SOME INSIGHTS ON THE HYBRID STYLE OF ART IN PETOSIRIS' TOMB: A CONSTRUCTION DURING TRANSITION OF POWERS ERA

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ABSTRACT

The tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el Gabel is one of the monuments that has witnessed a transition of foreign occupations. It includes a hybrid style of art in its decoration and interesting biographical texts of its owners that reflect the relationship of Petosiris with the contemporary foreign powers. Besides, it has a unique intentional architectural design that recalls the style of the temples during the last native rulers of Egypt. This paper investigates the influence of the foreign hegemony on some elements of Petosiris's tomb. It tries to understand the reasons for its hybrid style of art if it is a natural cultural impact of the occupation, a resilience with the conquerors for personal or national reasons or even an undercover resistance to the foreign occupation. This will be achieved through analyzing the main elements of the tomb. The paper concludes that the hybrid style of the tomb is a natural influence by the globalized Egyptian world and a resilience of Petosiris with the occupiers.

KEYWORDS: Hybrid style- Globalized world- Egyptian art- Resilience- Resistance- Multicultural community

INTRODUCTION

After the end of the New Kingdom and the beginning of the late periods, Egypt was successively occupied by different foreigner powers; Libyans, Nubians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. Some of these foreign occupiers affected, in a negative way, some aspects of the ancient Egyptians' lives. They are predominantly considered to have ruined Egypt. At some times between these periods of the foreign occupations, the Egyptians were able to regain the rule of the country which helped in

restoring the old ancient Egyptian character as it can be noticed during the 26th, 28th and 30th Dynasties.[1]

By understanding how did the Egyptian elites, as an example, expressed their own identity during the periods of foreign occupation, their relationship with the foreign conquerors can be better understood. The researchers suggest that through reviewing the political context during the construction of the tomb of Petosiris, its architectural design, its biographical texts and scenes, the intention behind the style of the tomb can be revealed.

I- THE POLITICAL SITUATION BEFORE AND DURING THE TIME OF TOMB'S CONSTRUCTION

Before the arrival of Alexander the Great, Persia invaded Egypt twice and administered it as a satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire. Scholars divide this Persian Period in Egypt into two separate eras, the First Domination (Dynasty 27, 525-402 BC) and the brief Second Domination (Dynasty 31, 343-332 BC) that ended with the arrival of Alexander the Great.[2] Scholars differ in the extent of the ruthlessness of the Persian conquest of Egypt. Some of them believe that the first invasion was not so traumatic as the biased contemporary accounts would lead us to believe. They argued that after the collapse of Saite Dynasty, Psammetichus III had been captured and the Achaemenid Persians, led by Cambyses II, simply took charge of the country.[3] Other scholars suggest the first Persian to be "too bitterly resented",[4] even that there were some Persian gestures of appeasement especially in some policies of Cambyses and Darius.[5] Regardless of those opinions, it cannot be neglected that the evidence about the revolts and

[1] Lloyd, A. (2000), "The Late Period." In Ian Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 364–387. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 378.

[2] For the problematic category of Dynasty 31, see Lloyd, A. (1988), Manetho and the Thirty-First Dynasty. In *Pyramid studies and other essays presented to I.E.S. Edwards*, Occasional Publications 7, ed. John Baines, p. 154-160. London: The Egypt Exploration Society. ; For the chronology, see Depuydt, L, (2006). Saite and Persian Egypt, 664 BC-332 BC (Dyns. 26-31, Psammetichus I to Alexander's conquest of Egypt). In *Ancient Egyptian chronology*, Handbuch der Orientalistik 83, ed. Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss, and David Warburton, p. 265-283. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

[3] Psammetichus III was defeated at the Battle of Pelusium, and fled to Memphis where he was captured and for the First time in the History the Egyptian pharaoh was carried off as captive outside of Egypt to Susa. *See* Clayton, P. A. (1994), *Chronicle of the Pharaohs: The Reign-By-Reign Record of the Rulers and Dynasties of Ancient Egypt,* Thames & Hudson, p. 197-198.

[4] Perdu, O. (2010). "Saites and Persians." In Alan Lioyd (ed.), *Companion to Ancient Egypt*, p. 140–158, Malden, MA: Blackwell, p. 150.

[5] Ruzicka, S. (2012). *Trouble in the West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 23–28; Perdu 2010, p. 150.

rebellions seem to have occurred during these times.[6] It also cannot be ignored that a foreign occupation to a country is mostly accompanied by the hard times for its people.

Whereas the first Persian Dynasty had lasted from about 525 until 402 BC, this second time of the Persian occupation was about nine or ten years. After almost fifty-nine years of independence from the first Persian occupation, Egypt fell again to the invading Persian army leaded by Artaxerxes III in 343 BC, and the native king Nectanebo II fled to Ethiopia for refuge.[7] Little is known about this period of Persian hegemony in Egypt but it seems that the Persian invasion was severe. Cities were neglected, temple treasures looted, sacred animals such as the Apis, Mnevis and Buchis bulls were killed, and people enslaved with taxes. Once again, a Persian satrap (this time Pherdates) reigned for an absent king in Susa.[8] Thus, it is most likely that this period was difficult for the Egyptians as Persians were considered as enemies humiliating the Egyptians and their beliefs. For that, it was expected that Petosiris would rather avoid anything related to the culture of the Persian enemy, especially, in a matter affects the funerary art and thus the Egyptian beliefs.

Before Alexander the great's conquest to Egypt and during the 4th and 5th Centuries BC, Egyptians and Greeks became military allies as both tried to stop the advancing Persians. After Cambyses II conquest to Egypt, Greeks joined Egypt to expel their mutual enemy and, after Greece itself had been invaded by the Persians, Greeks were even more eager to come to Egypt's aid. The Greeks continued to support the Egyptians who revolted and fought the Persians like Inaros and Amyrtaeus of Sais who won Egypt's independence from the Persians with the help of Athenian commander Kimon. After that, between 385 and 383, Greek mercenaries helped the Egyptian king Achoris to repel the Persians enemy. Again, another Greek army composing of Spartans and Athenian mercenaries tried to assist the Pharaoh Tachos (Teos) against Persia, but that campaign ended disastrously.[9] Athenians and Spartans tried again to help Nectanebo II (360–343 BC), the last native Egyptian king, in his resistance against Artaxerxes III who defeated them and ruled Egypt again.[10]

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[6] Revolts and rebellions seem to have occurred in 487, 430, 422, 414, and 404 BC. See more in Ruzicka 2012, p. 27-28; Perdu 2010, p. 152.

[7] Ladynin, I. (2010). Nectanebo in Ethiopia: A commentary to Diod. XVI 51.1. *PAM Supplement Series 2.2/1-2*, p. 527.

[8] Clayton 1994, p. 205.

[9] Hornblower, S. (2002),*The Greek World, 479–323 BC*, 3rd ed. London:Routledge, p. 259

[10] Dunand, F. (1973). *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée ´* (EPRO, vol. 26). 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, p. 66–67.

When Alexander the Great invaded Egypt with his mixed army of Macedonians and Greeks, he found the Egyptians ready to throw off the oppressive control of the Persians. He was welcomed by the Egyptians as a liberator and was apparently accepted as King of Egypt without a battle. He showed great respect to the Egyptians and their native gods as Amun. He visited the temple of this god in Siwa Oasis. Alexander wanted to convince the Egyptians that he is a pharaoh by promotion to the idea that he is the son of god Amun and by a coronation at the Egyptian capital, Memphis, which, if it occurred, would have placed him firmly in the tradition of the kings (pharaohs). Although the first four Ptolemies did not crown in Memphis, perhaps because they are the successors of Alexander, Ptolemy V made sure that he was crowned in Memphis to satisfy the Egyptians, and this ritual continued with the later Ptolemies.[11]

When the Ptolemies got Egypt's throne, they tolerated and adopted some elements of the religion and customs of the Egyptians and went ahead to construct great temples for Egyptian gods as the temples of Horus in Edfu, Sobek and Horus in Kom Ombo, and Isis in Philae. All the Ptolemaic queens such as Arsinoe II and Cleopatra VII went further, by imitating themselves with the goddess Isis. Ptolemy I followed Alexander in making offerings to the Egyptian gods.[12]

In the other side, Alexander the great and the Ptolemies opened the door for the Greeks to stay in Egypt and to hold the higher positions. Thus, the military and administrative fields in the capital, Alexandria were controlled by Greeks. This directed economy and monopoly policy by Ptolemies caused the vast majority of the Egyptian population fell under the poverty and injustice. Some of the Egyptian aristocracy class, the great owners of Egyptian society were eliminated.[13] In contrary, the priest class continued to keep their high position throughout those periods.[14] These foreign invaders were, at many times, unconcerned to the importance of Egyptian religious rituals, but they need the confidence of the priests and their indirect use to implement some political and economic purposes and an attempt to restore security in Egypt. The priests, as Petosiris, were fully

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[11] Hölbl, G. (2001), *History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, translated by Tina Saavedra, London: Routledge, p.139.

[12] Worthington, I. (2016), *Ptolemy I: King and Pharaoh of Egypt*, Oxford University Press, p. 198.

[13] However, from the reign of Ptolemy II there was Egyptian elite in Ptolemaic palace; Loyd A. B., "The Egyptian elite in early Ptolemaic period : some hieroglyphic evidence", dans : OGDEN Daniel (ed), *The Hellenistic world : new perspectives*, London, 2002, p. 117- 136. (BSA)

[14] It has to be noticed that the relationship between many priest and the first three ptolemies was not amicable see Gorre G., "Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides", dans PICARD Olivier [et al.], *Royaumes et cites hellénistiques de 323 à 55 av. J.-C.*, Paris, 2003, p. 44-55.

aware of their importance to these foreign rulers in convincing the Egyptian people of their presence on the Egyptian throne. Therefore, priests were advertising to the Egyptian believe in the connection of Maat with the establishment of the state, since the existence of state authority is a necessary condition for achieving the moral order, Maat. In other words, the fundamental myth of the Egyptian state relies on installing a king on earth by the Creator God to achieve Maat on earth.[15]

Although, a growing influence of Greek culture accompanied their existence, the native Egyptian religion flourished, with many new texts were composed by Egyptian priests who were rooted in the religious traditions of earlier periods.[16] No Route appeared to be neglected, and the culture and art were flexible to accept new concepts join the tradition without requiring that others be disappeared.[17] The later texts were written in the older hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts with increasing frequency in the newer demotic and even Greek. Religious texts of the Late and Graeco-Roman periods were preserved in many handcrafts and cover many genres such as autobiographies, forming a wealth of material, which reflected the insistence, and flexibility of Egyptian culture in the face of external pressure.[18]

In fact, it can be expected that in case of any long foreign occupation of a country, the citizens of the occupied country would face some facets of cultural influences that would be imposed by that occupier or in a natural way. Therefore, a resistance will be a way to reject the presence of the occupier himself and all what is related to. This resistance can be military, revolutionary or cultural, whether in matters of religion, thought, customs, art, architecture, etc. Actually, resistance is difficult to discover in archaeological records because of the many possible motivations for it.[19]

For some scholars as McCoskey,[20] the decoration, literature and even the architectural design of Petosiris's tomb contain some avenues of resistance that were included in a hidden way by the owner of the tomb to be a refusal and a delegitimation of the foreign powers. In some cases, ancient

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[15] Van Blerk N. (2018), *The emergence of law in ancient Egypt: The role of Maat*, in: Fundamina 24(1), p. 71 (60-88).

[16] Perdu, O. (1995), *"Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies,"* in Jack M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Vol. IV, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, p. 2252

[17] Heragi, M. (2016), *Self-Lamentation in Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies during the Ptolemaic Period*, unpublished dissertation of PhD, Minia University, p. 103-104.

[18] Jay J. E. (2007), *Religious Literature of Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt,* in: T. Sonn (ed.), *Religion Compass 1*, John Wiley & Sons Ltd, p. 93.

[19] McCoskey, A. (2020). "Fight the Power: Udjahorresnet and Petosiris as Agents of Resistance." In *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 26, p. 133.

[20] McCoskey 2020, p. 139-141.

Egyptian individuals tried to make decisions that delegitimize those foreign powers and maintain their own agency.[21] By revising the main components of Petosiris's tomb, it will be obvious that Petosiris wanted to make a hybrid style of art providing distinguished multicultural elements that attract different cultural identities. This could be interpreted as a resilience rather than an intention of resistance. Petosiris and his family had held high positions during successive periods of occupation which confirms their good relations with the Persians and the Ptolemies. Therefore, it can be assumed that Petosiris most likely does not need to resist them.

The construction of the tomb during perhaps different historical periods, the Persian era and the beginning of the Ptolemaic era, had a great impact in showing various artistic aspects. Petosiris did not try to resist the foreign influence of the occupiers, but rather he took and merged new features into the basic elements that form his Egyptian culture and identity. He added to the details of the scenes what is accompanying the era in terms of the form of clothes, tools, colors and so on. By this way, he wanted to convince the other cultures by his acceptance and adoption of the idea of a globalized world by its display in the visible part of his tomb. At the same time, his intention seems to be a protection for the Egyptian beliefs, style of art, and all what is related to the Egyptian funerary thoughts. This was made very carefully in creating a hybrid style in which he was taking into account the political dimension of the country.

II- THE TOMB OF PETOSIRIS AND ITS ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

The tomb of Petosiris is one of the best example that contains the hybridization of art as both Egyptian art and Hellenized features can be found in its decorations. It almost dates back to the early Ptolemaic Period, the last quarter of the 4th century BC, within the period extends from the end of the 31th dynasty 'second the Persian rule' and the beginning of the Ptolemaic period.[22] Its owner, Petosiris, was the high priest of Thoth in Hermopolis Magna,[23] where his tomb was the first major tomb at the cemetery of Tuna el-Gebel.[24] It is a family tomb which is dedicated to the

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[21] McCoskey 2020, p. 133.

[22] For more about the date of this tomb see part III in this paper: The Biography Texts and its Context.

[23] Bevan proposes that Petosiris was the high priest of Thoth under Nectanebo II and Ptolemy I Soter; Bevan, E. (1927), *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London, p. 81.

[24] Lembke, K. (2010), "The Petosiris-Necropolis of Tuna el-Gebel." in Katja Lembke, Martina Minas-Nerpel, and Stefan Pfeiffer (eds.), *Tradition and Transformation: Egypt under Roman Rule: Proceedings of the International Conference, Hildesheim, Roemer- and Pelizaeus-Museum, 3–6 July 2008*, Boston, MA: Brill, p. 231-232.

tomb's builder Petosiris, as well as his father, Sishu, and his brother, Djedthothiufankh, both of whom, like Petosiris, were also priests of Thoth.[25] Although the inscriptions and reliefs on the interior walls of the tomb are dedicated to Petosiris's father and elder brother, neither was interred there.[26]

The architectural design of the tomb (Fig. 1) is composed of two rooms in the superstructure ; 1) the pronaos with a half-screen exterior wall, flanked by columns, and 2) an inner chapel (naos). Petosiris dedicated the inner chapel to his father and elder brother while the outer pronaos is his realm, and the two spaces are visually differentiated.[27] The tomb is preceded by a horned altar (of later date)[28] and a paved 'avenue' leads toward its façade that simulates the temples started during the 30th dynasty such as the temple of god Thoth in Hermopolis built by Nectanebo I.[29] This temple's pronaos was completed early in the reign of Ptolemy I, and its plan provided the model for the tomb of Petosiris.[30] Despite its clear allusion to this temple of Nectanebo, the tomb follows a traditional plan of some Egyptian tombs, composed as it is of a chapel and a pronaos with the burial chamber below the chapel.[31] Through its design, typically Egyptian, Petosiris references to 30th Dynasty temples, a time in which Petosiris' father served as high priest of Thoth under Nectanebo II. This could be

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[25] This tomb was built in order that the name of Petosiris' father and elder brother be pronounced as well as Petosiris himself. See Lichtheim, M. (1980), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, *Volume III: the Late Period*, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 45–46

[26] Broekman, G. (2006). "The 'High Priests of Thoth' in Hermopolis in the Fourth and Early Third Centuries B.C.E." in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 133, p. 97–103. It seems started also Petosiris's career as a high priest of Thoth at nearby Hermopolis apparently spanned the Second Persian Period; Broekman 2006, for more see p. 99-100.

[27] Venit, M. S. (2016), *Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Cambridge University Press, p. 8.

[28] The altars are continuous elements of the tomb architecture at Tuna el-Gebel starting from the temple-tomb of Petosiris; see Soukiassian, G. (1983), "Les autels 'à cornes' ou 'à acrotères' en Égypte", *BIFAO 83*, p. 317-333.

[29] Arnold, D. (1999). *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 112, fig. 65; for a reconstruction drawing of the facade and the plan of the temple built by Nectanebo I see; *Description de l'Egypte (1809– 1828)*, Paris: Imprimerie impériale, vol. IV, pl. 51.

[30] Minnen, P. V. (2004), "Hermopolis, Antinoopolis, and Cemeteries," in *Egypt from Alexander to the Copts* (R. S. Bagnall and D. Rathbone, eds.), London: British Museum Press, p. 162. A portico of 12 columns was intact when visited by Napoleon's artists (*Description de l'Egypte ´ 1809–1828*, vol. IV: pls. 50–52), but in 1826 Mohamed Ali, vizier of Egypt, permitted the columns to be burnt for lime to build factories (Minnen 2004, p. 162).

[31] Venit 2016, p. 9.

understood as a loyalty to his Egyptian origin and a pride of his father, who worked under the command of the last Egyptian rulers.[32]
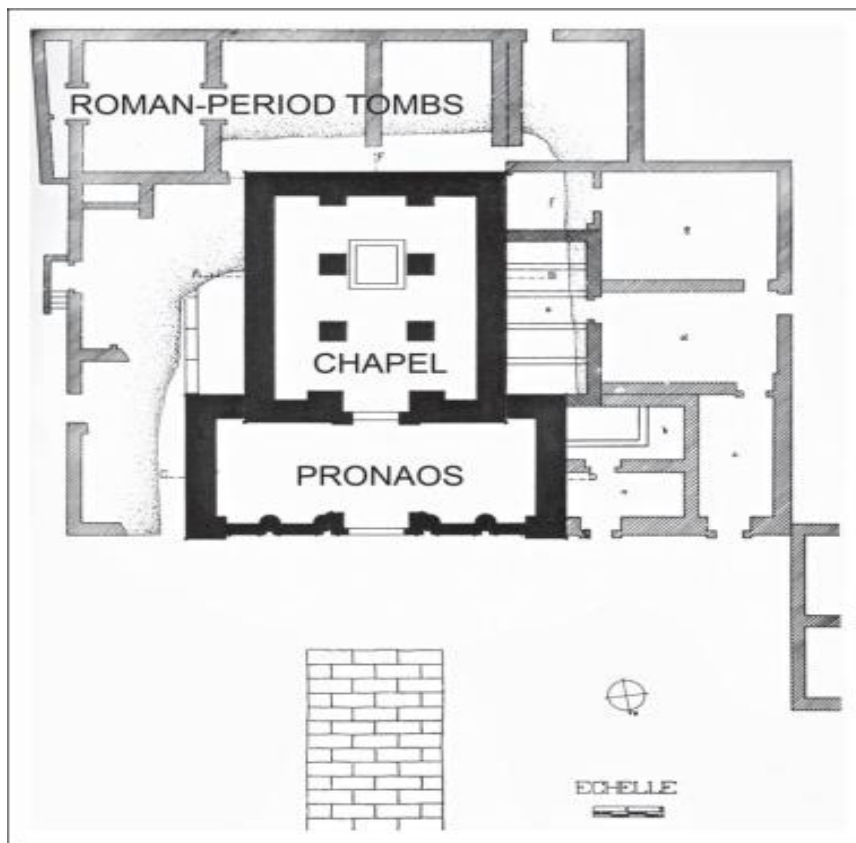

Fig. 1: Plan of Petosiris' tomb, Tuna el-Gebel, (after Lefebvre 1923–1924, vol. III, pl. I)

The pronaos of the tomb seems to be a later addition to the tomb because its short back walls about the façade of the chapel about a third of a meter behind the chapel's face and because the pronaos extends farther to the east and west than the chapel.[33] By adding the pronaos, Petosiris wanted to present a visible globalized picture of the Egyptian world. He wanted also to address other cultures and attract them to a common world dominated by the original Egyptian cultural character in an intelligent hidden way. By making such integration and cultural fusion, he wanted to convince the foreign powers of a new common style dominated by the Egyptian identity and traditions that includes elements of their culture and thus satisfy them.

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[32] For further information see Menu B. 1998. "Le tombeau de Petosiris (4). Le souverain de l'Egypte," *BIFAO* 98, p. 247–262.

[33] Lefebvre, G. (1923–1924). *Le tombeau de Petosiris*. 3 vols. Cairo: Imprimerie de L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale., Vol. I, p. 14.

Petosiris knows that there are many participants from different cultures can pass by his tomb. This corresponds with some recent geomagnetic work near the tomb of Petosiris that shows that a processional way passed nearby.[34] This indicates that the pronaos was designed to show the globalized world to the participants in the processions or others who seemingly would come from this contemporary Egyptian multicultural community. Designing the pronaos in such form can be seen not only as a desire or need to collaborate with the foreigner rulers but also as a way to create a globalized image composing of Egyptian, Persian and Greek mixed features.

The chapel of the tomb seems to conserve the same ancient Egyptian style and function of an ancient Egyptian chapel. It contains two rows of pillars and the shaft that leads to the burial chambers below the tomb that contained the sarcophagus of Petosiris and members of his family.[35] This part of the tomb was the less accessible area that was designed for emphasizing on Petosiris' Egyptian origin and offering him the traditional Egyptian concept of the afterlife and its aim of eternity. It was a tool for preserving the Egyptian identity in what concerns the artistic and religious aspects. Some scholars can read its predominant Egyptian style as a resistance to the change that came with both Persian and Greek conquest.[36] However, this can be only a simple way of protecting the Egyptian style and eschatological beliefs at the same time that there are few depictions showing the hybrid style.

The identity of those who can access to this chapel and on what occasion it was used are unconfirmed. Having a door between the pronaos and the chapel indicates a symbolic separation between the two worlds, the Netherworld and the life.[37] It is in one of the interesting passages in the biography of Petosiris that some of the potential visitors can be identified as it says: "Oh every prophet, every priest, every scholar / Who enter this necropolis and see this tomb, / Praise God for him who acts (for me)!"[38] This can be read that the tomb was visited by prophets of the god Thoth and his priests as well as scholars. These latter were usually associated with the temple that would suggest a primarily Egyptian audience consisting of the elite. Petosiris wished that they would act for him rituals which means that they would enter into the chapel.[39]

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[34] Lembke 2010, p. 233.
[35] Lefebvre *1923–1924*, vol. I: *17* and vol. III, pl. II.
[36] McCoskey 2020, p. 142.
[37] McCoskey 2020, p. 141.
[38] Lichtheim 1980, p. 45.
[39] McCoskey 2020, p. 142.

III- THE BIOGRAPHY TEXTS AND ITS CONTEXT

Scholars differ in determining the date of that tomb, and the main debate is about whether that tomb dates back to a period before or after the conquest of Alexander to Egypt. Many of the modern scholars suggest that the date is post conquest.[40] By analyzing some passages in Petosiris biography, there is a single mention to a king who is referred to as "The Ruler of Foreign Lands," which is the same prenomen of Philip Arrhidaeus.[41] In the biography, there is another evidence indicating that the tomb was contemporary with the reign of Philip Arrhidaeus. It comes from a reference to the foundation of a temple which seems to be the same temple that Philip Arrhidaeus commissioned at Hermopolis. Therefore, it can be understood that both the tomb and the temple were in a stage of construction during the reign of the same king.[42] Moreover, the depiction of the rhyton-bearing woman in the lowest register of the west wall of the chapel paying tribute to Djedthothiufankh references the Second Persian Period, in which Petosiris' brother held the office of priest of Thoth.[43]

Some passages in the biography of Petosiris mentioned a turmoil in Egypt that is mostly attributed to the reign of Artaxerxes III and the second Persian conquest[44] but it could possibly refer to the Macedonian conquerors. Petosiris mentions his actions in the temple and his role in the restoration during these times: *I spent seven years as controller for this god, administering his endowment without fault being found, while the Ruler-of-foreign lands was Protector in Egypt. And nothing was in its former place since fighting had started inside Egypt. The South being in turmoil, the North in revolt. The people walked with head turned back all temples without their servants. The priests fled, not knowing what was happening. When I became controller for Thoth, lord of Khmun, I put the temple of Thoth in its former condition. I caused every rite to be as before, every priest (to serve) in his proper time… I made splendid what was found ruined anywhere, I restored what had decayed long ago, and was no longer in its place. I stretched the cord, released the line to found the*

[40] Das Candeias Sales, J. (2016). "The Decoration of the Pronaos of Petosiris' Tomb: Themes, Scenes, Styles, and Techniques." *Trabajos de Egiptologia— Papers on Ancient Egypt* 7, p.180.

[41] Beckerath, J. (1999), *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*. Mainz: Munich University Fonts, p. 232–233.

[42] Snape, S. (2014). *The Complete Cites of Ancient Egypt*, London: Thames and Hudson, p. 278.

[43] For further information see Menu 1998, p. 247–262.

[44] Colburn, H. P. (2015). "Memories of the Second Persian Period in Egypt." In Jason M. Silverman and Caroline Waerzeggers (eds.), *Political Memory in and after the Persian Empire*, Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, p. 183.

temple of Re in the park. I built it of fine white limestone, and finished with all kinds of work… I made an enclosure around the park, lest it be trampled by the rabble…. This spot, wretches had damaged it, intruders had traversed it; the fruit of its trees had been eaten, its shrubs taken to intruders' homes. The whole land was in uproar about it, and Egypt was distressed by it.[45]

Through the previous text, it can be concluded that Petosiris saw an unstable political situation which mostly after the second Persian conquest and during the beginning of the Macedonian conquest. However, Petosiris's description to the foreigner ruler as a "protector" shows tacit acceptance to the Ruler-of-foreign-lands (mostly Philip Arrhidaeus) as a ruler to Egypt. It is obvious that he had a strong relation with the Macedonians as they appointed him in an administrative religious position to help them in Egypt's recovery after a time of revolutions and wars in the north and south.[46] Through the text, Petosiris showed his prominent role as an Egyptian who loves the gods; causing rituals to be performed on time by the priests, restoring temples, and making a temple for the god Ra. By these acts, he wanted to confirm for the Egyptians his loyalty to his Egyptian identity and origin. He wanted also to show his authority and ability to make that during a time of foreign occupation. It seems that the foreign occupiers' permission to let him to do so indicates an understanding relationship between the two parties by which he was able to convince them to respect the beliefs of the Egyptians and to trust him to be a bridge for communication with the Egyptians.

It is not expected that Petosiris would criticize, on his biography, the Macedonians whom he is working with, but rather the state of the country during the Persian occupation and before their arrival. If he had clearly expressed, through his biography or any other element of his tomb, his rejection and resistance to the Macedonian invasion to Egypt, he would have faced countless problems, including exempting him from his position and even damaging his tomb. Expressing a resistance will be surely understandable for those who would come to visit his tomb which could be transferred to the foreign ruler and thus a threat to his position. In contrary, there was a clear agreement between Petosiris and the Macedonians who left him to be an agent responsible for the transition from chaos to order and to make a temple foundation ritual, "stretching of the cord", which was only carried out by the king.[47]

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[45] Lichtheim 1980, p. 47.
[46] McCoskey 2020, p. 143.
[47] Karkowski, J. (2016), "'A Temple Comes to Being': A Few Comments on the Temple Foundation Ritual." *Études et Travaux* 29, p. 113.

It is possible that Petosiris wanted to show himself playing some royal roles that he boasts and is proud of achieving them. Baines suggests that the main goal of Petosiris' biography "is to indicate his almost royal role as a restorer and builder of monuments in his nome."[48] It seems that Petosiris wanted to elevate his position in the eyes of the readers of his biography in what can be explained as a self-pride. However, lowering the status of the foreign king or delegitimizing him could be so difficult because this could be simply revealed by the foreign rulers- especially that the tomb itself seems to be designed with the intention to be visited by people from different cultures.[49] This does not contradict Petosiris' desire to show the Egyptian culture more than any other foreign culture in order to maintain its existence and continuity, and this is evident in his interest in the construction and restoration of the Egyptian temples.

IV- THE STYLE OF ART IN THE TOMB

The decorations on the walls of Petosiris's tomb show hybrid style of Art. Despite the disparity of style between the chapel and the pronaos, the tomb's wall depictions adheres to traditional Egyptian subjects and their placement, insofar as possible, given the tomb's triple dedication.[50] The origin of most of subject matters of the scenes are an artistic legacy that can be traced in the funerary art in nobles' tombs of earlier ancient Egyptian eras like the Old and New Kingdoms. It is in the details such as costumes and tools and the way of representing the people, animal and objects that foreign effects can be found. Such change is natural because of the mixing between the Egyptian people and the foreign invaders. Even if the Egyptians rejected the foreigners as occupiers and outsiders, they were apparently influenced by some aspects of their life- this was evident through art in the tomb of Petosiris. In the following examples, the researchers will shade the light on the hybrid style of art and the details of some scenes to find out the reasons for representing some depicted elements and the artistic style itself.

The emphasis by scholars on the Greek and Egyptian elements in the tomb glosses over both the unique style of the tomb and the Persian interjections depicted on its decorations. By choosing to emulate the Egyptian architectural design of an Egyptian temple and by accessing Egyptian style and subjects for the decoration of the chapel of his father and brother,

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[48] Baines, J. (2004), "Egyptian Elite Self-presentation in the Context of Ptolemaic Rule." In W. V. Harris and G. Ruffini (eds.), *Ancient Alexandria between Egypt and Greece*, Boston: Brill, p. 45.

[49] McCoskey suggests that Petosiris is showing himself as a king in a manner that delegitimizes the foreign king: McCoskey 2020, p. 143.

[50] Venit 2016, p. 9.

Petosiris recalls the distant ancient Egyptian glory and the last native rulers of Egypt.[51]

The style of art in the pronaos: the decorations in the pronaos show significant Greek and Persian influence.[52] The depicted scenes of this part of the tomb are Egyptian traditional subject, such as the depiction of Petosiris while playing *Senet* game,[53] the bull sacrifice, cattle management, the harvesting of grapes and the production of wine, the metalwork and the agriculture scenes that have parallels dating back to the Old Kingdom.[54] At the same time, many Greek aspects can be traced in these scenes such as the Greek dresses, the frontal poses and the turning and twisting poses of some figures in different scenes. Besides, though the vintaging scene's show an Egyptian technique of pressing the juice from the grapes, the treatment of the figures is consistently Greek that can be seen in the musculature of the grape pressers, the style of the hair and the dress. Many of the technical details suggest that Greek artisans are responsible for these reliefs such as the turning and twisting poses and the musculature of the grape pressers.[55] By such representation, Petosiris wanted to show Greeks traditional features of their own art by the hands of native Greek artist.

One of the best scenes that can help us in analyzing the reasons behind the hybrid style of art are the metalwork scenes which are traditional Egyptian themes. One of these scenes is depicted on the north wall of the pronaos and shows the production of tomb equipment. At the west end of the wall, there are two registers showing metalsmiths (Fig. 2). Although these registers continued from bottom to top, they had a vastly different artistic characters. The lower register provides mostly ancient Egyptian traditional style of art that can be seen in the garments and the poses of workers while hammering the objects.[56] The upper register is different from the lower one as it contains a hybrid style of art which is dominated by a Greek and Persian influences. It shows artisans while chasing details into metal objects.[57] The background of the registers changed significantly from that

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[51] Venit 2016, p. 48.

[52] Robins, G. (2008), *The Art of Ancient Egypt. Cambridge*, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 247.

[53] Cherpion, N., Corteggini J. P., and Gout. J.-F. (2007), *Le tombeau de Petosiris ´a Touna el-Gebel. Relevé photographique*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, scene 27.

[54] Lefebvre 1923, pl. XIV.

[55] Venit 2016, p. 38.

[56] Some Old Kingdom and New Kingdom tombs show similar style in art see ; Davies, N. de G. & Gardiner, A.(1948), *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah*, London: Egypt Exploration Society, Pl. 55 & Davies, N. de G. (1943), *The tomb of Rekhmira at Thebes*, vol. II, N. Y., details from the scene on the Pl. XXIII.

[57] Cherpion & others 2007, scene 34, above.

of previous periods to a faded pale greenish-blue which is more closely related to the Hellenistic period.[58] The use of color here would have contrasted with the expected Egyptian traditional standards in the landscape. At the same time, some other changes could just be a result of the increasingly globalized world in Egypt such as the frontality exhibited by a scene showing wine production,[59] change Egyptian art completely.
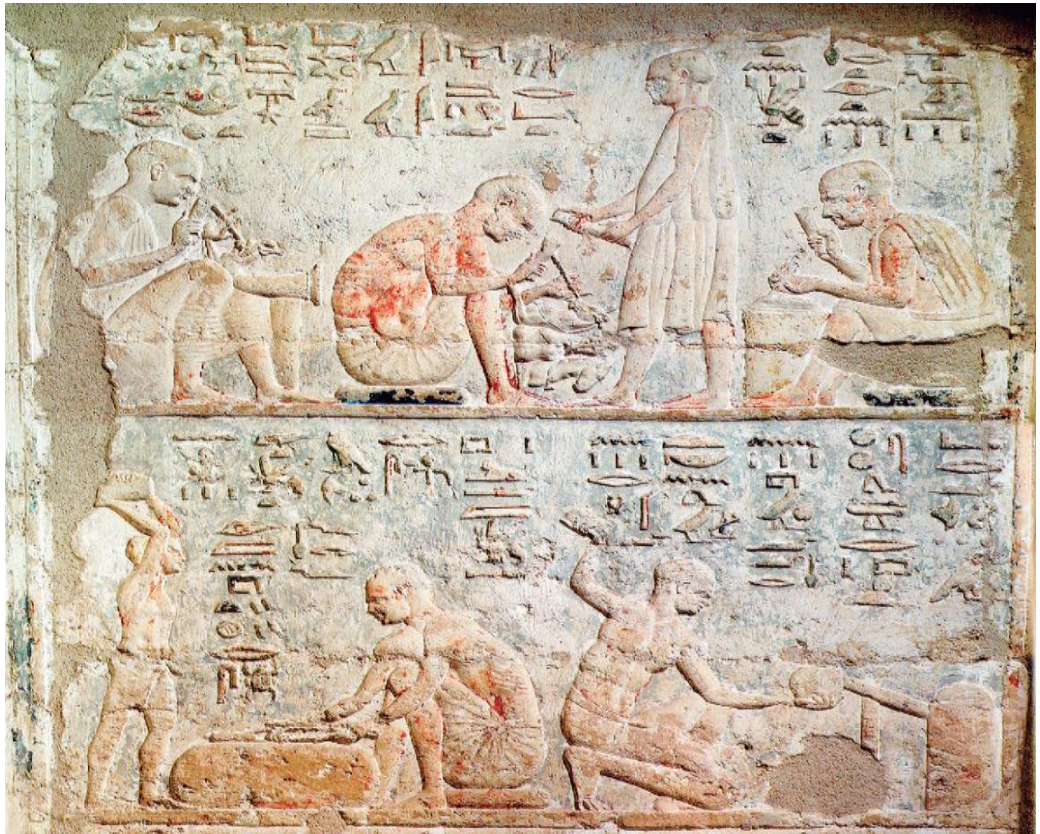

Fig. 2: Metalworkers, West End of the North Wall, Pronaos (After Lefebvre, 1923b, Pl. VII = Cf. Cherpion & others 2007, scenes 30, 31).

By analyzing the details of the upper register, it can be noticed that it contains three composite artistic features; Egyptian, Greek and Persian. The Egyptian feature is shown by the subject of the scene itself which is a traditional artistic funerary theme adopted by the ancient Egyptians since the Old Kingdom. The seated smith on a cushion directly in front of the standing supervisor takes also the Egyptian style in garment and in pose. His stomach as well overlaps his loincloth as in the Pharaonic period

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[58] Simpson, W. K. and Smith, W. S. (1999), *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 240.
[59] Cherpion & others 2007, scene 56.

representations.[60] The Greek feature appears in most of the garments worn by two out of three smiths and their supervisor. For example, this latter wears Greek-styled chiton which is a typical Greek garment consisting of a piece of fabric folded in half vertically and belted at the waist – that falls in Greek-style folds. The smiths in the extreme sides of the register wear a Greek garment possibly the exomis, a Greek worker's garment that was fastened over one shoulder, leaving the other arm free for physical labor. The rhyton maker's left leg is pushed forward to steady the vessel in his lap, pulls the fabric, which stretches between his legs in a manner taken from Greek representations. The bowl maker's garment has clearly the Greek folds that can be seen on its back. The Persian feature is manifested in two objects; the Persian-type rhyton and the three-horse protome, which is as the rhyton, bears reminiscences of Persia.[61] Both examples of material culture are not previously represented in ancient Egyptian tombs.

Metalwork scenes are also represented in four registers (Fig. 3) in the second intercolumniation that may be read sequentially from bottom to top. The lowest register shows the manufacture of Persian objects that includes a columnar structure that includes horses' shapes.[62] Two Persian-type rhyton can also be seen; one is in the hand of a boy who shows it to the foreman while the cup of other rhyton is being manufactured by another worker. The second register from the bottom depicts a man working on what seems to be an Achaemenid Persian lion rhyton.[63] Beside this Persian feature, the scene contains different styles of Greek garments such as an exomis, worn leftmost polisher, and a *himation* which is a long Greek overgarment worn by the foreman.[64] The lower part of this latter's garment hangs in Greek-inspired omega and zigzag folds. The register above shows the weighing of the manufactured vessels.[65] Here again, the Greek garments are dominant character as the right-hand overseer wear a himation and the other a two-piece garment, with the upper one having a crenelated border. Three standing workers wear Greek chitons while the two other sitting workers wear loincloths or tunics, mostly Egyptian style. The upper register shows workers handing over manufactured funerary equipment for the tomb of Petosiris, including a Persian-type rhyton, made

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[60] See figures in the relief from the grave of Ptahemhat, 18th Dynasty, ca. *1340* (Berlin *12411*; Priese, K.-H. (1991), *Agyptisches Museum.* Mainz: Philipp von Zabern: *136– 137,* cat. no. *82*); Ptahmai in the figure group of Ptahmai, Berlin *2297*, ca. *1250–1200* (*150– 151,* cat. *no. 90*).

[61] Lefebvre 1923, pl. VII.

[62] Cherpion & others 2007, scene 38, above.

[63] Cherpion & others 2007, scene 36, below.

[64] Venit 2016, p. 21.

[65] Cherpion & others 2007, scene 36, middle.

by artisans to be put in a box.[66] As usual in these registers, the shortened or long tunics (or chitons) of the depicted characters has the Greek style that can be seen in the form of the folds. The second register from the top shows, the way of weighing and delivering the manufactured items which is a pure Egyptian artistic style, appeared largely in the New Kingdom nobles' Theban tombs.

Fig. 3: The transportation and stocking of jewelry, weighing, polishing and tuning of the metals, Pronaos (After Lefebvre, 1923, Pl. VIII = Cherpion & others 2007, scenes 33-36).

In the east section of the north wall, the woodworking scenes contains two men are shown at a lathe carving a colonette terminating in a papyrus capital that can be seen as a part of headrest carried by a standing worker. This scene shows the earliest known depiction of wood-turning in Egypt.[67]

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[66] Cherpion & others 2007, scene 36, above.

[67] Cherpion & others 2007, scene 43, below. See Killen, G. (2000), "Wood [Technology]," in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw, eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 357. Baines (2004: 46) points out that much of the industry is of its period and specifically points to lathe-turning, which he says was unknown in Dynastic Egypt. He is not entirely correct; see Killen 2000, p. 357, who says that the precise date of the turning of wood is unknown.

The wood-turning is maybe a contemporary technical innovation and therefore reflected on the art of the tomb. The headrest style seems to be new as well.

To the east of the doorway, one of the interesting depictions is for the manufacture of a lion-headed and footed bed by three men who are supervised by foreman.[68] This 'lion-bed' is considered one of the most important artistic features in the tomb as through it the artist merged Egyptian, Greek and Persian cultural elements. It resembles a Greek kline that contained the same long deep horizontal crosspiece of this type of beds and was also decorated with Greek-type sphinxes.[69] Besides the Greek features, a Persian-appearing ibex-horned lions are shown on the top of the bed. The reason behind putting such object is unexplained as it is difficult to use them as head and foot cushions because of their knifelike ears and pointed horns. The artistic elements included in this bed are in keeping with the chronological context that include foreign rule of the country during which the tomb owner lived. The 'lion-bed' is a vehicle of cultural incorporation between the diverse cultures of this era which Petosiris voluntarily wanted to show for the all visitors of his tomb.
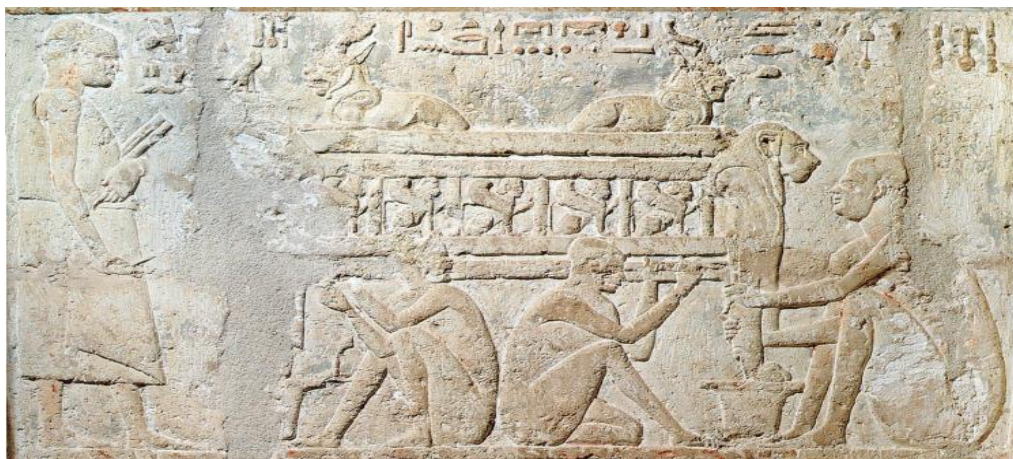

Fig. 4: Woodworkers with Lion-Bed, Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, the North Wall, East End, Pronaos (After Lefebvre, 1923b: Pl. X = Cherpion & others 2007, scene 47-50).

By reviewing the scenes of industries, different Persian elements appeared in the walls of pronaos such as 1) the animal headed rhyta during its manufacturing process, 2) the Persian-appearing ibex-horned lions of the 'lionbed,' and 3) the horse protomes in the metalworkers scene in the

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[68] Cherpion & others 2007: scene 50, above.
[69] Picard, C. (1931), "Les influences étrangères au tombeau de "Petosiris: Grèce ou Perse?", *BIFAO* 30, p. 219.

pronaos of the tomb. These Persian elements coupled with the Greek style that many of the figures of the pronaos assume – encapsulate the lifetime of Petosiris, himself, which extends from the second period of Achaemenid reign in Egypt until the reign of a later successor of Alexander the Great, as his inscribed biography attests.[70]

In the south wall of the pronaos, the style and the treatment of the scene's subject of sacrifice of a bull (Fig. 5) are largely depending on the Hellenic style which appeared in the different elements such as the Greek garments, hairstyles and the poses of the figures. These stylistic elements contrast the Egyptian model of bull sacrifice scenes, even the one included in the funeral scene of Sishu in the chapel. However, some minor Egyptian elements were included in the scene such as the offering of two ducks which is a perfectly Egyptian element and has no place in Greek votive imagery. The gesture of the veiled woman also seems to be Egyptian than Greek gesture. Despite the big number of the Greek formal elements in this scene, the shown moment remains Egyptian, because in Egypt the sacrifices help the deceased in achieving the eternal life.[71]

Fig. 5: Sacrifice of bulls, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, the South Wall, Bull (After Lefebvre 1923–24, vol. III, pl. XIX).

What can be concluded that the artist preserved the most of basic Egyptian artistic principles and norms that preserved the harmony of the whole image of the pronaos. Despite some few exceptions, the shown figures were mostly represented in Classical Greek (or Greek-like) dress and in some cases in traditional Egyptian (or Egyptian-like) costume. The pronaos was designed for reflecting the globalized world in which

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[70] Menu 1998, p. 247.
[71] Venit 2016, p. 42- 46.

multicultural identities lived in. Petosiris wanted to make an artistic model that englobes Egyptian, Persian and Greek elements which would make him accepted by different cultural identities composing the Egyptian community. It seems that he wanted them to come and visit his tomb.

The style of art in the chapel: the organization of the decorative and epigraphical programs in the chapel is cleverly designed and is structured and arranged mostly as in earlier Egyptian tombs date back to the New Kingdom.[72] Each wall is divided into four friezes, with the register scheme respecting the traditional format of the Egyptian pictorial representations, which maintains ma'at "in this world and the next."[73] The scenes and included figures on the lateral walls draw the visitor's eye as traditional style of art in Egyptian funerary chapels.[74]

The chapel differs dramatically from the pronaos, consisting of almost exclusively Egyptian decorative style and iconography, except for the lowermost register of the western and eastern wall, that depicts the procession of offering bearers in a mixed Graeco-Egyptian style and iconography which resemble the daily-life scenes of the pronaos. Here, the hybridization was placed in the bottom register, usually the least important in Egyptian relief, and the figures only bring offerings for the deceased.[75] The lowest register of the east wall shows a traditional depiction of men and women carrying offerings to Sishu (Fig. 6).[76] Those people were distinguished by their facial features, hairstyle, and dress characterizing the ethnically diverse population of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Different cultural identities; Libyans,[77] Ethiopians or Nubians,[78] and Greeks[79] are coming with offerings and gifts that confirms the idea of the globalized world that Petosiris wanted to show. They carry vessels, oryxes, ibexes, and bovids,

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[72] For further information about the organization of the inscriptional program see Menu, B. (1996). "Le tombeau de Petosiris (3). Culpabilité et responsabilité," *BIFAO* 96: 343–357, p. 348, 350 ; Venit 2016, p. 46-47.

[73] Dodson, A., and S. Ikram. 2008. *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt: Royal and Private Sepulchres from the Early Dynastic Period to the Romans*. London: Thames & Hudson, p. 77.

[74] Dodson & Ikram 2008, p. 82.

[75] Cherpion & others 2007, scene 93.

[76] Some New Kingdom tomb show similar scene's subject like Menna; Hartwig, M., ed. 2013. "The Tomb Chapel of Menna (TT69)," in *The Art, Culture, and Science of Painting in an Egyptian Tomb*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.: figs. 2.15a and b. for more about the New Kingdom funeral procession scenes see; Zienelabdein, M. (2016), *The Funeral Procession: A Comparative Study between Saqqara Old Kingdom and Theban New Kingdom Private Tombs*, unpublished dissertation of PhD, Minia University.

[77] Cherpion & others 2007, scene 146, above and detail below.

[78] Cherpion & others 2007, scene 139, above.

[79] Cherpion & others 2007, scene 145, above.

bouquets of flowers, lotuses, fruit and others. By showing these different foreign people in the chapel and before in the pronaos, Petosiris confirm his adoption to the globalized world and his desire that people from all cultures come and visit his tomb to make offerings for him.

Having this hybrid style in a limited way inside the chapel can be explained by the possible start date of decoration which was prior to the pronaos and during a prior date to the Greek occupation. However, it seems that Petosoris' intention was mostly to preserve the traditional Egyptian style concerning the afterlife and the funerary rites. At the same time, in an intelligent way and for those foreigners who could enter into the chapel, he placed the hybrid procession of offerings in the lowest register which could be a part of the world of the living as the naos' depictions. Therefore, these scenes will not break the rules and traditions of depictions of the rites of passage and will not affect the goal of the deceased in reaching the other world.[80] Concerning the more important funeral and religious scenes relating to the afterworld, they were placed in the upper registers. For Example, traditional depictions include scenes of the twelve hours of night[81] and a highly standardized funeral using traditional objects.[82]
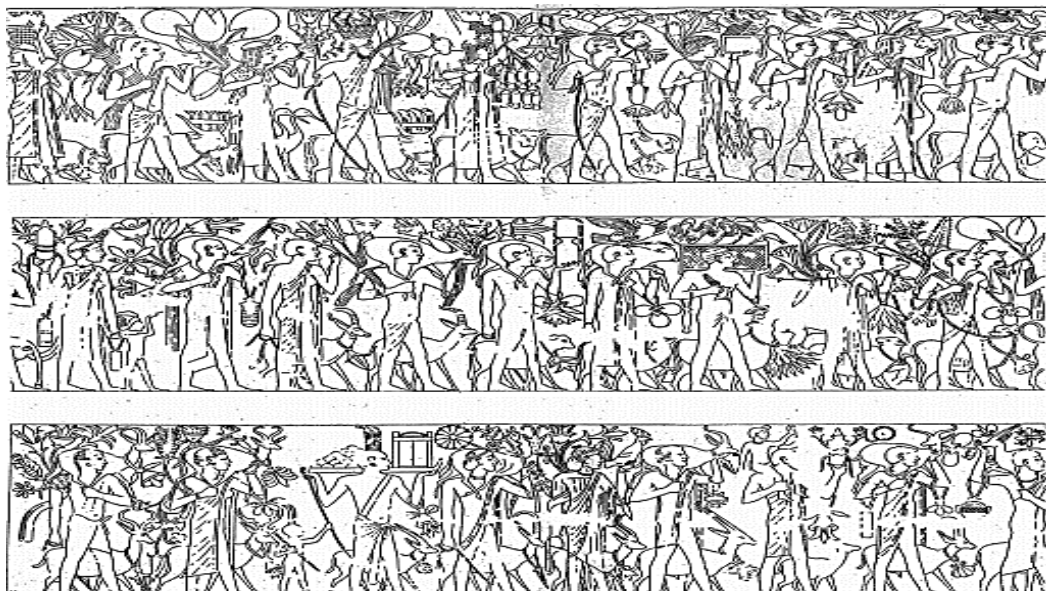

Fig. 6: Porters of Offerings to Sishu, the East Wall, the Lowest register, Chapel (After Lefebvre 1923–1924, vol. III: pl. XXXV)

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[80] It can be assumed that offerings can be presented by anyone, whatever his origin, to any deceased. The offering would
[81] Cherpion & others 2007, scene 86.
[82] Cherpion & others 2007, p. 129-135.

On the lowest register of the east side of the north wall (Fig. 7), there is an Egyptian traditional scenes, usually depicted on the north wall of the Egyptian tomb chapel,[83] depicting a cattle provide the activity in a marsh full with water plants – papyruses and lotuses while some birds snatch fish out of the water. Many details of the scene are common in the Old Kingdom scenes such as the mating between a bull and a cow, a cow licks its calf, a newborn suckles at its mother's teat and the birds that catch fishes from the water.[84]

Fig. 7: Cattle scene, the East Side of the North Wall, Lower Register, Chapel (After Lefebvre 1923–1924, vol. III, pl. XXVI).

Other Example of the typical Egyptian style of art can be seen in the east wall which shows the funeral procession of Petosiris' father. In this scene, many funerary officials preceded by *sem*-priest perform the opening of the eye and mouth rituals.[85] This *sem*- Priest is identified as Teos, the grandson of Sishu. He pours water over the standing mummy of the deceased before him. Behind the mummy, the tomb topped with a pyramidion like in many scenes of the New Kingdom Theban elite tombs.[86] The sacrifice of the bull, the way of butchering and offering its left foreleg (*xpS*) (Fig. 8) during the funerary rituals for the deceased is a usual depiction dating back to the Old Kingdom.[87] It also resembles the depicted funerary ceremony on

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[83] Dodson & Ikram *2008*, p. *82*.

[84] See also Cherpion & others 2007, p. 103, scene 84.

[85] Besides, the funerary equipment, the accompanying text confirms the rituals see Lefebvre 1923–1924, vol. I: p. 131–132.

[86] See the Ninetieth Dynasty papyrus of Ani (Faulkner, R. O., Goelet, O. and Von Dassow, E.,(1994), *The Egyptian book of the dead: the book of going forth by day: the first authentic presentation of the complete Papyrus of Ani; featuring integrated text and full color images*, Chronicle Books.).

[87] See also examples from the New Kingdom as the tomb of Menna, the sacrifice and purification of the bull (Hartwig 2013: figs. 2.8a & b) and of Nakht (Shedid, A. G., Seidel M. (1996), *The Tomb of Nakht. The Art and History of an Eighteenth Dynasty Official's Tomb at Western Thebes*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, p. 34).

papyri of the Book of the Dead and elsewhere. It is clearly a traditional Egyptian style of art that appeared in earlier models.[88]

Fig. 8: The Funeral of Sishu, the East Wall, Chapel (After German Archaeological Institute, Cairo F-21080).

Again, on the east wall of the chapel, another part of the funeral procession scene represents three officials pull a wheeled cart that carries a papyrus boat bearing a catafalque- shrine containing Sishu's mummy (Fig. 9).[89] In front of the cart, an official turns back toward the cart to burn incense for the deceased. In general, showing the transportation of the deceased and making rituals during the funeral ceremonies are very traditional depictions in the tombs of the elites from the Old Kingdom onwards.[90] However, carrying the deceased on a wheeled cart is not a common representation in Pharaonic times while it is the main transportation mean of the mummy in the Graeco- Roman tombs' scenes.[91] During the Pharaonic periods, the sledge was common main of transporting the body on the scenes which can

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[88] Venit 2016, p. 10.

[89] The scene do show only two wheels rather than four but logically the weight of the catafalque has to be carried on four wheels. The design of the wheels is attractive and practical as each wheel has eight-spokes that ends with a papyrus form where it meets the felloe. Additionally, the exterior part of the felloe is studded help to overcome the desert sand and shale.

[90] One of the best examples of transporting the body come from the funeral procession of the 19th Dynasty tomb of Nakhtamun's; See Davies, N. de G. & Gardiner 1948, A., *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah,* London, pl. 25.

[91] For more about the representations of the wheels see: Köpp-Junk, H. (2016), "*Wagons and Carts and Their Significance in Ancient Egypt*" in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 9, p.14-58.

be explained by its religious significance known from Chapter 30 of the Opening of the Mouth rite. The deceased thought to be raised upon a sledge to Heaven. It had also a symbolic connection with the god Atum.[92]
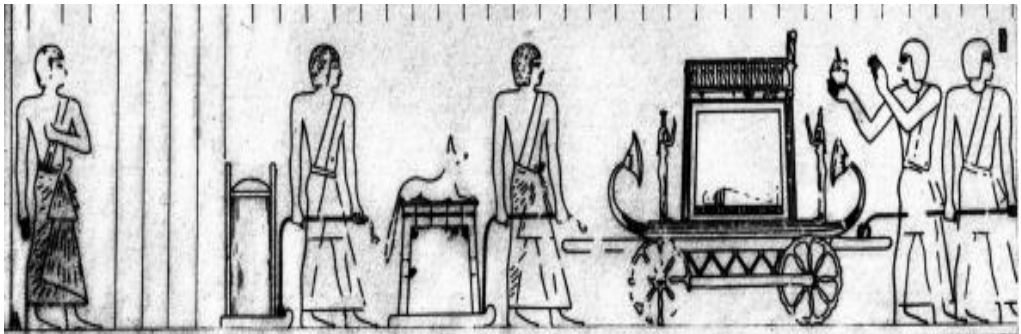

Fig. 9. Transporting the mummy of Sishu, East wall, Chapel. (After Lefebvre 1923–1924, vol. I: Pl. XXXIV)

CONCLUSION

The political situation played an important role in creating the style of the tomb of Petosiris. The construction of the tomb passed by periods of foreign powers that influenced the intention of its owner, Petosiris, and thus its style. However, through this example, it can be confirmed that the Egyptians maintained a general continuity in expressing their identity and cultural concepts during these periods of foreign occupations and the changes were not radical and mostly in the details for specific political and social goals.

Although that the political situation was not stable during the foreign occupation of Persians and the beginning of the Macedonian reign, some priests enjoyed high positions during these periods. The foreign rulers used these priests in political purposes for keeping stability in the country and creating a connection point between them and Egyptians who trust their priests. Petosiris and before him members of his family had held high positions during successive periods of foreign occupation that prove a strong relation with them. For that, Petosiris was not need to resist Ptolemies or the Persians as he worked with them. The political and social context refer to the different cultures live side by side during the time of the tomb's construction which is reflected in the deliberate hybrid style of the tomb and its main components.

The reasons behind the hybrid style of Petosiris' tomb can be understood by analyzing three main elements; the architectural design of the tomb, the

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[92] Foucart, G., "Tombes thébaines: Nécropole de Dirâʿ Abûʾn-Nága. Le tombeau d'Amonmos (tombeau no. 19)" in *MIFAO* LVII, Le Caire, 1932.

decorations and the epigraphical texts. Petosiris followed the Egyptian norms through the architectural design, referring to the last native rulers of the country, most of the scenes' subjects in the pronaos and the chapel and the biographies. By this, he wanted to follow the Egyptian criteria in making a successful funerary sphere leading to a peaceful afterlife. In parallel, he created a hybrid style of art showing a globalized world, through the pronaos and the details of its decorations and the horned alter, that attracts diverse cultural identities. The tomb affirms itself as an Egyptian monument passed by transitions of powers and each element in it was made for a reason serving its owner.

Petosiris knew that processions, most likely, with multicultural identities pass nearby his tomb for that he established a pronaos showing a globalized world through a hybrid art that attract Egyptians, Greeks and Persians. He designed the chapel with traditional standards that preserve the Egyptian cultural identity and guarantee an Egyptian eternal afterlife for him and his family. Keeping the traditional Egyptian style can not be a resistance for the foreigners but rather a fidelity to the Egyptian religious thoughts and an expectation to Egyptian audience who would visit this part of the tomb as the priests, the prophets of Thoth, and the scholars.

The biography of Petosiris contains some texts referring to the construction of the tomb during the Greek era. In this biography, Petosiris shows his acceptance to the Ruler-of-foreign-lands (mostly Philip Arrhidaeus) by describing him as "Protector". It can be assumed that he had a strong relation with the foreign occupiers that enabled him to be appointed in an administrative religious position to help them in Egypt's recovery after a time of instability. At the same time through the text, he showed himself loyal to the Egyptian beliefs by causing rituals to be conducted on time by the priests, restoring temples, and making a temple for the god Ra. Petosiris showed himself also as a patriotic who care for the Egyptians and their interests.

The freedom given to Petosiris by the foreigner occupier in creating a suitable religious environment for the Egyptians reflects a mutual relationship of understanding between both parties. Petosiris was given all powers, in what concerns the religious practices, for satisfying the religious desires of Egyptians and for being their "accepted chief" who facilitates dealing with them. Through this, he would be a link for protecting the stability of the country for occupier and the free practice of religious and funerary beliefs of the Egyptians.

Reading some passages in the biography as resistance can not be correct as Petosiris was trying to go along with the occupier and to be a mediator

between them and the Egyptians for the benefit of his compatriot and his personal interest. Mentioning that he restored temples, caused rituals to be conducted on time and made the temple foundation ritual "stretching of the cord" as the kings can be a self-pride and a way to show Egyptians his effective role as a representative for them during the difficult times of occupation. Nodding and alluding to rejection, through these acts, would be definitely understandable and could not simply pass unnoticed by the foreign rulers and their collaborators. This has to be excluded because of its possible serious consequences upon Petosiris' position and tomb. It is rather a pride of his role in protecting the Egyptian culture and its continuity.

The decoration in the tomb of Petosiris includes mostly Greek and some Persian elements that were added to ancient Egyptian decorative traditional subjects known in the tombs of the nobles from the Old Kingdom. The art style in this tomb is a true mirror reflecting the surrounding social and political conditions in which Petosiris lived in and tried to adapt through a hybrid style. The choice of the style was intentionally made for expressing multicultural environment of Egypt. Although the Egyptians resisted the occupiers, they depicted some elements related to them as a natural influence and as a way to adapt a globalized world. The change of art style was natural as the Egyptian people and the foreigners were living together.

The pronaos conserved most of basic Egyptian artistic norms that kept the harmony of its whole image. Classical Greek (or Greek-like) dress and sometimes traditional Egyptian (or Egyptian-like) costume were shown. The Egyptian traditional subjects are shown as bull sacrifice, production of wine, metalwork and agriculture that parallel Old Kingdom scenes. Greek style in the details of some scenes can be seen as the frontal poses and the turning and twisting poses of some figures. Some technical details such as the musculature of the grape pressers in the vintaging scene indicate that Greek artisans were responsible for some reliefs. Persian influence can be observed in some objects like Persian-type rhyton and the three-horse protome. Through the scenes of industries, the artist succeeded to present a globalized world, including traditional Egyptian subject with Greek and Persian details. By the hybrid style on all the scenes of the pronaos, Petosiris aimed at placating and sympathizing with the foreigners and his compatriots. He wanted to show the Egyptian globalized world in which multicultural identities lived in and accepted by all these cultures identities that would visit by his tomb.

In the chapel, the arrangement of decorations and epigraphical texts follows the usual Egyptian structure, known in earlier Egyptian tombs. Petosoris kept the traditional Egyptian style for the scenes related afterlife

and the funerary rites. The hybridization was only placed on the lowermost register of some walls that shows a procession of offering bearers as that in the pronaos as it is a part of daily life scenes. This procession would address the foreigners who may enter the chapel and would not affect his funerary beliefs. A conceptual difference between the chapel and the Pronaos can be seen in the bull slaughtering which present a pure Egyptian style in the chapel and a largely Hellenized style on the pronaos.

Through the design, biography and decoration of the tomb, Petosiris wanted to confirm firstly his loyalty to his Egyptian origin and construct a good relationship with the foreign rulers for serving his nation. This was achieved by creating two different spheres; a globalized one represented in the pronaos and an Egyptianized one represented in the chapel. This can be explained as a resilience with the foreigner rulers and a desire to create an accepted funerary artistic design showing the Egyptian globalized world of that time. Preserving the traditional decorative and epigraphical style in most of the chapel is not a resistance to the foreigner rulers, especially that there are some scenes showing an intentional hybrid style. Petosiris intention was purely dogmatic, as he wanted to preserve the traditional religious character that guarantees safe access to eternal life by keeping away the more ritually sphere from the radical changes.

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