

The nature of pharaonic art during Dynasty XXXIII-XXXIV

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WITHIN the world of Egyptology, it is a well-known fact that those of us who practice the discipline of art history are often held in contempt,¹ all the more so because our scientific method appears to be based on emotion, on feeling, and upon a sense of what our individual eyes see, rather than on any quantifiable method which is never universally applied, never possessed of precision, and never dominated by a series of testable axioms. It is for this reason that stylistic analyses of any work of art is a woefully inadequate method for formulating chronological criteria.²

My principal objective is to reaffirm just how inadequate our chosen scientific method really is. In exposing its shortcomings, I urge my colleagues to challenge received wisdom. I argue that pharaonic art, created during the Ptolemaic Period, remained impervious to influences from abroad. Assessments of that art which remove it from the continuum in which it was created divorces it from its antecedents, and arbitrarily and erroneously identifies replication of foreign regalia and fashion as products of a mixed school, when in fact such replication earlier in the Late Period is accepted without question as pharaonic both in design and in execution. In support of this position, I present selected case studies of three works of art representing three highly-placed administrators, the accompanying inscriptions of which demonstrate that each navigated seamlessly between an Hellenic and a pharaonic, Egyptian sphere. Nevertheless, each of those individuals chose to be depicted in a monument designed in pharaonic style, divorced

¹ Witness, for example as did those present, the acrimonious exchange between Stephan J. Seidlmayer and Marianne Eaton-Krauss during the proceedings of the Ständige Aegyptologen Konferenz, 2010, which echo the sentiments expressed a decade earlier by M. Eaton-Krauss, E. Graefe (eds.), *Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge* 29, for which see the comments by R. S. BIANCHI in *JARCE* 29, 1992, pp. 223-5. Such criticism continues, for which see K. Widmaier, *Bilderwelten. Ägyptische Bilder und ägyptologische Kunst: Vorarbeiten für eine bildwissenschaftliche Ägyptologie*, *ProblÄg* 35, Leiden, Boston, 2017, although the discipline continues to find its supporters, B. FAY, "Ancient Egyptian art history is dead: long live ancient Egyptian art history!," *BES* 19, 2015, pp. 237-240; It may be of more than passing interest to observe that the same opinion is often voiced with regard to art historians of Classical art, for which see P. EICH, *Gottesbild und Wahrnehmung: Studien zu Ambivalenzen früher griechischer Götterdarstellung (ca. 800 v.Chr. - ca. 400 v.Chr.)*, Stuttgart, 2011, pp. 11-14, with the rejoinder to the characterization of this field as "unworthy of study" in the review of same by J. MYLONOPOULOS, review of P. Eich, *Gottesbild und Wahrnehmung" Studien zu Ambivalenzen früher griechischer Götterdarstellung (ca. 800 v.Chr. - ca. 400 v.Chr.)*, Stuttgart, 2011, [*Potsdamer altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge* 34], in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2012.07.26 (<https://bmc.brynmawr.edu/2012/2012.07.26/> [viewed 2024 February 14]).

² J. BAINES, "Ancient Egyptian biographies and biographies of the objects bearing them: Wepwawetaa in Leiden and Munich," *Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue* 3, 2021, p. 8; S. CINCOTTI, S. CONNOR, H. SOUROUZIAN, "Amun, Mut and... Ramesses II? (Turin Cat. 767): reflections on the dating of a triad and on the practice of restoring and reanimating statues," *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 6, 2022, pp. 72-99; and G. GORRE, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides d'après les sources privées*, Leuven, 2009, pp. xix-xx.

from foreign influences, which served as the sole visual means for each of their respective self-presentations. In order to reinforce the integration of the Ptolemaic Dynasty into the continuum of ancient Egypt, I propose to designate it as Dynasty XXXIII,³ reintroducing the suggestion of Karl Richard Lepsius.⁴ My starting point for this art historical reassessment is to challenge the suggestion of the existence of a putative mixed school of art,⁵ by first turning to that theory, as initially formulated by Gaston Maspero.⁶

Gaston Maspero's⁷ stylistic analysis of the statue of Hor,⁸ discovered in Alexandria, has been almost universally accepted for over 130 years as the foundation upon which almost all subsequent scholarship has been based [fig. 1]. It is of value, therefore, to reproduce in full his assessment.

Une effigie mutilée d'un prince de Siout, qui est également à Boulaq, pourrait presque passer pour une mauvaise statue grecque. Un certain Hor, dont le portrait a été découvert en 1881, au pied du Komed-damas, non loin de l'emplacement du tombeau d'Alexandre, nous a laissé l'œuvre la plus forte qu'on ait de ce genre hybride. La tête est un bon morceau, d'un travail un peu sec. Le nez mince et long, les yeux rapprochés, la bouche petite et pincée aux coins, le menton carré, tous les traits concourent à prêter à la figure un caractère de dureté et d'obstination. La chevelure est coupée ras, pas assez cependant pour qu'elle ne se sépare naturellement en petites mèches épaisses. Le corps, revêtu de la chlamyde, est assez gauchement taillé et trop étroit pour la tête. L'un des bras pend, l'autre est ramené sur le ventre ; les pieds manquent. Tous ces monuments sont sortis des fouilles récentes. Je ne doute pas que le sol d'Alexandrie ne nous en rendît beaucoup de pareils, si on pouvait l'explorer méthodiquement. L'école qui les produisit se rapprocha de plus en plus du style des écoles grecques, et la raideur, dont elle ne se dépouilla jamais entièrement, ne lui fut pas sans doute comptée comme un défaut, à une époque où certains sculpteurs au service de Rome se piquaient d'archaïsme. Je ne serais pas étonné si l'on venait à lui attribuer les statues de prêtres et de prêtresses revêtues d'insignes divins, dont Hadrien décora les parties égyptiennes de sa villa de Tibur.

We begin with his emotionally charged statement about this statue's provenance, which he misleading places in the neighborhood of the tomb of Alexander the Great:

...au pied du Komed-damas, non loin de l'emplacement du tombeau d'Alexandre...

That it was found at Kom el-Dikka is without question,⁹ but the current consensus omnium is that this statue was not originally erected in that city, as Maspero has erroneously assumed.

³ K.R. LEPSIUS, *Königsbuch der alten Ägypter*, 2 vols. Berlin, 1858.

⁴ E. Freier, W.F. Reineke (eds.), *Karl Richard Lepsius (1810-1884): Akten der Tagung anlässlich seines 100. Todestages, 10.-12.7.1984 in Halle, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 20, 1988.

⁵ R.S. BIANCHI, *Cleopatra's Egypt. Age of the Ptolemies*, Brooklyn, 1988, pp. 55-80.

⁶ M. Bierbrier (ed.), *Who was who in Egyptology*, 4th revised ed., London, 2012, pp. 359-361; and M. EATON-KRAUSS, "The Mamur Zapt mystery series: with a postscript on Gaston Maspero's acquaintance with Ibrahim Nasif al-Wardani, the assassin of Boutros Ghali," *SAK* 51, 2022, pp. 27-38.

⁷ G. MASPERO, *L'archéologie égyptienne*, Paris, 1887, pp. 230-23 = *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology and Guide to the Study of Antiquities in Egypt* [trans. A. B. Edwards], London, 1895, pp. 235-6 with figure 203.

⁸ Cairo, The Egyptian Museum, CG 697: L. BORCHARDT, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo, Nr. 1-1294 III. Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 654-950*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 39-40; and S. BIANCHI, 1988, pp. 55-59.

⁹ G. MAJCHEREK, "Crumbs from the table: archaeological remains of Hellenistic Alexandria," in C.S. Zerefos, M.V. Vardinoyannis (eds.), *Hellenistic Alexandria: celebrating 24 centuries. Papers presented at the conference held on December 13-15-2017 at Acropolis Museum, Athens*, Oxford, 2018, pp. 80-83.

Furthermore, Maspero, and others following him, seem to pass over in silence the prominence given to Thoth and Hermopolis in the figural scene and inscription on the back pillar [fig. 2]. Its contents seem to indicate that the statue was originally erected there, but such an assumption cannot be guaranteed,¹⁰ because there are any number of cult centers in the chora, outside of Alexandria, possessed of sanctuaries conforming in their general descriptions to those in that text.¹¹ The statue should, therefore, be considered within the context of at least ten other statues of elite Egyptians discovered within that city.¹² The dating of the statue remains an open question. Because its Alexandrian provenance cannot be supported, its putative stylistic links with Late Republican images¹³ appears to be a free association exercise. There is no explicit chronological index in the inscription itself, although its context has been interpreted to mean that Hor was responsible for restoring funding to his native, pharaonic sanctuaries after those funds were rescinded by a central authority.¹⁴ It is assumed, without proof, that that central authority was the Roman Imperial administration of Egypt. If this interpretation obtains, one questions why the Romans would have moved a statue of an individual publicly flaunting his defiance of official Roman fiscal policy into their administrative capital. It would seem, on the contrary, that the statue was moved to Alexandria at a date well after the principate of Augustus.

When his assessment is evaluated against those observations, Maspero's conclusions appear to be entirely subjective. He adduces no evidence whatsoever in support of his stated position, which is apparently based upon feeling, rather than upon evidence:

The priest Horus (fig. 483), less delicate in handling, is much more advanced in evolution; it *looks like* [author's emphasis] a Greek work executed by an Egyptian rather than a purely Egyptian creation.¹⁵

Maspero assumes that because the statue of Hor is influenced by Hellenic norms, it is "more advanced" [than pharaonic, Egyptian art]. This is a conclusion, perhaps informed by a colonial bias,¹⁶ which persists to this day with regard to some negative, aesthetic assessments of the art created during the Ptolemaic and Roman Period.¹⁷ More important, however, is Maspero's pronouncement of the existence of a *genre hybride*. That subjective pronouncement has been continually adopted without question by numerous later commentators who consider such works of art to be products of a putative mixed school.¹⁸

In order to support that pronouncement in an effort to adduce evidence for the existence of this putative mixed school, Maspero attempted to divorce the treatment of the head of the statue

¹⁰ K. JANSEN-WINKELN, "Die Inschrift der Porträtstatue des Hor," *MDAIK* 54, 1988, p. 234.

¹¹ K. JANSEN-WINKELN, 1988, 234.

¹² J. YOYOTTE, "Pharaonica," in F. Goddio (ed.), *Alexandria: the submerged royal quarters*, London, 1988, pp. 199-244; and P. GALLO, "Les faux *pharaonica* d'Alexandrie: reliquats du grand commerce international d'antiquités (XVIII^e-XX^e siècles)," *Alexandrina* 5, 2020, pp. 21-54.

¹³ G. CAFICI, "Ptolemaic sculpture between Egypt and Rome: the statue of Hor son of Hor," in L. Bombardieri, A. D'Agostino, G. Guarducci, V. Orsi, S. Valentini (eds.), *SOMA 2012. Identity and connectivity: proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy, 1-3 March 2012*, Oxford, 2013, pp. 561-567.

¹⁴ K. JANSEN-WINKELN, 1988, 234.

¹⁵ G. MASPERO, *Ars Una. Species Mille. General History of Art. Art in Egypt*, New York, 1892, p. 255.

¹⁶ G. TALLET, *La splendeur des dieux : quatre études iconographiques sur l'hellénisme égyptien*, Leiden, Boston, 2021, pp. 80-93.

¹⁷ *Inter alia*, B. LETELLIER, in L.M. Berman and *id.*, *Pharaohs. Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Louvre*, Cleveland, 1996, p. 15, who also trace this long-lived prejudice back to the pronouncements of J.-F. Champollion.

¹⁸ *Inter alia*, G. BOTTI, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie*, Alexandria, 1900, p. 469; and F.W. von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur*, Munich, 1914, text to plate 104b.

from that of its body [*assez gauchement taillé et trop étroit pour la tête*]. The seeming dichotomy between the styles of heads and bodies on such statues continues to inform opinions,¹⁹ and uncritically contributes to supporting the existence of a mixed school of art. Such opinions assume *a priori* that ancient Egyptian art was created in a vacuum, and that each successive cultural epoch of that civilization is a discrete, independent era, the artistic creations of which occurred without reference to preceding periods. Such an assumption cannot be realistically supported. The principle of archaizing so dominates the material culture created in all periods of ancient Egyptian civilization that no single creation can be considered *sui generis*. In point of fact, such a dichotomy between the treatment of a head²⁰ and its body is endemic in ancient Egyptian art of all periods, but particularly in royal representations of the Middle Kingdom²¹ and again in the art of the Kushite Period.²² In both of these epochs, statues exhibit heads characterized by signs of age²³ on idealizing bodies. The statue of Hor was created with the application of these traditional pharaonic design tenets. His costume²⁴ and the treatment of his coiffure²⁵ are purely pharaonic.

Attempting to define the style of the statue of Hor without reference to antecedents is academically perilous because such definitions ignore the mimetic principle²⁶ of ancient Egyptian art. I personally find it amusing that discussions of the art of the Kushite Period of Dynasty XXV do not suggest the existence of a mixed school of art when discussing the depiction of characteristically Nubia regalia²⁷ [figure. 4]. In like manner, art historical

¹⁹ H. DRERUP, "Ägyptische Bildnisköpfe griechischer und römischer Zeit," *Orbis Antiquus* 3, 1950, p. 21 with note 70; H. KYRIELEIS, "Griechische Ptolemäerbildnisse. Eigenart, Unterschiede zu anderen hellenistischen Herrscherbildnissen (Kat. 135-141)," in H. Beck, P. C. Bol, M. Bückling (eds.), *Ägypten – Griechenland – Rom. Abwehr und Berührung*, Frankfurt, 2005, p. 235-243, esp. p. 237; E.R. RUSSMANN, "Aspects of Egyptian Art. Portraiture," in W.V. Davies (ed.), *Eternal Egypt*, London, 2001, p. 27; and P.E. STANWICK, "Regional Styles in Ptolemaic Royal Portraits," in P.C. Bol, G. Kaminski, C. Maderna (eds.), *Fremdheit -- Eigenheit. Ägypten, Griechenland und Rom. Austausch und Verständnis*, Frankfurt, 2004, pp. 399 and 402.

²⁰ Whether the physiognomy of such heads, dominated as they are by signs of age, can be termed portraits is moot, for which now see, E. LA ROCCA, "Innamorati dell'immortalità," in *idem*, C.P. Presicce, A. Lo Monaco (eds.), *Ritratti. Le tante facce del potere*, Rome, 2011, pp. 52-83, although the notion of Western portraiture would seem to stand outside of the traditions of canonical ancient Egyptian art created in institutionally affiliated craft ateliers, for which see R.S. BIANCHI, "An Elite Image," in E. Goring, et al. (ed), *Chief of seers. Egyptian studies in memory of Cyril Aldred*, London, 1992, pp. 34-48.

²¹ Compare, for example, the seated statue of Sesostri III in Brooklyn, The Brooklyn Museum of Art, 52.1: R. FAZZINI, et al., *Art for eternity*, Brooklyn, London, 1999, pp. 62-63, no. 22.

²² Cairo, The Egyptian Museum, CG 42236 [Montuemhat]: J. LECLANT, *Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville*, Cairo, 1961, pp. 3-20.

²³ This felicitous phrase was popularized by B.V. BOTHMER, "The signs of age," *BMFA* 49 (277), 1951, pp. 69-74.

²⁴ Even B.V. BOTHMER, "Hellenistic elements in Egyptian sculpture of the Ptolemaic Period," in The J. Paul Getty Museum, *Alexandria and Alexandrianism. Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the J. Paul Getty Museum and The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and Held at the Museum, April 22-25, 1993*, Malibu, 1996, p. 225, 1, conceded in one of his last communications that this costume was "wrongly cited as showing Greek influence," supporting the observations of R.S. BIANCHI, "The striding, draped male figure of Ptolemaic Egypt," in H. Maeler, V.K. Stocka (eds.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten: Akten des International Symposiums 27.-29. September*, Mainz 1978, pp. 95-102.

²⁵ Assessments about the treatment of the hair as Hellenistic, pace H. MAEHLER, "In memory of Sir Eric Turner. Egypt under the last Ptolemies," *BICS* 30, 1983, p. 4, has been successfully challenged and refuted by B.V. BOTHMER 1996, p. 225, no. 7, "the receding hairline above the temples." So, too, E.R. RUSSMANN, D. FINN, *Egyptian Sculpture. Cairo and Luxor*, Austin, 1989, p. 201, who suggest an indebtedness to norms established in the Old Kingdom, a suggestion supporting the vitality of the archaizing principle in ancient Egyptian art.

²⁶ S. BIANCHI 1988, pp. 63-65.

²⁷ E.R. RUSSMANN, *The representation of the king in the XXVth Dynasty*, Brussels, Brooklyn, 1974, pp. 25-44.

discussions of pharaonic monuments with depictions of Persian garments [fig. 5] and Persian accessories,²⁸ [fig. 6] the Persian gesture,²⁹ and Persian beards³⁰ likewise avoid suggestions of a supposed Perso-Egyptian mixed style. These elements are created in strict accordance with ancient Egyptian design tenets, invoking the mimetic principle. They are so harmoniously integrated into the pharaonically-based design that the resulting works of art are regarded, without question, as purely ancient Egyptian creations.

With regard to pharaonic works of art created during the Ptolemaic Period in particular, Maspero's pronouncement that the statue of Hor, allegedly influenced by Hellenic norms, is "more advanced" [than pharaonic, Egyptian art], gains unwarranted currency. Such works of art are often treated out of context in studies which completely ignore the application of the mimetic principle by which Kushite and Achaemenid regalia were created in the visual arts. The appearance of cork screw locks³¹ [fig. 7-8] and of the *dikeras* [fig. 9-10], or double cornucopia,³² for example, are often regarded as proof of the existence of a putative mixed school because these, too, are *a priori* ascribed to Greek influence without demonstration. Indeed, as the treatment of the *dikeras* on an Hellenistic coin and on the statue of Arsinoe II (deified?) reveals, the Egyptian is distinctly different. Visual juxtapositions such as these are invariably never illustrated. Proponents of a putative mixed school of art habitually refrain from referring to or discussing Hellenic monuments which must be adduced to support their claims.³³

The replication of these Hellenic motifs is entirely within the pharaonic tradition which earlier enabled Egyptian artisans to replicate convincingly both Kushite and Achaemenid cultural motifs.

I should, therefore, like to test Maspero's pronouncement for the existence of a putative mixed school against a series of case studies. In doing so I will also call into question the validity of

²⁸ Brooklyn, The Brooklyn Museum of Art, 37.353: B.V. BOTHMER, H. DE MEULENAERE, H.W. MÜLLER, *Egyptian sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*, Brooklyn, 1960, pp. 76-77, no. 64.

²⁹ Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 27159: O. PERDU, *Les statues privées de la fin de l'Égypte pharaonique (1069 av. J.-C. - 395 apr. J.-C.)*, Paris, 2012, pp. 350-355, and note 15, who repeats the observation made by B.V. BOTHMER, H. DE MEULENAERE, H.W. MÜLLER, 1960, p. 84, that this so-called "Persian gesture" is already encountered in ancient Egyptian art in certain representations of Amenhotep III, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 30.8.74: W.C. HAYES, *The scepter of Egypt. A background for the study of Egyptian antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, Greenwich, CT, 1959, pp. 236-237.

³⁰ Private Collection [a so-called sculptor's model of a Persian king of kings]: O. PERDU, *Le Crépuscule des pharaons. Chef-d'oeuvres des dernières dynasties égyptiennes*, Brussels, 2012, pp. 194-195, no. 96.

³¹ R.S. BIANCHI, "Images of Isis and her cultic shrines reconsidered. Towards an Egyptian understanding of the *interpretatio graeca*," in L. Bricault, M.J. Versluys, P.G.P. Meyboom (ed.), *Nile into Tiber. Proceedings of the IIIrd International Conference of Isis Studies, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, May 11-14, 2005*, Leiden, 2007, pp. 470-505.

³² New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 20.2.21: Bianchi 1988, pp. 170-172, no. 66.

³³ New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.187.31: J.A. JOSEPHSON, "A fragmentary Egyptian head from Heliopolis," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 30, 1995, pp. 5-15, not only dates this head, which is not inscribed and lacks a body, but also cites it as being an early example of Hellenistic influence on pharaonic art. Furthermore, there is no consensus about its chronological position because, using style as a chronological index, this image has been dated anywhere in the period between 664-250 B.C., for which see summary of the literature in E. Brophy, *Royal statues in Egypt 300 BC - AD 220: context and function*, Oxford, 2015, p. 111, and the pointed criticism of H. MEYER, *Ein Seleukide in Ägypten*, Munich 2000, p. 28. This object is reputedly from Heliopolis, but like the statue of Hor, has no precisely defined archaeological context, for which see S. CONNOR, "The various lives of statues in the city of the sun," in Y. Barbash, K.M. Cooney (eds), *The afterlives of Egyptian history: reuse and reformulation of objects, places, and texts. A volume in honor of Edward L. Bleiberg*, 77-114, Cairo, New York, 2021, pp. 88-89.

stylistic analyses for dating because such criteria for establishing chronological fixed points have proven to be woefully inadequate and completely inaccurate.³⁴

I begin with the headless statue of Harchebi/Archibos in Kansas City,³⁵ which is a case in point. [fig. 11] His chronological position cannot be established by stylistic analyses,³⁶ although its inscription seems to establish his floruit in the decade between 130-120 BC.³⁷ The context of the inscription suggests that this statue was erected at Mendes, but Mendes may not have been the location of the atelier in which it was manufactured, as some have suggested.³⁸ Its seemingly stylistic relationship with a statue in Cleveland³⁹ indicates that perhaps both were sculpted at Tanis, before the former was transported for erection at Mendes.⁴⁰ The inscription on the statue affirms that Harchebi/Archibos was a very highly-placed official within the upper echelons of the Ptolemaic administration, in which he served as the “prime minister” as well as the chief financial officer of the court. He bears both an Egyptian and a Greek name,⁴¹ indicating his ability to navigate between both cultural spheres. His status doubtless gave him access to the very best sculptural ateliers of both cultures. And yet, there is absolutely nothing Hellenic in the design of this particular image. The modeling of the torso in tripartition belongs to design tenets pioneered by ancient Egyptian craftsmen, which is already developed during Dynasty XII,⁴² and is one of the anatomical characteristics exhibited in the modeling of male torsos of the Third Intermediate Period.⁴³ Harchebi/Archibos elected a purely pharaonic Egyptian stylistic idiom for his self-presentation.

The second case study is the fragmentary statue inscribed for one Senenshepsu in London⁴⁴ [fig. 12]. He, too, is a high functionary in the Ptolemaic court, and a son of a mixed marriage in which his father, named Jason, was presumably Greek, whereas his mother was an Egyptian

³⁴ Two very different approaches to the use of style as an index of chronology are contrasted in the work by B.V. BOTHMER, H. DE MEULENAERE, H.W. MÜLLER, 1960, and that by O. PERDU, 2012. The former is adamant in the insistence that stylistic analyses will provide chronological criteria, the latter more circumspect, less dogmatic, and, in my view, more correct in the approach.

³⁵ Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 47-12: D. KLOTZ, “The statue of the *dioikêtes* Harchebi/Archibios, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 47-12,” *BIFAO* 109, 2009, pp. 281-310. The phenomenon of one individual using two different personal names leaves “the modern scholar on occasion baffled in trying to ascribe ethnicity to a particular person” (J.G. MANNING, *The last Pharaohs. Egypt under the Ptolemies*, Princeton, 2010, p. 88. Harchebi/Archibios is one of at least 15 learned Egyptians who knew Greek and placed their services at the disposal of the Ptolemies, who were dependent upon their expertise, for which see U. VERHOEVEN, “Die interkulturelle Rolle von Priestern im ptolemäischen Ägypten,” in H. Beck, P.C. Bol, M. Bückling, 2005, pp. 279-284.

³⁶ D. KLOTZ, 2009.

³⁷ E. LANCIERS, “The evolution of the court titles of the Ptolemaic *dioiketes* in the second century,” *Ancient Society* 50, 2020, p.118 (130-124.3 B.C.); and G. GORRE, 2009, pp. 390-393 (123/122 B.C.).

³⁸ H. DE MEULENAERE, “Sculptures mendésiennes de Basse Époque,” *JEOL* 35-36, 1997-2000, pp. 33-39.

³⁹ Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art 1948.141: J. YOYOTTE, “Le nom égyptien du ‘ministre de l’économie’ - de Saïs à Méroé,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* 133/1, 1948, p. 83.

⁴⁰ C. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis: travaux récents sur le tell Sâh el-Hagar III. Statues et autobiographies de dignitaires: Tanis à l’époque ptolémaïque. Mission française des fouilles de Tanis*, Paris, 2004, p. 213.

⁴¹ Y. BROUX, “Double names and elite strategy in Roman Egypt,” *StudHell* 54, 2015, p. 181, who argues that the choice of these two names was triggered by assonance based on the similarity of their sound when pronounced; and G. TALLET 2021, p. 55.

⁴² H.G. FISCHER, “Anatomy in Egyptian art,” *Apollo* 82, 1965, 169-175.

⁴³ C. ALDRED, in *Idem*, F. Daumas, C. Desroches-Noblecourt, J. Leclant, *L’Égypte du crépuscule : de Tanis à Méroé. 1070 av. J.-C. - IVe siècle apr. J.-C.*, Paris, 1980, 123-125.

⁴⁴ G. GORRE, 2009, pp. 103-118; and K. JANSEN-WINKELN, “Drei Statueninschriften einer Familie aus frühptolemäischer Zeit,” *SAK* 36, 2009, pp. 49-79.

from Coptos/Quft. One is informed by his inscribed monuments that he, too, could seamlessly navigate between both cultural spheres, but decided upon a pharaonic, Egyptian stylistic idiom for his statue as the visual means of his own self-presentation.⁴⁵

The third document is the stela of Psenptais III in London,⁴⁶ justifiably characterized as one of the most aesthetically accomplished of all Egyptian stelae of the Late Period⁴⁷ [fig. 13]. The very close association that this high priest of Memphis enjoyed with his sovereign, Ptolemy XII, suggests that he, like Harchebi/Archibos and Senenshepsu, could transition smoothly between both cultural spheres.⁴⁸ And yet, despite his demonstrable intimacy with his Hellenic sovereign, there is absolutely nothing about the style of the lunette of this stela which can be attributed to Greek influence.⁴⁹

All three of these case studies, therefore, involve individuals who were ranking members of the Ptolemaic administration. One bore a double name, one was presumably the son of a mixed marriage, and one was certainly a confidant of a king. Each could and did move seemingly effortlessly between both cultural spheres. One might have, therefore, justifiably expected their chosen idiom for visual self-representation to combine elements from each of those cultural spheres in which they daily operated. This is emphatically not the case. Each of their monuments, however, is purely pharaonic. All of these high ranking officials chose as the means of their self-presentation an idiom which is purely pharaonic, Egyptian; they selected a visual means of expression completely lacking in any stylistic suggestion of Greek influence.

We maintain that the statue of Hor is to be regarded within this same cultural context. It is difficult to accept any suggestion of foreign influence in the design of this statue, particularly when considering the inscription on the back pillar which is extremely inventive, not readily understood,⁵⁰ and stands within the tradition of the complex evolution of hieroglyphic discourse so characteristic of temple inscriptions of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.⁵¹ The end of the last column of that inscription⁵² deserves comment within this context [fig. 3 A-B]:

⁴⁵ London, The British Museum, 1668: Ph. DERCHAIN, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation*, Turnhout, 2000, pp. 44-48; and Ph. COLLOMBERT, "Religion égyptienne et culture grecque: l'exemple de Διοσκοουρίδης," *CdE* 75/149, 2000, p. 57.

⁴⁶ London, The British Museum 886: G. GORRE, 2009, pp. 325-338; and D. DEVAUCHELLE, "Des Memphites en visite à Alexandrie?," *CENiM* 19, 2018, pp. 116 and 121, for the toponym *r3-qt*, Alexandria, which A. BLASIUS, "'It was Greek to me ...' - Die lokalen Eliten im ptolemäischen Ägypten," in B. Dreyer, P.F. Mittag (eds.), *Lokale Eliten und hellenistische Könige: zwischen Kooperation und Konfrontation*, Berlin, 2011, pp. 1480-149, interprets as support for the suggestion that Alexandria was not in Egypt, i.e., Alexandria ad Aegyptum. For this stela's "Demotic twin," see Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum 1971/18: E.A.E. REYMOND, *From the records of a priestly family from Memphis I*, Wiesbaden, 1981, p. 150; and A. VON LIEVEN, "Can Deities Be Impersonated?," in A. Berlejung Angeika, J.E. Filitz (eds.), *The physicality of the other: masks from the ancient near east and the eastern mediterranean*, Tübingen, 2018, p. 82.

⁴⁷ O. PERDU, 2012, pp. 136-137.

⁴⁸ G. TALLET, 2021, p. 57.

⁴⁹ O. PERDU, 2012, 136-137.

⁵⁰ K. JANSEN-WILKELN, 1998, pp. 227-235; L. COULON, "Quand Amon parle à Platon (La statue Caire JE 38033)," *RdE* 52, 2001, 96, no. gg; and C. ANDREWS, S.-A. ASHTON, in S. Walker, P. Higgs (eds.), *Cleopatra of Egypt from History to Myth*, London, 2001, pp. 182-183, no. 190.


⁵¹ Compare, C. LEITZ, "Der Lobpreis des Krokodils. Drei Sobekhymnen aus Kom Ombo," in H. Knuf, et al, *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, MA, 2010, pp. 192-355.

⁵² I defer to the philological commentary provided by K. JANSEN-WINKELN, 1998.

nd.n.fr3 hr p3 htp-ntr ntj imn-r ' nsw ntrw dr itj.tw.fr p3-htp(tj) mhn.n.f 'kwr ['rk].

He took advice about the divine offerings for Amun-Re, king of the gods, since [the time] that it was obligatory. He gained possession of the silver [for that purpose].

This passage implies that Hor took it upon himself to secure funding for native religious projects which had ostensibly been withheld by the central administration, presumably ordered by an unnamed sovereign for reasons not explained. Hor does not mention the method(s) by which he secured that funding, although the mechanisms by which that type of financial underwriting were secured for projects at Deir Shelwit may provide some insight.⁵³ Although private initiatives of such endeavors are commonplace in the Ptolemaic Period,⁵⁴ those initiatives seem to have been prompted by neglect⁵⁵ rather than by the purposeful withholding of funds.

Hor then goes on to state that he acquired, but without details about that acquisition, silver, *'rkwr* [*'rk*], which replaced the withheld funding. His choice of that noun is interesting because the Ptolemaic Period witnessed several transformations of the pharaonic, Egyptian economy. One of those changes was the monetization of the economy which forced members of the native Egyptian priesthood to adjust to the practice of actually learning how to count real money, *hsb kd*.⁵⁶ The second change has been termed the great mutation which occurred in the third century BC when bronze became the numismatic medium, replacing silver coinage which was virtually eliminated from circulation.⁵⁷ Within the context of that economic transformation, one must ask about the sources of funding for religious enterprises. Royal sacerdotal decrees from the early Ptolemaic Period clearly specify that  silver, *hd* in very specific amounts, measured in both deben and talents, was the standard currency for those purposes:

Cairo, The Egyptian Museum CG 22183 [Pithom Stela]⁵⁸

Cairo, The Egyptian Museum CG 22181 [Mendes Stela]⁵⁹

The same noun is employed in the sense of "money" in the synodal decree of Ptolemy III Euergetes I⁶⁰ and in transactions recorded at Saqqara, where that noun, qualified *hd sp-sn*, is

⁵³ D. KLOTZ, "Λογεία-receipts and the construction of Deir Shelwit," *ZPE* 168, 2009, pp. 252-256.

⁵⁴ G. GORRE, 2009, pp. 103-118 [London, The British Museum EA 1668 and Cairo, The Egyptian Museum 1014, Senu]; pp. 168-172 [Vienna ÄS 154, Teos], *passim*.

⁵⁵ London, The British Museum EA 1668: G. GORRE, 2009, p. 106, where the statement by Senu may be taken as representative, *iw hws.n.i gm(.i) m w3s m pr.k*, "I reconstructed that which I had found in ruin"...

⁵⁶ Ph. DERCHAIN, "Le scribe qui savait compter l'argent," *Enchoria* 27, 2011, pp. 36-40; and G. GORRE, 2009, pp. 160-162.

⁵⁷ C. PICARD, "La grand mutation du bronze lagide au début du IIe s.: questions de change," *BCH* 138, 2004, pp. 549-561; and F. BURKHALTER, "Change et changeurs en Égypte ptolémaïque aux IIIe et IIe s. av. J.-C.," *BCH* 138, 2004, pp. 563-581.

⁵⁸ D. SCHÄFER, *Makedonische Pharaonen und hieroglyphische Stelen: historische Untersuchungen zur Satrapenstele und verwandten Denkmälern*, Leuven, 2011, p. 219, (19) = K. SETHE, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit* II, Leipzig, 1904, p. 98, line 14.

⁵⁹ J.H. SCHÄFER, 2011, p. 250, (18) = K. SETHE 1904, I, p. 45, line 2.

⁶⁰ Y. EL-MASRY, H. ALTENMÜLLER, H. THISSEN, *Das Synodaldekret von Alexandria aus dem Jahre 243 v. Chr.* *SAK* 11, 2012, pp. 87, 90, and 202-203.

rendered into English as “genuine silver money,”⁶¹ for which the parallel expression, *hmt sp-sn*, denotes “genuine copper money.”⁶²

Numismatists observe that silver as a medium of exchange disappears both from coin hordes and the papyrological record during the course of the second century BC and that with the policies of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II silver coinage was virtually eliminated from the Ptolemaic economy.⁶³ If silver was, therefore, no longer accepted as a medium of exchange after that point in time, how does one explain its acquisition and use by Hor to compensate for the ostensible withdrawal of funds, the nature of which is passed over in silence, in the first century B.C.? That apparent contradiction, inferred from his own autobiographical statement should, in and of itself, indicate that Hor’s floruit would have to be sited within an era when silver was still accepted as a viable medium of exchange for such religious purposes.

Hor’s explicit use of the noun *ʿrkwr* [ʿrk], silver, instead of *hd*, deserves comment. The etymology of that noun has been suggested to derive from a Demotic, phonetic rendering of the Greek noun, ἄργυρος, silver,⁶⁴ allegedly introduced during the Ptolemaic Period when that metal from the Attic Laurion⁶⁵ mines was being imported into Egypt,⁶⁶ although silver from Laurion may have already been crafted into the jewelry of Hetepheres⁶⁷ and objects associated with the Treasure of Tod.⁶⁸ An alternative etymology suggests that *ʿrkwr* [ʿrk] is to be understood within the context of being twisted, reflecting the natural, crooked filaments of that ore.⁶⁹ As a result of the documentable international, financial relationships between Egypt and Athens progressively intensifying during the late 6th and early 5th century B.C.⁷⁰ and continuing into the Ptolemaic Period during which time Athenian owls were in circulation, the noun *ʿrkwr* [ʿrk] cannot be used as a chronological index. That said, a terminus ante quem for Hor’s use of *ʿrkwr* [ʿrk] would have to be sited into a period before the second century B.C. when the use of silver for commercial transactions appears to have been abandoned. If one’s understanding of the inscription obtains, Hor’s euergetism⁷¹ was triggered by the withholding of funds by the central authority, which suggests that his floruit coincided with a period of political unrest.

⁶¹ Saqqara H5-2877 [5253] = MoA 71/19: H.S. SMITH, C.A.R. ANDREWS, S. DAVIES, *The sacred animal necropolis at North Saqqara: the mother of Apis inscriptions I*, London, 2011, pp. 208-209, line x+3. (for the numbering system, refer to p. viii); P.W. PESTMAN, “A note concerning the reading *hd sp-2*,” *Enchoria* 2, 1972, pp. 33-36; and D. DEVAUCHELLE, “*hd*: deben or kite?,” *Enchoria* 14, 1986, pp. 157-158.

⁶² Saqqara MoA 70/52a: H.S. SMITH, C.A.R. ANDREWS, S. DAVIES, 2011: p. 140, line 17

⁶³ T. FAUCHER, A. MEADOWS, C. LORBER (eds.), *Egyptian hoards I. The Ptolemies*, Cairo, 2017, pp. 36-37.

⁶⁴ M. BORCHARDT, “Datierte Denkmäler der Berliner Sammlung aus der Achämenidenzeit,” *ZÄS* 49, 1911, p. 78.

⁶⁵ S. AUFRÈRE, *L’univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne II*, Cairo, 1991, pp. 410-411; and p. 424, n. 24, for references to the silver mines of Laurion, to which now add C. FLAMENT, “Athènes et les mines du Laurion durant l’époque classique,” *Res Antiquae* 17, 2020, pp. 1-24.

⁶⁶ C.A.R. ANDREWS, *Ancient Egyptian jewellery*, London, 1990, p. 56.

⁶⁷ K. SOWADA, R. NEWMAN, F. ALBERÈDE, G. DAVIS, M.R. DERRICK, T.D. MURPHY, D.B. GORE, “Analyses of queen Hetepheres’ bracelets from her celebrated tomb in Giza reveals new information on silver, metallurgy and trade in Old Kingdom Egypt, c. 2600 BC,” *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 49, 2013, (article no. 103978).

⁶⁸ G. PIERRAT, “À propos de la date et de l’origine du trésor de Tôd,” *BSFE* 130, 1994, p. 18.

⁶⁹ F. DAUMAS, *Les moyens d’expression du grec et de l’égyptien comparés dans les décrets de Canope et de Memphis*, *Supplément ASAE* 16, 1952, p. 190 with note 1; and *idem*, *Courrier du CNRS* 29 July 1972, [p. 2].

⁷⁰ M.M. AUSTIN, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age*, Cambridge, 1970, pp. 37-40, based on the evidence of the coin hordes.

⁷¹ A. BLASIVUS, 2011, 172-174, points out that such philanthropy is characteristic of a long-lived pharaonic tradition of philanthropy by elites toward their local cities and deities, a characteristic which differs from the practice of Greek benefactors.

It might be tempting, therefore, to suggest that the withholding of funds is to be understood within the context of Hermopolis, because of the privileged position of Thoth and of that city in the inscription on the back pillar of his statue. In that case Hor's philanthropy may have been related to that region's instability during the late 4th century B.C. as reflected in the events recounted by Petosiris.⁷² As seductive as that suggestion may appear to be at first sight, Hor's initiative is directed at establishments associated with Amun-re, nsw ntrw, not with those associated with Thoth.

As a result, one should, perhaps, consider the inter regna precipitated by the numerous revolts that plagued the crown during the Ptolemaic Period.⁷³ Of those, the revolt of the Thebaid springs immediately to mind. But, here again, the evidence is equivocal because a Greek decree at Karnak seems to imply that Karnak was virtually unscathed by the revolt,⁷⁴ despite the extraordinary powers conferred upon Lochos to recapture it.⁷⁵ Opinion seems to be divided as well about whether construction at Edfu was interrupted by that revolt,⁷⁶ or continued.⁷⁷

Although either scenario is tempting, there is virtually no independent data to support either suggestion. Furthermore, one must also be cognizant of the pitfalls of marshaling historic/literary evidence as the basis for art historical inferences.⁷⁸ Since these things are so, we must content ourselves with the unavoidable conclusion that the floruit of Hor cannot be established with any degree of certainty, based on historical evidence.

One now turns to the art historical evidence. Maspero's blind acceptance of an Alexandrian provenance for the statue of Hor and his acquiescence of a colonialist brief as the basis for his stylistic analysis contributed to his dating of the statue of Hor into the first century B.C., to which several scholars still adhere. Nevertheless, certain stylistic details exhibited by the design of the physiognomic features of his face are not consistent with the perceived style of the first century B.C. The growing consensus suggests that images created during this era of the Ptolemaic Period are characterized by a pout,⁷⁹ which, however, gains currency beginning in

⁷² A. WOJCIECHOWSKA, *From Amyrtaeus to Ptolemy: Egypt in the fourth century B.C.*, Wiesbaden, 2018, pp. 61, 76, and 86-87.

⁷³ J.G. MANNING, *Land and power in Ptolemaic Egypt: the structure of land tenure*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 164, with table 8; and A.-E. VEÏSSE, "Violences extrêmes en milieu urbain: Alexandrie, 203 av. n. è.," *CdE* 94, 2019, pp. 134-148.

⁷⁴ E. LANCIERS, "Die ägyptischen Tempelbauten zur Zeit des Ptolemaios V. Epiphanes (204-180 v. Chr.). Teil 2: Irrtümlich Ptolemaios V. zugeschriebene Denkmäler," *MDAIK* 43, 1987, pp. 179-180; for which see also A. MARANGOU, M.N. REDA, "Recherches sur les importations grecques dans la vallée thébaine à l'époque ptolémaïque," *CCE* 10, 2016, pp. 297-298, although L. COULON, "La nécropole osirienne de Karnak sous les Ptolémées," in A. Delattre, P. Heilporn (eds), "Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que des villages..." *Thèbes et sa région aux époques hellénistique, romaine et byzantine. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 2 et 3 décembre 2005*, Brussels, 2008, 17-32, suggests that there were work stoppages.

⁷⁵ E. LANCIERS, "Lochos: a career in the service of Ptolemy VIII," *CdE* 93, 2018, pp. 376-394; and B. REDON, T. FAUCHER, "Recent discoveries of BE arrowheads and Joppa coins in the Eastern Desert of Egypt: in the footsteps of the Ptolemaic army," *BASOR* 388, 2022, pp. 1-29.

⁷⁶ S. CAUVILLE, D. DEVAUCHELLE, "Le temple d'Edfou: étapes de la construction nouvelles données historiques," *RdE* 35, 1984, pp. 31-55.

⁷⁷ D. KURTH, "Das 53. Regierungsjahr Ptolemäus XII," in D. Kurth (ed.), *Edfu: Studien zu Ikonographie, Textgestaltung, Schriftsystem, Grammatik und Baugeschichte*, Wiesbaden, 1990, p. 82.

⁷⁸ R.S. BIANCHI, "Book reviews," *JARCE* 46, 2010, pp. 271-272, citing B.S. RIDGEWAY, "The study of Hellenistic art," in E.D.F. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1988, 27-34.

⁷⁹ Alexandria, National Museum of Alexandria SCA 283: D. ROBINSON, "Queen and goddess," in F. Goddio, A. Masson-Berghoff (eds.), *Sunken cities: Egypt's lost worlds*, London, 2016, pp. 94-95; Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 1015: S.-A. ASHTON, *Ptolemaic royal sculpture from Egypt: the interaction between Greek and*

the late second century B.C.,⁸⁰ in association with large, wide-open pie-shaped eyes,⁸¹ which are already a fixed physiognomic feature in the early Ptolemaic Period and continue to characterize divine images in the Roman Imperial Period⁸². The physiognomic features of Hor do not include a real pout, however subjectively one wishes to define such a configuration of the lips. Its features certainly do not include wide-open, pie-shaped eyes. This lack of correspondence between its stylistic features and those of works of art dated to the same period erodes any scientific method which relies upon strict stylistic comparisons of details as the sole means of adducing a chronological position. It is incumbent upon the discipline to formulate principles of a scientific method which can be universally applied by all scholars, the objective of which is to reach an informed, documentable consensus.

Since these things are so, Maspero's original pronouncement:

it looks like a Greek work executed by an Egyptian rather than a purely Egyptian creation⁸³

must be set aside and recognized for what it is, namely, an intensely personal, very subjective, assessment based on feeling rather than on fact. One cannot set aside that assessment, however, without setting aside a second, namely the support that such an art historical position receives from similar theories adduced by some historians and papyrologists which ultimately can be traced back to Johann Gustav Droysen.⁸⁴ His now-discredited pronouncement for the existence of a putative *mythe d'une culture mixte gréco-égyptienne*⁸⁵ is the analogue of Maspero's. The one supports the other, and their cumulative, combined force over the course of more than a century continues to contaminate academic exegesis.

As historians of the art of the Ptolemaic and Roman Imperial Periods become cognizant of just how inappropriate the phrase "mixed school" is as a category into which such works of art are habitually placed,⁸⁶ so, too, historians and papyrologists are abandoning notions of a mixed culture in Ptolemaic Egypt. The subjects of Ptolemaic Egypt did recognize the existence of different cultural spheres and traditions, and, although capable of navigating between the

Egyptian traditions, Oxford, 2011, p. 66, no. 2.6; and Alexandria, Museum of Antiquities of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina 1079: Z. KISS, "The sculptures," in F. Goddio (ed.), *Alexandria: the submerged royal quarters*, London, 1988, pp. 175-177.

⁸⁰ Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 3546: S.-A. ASHTON, "25. Marble portrait of Cleopatra II or III," in S. Walker, P. Higgs (eds.), *Cleopatra of Egypt: from history to myth*, London, 2001, p. 59.

⁸¹ Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 11275: Z. KISS, *Études sur le portrait impérial romain en Égypte*, Warsaw, 1984, p. 23.

⁸² V. RONDOT, *Derniers visages des dieux d'Égypte: iconographies, panthéons et cultes dans le Fayoum hellénisé des IIe-IIIe siècles de notre ère*, Paris, 2013, pp. 335-336.

⁸³ G. MASPERO, 1892, p. 255.

⁸⁴ J.G. DROYSSEN, *Histoire de l'Hellénisme*, Paris, 1877, pp. 1883-1884, and the discussion by G. TALLET, *La splendeur des dieux. Quatre études iconographiques sur l'hellénisme égyptien I*, Leiden, Boston, 2021, pp. 1, 80-81, and 86-93.

⁸⁵ J. BINGEN, "Voies et limites des interactions culturelles: le cas de l'Égypte gréco-romaine," in UNESCO, *Douze cas d'interaction culturelle dans l'Europe ancienne et l'Orient proche ou lointain. Études interculturelles II*, Paris, 1984, pp. 26-27.

⁸⁶ S.-A. ASHTON, "The Ptolemaic Influence on Egyptian Royal Sculpture," in A. McDonald, C. Riggs (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2000*, Oxford, 2000, p. 4; B.V. BOTHMER, 2004, p. 485; E.R. RUSSMANN, D. FINN, 1989, p. 193; and L. BURN, *Hellenistic Art from Alexander the Great to Augustus*, London, 2004, pp. 69-70. I find it all the more surprising that earlier conclusions, congruent with this reassessment, such as that by J. CAPART, "Les limites de l'art égyptien," *Bulletin de l'Office international des Instituts d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 7, 1936, p. 5; and L. CASTIGLIONE, "Kunst und Gesellschaft im römischen Ägypten," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15, 1967, pp. 125-126, seem to have fallen upon deaf ears.

liminal frontiers of each, nevertheless respected and maintained their distinctions, from receiving medical care⁸⁷ to erecting stelae in different styles, each inscribed with a name appropriate for the style chosen.⁸⁸

In surveying the history of ancient Egyptian art, one recognizes that, except perhaps for the Amarna interlude, there is no perceptible break,⁸⁹ artistically speaking, from one dynasty to the next because that art is characterized by transitional developments,⁹⁰ often informed by a pervasive archaizing. The persistence of purely pharaonic norms, exhibited in the statue of Hor, emphasizes the longevity of those Egyptian artistic traditions. That longevity is also characteristic of the Ptolemaic Period in general, the duration of which was the longest of all of the Hellenistic successor states. In fact, the Ptolemaic Period was one of the longest lasting dynasties within the entire history of ancient Egypt.⁹¹ It is within this context of longevity that pharaonic institutions and culture were both supported and invigorated by the Alexandrian court.⁹² I would, therefore, endorse the suggestion that one might better characterize the culture of Ptolemaic Egypt as “multi-ethnic”⁹³ rather than “multi-cultural,” because the latter, in my view, obfuscates the situation by implying the existence of a “mixed” culture. In bi-lingual, defined as Greek and demotic Egyptian, family archives from the Ptolemaic Period, two distinct legal traditions in contract forms and notarizations are employed.⁹⁴ The reasons for this choice may not always be clear, but the archives are. Such an observation suggests that in art, as well as in language, to two distinctive traditions are likewise maintained.

In order to emphasize the pharaonic, Egyptian nature of the style of works of art, exemplified by the case studies above, I would also recommend referring to the period in which the works of art, discussed in the three cases studies above, are placed as Dynasty XXXIII, adopting this suggestion already made by Lepsius⁹⁵ and only slightly emending the recently proposed adoption of this system by Joseph G. Manning.⁹⁶ In like manner, the Roman Imperial Period should be designated as Dynasty XXXIV, a period of intense architectural activity in temple precincts of the land, in which temple scribes furthered the advances of the hieroglyphic means of expression.⁹⁷ Within this recommendation, the floruit of Psenptais III can be dated to Dynasty XXXIII/XXXIV, because such a designation is imminently consistent with Egyptological practice in which the transition from Kushite to Saite rule is designated as Dynasty XXV/XXVI. The change of rule in both of these epochs was not abrupt, but gradual.

⁸⁷ W. CLARYSSE, “Some Greeks in Egypt,” in J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society. Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, Chicago, 1992, pp. 51-56.

⁸⁸ J. YOYOTTE, “Bakthis: religion égyptienne et culture grecque à Edfu,” in *Bibliothèque des Centres d’Études supérieures spécialisées. Travaux du centre d’études d’histoire des religions de Strasbourg, Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine. Colloque de Strasbourg 16-18 mai 1967*, Paris, 1969, pp. 127-141; and W. CLARYSSE, “Greek and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic army and administration,” *Aegyptus* 65, 1985, pp. 57-66.

⁸⁹ G. TALLET, 2021, pp. 44-52.

⁹⁰ O. PERDU, 2012, p. 198.

⁹¹ J.G. MANNING, 2006, pp. 31-32.

⁹² J.G. MANNING, 2010, p. 33.

⁹³ G. TALLET, p. 59, citing C. La’ada notes, “...l’hétérogénéité de ces populations immigrées est très importante, avec près de 150 désignations ethniques différentes recensées...”

⁹⁴ J.G. MANNING, 2010 p. 178

⁹⁵ K. LEPSIUS, 1858, pls. L-LXIf.

⁹⁶ J.G. MANNING, 2010, p. 67, who would label the Ptolemaic Period as Dynasty XXXI.

⁹⁷ The vitality of the Egyptian hieroglyphic scribal tradition during Dynasty XXXIII-XXXIV is admirably demonstrated by the development of antonomasia, clearly evident in the inscriptions of the temple of el-Qala, for which see, Cl. TRAUNECKER, “Lessons from the Upper Egyptian Temple of el-Qal’a,” in S. Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt. New Discoveries and Recent Research*, London, 1997, pp. 168-178.

The political situation at Thebes during the time of transition of the former period resonates with the same issues of transition experienced by all sectors of Egypt during the principate of the Roman Emperor Augustus. Both periods were *inter regna*, and Augustus, like Psametik I and Alexander the Great before him, was confronted with families ensconced in their hereditary positions, the mechanics of which had to be tweaked in order for the new regime to assert itself effectively.⁹⁸ The adoption of both of these designations, namely, Dynasty XXXIII and Dynasty XXXIV, as well as that of Dynasty XXXIII/XXXXIV for the period of initial transition between the Ptolemaic Period and Roman Period, would do much to dispel all notions of a mixed culture. Such an adoption would site such previously and erroneously labeled works of art and the culture which they reflect squarely within their proper, pharaonic Egyptian context.



Fig. 1. The Statue of Hor (Cairo, The Egyptian Museum CG 697; ALEA [Archive of Late Egyptian Art, a bibliographic and photographic inventory maintained by Robert Steven Bianchi, Holiday, Florida).

⁹⁸ For the specific issues confronting Augustus with the Memphite priesthood, which, in my view, are similar to those confronting Psametik I with the Theban families, principal among which was that of Montuehmat, see both G. HÖLBL, *Altägypten im römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel*, Mainz, 2000, p. 22; and E.A.E. REYMOND, 1981, pp. 54-55; and for a broader picture of these issues in general, see S. PFEIFFER, *Der römische Kaiser und das Land am Nil. Kaiserverehrung und Kaiserkult in Alexandria und Ägypten von Augustus bis Caracalla (30 c. Chr. - 217 n. Chr.)*, Stuttgart, 2010, pp. 21-23 and 37-60.

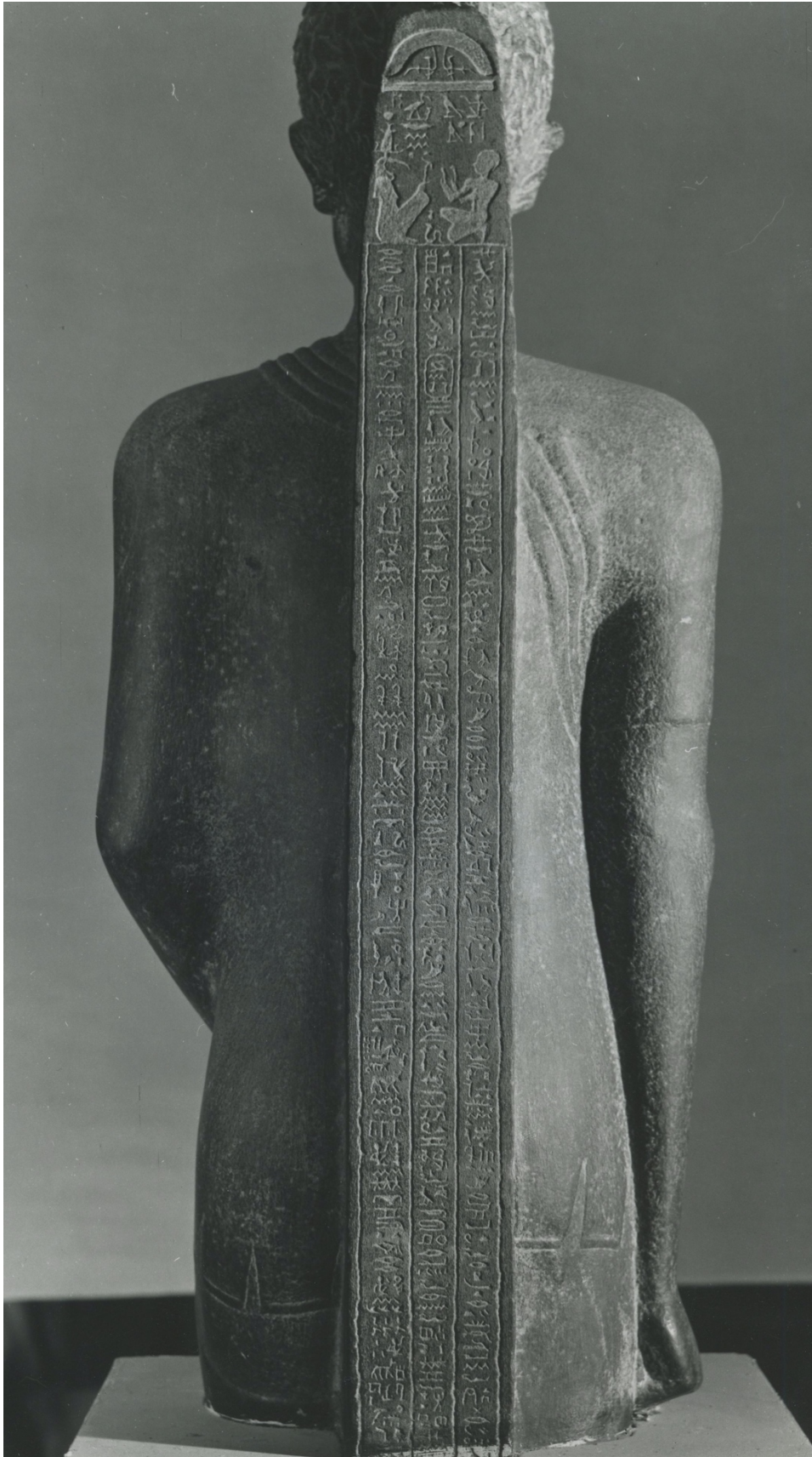


Fig. 2. The State of Hor, back pillar (Cairo, The Egyptian Museum, CG 697; ALEA).



Fig. 3A. Detail of the end of the third column of inscription on the back pillar of Cairo (The Egyptian Museum CG 697; ALEA).



Fig. 3B. Computer generated facsimile of that inscription created by the author using JSesh 7.5.5.

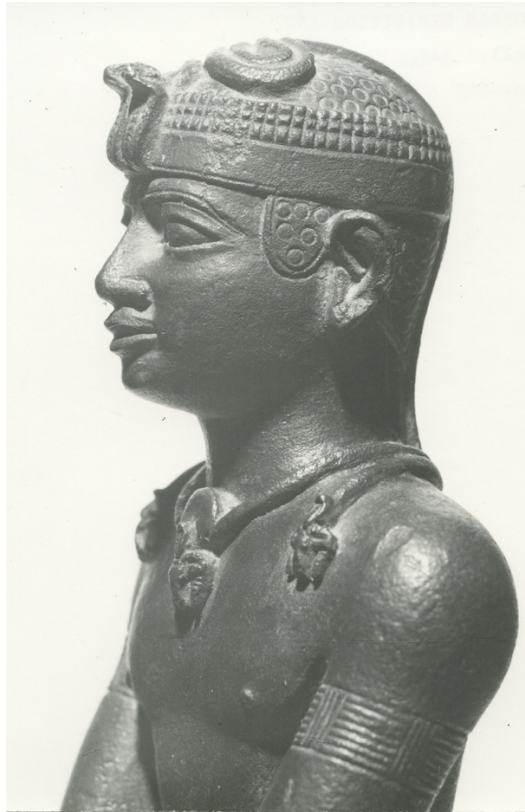


Fig. 4. Statuette of Shabaka (Athens, The National Archaeological Museum AEIN 632; ALEA).



Fig. 5. Statue of Ptahhotep (The Brooklyn Museum of Art 37.353; ALEA).



Fig. 6. Detail of the statue of Ptahhotep (The Brooklyn Museum of Art 37.353; ALEA).



Fig. 7. Statue of Arsinoe II, deified (?) (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 20.2.21; ALEA).



Fig. 8. Detail of the cork screw locks on the statue of Arsinoe II, deified (?)
(New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 20.2.21; ALEA).



Fig. 9. Detail of the *dikerai* on the statue of Arsinoe II, deified (?)
(New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 20.2.21; ALEA).



Fig. 10. Reverse of a gold octadrachm minted by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II posthumously commemorating Arsinoe II (Fondation Gandur pour l'Art Genève, FGA-ARCH-GR-041@ Fondation Gandur pour l'Art Genève).

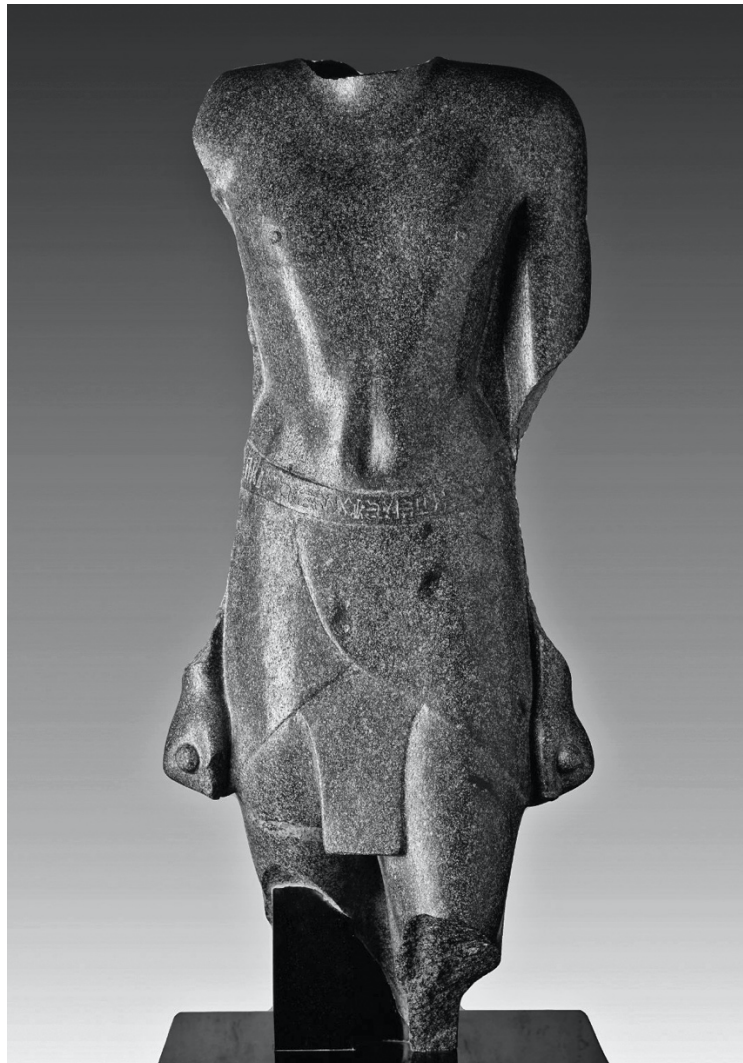


Fig. 11. Torso of Harchebi/Archibos (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Purchase: William Rockhill Nelson Trust, 47-12).



Fig. 12. Fragmentary statue inscribed for Senenshepsu (London, The British Museum 1668 © Trustees of the British Museum).

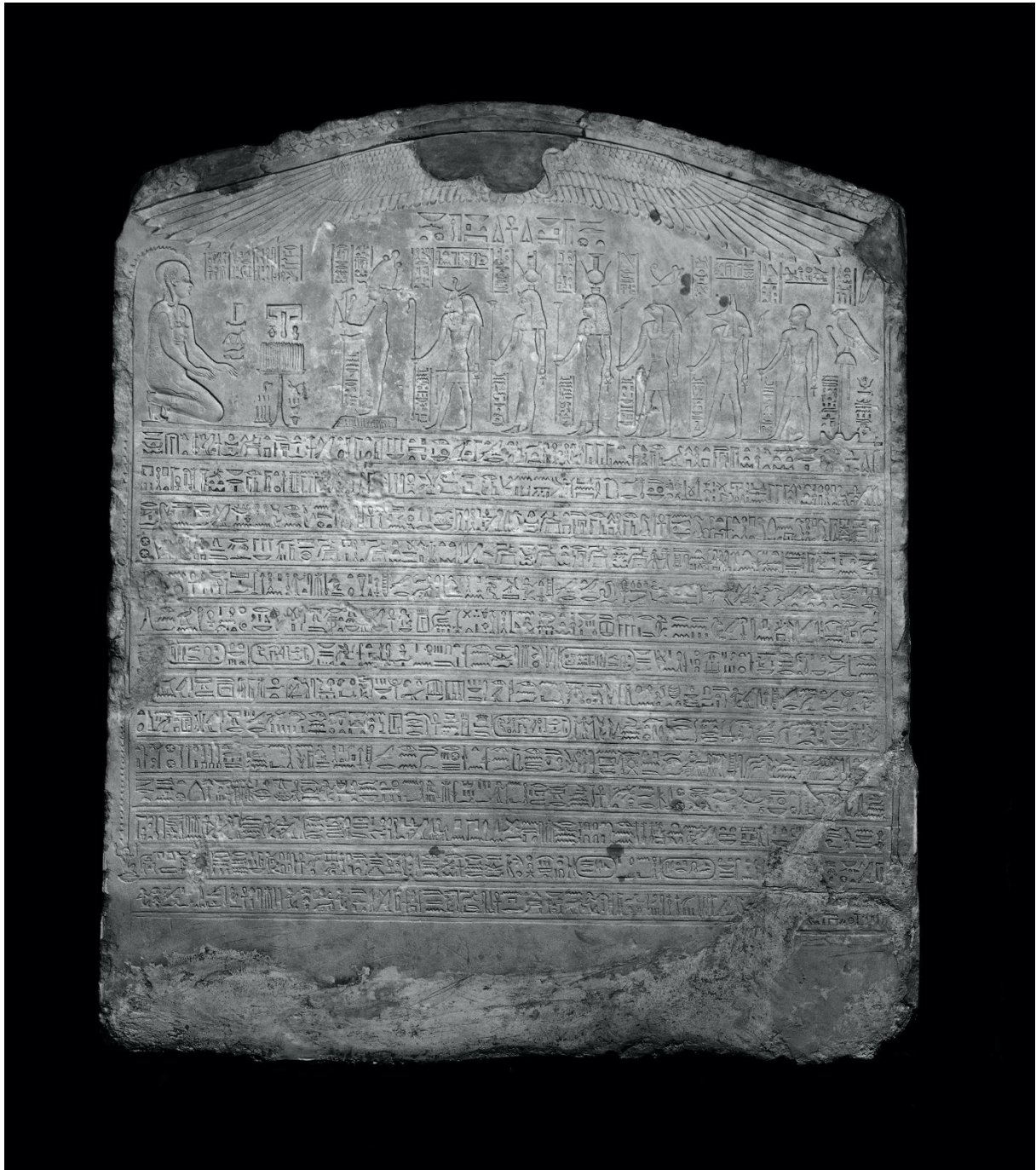


Fig. 13. The stele of Psenptais III
(London, The British Museum 886 © Trustees of the British Museum).