alexandriam translatus est.* Quintus Curtius, pagina ultima (cited by E. D. Clarke, op. cit. p. 54, n. (o)).

⁵ E. Bevan, op. cit. p. 19.

⁶ A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., iv, p. 6.

⁷ Diodorus says that Nectanebo fled to Nubia after his defeat in 343 B.C. On the contrary, Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte* (1946), p. 584, point out that Nectanebo must have reigned in Upper Egypt for at least two more years. His subsequent fate is unknown.

⁸ H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, iv, p. 191, n. 4; cf. also the reference in the footnote to an interesting hieroglyphic inscription of princess Ptolemais (?) who is stated to have been the daughter of Nectanebo I! A recent account of *The Romance of Alexander* is that of E. H. Haight, in *More Essays in Greek Romances* (1945). See also p. 143, n. 2, of the present article.

in which Alexander was buried was not of pharaonic type (see below).

Another sarcophagus which used wrongly to be attributed to Alexander (again this one is not of the type in which the king was buried) is that found in Sidon many years ago, and now in the Istanbul Museum. Its sides are adorned with scenes from the life of the king and it dates from the fourth century B.C.¹

From Pausanias's statement that Alexander was buried according to Macedonian custom in Memphis,² it is reasonable to assume that he must have been buried according to the same custom in Alexandria. Analogy with contemporary usage at Alexandria and elsewhere in Egypt suggests that the burial—with the golden coffin—would have been in an *underground* tomb with a sarcophagus shaped like a bed with pillows (*kline*)³ and that there was a cult-temple above the tomb.⁴ In view of its importance the whole complex would have been within a walled enclosure (*temenos*) that would separate it from the rest of the city.

Rubensohn⁵ has drawn attention to the general similarity between the rock-cut *kline* tombs of Macedonia and Alexandria. In Macedonia the tombs consisted of two parts: an outer vestibule (*prostas*) and an inner burial chamber (*oikos*) containing the *kline*; the *oikos* was larger than the *prostas*. In Alexandria, however, the *prostas* was made larger than the *oikos* because it had to be furnished with a bench on either side for the mourners

¹ H. B. Walters, *A Classical Dictionary*, etc. (1916), p. 885, Fig. 470.

² Pausanias (i. 6. 3, edn. Loeb) actually says "with Macedonian rites". It was at Memphis, incidentally, that the Persian satrap Mazakes submitted to Alexander at the time of his conquest in 332 B.C. and delivered to him the garrison and the treasury of the town. Pseudo-Callisthenes (i. 34) says he was enthroned there, and that having seen in the local temple a statue of Nectanebo II, his "father" according to the *Romance*, he embraced it. E. A. W. Budge, *A History of Egypt*, vii, pp. 143 f.; E. Bevan, *op. cit.* p. 3; Ahmed Fakhry, *Baharia Oasis*, ii (1950), p. 41 and bibliography in footnotes.

³ E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, p. 96; A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., ii, p. 9. See Fig. 1, inset, in this article; *kline* from *oikos* of a Chatby tomb.

⁴ Cf. also the cult-temple over the burial vaults of the Apis bulls at Memphis, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1950), p. 793.

⁵ *Bull. de la Soc. (Royale) d'Arch. d'Alex.*, 12, pp. 84 ff.; I. Noshay, *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt* (1937), pp. 22 ff.

and occasionally with a central table and an altar.¹ Again there was another difference, for in Macedonia the body was placed upon the *kline*,² while in Alexandria it was deposited inside a hollowed out space specially cut in the "bed" for its reception. Also, at Alexandria, there was an open courtyard (*aule*)—*the only part of the tomb proper not underground*; this was in front of the vestibule,³ and in it was an altar as well as a cistern for providing water,⁴ which, as may be assumed from the end of certain inscriptions found on altars in tombs at el-Gabbary (in ancient Necropolis), Alexandria, was for refreshing the soul of the dead through the help of Osiris: *KAI KATA THC ΔΩKEN ΨΥXPON OCIPIC ΥΔΩΠ*. This was actually the Second Formula of the Serapists.⁵ At the upper level the courtyard was enclosed by a wall of masonry. A sloping, winding, covered-in stairway led down into a corner of the courtyard (cf. Fig. 2).⁶ Not all these Alexandrian tombs, however, have a *kline*

¹ In Alexandria the Ptolemaic two-benched *prostas* as well as, no doubt, the benched Etruscan tomb, was the forerunner of the Roman funerary *triclinium* (hall with three benches). Ceremonial feasts were held in the *triclinium*, in memory of the dead, on the "Day of Roses", the "Day of Violets", the anniversary of the birthday of the deceased, and during the Roman "Feast of All Souls" (13-21 February), held publicly on the last day, the rest being reserved for private celebrations. Cf. the magnificent *triclinium* at Kôm el-Shukafa ("Mound of the Potsherds") published in my article in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, xxxv, pp. 13 f., Pls. I, IV.

² In Etruscan tombs also bodies were placed upon rock-cut funerary beds, complete with pillows. H. B. Walters, *A Classical Dictionary* (1916), pp. 915 f.; G. Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, i (1878), p. 251, plate (cf. further the terra-cotta sarcophagus with reclining figures on its lid, op. cit. i, p. 227).

³ For more information on Macedonian-Alexandrian tombs of the *kline* class, see I. Noshy, op. cit. pp. 20 ff., and bibliographies. The sequence of dating of the various tombs of this class in Alexandria is not yet absolutely certain.

⁴ During the winter the cistern would have been filled by the rainwater which ran into the courtyard.

⁵ G. Botti, *Catalogue des Monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain* (1900), pp. 503 f.

⁶ For the stairway and other parts of this type of tomb, cf. I. Noshy, op. cit. Pl. III, Fig. 1; E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, p. 330, Fig. 246. The arrangement of the stairway together with the wall enclosing the top of the courtyard made it impossible for any unauthorized person to look straight into the tomb, and in this respect we are reminded of the ante-rooms screening the entrances to the inner sanctuaries of the Canaanite temples we found at Beth-Shan in Palestine. Cf. my *Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan* (1940), pp. 7, 15, 24, 33.

sarcophagus, and some of the better preserved examples, originally beautifully decorated in colour on plaster, give some idea of the richer private houses of the period, for the house of the dead was usually fashioned like the house of the living. One such

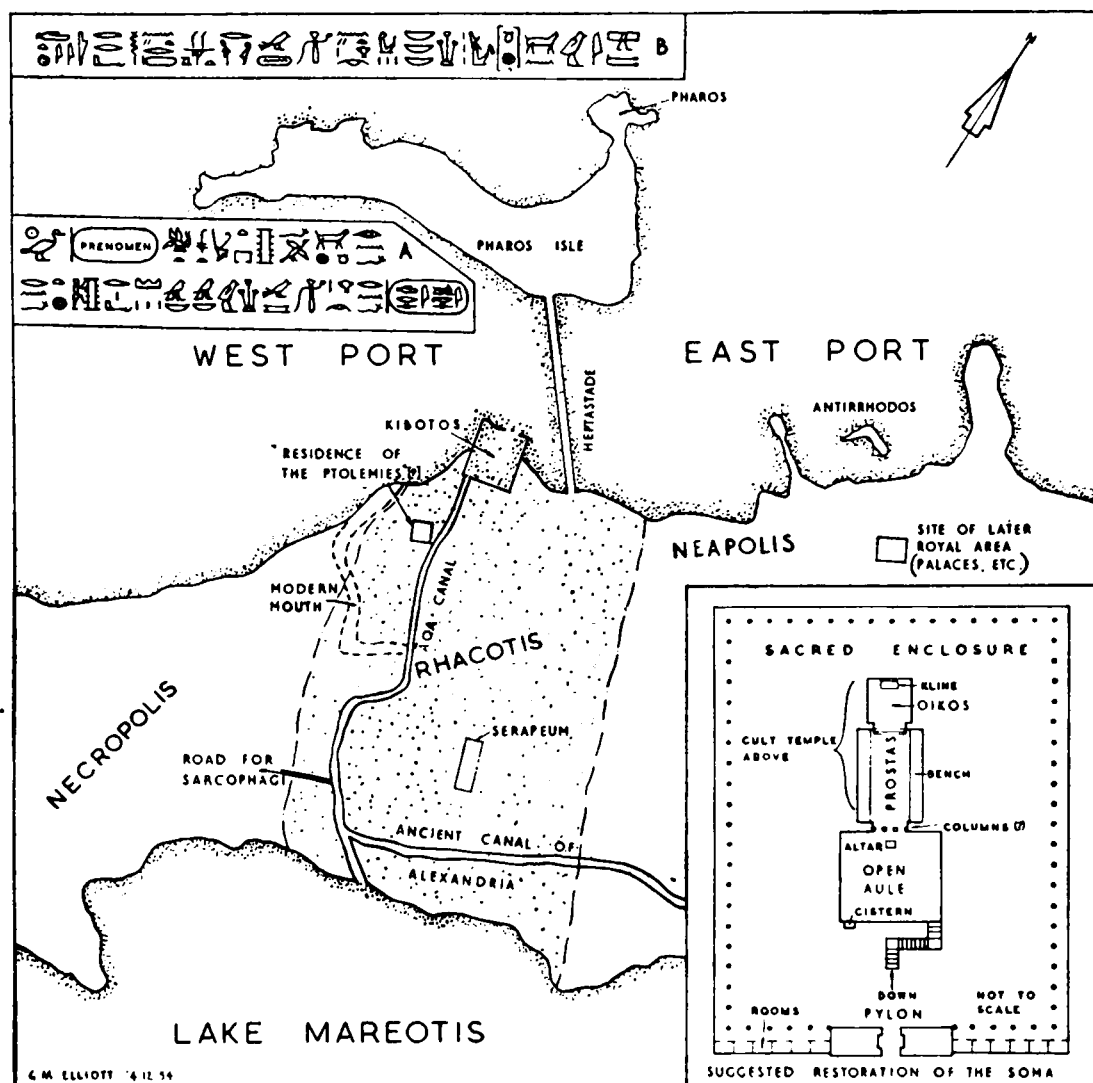


Fig. 2.—Map showing relative positions of Necropolis, Rhacotis with the Aqa Canal, and Neapolis. The older or Rhacotis tomb of Alexander was doubtless near the "Residence of the Ptolemies"; the later or Neapolis one was adjacent to the "Site of Later Royal Area". INSETS:—Lower right: Suggested restoration of the *Soma*. The underground parts are the stairway, *prostas* and *oikos*. A and B: Inscriptions mentioning the palace in Rhacotis, "A" dating from the time of Ptolemy the Satrap (311 B.C.) and "B" from the reign of Ptolemy XI (Auletes), (79-51 B.C.).

tomb, at Moustapha Pasha, in Eastern Alexandria, with a colonnade in front of the vestibule, reminds us also of a certain Hellenistic house with colonnaded courtyard at Priene.¹

¹ For the Moustapha Pasha tomb (restored since publication), cf. A. Adriani, in *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain*, 1933-1935 (1936). The Priene house is seen in M. and C. H. B. Quennell, *La Vie des Grecs d'Homère à Périclès* (1937), Fig. 123. It is important to note that the papyri indicate that the

In our suggested restoration of the actual rock-cut SEPULCHRE of the *Soma* in which the body of the king was placed after its arrival from Memphis (see Fig. 2) we have followed as far as possible the general arrangement of the Alexandrian type of "Macedonian" tombs just described.¹ This restoration shows the vaulted stairway leading down indirectly into the open courtyard (*aule*) complete with cistern and altar, the vaulted vestibule (*prosta*) with two benches and the supposed columns at its entrance, and, finally, the burial chamber (*oikos*), also vaulted, with bed-shaped sarcophagus (*kline*) at the rear.² Analogy with similar Alexandrian tombs suggests that the underground parts would have been covered with plaster, the *prosta* and *oikos* being coloured in imitation of ashlar stone-work or alabaster slabs. On the sides of the stairway would have been painted funerary scenes showing figures of the gods and of the deified king, while the *kline* would have been decorated in very rich colours.

The masonry CULT-TEMPLE of the *Soma* would have been situated on the rock surface over the *prosta* and *oikos*, and, as we hope to show, was Ptolemaic and not Greek in style, consisting essentially of a *pronaos* and a *naos*, without colonnaded peristyle.³ These circumstances are suggested :

1. AT THE BAHRIA OASIS ; by the plan of the only known temple of Alexander the Great in Egypt, a rectangular two-roomed one,⁴ and

fourth-and-third century house of the Priene type, complete with *aule*, *prosta*, and *oikos* was known in Alexandria and Philadelphia. I. Noshy, op. cit. p. 59. Cf. also Schreiber-Sieglin, *Die Nekropole von Kôm-esch-Schukâfa*, text vol. (1908), p. 161.

¹ Cf. E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, pp. 96 ff. ; A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., ii, pp. 9, 11. I do not agree with these authorities that the cult-temple of the *Soma* had a colonnaded peristyle.

² The *oikos* was probably on a higher level than the *prosta*, and, as in the case of the Sûk el-Wardian tomb in Necropolis, would have been approached by a flight of steps. Cf. I. Noshy, op. cit. Pl. II.

³ For pharaonic peripteral temples, cf. L. Borchardt, *Aegyptische Tempel mit Umgang* (1938) ; Baldwin Smith, *Egyptian Architecture and Cultural Expression* (1938), pp. 149-52, Pls. XLIII, XLIV.

⁴ Ahmed Fakhry, in *Annales du Service* (1939), pp. 638 f. and Fig. 63 ; Ahmed Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis*, ii (1950), pp. 41 ff. and Fig. 29. The temple had no podium or entrance steps. Alexander had a sanctuary in the Temple of Amun at Karnak and a shrine in the Temple of Luxor. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., ii, pp. 44 f., 106.

2. AT HERMOPOLIS WEST IN UPPER EGYPT; by the plan of certain Ptolemaic funerary chapels (e.g. Nos. 1, 2, 3 (?), 4),¹ also rectangular and two roomed, erected over underground tombs or slot graves, all cut in the rock.²

The front of the *pronaos* of chapels Nos. 1 and 4 has "sculptured" details in high relief representing the exterior part of the frame of its large entrance door, on either side of which are a column with capital and a rather low screen wall; above the door and each screen is a small window with stone-work meshed grille.³ The front of No. 3 is similarly adorned, but is without windows, while that of No. 2 has no columns, screens or windows. A flight of steps leads up to a platform before the door of No. 1, and there is an altar before the steps (no altars are inside any of the chapels). There are other types of funerary chapels at Hermopolis West,⁴ but as they do not generally conform to the

¹ Sami Gabra and others, *Rapport sur les Fouilles d'Hermopolis Ouest* (1941), Pls. XIX, XX (chapel No. 1); XXI, XXII (No. 2); XXII (No. 3—not completely excavated at time of publication); and XXIV, XXV (No. 4).

² The temple of the *Soma* must evidently have been axial with the tomb; no such hard and fast arrangement was carried out in respect of the chapels and associated underground tombs at Hermopolis West. In both cases the height of the rock over the actual tomb assured a firm foundation for the superstructure.

³ In the case of chapel No. 1 there is also an upper window in either side wall of the *pronaos* and *naos* as well as a niche in the inner face of the west wall of the *pronaos*. The position of the façade windows, immediately below the entablature, reminds one of the speculation, refuted by Vitruvius (IV, ii), that the tri-glyph of the Doric frieze was originally a window. My colleague Mr. Derek Buttle suggests that this late first-century B.C. speculation may, perhaps, be traced to the Egyptian practice here illustrated. Cf. further the columns, each two divided by a panel below a double door or shutter (one leaf partly open), all details "sculptured", in vestibule *d* of tomb A at Chatby. E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciattbi*, ii (1912), Pl. II.

⁴ One of these chapels, the *pronaos* of which is wider than the *naos*, was made for the *deified* priest Petosiris, who lived under the second Persian domination and through the reign of Alexander the Great, dying during the last years of Ptolemy I. G. Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, i (1924), p. 12, iii (1923), Pls. I ff.; Sami Gabra and others, op. cit. Pl. I. For the deification of the priest see my article in *Annales du Service* (1940), p. 34. His inner anthropoid coffin, which is of black varnished coniferous wood with carefully inlaid hieroglyphs of polychrome glass, is the best of its kind in the Cairo Museum. G. Lefebvre, op. cit. i, pp. 18 ff.; iii, Pl. LVII (coloured reproduction); his mummy on its four-wheeled bier is seen in iii, Pls. XXX, XXXIV (see Fig. 1, inset, in the present article; checked from a photograph lent to the writer in Alexandria). Among the rest of the chapels at Hermopolis West, recorded by Sami Gabra, op. cit. are: (A) *Chapel of Padykam*. Similar to that of Petosiris.—Pls. IV, V, VII.

simple type of two-roomed rectangular temple and chapels mentioned above, we have not considered them in connection with our attempt to restore the appearance of the cult-temple of the *Soma*. Taking everything into account (including the details of the general exterior appearance of Ptolemaic temples elsewhere),¹ we believe that the cult-temple of the *Soma* resembled chapel No. 1,² with its *pronaos*, *naos*, "sculptured" façade and other details. The cult-temple would have stood on a high podium (as does the chapel in question), a feature certainly necessary in its own case, so that the level of the bottom of the door of the cult-temple would be visible *above* that of the top of the enclosing wall of the upper part of the open *aule* of the *Soma*. Like chapel No. 1 also, it would have a flight of steps leading up to a platform before the door as well as an altar in front of the steps. The door would face the main gate of the *Soma*. (See our suggested restoration in Fig. 2, inset, p. 145.)

Certain other analogies to our restoration of the superstructure of the *Soma* complex are to be seen in a non-peripteral temple of Isis, evidently Alexandrian in style, at Pompeii.³ The temple

(B) *Chapel No. 21*. Similar to (A) but with *pronaos* divided into three parts and with plain face.—Pl. IX. (C) *Chapel No. 12*. Similar to No. 1, but with plain face; portico with four columns.—Pl. XXIX. (D) *Chapel No. 10*. *Naos* only, with column, screen wall and window on either side of door.—Pls. XXVII, XXX. (E) *Chapel No. 11*. *Naos* divided into two parts; wide *pronaos* with column and screen wall on either side of door; portico with six columns.—Pl. XXVIII. This particular chapel recalls the three-chambered Osiris Chapel on either side of the roof of the main Temple of Hathor at Dendera, between the outer and central rooms of which are screen walls with short pillars. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., vi, p. 94.

¹ Cf. for example, E. Bevan, *op. cit.* pp. 320 (Fig. 52), 339 (Fig. 57), 340 (Fig. 58); É. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, ix, Pls. VI, X; É. Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendara*, i, Pls. XXI-XXIII; Baldwin Smith, *op. cit.* Pls. LVII, LVIII, LIX, LXII. Here, as in the case of the front of the *pronaos* of the chapels of Petosiris and Padykam, there are actual and not "sculptured" columns and screen walls, the spaces above the walls letting in the light.

² The overall measurements of chapel No. 1 (excluding platform and steps) are: 7.90 m. long by 5.25 m. wide; those of the Bahria Oasis temple are: 12.40 m. long by 6.37 m. wide. The height of the chapel is 5.40 m. The façade details seen in our Fig. 1 have been checked from a photograph taken on the spot by the writer (the grille in the windows is omitted).

³ A. Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* (1907), pp. 247 f.; E. Erman, *La Religion des Égyptiens* (1937), pp. 487 ff., Fig. 182.

stands in a sacred enclosure which is surrounded by a colonnade having on two sides rooms for the priests, for storehouses, etc. A flight of steps leads up to the six-columned portico of the temple ; behind the portico is a simple *naos*. In one corner of the enclosure are a small building and a large altar. A fresco in the temple shows what is evidently another temple of Isis, also Alexandrian in style.¹ The details portray : (1) A background of palm-trees ; (2) the door of the building flanked on each side by a large sphinx on a pedestal ; (3) two windows to right and left of the door ; (4) a flight of steps leading up to the temple-wide platform on which the sphinxes rest ; (5) an altar in front of the steps (the altar has four " horns " ² like the altars of the Hermopolis West chapels) ; and (6) a ceremonial service or festival, complete with priests, musicians and chorus.³ As to the sphinxes, such sacred objects were certainly present in Alexandrian tombs of the " Macedonian " type. One of these tombs has a small sphinx on a pillar to right and left of the outer part of the entrance of its *oikos*.⁴ There may even have been two sphinxes on the entrance platform of the *Soma* cult-temple. There were certainly sphinxes on pedestals at the doors of

¹ A. Erman, *A Handbook*, etc., p. 250, Fig. 128 (an excellent reproduction) ; A. Erman, *La Religion*, etc., p. 487, Fig. 181 ; E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 178, Fig. 27.

² Cf. " the horns of the altar ", Exodus, xxix, 12.

³ The priests are shown taller than the musicians and members of the chorus, which reminds one of the fact that tragic actors frequently made use of the high-soled boot (*cothurnus*) and of the mask with high peruke (*oncos*) so as to give them a more imposing aspect. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, i, p. 1545, Fig. 2026, iv, p. 407. A fresco in a Cyrene tomb portrays a Dionysiac festival in connection with prize-giving in a gymnasium, in which, towering above the chorus and musicians, are three tragic actors representing gods, the left-hand one of whom is Dionysus. The actors here, however, stand upon a low pedestal instead of using the *cothurnus*, while the upper part of their *oncos* is shaped like a mitre. Op. cit. i, p. 1123, Figs. 1423-5. For tragic actors and members of the chorus representing divine beings in human form, in the Spring Festival of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens, see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1950), p. 915. A plan of the Cyrene tomb and a full description of the fresco will be published in the forthcoming report of The Manchester University Archaeological Expedition to Cyrenaica in 1952.

⁴ E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, p. 331, Fig. 247.

Ptolemaic temples in the Faiyûm.¹ A highly conjectural restoration of a supposed non-peripteral temple of Isis at Rome was attempted by Canina.² This shows the building standing in a sacred enclosure surrounded by a colonnade, at the front of the enclosure being a portico of six columns and at its back various small rooms. The temple itself is seen to consist of a simple *naos* and a portico of eight columns, access to which is gained by a flight of steps.

The details of the enclosure wall of the *Soma* with its colonnade and rooms for the priests, etc., which are purely hypothetical, are based on the plan of the temple of Isis at Pompeii and on that of the Serapeum of Ptolemy III, Euergetes I (247-221 B.C.) at Alexandria.³

Four sites in particular have been regarded in more or less recent times as the probable burial place of Alexander the Great in Alexandria :

1. MOSQUE OF ATTARÎN (built over the ruins of the Church of St. Athanasius), north-west of the main railway station in the town. Chosen because the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II,⁴ wrongly believed by some to have been used for the burial of Alexander, was discovered in it by Napoleon's savants (see p. 142).
2. KÔM ED-DIK,⁵ an artificial mound, a little north-east of the main railway station. This site has been chosen because the *Synaxary* records an account with some fantastic details, given by the Patriarch Theophilus (c. A.D. 400), of the erection of a church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist and to the Prophet St. Elias, and " the discovery during the clearing of the ground, of

¹ One of these temples (with its hollow altar for the oracle-priest), dedicated to the crocodile-god Pnepheros or Petesouchos, has been transferred to the garden of the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria. E. Breccia, op. cit. pp. 153 f., Fig. 81, pp. 284 ff., Fig. 198.

² G. Lafaye, *Histoire du Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie* (1883), plan in Pl. II (opposite p. 224).

³ Cf. my *Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria*, Cahier No. 2, *Annales du Service* (1946), Pl. XVII.

⁴ The sarcophagus is now in the British Museum. E. D. Clarke, op. cit. pp. 25 ff., plates opposite pp. 28, 42; *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités*, v, Pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX; E. A. W. Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, (1909), pp. 248 ff., Pls. XXXII, XXXIII. Its weight is 6 tons 17 cwt.

⁵ " Mound of the Cock (?) ". For recent excavations near Kôm ed-Dik and in the necropoli of Chatby and Minet el-Bassal, see *Jaarbericht No. 13*. . . . *Ex Oriente Lux*, Leiden (1933), p. 312, No. 76.

a treasure of golden ornaments of the time of Alexander. The site in question was called Dimas-Demas (now-a-days Kôm ed-Demas [or Kôm ed-Dik])."¹ The name *Kôm ed-Demas* has been regarded by some as perhaps meaning "Mound of Bodies"² but this cannot be, for there is no doubt, I believe, that *demas* is derived originally from the pharaonic *tms*, "to bury", a word which passed into Coptic as *toms*, "to bury", and *mantoms*, "burial place".³ Professor J. Robson and Mr. C. F. Beckingham of Manchester inform me that in view of the above philological facts the use among the Arabs of *Demas* for the site-name is thus obviously borrowed. It is quite clear, therefore, that *Kôm ed-Demas* means something like "Burial Mound". The excavations carried out on the *kôm* by Professor A. J. B. Wace, on behalf of the Farouk I University, Alexandria, have clearly shown that the greater part of the mound is an accumulation of débris from a potters' and glassmakers' quarter active during the Mamelouk period (A.D. 1250/52-1517).⁴

3. MOSQUE OF NEBI DANIEL, a little west of Kôm ed-Dik. Mainly chosen because of the tale, now seen to be fictitious, told long ago by a dragoman belonging to the Russian Consulate of Alexandria who pretended that in 1850 he had entered vaults below the mosque where he saw in a "kind of cage made of glass, a human body whose head was surrounded by a diadem. The figure was bent up on a throne or elevation of some kind. A number of books and papyri were scattered around."⁵ Now a few years ago the Ministry of Wakfs, at the suggestion of that great scholar the late Prince Omar Toussoun, made extensive excavations below the mosque, and, as I officially observed at the time, could find no remains of funerary vaults or tombs of any description with the exception of some loose pillar-shaped headstones from an early Moslem cemetery.
4. TOMB OF THE PROPHET AND KING ISKANDER (ALEXANDER). Until the middle of the sixteenth century the Moslems venerated this small edifice, which was apparently near the Mosque of Nebi Daniel.⁶ There is certainly no evidence to connect it with the *Soma*. The modern mosque of Sidi Iskander is not in the region of the Iskander tomb.⁷

¹ E. Breccia, op. cit. p. 99; G. Botti, *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne*, pp. 44 f.

² A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., ii, p. 11.

³ Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, v, p. 369; W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (1939), p. 416. The latter reference is from Professor H. W. Fairman and Dr. W. Till.

⁴ *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., iv, p. 11.

⁵ E. Breccia, op. cit. p. 99.

⁶ E. Breccia, loc. cit.

⁷ Prince Omar Toussoun kindly drew my attention to the remarks which Mas'ūdī (died A.D. 957) made about what he mistakenly believed to have been the existing remains of the sarcophagus of Alexander the Great. The sarcophagus, he says, was of marble raised upon a platform made of blocks of white and coloured marbles laid one above the other. The platform and sarcophagus were known by the name of "Tomb of Alexander". Mas'ūdī adds that the body of Alexander was embalmed with bitumen. Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, edn. Meynard et Courteille, ii (1863), p. 259; E. A. W. Budge, *A History of Egypt*, vii, pp. 157 f.

It is evident that none of these sites can seriously be considered as the burial place of Alexander, and it remains to see whether it is possible to suggest the locations of the two Alexandrian temple-tombs, which, as already indicated above, were apparently prepared for the king. In order, however, to make this suggestion clear, we must, first of all, give a general account of the final history of the presumed tomb at Rhacotis and of its successor in the eastern part of Alexandria. Some of the details are taken from the classical sources, perhaps not always reliable, quoted above (p. 139, n. 1) and in the footnotes belonging to this brief history.

Not far from the supposed original *Soma* at Alexandria, Ptolemy II, Philadelphus. (283-245 B.C.) erected the temple-tombs of his parents, Ptolemy I and Berenice. The "Enclosure of the Brother Gods" seems to have been the name of the adjacent mausoleum in which Philadelphus himself and his wife Arsinoe were buried.¹

Ptolemy IV, Philopator (221-203 B.C.) is stated by Zenobius² to have "built in the middle of the city a *mnema* ('Monument'), which is now called the *Sema*, and he laid there all his forefathers together with his mother, and also Alexander the Macedonian";³ his own successors were buried in tombs close by.⁴ The statement of Zenobius seems to indicate that Ptolemy IV actually removed the burials from their original tombs and grouped them together on another site. Presumably the "Monument"

¹ E. Breccia, *op. cit.* pp. 97 f.; E. Bevan, *op. cit.* pp. 93, 127. For the cult of the Ptolemies, cf. E. Bevan, *op. cit.* pp. 127 ff.; P. Jouguet, *Macedonian Imperialism*, etc., pp. 287 ff., 293 ff., 360 f.

² *Proverbia*, iii. 94; E. Bevan, *op. cit.* p. 98.

³ Ptolemy IV was doubtless buried in the "Monument". Polybius indicates that unlike the body of Alexander, which was embalmed, the bodies of Ptolemy IV and his wife Arsinoe were incinerated and placed in two silver funerary urns; cf. E. Bevan, *op. cit.* p. 253. Both systems of burial existed side by side in Alexandria during the Graeco-Roman period. The local urns were largely of the three-handled *kālpis* type of amphora.

⁴ Whether the upper part of a nummulitic limestone column found some years ago lying deep in the debris by the side of Sharia Khedive el-Awal, north of the Alexandria Serapeum, and bearing the names of Ptolemy VI, Philometor (181-145 B.C.) and his wife Cleopatra II, came from the cult-temple of that king is not certain. The object is published in my *History of Ancient Cyrenaica*, Cahier No. 12, *Annales du Service* (1948), pp. 42 f., Pl. IV.

was a modified copy of the original *Soma*, the bodies of the early Ptolemies being placed in additional side tombs, each complete with *prosta* and *oikos* (including *kline*), leading off to right and left of the courtyard. Composite tombs of this class are seen in Anfushy¹ and elsewhere in Alexandria. Perhaps the original *Soma*, as well as the Memphis "temple-tomb", would have been preserved as a kind of cenotaph.

Strabo² states that the golden coffin of Alexander was replaced by a sarcophagus of "glass", more probably alabaster, by the "Ptolemy nicknamed Coccus ('Scarlet') and Pareisactus ('Usurper'), who came over from Syria but was immediately expelled, so that his plunder proved unprofitable to him". This king has been identified with Ptolemy IX, Alexander I (101-89 B.C.). It has been suggested that Strabo refers to the attempt of Alexander I to reconquer Egypt after his flight to Syria in 89 B.C., and that in order to pay his mercenaries he stole from its tomb the golden coffin of Alexander, an act which probably provoked his final expulsion.³

The Romans in general venerated the "*Monument*" or *Soma* (*Sema*), and the cult of Alexander which had flourished ever since his death (see p. 140, n. 1), continued for a long time in the period of their domination.⁴ When Julius Caesar came to Alexandria (48/46 B.C.) he saw the body of Alexander,⁵ while Augustus, the first Roman emperor (30 B.C.-A.D. 14), who wore a signet ring bearing the likeness, probably profile, of the great Macedonian,⁶ also inspected the remains. Augustus had the body brought forth from its sarcophagus, but accidentally

¹ Cf. I. Noshy, op. cit. Pl. III, Fig. 1 ; E. Breccia, op. cit. p. 330, Fig. 246.

² xvii. 1.8 (edn. Loeb).

³ E. Bevan, op. cit. pp. 332 f. ; *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1950), p. 746. In the latter publication the system of numbering of the later Ptolemies does not agree with that of Bevan ; cf. also T. C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, Heft 39, Munich (1954)).

⁴ Incidentally, Cleopatra is said by Josephus (*C. Apionem*. ii. 5 ; *Antiq.*, xv. 4) to have robbed the sepulchres of her progenitors, the most famous of whom was of course Alexander the Great, but the story seems doubtful. The queen herself and Antony were buried in a single tomb not far from the *Soma*. G. A. Voutopoulos, op. cit. pp. 23 ff.

⁵ Quintus Curtius (cited by G. A. Voutopoulos, op. cit. p. 10, n. 4).

⁶ E. D. Clarke, op. cit. p. 10.

damaged the nose. He placed a golden crown upon the head and scattered flowers over the body. The flowers recall the roses and violets associated with certain anniversaries held in the Roman funerary *triclinium*.¹ Caligula (A.D. 37-41) seems to have abstracted the golden breastplate for his own use.

Other important visitors who are said probably to have inspected the *Soma* were Vespasian (A.D. 69-79), Titus (A.D. 79-81), Domitian (A.D. 81-86), Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) and his wife Sabina, Marcus-Aurelius (A.D. 161-180), Avidius Cassius (A.D. 175), Commodus (A.D. 180-192) and Pescennius Niger (A.D. 193-194).²

Severus (A.D. 193-211) collected together certain sacred volumes of Egypt, containing the writings of the priests and the explanations of their hieroglyphs, and after depositing them in the *Soma*, ordered it to be closed for the future so that no person should have access to it. It is reasonable to suggest that the sacred books are more likely to have been stored in the cult-temple, or in one of the rooms which we assume were near the pylon, than in the sepulchre underground, which would have been rather damp. The Library of the Temple of Horus at Edfu (temple finally completed in 57 B.C., *temp.* Ptolemy XI (*Auletes*)) was housed in a little room in the outer hypostyle hall just to the right of the main entrance,³ while the Serapeum or Daughter Library of Alexandria was evidently contained in some of the nineteen rooms we found near the great entrance pylon of the Serapeum.⁴ These rooms, at least during the end of the Ptolemaic

¹ It is further related that after Augustus saw the body of Alexander he was asked if he would inspect the bodies of the Ptolemies, but he refused to do so stating that he wished to see a king and not corpses !

² The list of names in this paragraph follows that given by G. Botti, *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne*, p. 44.

³ Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* vi, p. 130, No. 96, pp. 134 ff. ; H. W. Fairman, in *BULLETIN*, vol. 37 (September 1954), p. 169. The library was called *Per-Medjat*, "House of Books", and inscribed on its walls were catalogues of the books required for the temple services.

⁴ *Discovery . . . of the Temple . . . of Serapis*, etc., pp. 22 ff. This particular library contained the Septuagint or Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures said to have been prepared under Ptolemy II. We unearthed in what we believe to be one of its rooms some handles bearing Hebrew seal-impressions belonging to amphorae for holding liquids or even documents. Compare in the latter respect the Dead Sea Scrolls in jars found some little time ago, and the statement

period and during the Roman period, were heated by hot-air ducts.¹ Other libraries, particularly those at Pergamum and Ephesus, had double walls to keep out the damp.²

Caracalla (A.D. 211-217), who posed as a reincarnation of both Heracles and Alexander the Great, entirely disregarded the prohibition of Severus and visited the *Soma*, placing upon the tomb of Alexander a purple cloak, beautiful rings with gems,³ a military belt, and rich ornaments, all belonging to himself.⁴ Whether the successors of Caracalla adopted the policy of Severus and kept the *Soma* closed is unknown, but apart from possible damage done to it during the Alexandrian revolts and their suppression in the reigns of Aurelian (A.D. 270-275), Diocletian (A.D. 284-305) and others, the masonry parts of the *Soma* may well have remained until the reign of the Christian Emperor Theodosius I, in whose time the old temples of Egypt and most of the Alexandrian Serapeum itself were destroyed (in A.D. 391). In a homily, Bishop St. John Chrysostom (died A.D. 407) asks : " Tell me where the *Soma* of Alexander is ? " ⁵

in Jeremiah, xxxii. 14 : " Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel : ' Take these deeds . . . and put them in an earthen vessel ; that they may continue many days ' ". A granite box, quite evidently from one of the great Alexandrian libraries, was found in 1848 not far from the main railway station in Alexandria. It is inscribed : ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΑΗΣ Γ ΤΟΜΟΙ, " Three volumes by Dioscurides ". A. J. Reinach, in *Bull. de la Soc. (Royale) d'Arch. d'Alex.*, 2, p. 350 ; G. Botti, *Plan de la Ville d'Alexandrie* (1898), p. 65 ; E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, p. 94 ; and my article in *Bull. de la Soc. (Royale) d'Arch. d'Alex.*, xxxv, pp. 8 f.

¹ *Discovery . . . of the Temple . . . of Serapis*, etc., Pl. VIII.

² D. S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture* (1945), pp. 290 f.

³ Cf. the beautiful rings of gold with onyx intaglios we found on bodies of female devotees of Nemesis in the Hadrianic catacombs of Kôm el-Shukafa, *Bull. de la Soc. (Royale) d'Arch. d'Alex.*, etc. xxxv, Pl. XIV.

⁴ A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., ii, p. 8 ; G. A. Voutopoulos, op. cit. p. 11, n. 5.

⁵ E. Breccia, op. cit. p. 99. Professor H. Chadwick kindly informs me that the reference is : *Hom. in ep. II ad Cor.* 26.5, Migne, P.G. lxi. 581. He states that these homilies are usually dated (e.g. by Bardenhewer) in 392, and adds that he does not think that St. John's language is wholly irreconcilable with my view that the tomb was finally destroyed in 391, but " it certainly does not seem a natural reading of his words ". St. Epiphanius, also at the end of the fourth century, refers to the desolated and little known site of the *Soma*. G. A. Voutopoulos, op. cit. p. 13.

THE SITES OF THE TWO ALEXANDRIAN TOMBS OF
ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE ANCIENT PALACE
IN RHACOTIS

We now come to the concluding part of our article which contains suggested identifications of the sites of the two Alexandrian tombs prepared for the great Macedonian conqueror and an identification of the ancient palace in Rhacotis.

It has already been seen (p. 152) that, according to Zenobius, Ptolemy IV removed the burials of Alexander and his immediate successors to the "Monument" which he built *in the middle of the city*. Strabo¹ is more explicit, for he states that "the *Sema* (*Soma*) also, as it is called, is part of the royal palaces". It is evident from the context that these particular royal palaces were in *Neapolis*, the suburb that Alexander caused to be added to the east of Rhacotis, an Egyptian town founded about 1500 B.C.² It is in *Neapolis*, therefore, that the second *Soma* should be sought. (The position of *Neapolis* and the approximate site of the ancient palaces there are indicated in Fig. 2.)

On analogy with the position of the later *Soma* in *Neapolis*, I believe that the original *Soma* must have been situated near a palace. *The existence of such a palace in Western Rhacotis can now be proved!* The earliest mention of this palace is on the Stela of the Satrap, dated 311 B.C., which is exhibited in the Cairo Museum and which states that Ptolemy the Satrap "made his Residence, whose name is *The Fort of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt* (*Setep-en-Re-Mery-ka-Amun*)",³ son of *Re* (*Alexander*)",⁴ on the shore of the Sea of the Ionians,⁵ its name having formerly been *Rhacotis*"⁶ (for the text see Fig. 2, A).

¹ xvii. 1, 8.

² See my remarks in BULLETIN, Vol. 36 (March, 1954), p. 485, n. 3. I am now engaged on a history of pharaonic Rhacotis.

³ Prenomen of Alexander (signs omitted in our Fig. 2).

⁴ Nomen.

⁵ The Mediterranean Sea.

⁶ K. Sethe, *Urkunden*, ii, 14, 13-16; Ahmed Kamal, *Stèles Ptolémaïques et Romaines*, i (1905), pp. 168 ff. In our Fig. 2 the final hieroglyphic word *khent*, "formerly, previously", has been omitted for lack of space. Compare the following extract from the history of Alexander the Great by John Madabbar (E. A. W. Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, p. 590, quoting Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean, Évêque de Nîkiou*, pp. 57 f., 282 f., late seventh

A more precise indication of the position of this palace is to be found on the stele of Pa-shere-en-Ptah (*temp.* Ptolemy XI (*Auletes*)—79-51 B.C.) in the British Museum where we read that the priest “ went to the Residence of the Kings of the Ionians (Ptolemies), which is on the shore of the sea on the west side of the Āqa Canal, and whose name is *Rhacotis* ”¹ (for the text, see Fig. 2, B).

Fig. 2 shows the supposed position of the Rhacotis palace in relation to the Āqa Canal and the sea, and to the great cemetery region to the west. Cf. Strabo :² “ Next, after the Heptastadium, one comes to the Harbour of Eunostos ” (*West Port* on Fig. 2), “ and, above this, to the artificial harbour, which is also called Kibotos. . . . Farther in there is a navigable canal, which extends to Lake Mareotis. Now *outside the canal there is still left only a small part of the city* ; and then one comes to the suburb Necropolis, in which there are many gardens and graves and halting-places fitted up for the embalming of corpses.” It is now clear that the strip of city to the west of the canal was mainly occupied by the palace area, the palace itself being to the north.

Thus we have seen that at various times the Rhacotis palace was known by the following names : (1) Pre-Alexandrian, *Rhacotis* ; (2) *temp.* Ptolemy the Satrap, *Fort of . . . Alexander* ;³ and (3) *temp.* Ptolemy XI, *Rhacotis*.

Necropolis was certainly a cemetery of Rhacotis in pre-Alexandrian times for funerary remains have been found in it (century B.C.) : “ Now when Alexander . . . had become king, he founded . . . Alexandria in the country of Egypt, and he called it Alexandria after his own name ; now the old name of the place was in the language of the Egyptians ‘ Rakoti ’.”

¹ H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 943. At the request of Professor H. W. Fairman, both Mr. I. E. S. Edwards and Professor S. R. K. Glanville kindly controlled this text for me when I was in Alexandria. The translation of the inscription, published by E. Bevan, *op. cit.* p. 347, wrongly gives *west of Rakoti* for *west side of the Āqa Canal, and whose name is Rhacotis*.
² xvii. 1, 10.

³ The *Fort of Alexander* is mentioned in the Nobaireh variant of the Rosetta Stone (*Urk.*, ii, 177, 6 ; *temp.* Ptolemy V), and in the bilingual decree of Philae (*Urk.*, ii, 217, 1 ; *temp.* Ptolemy V). In both these instances, however, the expression seems to be used loosely as a designation of the city of Alexandria. Cf. H. Gauthier, *Dict. des Noms. Géog.*, v, p. 24 ; F. Daumas, *Les Moyens d'Expression du Grec et de l'Égyptien Comparés dans les Décrets de Canope et de Memphis*, p. 205.

dating from the late pharaonic period. Strabo's remarks, already mentioned above, about mummification being carried out there in his time is supported by the finding of mummies with pectorals bearing hieroglyphic texts in certain Ptolemaic and Roman tombs in the region.¹ In 1949 I came across an ancient paved street, with underground drain, leading from a Graeco-Roman quay on the Āqa Canal² towards Necropolis, and resting on it were some sarcophagi ready to be transported to the tombs (see Fig. 2). One of the sarcophagi, of grey-white marble, weighed some 18 tons and its lower part is beautifully decorated in high relief with representations of festoons of vines and grapes associated (as are most of the other details on its power part) with the cult of Dionysus. The god himself, in youthful form, is actually shown, as are the figures of a Maenad (follower of Dionysus) and Heracles. There are also the heads of Silenus wearing a bandlet of ivy leaves, a Satyr and three Gorgon phantoms, namely Stheino, Medusa and Euryale.³ The sarcophagus is typical of the better examples of the Roman period in Necropolis. Many rock-cut tombs of the Graeco-Roman period are visible along the coast westwards from the canal.

The exact site of the Rhacotis *palace* may well be below a series of sacred buildings which, as we know, were built in later times more or less one over the other in a certain small area *also close to the sea and west of the ancient mouth of the canal* (see Fig. 2, the area named "Residence of the Ptolemies(?)"), for in early times it was common for buildings to be erected on the ruins of older constructions and to use the materials of the ancient

¹ *Bull. de la Soc. (Royale) d'Arch. d'Alex.* 2, pp. 37 ff. ; Schreiber-Sieglin, *Die Nekropole von Kôm-esch-Schukâfa*. text vol. (1908), pp. 164, 176, 196 ff., 323 f.

² This canal and the adjoining one on the south side of the city, the latter named "Ancient Canal of Alexandria" on Fig. 2 were in existence at least as early as the Thirtieth Dynasty (378-341 B.C.). The Āqa Canal seems to have been the *Pi-Drakon* of John of Nikiou, late seventh century A.D. See my article in *BULLETIN*, Vol. 36 (September 1953), p. 131. There was also another canal running northwards from the "Ancient Canal of Alexandria", but this was in the old *Neapolis* quarter and it is not known before the end of the fourth century A.D. That part of it which remains, the southern end, is today called the Farkha Canal. E. Breccia, *op. cit.* p. 78, and map at end.

³ *Illustrated London News* (25 June 1949), p. 893.

buildings in the new structures.¹ The earliest of the post-palace buildings in the area seems to have been the Oratory or Church of the Patriarch Theonas (A.D. 282-300), which was reconstructed and enlarged by the Patriarch Alexander (A.D. 313-326), and used as the Cathedral of St. Mary until the end of the fourth century, when the old Caesareum (west of the ancient palace area in Neapolis) became the Cathedral. St. Mary's Church, as it was then named, was, after the Arab conquest (A.D. 639-641), turned into the famous "Mosque of the Thousand Columns", or "Western Mosque".² The mosque was partly ruined during the war which followed the French occupation, in A.D. 1798;³ but as late as A.D. 1905 (when part of it became a *shūna* or warehouse) there were still 153 granite and marble standing or fallen columns with their capitals.⁴ Two of the columns from the Oratory, with crosses in relief, are adjacent to the tomb of Dr. J. Scheiss Pasha in the Government Hospital, Alexandria.⁵ Today, roughly over the mosque site, there are the Istituto Convitto Suore Francescane (in its gardens are some capitals and parts of columns as well as a few Kufic inscriptions, all found locally) and a Church of St. Francis of Assisi, built in A.D. 1881. Nearby is the Mosque of Sîdi el-Minaiyar. The area is in the modern Labbân Quarter of Alexandria.⁶

Finally, it may be mentioned that although it is probable that the masonry superstructures associated with the tombs of Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies have disappeared for ever, it is not impossible that the sites of some of these tombs may yet be identified by the discovery of foundation plaques of gold and other materials. It was a common practice in Ptolemaic

¹ On the great city-mound at Beth-Shan were the following sacred buildings mostly one above the other: Five Canaanite temples, a Hellenistic temple, a round church and a small mosque. See my *Topography and History of Beth-Shan* (1930), also my *Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan* (1940).

² E. Breccia, op. cit. pp. 55, 103, and map at end (this shows site of "Église de Théonas"); *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités*, v, Pl. XXXVII; and *État Moderne* (of the *Description*), larger edn., ii, Pl. LXXXIV.

³ E. Breccia, op. cit. p. 103.

⁴ E. D. I. Dutilh, in *Bull. de la Soc. (Royale) d'Arch. d'Alex.*, 7, pp. 75 ff., Figs. 19-21.

⁵ E. D. I. Dutilh, loc. cit.; E. Breccia, op. cit. p. 55.

⁶ It is interesting to note that a "Porte de Catacombes", so named, was in the old Arab city wall, now destroyed, not far from the site. *État Moderne*, loc. cit.

times to place such plaques, inscribed with the name of the king and other details, in small square holes sunk in the rock under the corners of temples and enclosure walls. These holes were very carefully hidden, and usually can only be detected if the surface of the rock is brushed, a method which resulted in our discovery of the forty-three bilingual plaques of Ptolemy III and Ptolemy IV in the Alexandria Serapeum.¹ In any search for such plaques, the obvious starting point would be the surface above the *prostas* and *oikos* (that is the surface where the cult-temple was situated) of any likely or suspected tomb.

I have to express my best thanks to Professors R. A. Cordingley of Manchester, H. W. Fairman of Liverpool, and R. E. Smith of Manchester for various useful suggestions which I have duly incorporated in this article. Professor Fairman made the copies of the hieroglyphic texts A and B on Fig. 2.

APPENDIX.

Notes on the Embalming of Alexander the Great, etc. Diodorus² indicates that the space in the golden anthropoid coffin about the body was filled with

¹ Cf. my *Discovery . . . of the Temple . . . of Serapis*, etc., for a description of these plaques and references to plaques of Ptolemy II at Naukratis ; Ptolemy III at Canopus ; Ptolemy IV at Alexandria (below the Old Bourse, now the Cercle Mohammed Ali, Sharia Fouad) and Tanis. The inscriptions in the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu mention foundation plaques of various materials. One of the foundation ceremonies depicted in the hypostyle hall is entitled : " Placing of bricks (tablets) of gold and semi-precious stones at the four corners of the temple ". É. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, ii, p. 32, line 7 = xii, Pl. 375 (17 tablets are mentioned) ; cf. Rowe, op. cit. p. 65. The custom of using foundation plaques in temples was pharaonic in origin and examples have been found on many sites (Rowe, op. cit. pp. 14 ff., 65), including Sesebi (H. W. Fairman, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxiv, pp. 153 f.). For discussions on such objects see Bissing-Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Ra-Heiligtum des Rathures*, p. 12 ; A. Moret, *Du Caractère Religieux de la Royauté Pharonique*, pp. 135 f. Professor A. J. B. Wace informed me, in 1946, that " the evidence about foundation deposits made when a Greek temple was built is unsatisfactory. No certain case is known and as a rule it has not been the practice of excavators of Greek sites to look for foundation deposits in connection with Greek temples ", although it may have been " a Greek custom to make a foundation deposit under the statue base, for the remains of such a possible foundation deposit were found in the earlier Nike temple on the Acropolis at Athens ". In the Alexandria Serapeum during the Roman period, silver and bronze coins were used for foundation deposits. *Discovery . . . of the Temple . . . of Serapis*, etc., pp. 61 ff.

² xviii. 26.

aromatic spices to preserve the body. Another account ¹ says that the body was preserved with aloes and after being laid in the coffin had "the honey of bees" poured over it. According to the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes,² Alexander ordered that his body should be laid in a golden coffin, 250 talents in weight,³ and that this coffin should be filled with "white honey which hath not melted". Herodotus ⁴ says the Babylonians buried their dead in honey. Democritus (c. 460-370 B.C.) maintains there will be a resurrection if the body is preserved in honey, but this idea is ridiculed by Varro.⁵ The Babylonian *Talmud* ⁶ states that Herod had preserved in honey for seven years the body of a girl of the Hashmonean family, while Josephus ⁷ mentions that Aristobulus, the Jewish king whom Pompey's partisans had removed by means of poison, lay buried in honey till Antony sent him to the royal cemetery in Judea. Bee-keeping was an important minor industry in Egypt, and in the Ptolemaic period there were royal as well as private bee-farms. But honey does not appear to have been used in that country for embalming, with the exception of one doubtful instance, quoted by Abd el-Latif (A.D. 1162-1231),⁸ who relates that he was told that a sealed jar containing the body of a small child embalmed in honey had been found near the pyramids.⁹ Manetho (*temp.* Ptolemy II) mentions an old legend according to which, during the time of a king of the Second Dynasty, "the Nile flowed with honey during seven days".¹⁰ The pharaonic word for honey was *byt* and that for honey-bee *āfi-en-byt*. (The title of the pharaoh, as ruler of Lower Egypt, was "He who Belongs to the Bee (*byt*)". It recalls the enigmatic "Hornet" of Exodus, xxiii. 28, Deuteronomy, vii. 20, and Joshua, xxiv. 12, which drove out the Hittites, Amorites and others from Canaan, before the entry of the Hebrews.¹¹ The Assyrian bee and the Egyptian fly, used metaphorically for Assyrians and Egyptians respectively, are mentioned in Isaiah, vii. 18).

¹ E. A. W. Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (1896), p. 431.

² Budge, *History of Alexander the Great* (1889), p. 141.

³ The weight of the talent varied, the Attic-Euboic standard, for instance, being 36.86 kg. and the Aeginetic standard 37.80 kg. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1950), p. 959. We may assume that the weight of "250 talents" for the Alexander coffin is an exaggeration. For purposes of comparison it may be noted that the golden coffin of Tut-ankh-Amun weighs 110 kg.

⁴ i. 198.

⁵ *Sat.*, edn. Riese (1865), p. 114.

⁶ Tract *Baba Batra*, fol. 3b. Reference from Dr. P. R. Weis of Manchester.

⁷ *Antiq.*, xiv. 7.

⁸ A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (1948), pp. 35 ff., 107.

⁹ For other references to honey as a preservative of bodies, see especially E. D. Clarke, *op. cit.* pp. 137 ff.; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, iii, pp. 1705 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*, v. 2, col. 2113. Last reference from Mr. C. J. Herington of Manchester.

¹⁰ E. A. W. Budge, *The Mummy* (1925), p. 28, citing Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, edn. Hodges, p. 113.

¹¹ In *The Old Testament: An American Translation* (1927) the translators read "leprosy" for "hornet" in the passages mentioned. Dr. P. R. Weis believes there is no real justification for the former rendering.

II. THE GREAT WALL OF THE LIBYAN DESERT

At the end of the season 1931-2, when I was in charge of the excavations of The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania at Meydûm, we came across what is certainly the longest known ancient wall in Egypt. I had intended at the time to publish full details of this interesting and important find but unfortunately my notes became mislaid, and it was not until quite recently, when I resurrected the notes, that I was able to write the present article.¹

Meydûm itself is in Middle Egypt and on the west side of the Nile. It actually lies on the east side of the rather wide strip of the Libyan desert that divides the Nile and its border cultivations from the fertile region of Faiyûm to the west. It so happened that one day while in an aeroplane searching for traces of Fourth Dynasty tombs in the desert to the north of the pyramid of King Sneferu at Meydûm,² I noticed a kind of long thin line (which I knew was invisible from the ground) running roughly northwest from the edge of the cultivations near El-Riqqa towards the Faiyûm. El-Riqqa itself, 4 km. north-east of the Meydûm pyramid, is frequently mentioned in the Ptolemaic papyri as " Kerke Harbour ",³ *kerke* being a corruption of the pharaonic word *gerg(t)*, " settlement ".⁴

After our return to the ground I made arrangements to examine the " line " and to trace its exact course across the desert. As a result it was found that we had actually discovered a hitherto unknown buttressed brick wall, probably Ptolemaic in date,

¹ A few lines giving a brief reference to the discovery, and written entirely from memory (one result being that the wall was wrongly (?) dated to the Roman period), are to be found in my article in BULLETIN, Vol. 36 (March, 1954), p. 497. In the same place I refer to the stone wall (" Wall of the Barbarians ") near Taposiris Magna, in Mareotis, but this is a short one.

² Some believe the pyramid was commenced by King Huni and completed by Sneferu, his successor and husband of Hetepheres. Cf. Reisner and Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, ii, *The Tomb of Hetepheres, the Mother of Cheops*, 1955, p. 2. This secret tomb was discovered by the Harvard-Boston Expedition during the time I was temporarily in charge.

³ As Professor Ulrich Wilcken of Berlin informed me.

⁴ Cf. Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, v, p. 188; H. Gauthier, *Dict. des Noms Géographiques*, etc., v (1928), p. 219; E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927), p. 117; Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* (1900), p. 345.

which ran from a point a little west of Kerke to Bubastos.¹ The latter town site is situated on the west bank of the 'Abdallah Wahbî Canal, a waterway that skirts the north and east sides of the Faiyûm. (See Fig. 3 on this page). The length of the wall is

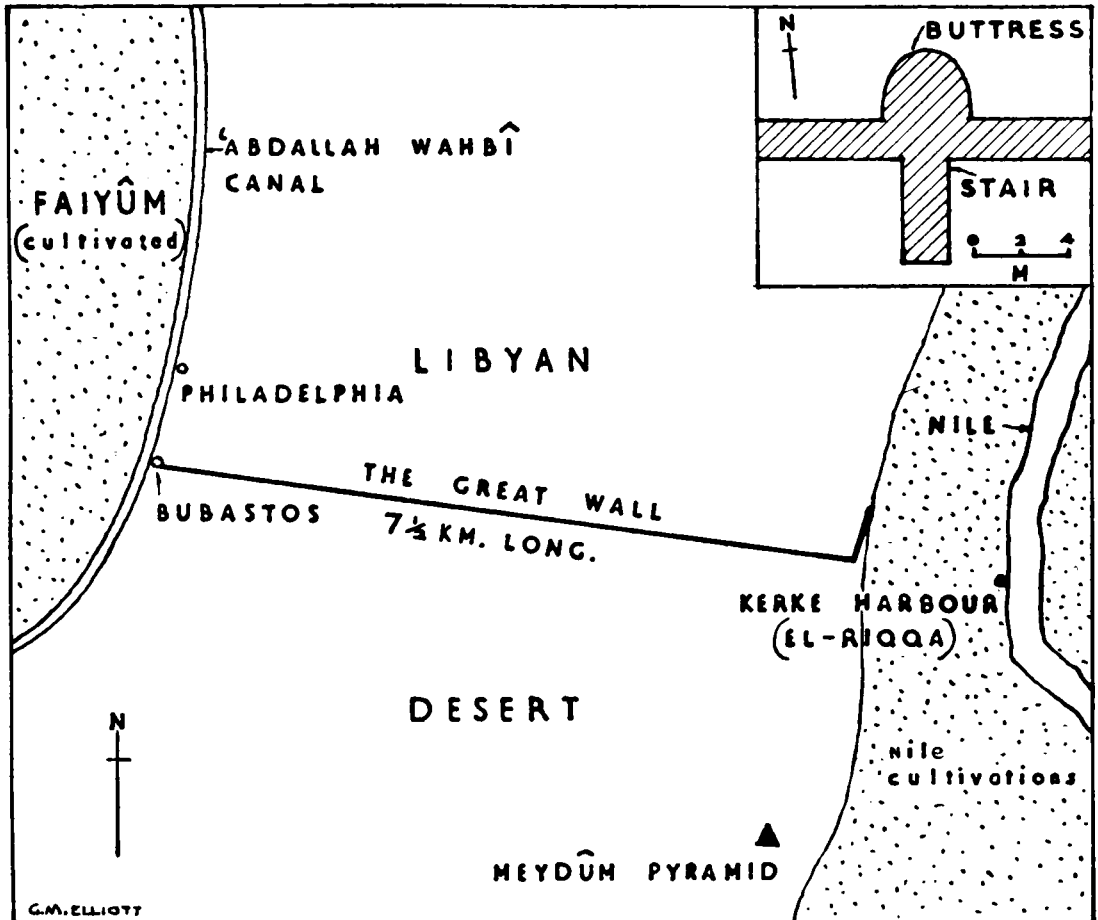


FIG. 3.—Map showing approximate course of the Great Wall in the Libyan Desert. INSET: Details of one of the buttresses and its stair.

Note. As stated in my text, Bubastos is on the west side of the canal and not on the east, as shown above.

7½ km.² It averages 1·88 m. in width, and there are rounded buttresses on its north side,³ each buttress having a rectangular projection (evidently the base of a stair) behind it and on the

¹ The modern Kôm el-Kharâba el-Saghîr, "The Small Mound of the Ruins". Its ancient name indicates a pharaonic origin for the site. See the Survey of Egypt "El-Wâsta" Map 26/465 (Sheet 72/60; scale: 1:100,000).

² At Kerke a small arm of the wall runs northeastwards for at least half a kilometre, perhaps to protect the area of the town.

³ Cf. the rounded pharaonic, etc., buttresses shown in A. Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture*, i (1954), pp. 177 f. Round towers were used in fortress walls at Samaria in Hellenistic times (c. 323 to 321 B.C.) and at Babylon in Egypt in Roman times. See W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (1949), p. 150, Pl. XXIII; J. G. Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule* (1924), p. 40.

south side of the wall. The buttress is 3.90 m. wide and projects 3.00 m. from the north face of the wall ; the supposed stair is 1.81 m. wide and 4.37 m. long. (See Fig. 3, inset.) We only managed in the time available to clear a very small section of the wall, and this was near its eastern end, where it had been denuded to about 0.40 m. in height. Likewise we had no time to ascertain : (1) How many buttresses there were, and the distances between the few we noticed ; (2) Whether there were, as seemed apparent from the air, small forts along the line ; and (3) Whether there was a fosse or ditch¹ on the north side of the wall.

About a kilometre roughly north of Bubastos and on the same side of the canal are the remains of the sister city, Philadelphia,² founded as a colony for Greek soldiers about 250 B.C. under Ptolemy II, Philadelphus and abandoned about the fourth century A.D.³ One of the *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, II, xlvi, mentions a person who farmed the tax upon vineyards and gardens in Philadelphia and Bubastos.⁴

There is no doubt that our great wall was built to protect a *special northern caravan route* to the Faiyûm⁵ from Kerke to Bubastos, which route must have had an extension (apparently undefended by a wall) from Bubastos to Philadelphia. Professor Wilcken pointed out to me in 1932 that the papyri show there was much traffic between Kerke and Philadelphia ; and from various mummy labels it is seen that the bodies of residents who died outside the Faiyûm, and had to be buried in their native fertile region, were brought by water to Kerke, unloaded there, and transported through the desert to Philadelphia. In view of our discovery it is obvious that these funerary and other transports followed the line of the great wall. It is certain that not even light traffic could have traversed the top of the wall for not only was there no space for it but the sun-dried bricks of which the structure is made are rather friable. On the other hand, it would seem that the class of desert police guard called

¹ Cf. the ditches around the " Libyan " forts of late Roman date in south-west Cyrenaica. R. G. Goodchild, in *Antiquity* (September 1951), pp. 131 ff.

² The modern Kôm el-Kharâba el-Kebîr, " The Big Mound of the Ruins ".

³ Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, op. cit. p. 16.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 11.

⁵ The usual route was evidently more to the south where the cultivations of the Faiyûm and those of the Nile approach one another.

*erēmophylax*¹ carried out a regular patrol upon the wall in order to defend the traffic (which of course passed along its southern side) from certain North Libyan tribes, perhaps the Adyrmachidae of Scylax (c. 320 B.C.)² or their near descendants. It is regrettable that circumstances prevented us from searching for traces of the highway itself. A mosaic photograph of the whole wall-line is in Philadelphia.³ About half way between the Meydûm pyramid and the great wall we came across, and partly excavated, cemeteries of the Graeco-Roman and Early Christian periods. For some of the finds, including an amphora with 2471 small bronze coins, dating from fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and Coptic ostraca, see my article in *Illustrated London News* (9 April, 1932), pp. 536 ff. One of these ostraca, bearing a list of personal names, each followed by a word of unknown meaning (*ouarbik'i*), is being published by Dr W. Till, in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e di Roberto Paribeni*, Milan. Its date is c. seventh century A.D.

For objects from El-Riqqa (some of which are in Manchester University Museum), cf. E. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, 1915.

ADDENDA TO PREVIOUS WESTERN DESERT ARTICLES IN BULLETIN.⁴

Article I, p. 132. The cult of the Thirtieth Dynasty perseae-tree in the region south of Lake Mareotis recalls the story related by Abou Sâlih (c. A.D. 1200) that there was in his time a miraculous olive-tree near Marea, also south of the lake, a tree "which has no green leaves on it; but on the day of the festival of the church, at sunrise, the tree becomes green . . . and fruit appears on it". The edifice was the Church of the Pure Lady and Virgin Mary, and the olive-tree stood by its door. Cf. e.g. Numbers, xvii. 8 (Aaron's sprouting rod) and the legend of the Glastonbury thorn.

Articles I, p. 139, *II*, p. 498. In the temple-fort of Apis (Zawyet Um el-Rakham), which I identified some time ago, Mr. Labib Habashi has recently found more pharaonic monuments, some bearing the name of Rameses II.

¹ Cf. E. Bevan, *op. cit.* p. 163.

² See O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (1914), p. 54, Map. IV.

³ As I have no copy of this photograph I am unable to show in Fig. 3 the somewhat meandering course taken by the wall between Kerke and Bubastos, or even the exact position of the angle at the extreme eastern end of the wall. Only Ptolemaic pottery was found near the parts of the wall we examined.

⁴ For the dates, etc., of these two articles see first paragraph of page 139 above.