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Chapter 4

Cultural manoeuvring in the elite tombs of Ptolemaic Egypt

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Introduction

Tombs embody transition: the movement from life to afterlife. In ancient Egypt, wealthy individuals and families often took great care to build tombs that not only memorialised this transition, but also worked to safeguard their memories in a world that was itself undergoing rapid change. Building and decorating a tomb was a reflexive process in which the patron gave meaning to the present by projecting a vision of the future. But how did patrons mould that vision when the present was in a state of flux and the future thus uncertain? Particularly sensitive to these periods of transition were members of the elite class since their status, influence, and wealth were potentially at stake when political and administrative control changed hands. Maintaining one's position within a changing milieu – and thus ensuring a prosperous future for oneself and one's family – might require cultural manoeuvring that sought to balance the old and the new. Such manoeuvring is prominent in funerary art from Egypt's Ptolemaic period (*c.* 323–30 BC), when the Macedonian successor dynasty of Alexander the Great ruled the region. Rather than passively submitting to change, elites participated in and shaped sociocultural transformations by creating hybridising art that combined Egyptian and Greek traditions (Riggs 2002, 98).[1]

In order to demonstrate the geographic and temporal diversity of Graeco-Egyptian hybridisation in Ptolemaic funerary art, this essay explores hybridising self-presentation in elite Ptolemaic tombs, concentrating on three case studies from different regions of Egypt and different phases of the dynasty: the 4th century BC tomb of Petosiris at Hermopolis, a 3rd century BC Alexandrian tomb, and the late Ptolemaic/early Roman tomb of Siamun in the Siwa Oasis.[2] Detailed descriptions of these tombs have been published elsewhere, so I focus on a specific scene (or sequence of scenes) from each tomb's decorative programme that depicts how the owner and/

or his family engaged in funerary rituals.[3] This sampling is representative of the ways in which elites used tomb art to look simultaneously to the past (turning to Egyptian traditions from earlier periods) and to the present and beyond (finding new ways to develop existing Egyptian trends and incorporate increasing Hellenistic influences). These tombs all incorporate elements drawn from the Egyptian and Greek spheres, but they achieve their hybridising efforts in diverse ways, each of which enacted the identity, agenda, and personal preferences of the owners. I explore how we might understand the cross-cultural nature of these scenes as an agent of identity transformation, particularly against the backdrop of a space that itself served as the locus for transition from one state of being to another.

Hybridisation and identity in Ptolemaic Egypt

Two key concepts for the present discussion – *hybridisation* and *identity* – both require operational definitions. "Hybridity," a biological term denoting the mixing of species, was adapted in postcolonial theory to describe cross-cultural encounters (Bhabha 1994; Papastergiadis 1997; Ashcroft *et al.* 2007, 118). But the term's nature and varied uses in different disciplines (Silliman 2015) have led some scholars to raise objections. The term's use to describe interactions between cultures – rather than, for instance, individuals or groups – in colonial contexts has been criticised as overly broad (Tronchetti and van Dommelen 2005, 193; Fahlander 2007, 29–31). For some, the term also implies a presupposition that cultures begin as homogeneous bounded wholes and that there is some original state of cultural purity for both the colonisers and the colonised (Friedman 1995, 73; 1997, 72–771; van Dommelen 2006; Isayev 2010, 203). Finally, "hybridity" has become so generalised and widely applied that it has arguably lost any rigorous meaning (Pieterse 2001). For these same reasons scholars have likewise questioned the ultimate usefulness of terms related to "hybridity," like "syncretism" and "creolisation" (Stewart 1999, 42–9; Malkin 2003; 2004, 358–9; Gosden 2004, 69; Silliman 2015).

A slightly adjusted deployment of the concept is thus needed to retain it as a useful analytical tool. "Hybridity" is most successful when used to investigate the nuances of interaction and exchange at all levels (looking beyond the macro-social level to the everyday contact between people on the ground) in specific localised contexts (moving away from the idea that only the colonised, indigenous population was made hybrid), and understood as a process or set of practices (Stockhammer 2012, 48; 2013, 12–3; Silliman 2015, 286–8). Thus, Peter van Dommelen, in his work on the ancient colonisation of Sardinia, prefers the terms "hybridisation" or "hybrid practices" over "hybrid," as they denote processes engaged in by social actors (van Dommelen 1997; 2002; 2005; 2006, 139–40).[4] For the purposes of this essay, I will employ the term "hybridisation" as essentially the equivalent of "hybrid practices," as defined by van Dommelen and Michael Rowlands (2012, 28): "Everyday activities undertaken by people in a colonial situation, where a sustained co-presence of different groups and

communities enabled interaction in the broadest sense of the term and of sufficient intensity to encourage, or indeed force, some people to share and to recombine some of their practices."[5]

The key distinction between hybridisation and the static label "hybrid" is that the former focuses on continuing practices involving human agency, while the latter treats hybridity as an end result or state of being. As van Dommelen puts it, "the focus of hybridity must shift culturally predetermined identities toward the active construction of local identities on the ground in contact situations... these local identities represent a primary means for social actors to work out the relationships in new and evolving contact situations" (2006, 139). Ptolemaic Egypt provides an apt illustration of this process. In the early Ptolemaic period, a new "contact situation" formed as unprecedented numbers of Greeks settled in Egypt and a Macedonian dynasty took control of the region.[6] In the later Ptolemaic period, though contact between these groups was no longer new, their relations continued to evolve.

This situation can be understood as taking place in what Richard White has called the "middle ground" – the cultural territory (both physical and conceptual) shared by groups who occupy the same space. The middle ground is a territory of negotiation from which new meanings and practices arise (White 1991, x). Like "hybridity," the "middle ground" has also been applied to cross-cultural interaction in the ancient world (Malkin 2002; 2004, 358; Mairs 2011; Moyer 2011; Antonaccio 2013). Ian Moyer (2011) has already explored the concept's effectiveness as a construct for understanding Greek-Egyptian interactions in Ptolemaic Egypt. Examining two phenomena – the priestly decrees of the period and the honorific titles that connected elite Egyptians to the Ptolemaic court in the 2nd century BC – Moyer finds the middle ground particularly useful because it "replaces notions of unidirectional assimilation or nativistic resistance – models that generally presume separate, coherent, and discrete cultures – with an interest in the processes and results of generative interactions that involve the perceptions and reactions of both cultures" (2011, 116). He thus presents the middle ground as a promising alternative to discussions of the "Hellenisation" of Egypt(ians) under the Ptolemies.

Tombs act as well-preserved settings in which hybridising processes played out in a middle ground where multiple identities could be expressed. Identity in this sense is "the collective aspect of the set of characteristics by which something or someone is recognisable or known" (Hodos 2010, 3), including – but not limited to – categories such as biological ancestry, cultural affiliation(s), place of geographical origin, gender, profession, age, socio-economic status, religion, and language(s) spoken.[7] In Ptolemaic Egypt, identity could also include legal categories.[8] In the complex social milieu of this period, an elite individual had multiple social and cultural identities that s/he could take up and negotiate, rather than a single, static identity.[9] Indeed, recent work on social identity in antiquity has emphasised its plurality and fluidity (Díaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005, 1–2; Lahire 2011; Rebillard 2012, 1–8; Barrett 2017, 326). Ptolemaic elites did not manoeuvre between two fixed identities (Egyptian and Greek), but rather engaged

in a "range of identity strategies" (Hodos 2010, 20) that merged Greek and Egyptian elements in order to emphasise the presentations that best suited the situation at hand. For high-ranking individuals in Ptolemaic Egypt, socio-cultural identity could be crafted in ways that were not confined to one's cultural or ancestral origins, and instead were based more on choice and circumstance. Miguel John Versluys has shown how in Graeco-Roman Egypt the concepts of "Egyptian" and "Hellene" were largely matters of cultural performance (2010, 8–9). He distinguishes between *being Egyptian* and *doing Egyptian*, where "Egypt" existed as a cultural concept that anyone could adopt (Versluys 2010, 9–11). As we will see, the reverse could also be true: one could *do Hellenic* without *being Hellenic* in Ptolemaic Egypt. The case of the priest Petosiris, for example, demonstrates that one did not have to be Greek – or think of oneself as Greek – in order to adopt Greek codes and traditions. In approaching Ptolemaic art, therefore, one should ask first and foremost why a particular style was thought most fitting in a given context, and what advantage the patron might have seen in using it.

The tomb of Petosiris

The tomb of Petosiris, a High Priest of the god Thoth in the late 4th century BC, provides a remarkable example of hybridisation in the first years of Macedonian rule in Egypt (Lefebvre 1923–1924; Cherpion *et al.* 2007; Venit 2016, 5–49). The city in which Petosiris lived, Hermopolis Magna near modern el-Ashmunein in Middle Egypt, had long been an important centre of religious activity (Kessler 2001). The tomb is located outside the city in the necropolis of Tuna el-Gebel, and its above-ground structure served as a mortuary chapel for Petosiris, his brother, and their father (Lembke 2012).[10] Because the tomb could have been completed after Petosiris' death, and was used by multiple generations, it is best to consider the monument as a family endeavour in which Petosiris' descendants may have influenced its decorative programme. This fact, as well as the tomb's later re-use during the Roman period, means that the scenes discussed below were viewed repeatedly over a long period of time and may have been interpreted in various ways by different viewers.

The tomb has an inverted T-shaped plan, consisting of three major sections – façade, *pronaos*, and *naos* – each characterised by a different decorative scheme. While the façade and *naos* are fully Egyptian in character, several scenes in the *pronaos* were executed in a hybridising Graeco-Egyptian manner. Within these hybridising scenes, Petosiris himself is never depicted in any non-Egyptian way, but the figures performing the funerary rites show clear Greek influences in their style, subject matter, and iconography. The importance of Petosiris' Egyptian self-presentation finds its full meaning in relation to these Greek elements. Petosiris' choice of how to depict himself and his family displays the role he wanted for himself, one that responded to his changing environment through deliberate cultural manoeuvring via his funerary art.

As a member of a sacerdotal family in a major religious centre of Egypt, Petosiris faced the challenge of maintaining the traditions of his office while accommodating changes promoted by the new regime. The tension between these responsibilities is evident in both his tomb's decorative programme and its inscriptions. Indeed, the balance Petosiris strove to achieve is articulated in his autobiographical inscription in the *naos*, in which he presents himself as a figure of stability during a time of flux.[11] Petosiris states that he served as priest during the seven chaotic years while "the ruler of foreign lands (*heqa khaswt*) was protector in Egypt…." This title probably refers to Alexander's half-brother Philip III Arrhidaios, whose "Two Ladies" (*nebty*) name (one of five names forming a pharaoh's official titulary) was *heqa khaswt*.[12] Petosiris goes on to detail the ways in which he helped maintain the temples during this turbulent period, even founding new ones, a rite notionally reserved for the pharaoh (Lichtheim 2006, 49 n. 8). Despite his negative characterisation of these years, Petosiris emphasises his loyalty to the ruler as well as the ruler's reliance on him, saying "I was favoured by the ruler of Egypt, I was loved by his courtiers." Petosiris manages to simultaneously present himself as a guiding figure for his community during a foreign ruler's chaotic reign while also maintaining appropriate obeisance to that ruler. As we will see, this balancing act also plays out in the painted relief decoration of his tomb's *pronaos*.

Other inscriptions in Hermopolis also bore witness to Philip's reign. Although Philip never set foot in Egypt, his cartouche (and possibly also that of Alexander the Great) was inscribed in the *pronaos* or "Great Portico" of the city's temple to Thoth, which is no longer standing (Sethe 1904, 1–6 no. 1; Snape and Bailey 1988; Winter 2005, 209–10; Bosch-Puche 2013, 133–6, 142–8, 152; 2014). John Gardner Wilkinson visited the Great Portico in the early 19th century and recorded a scene on an interior architrave depicting two images of a king making offerings, with a kneeling figure behind him (Snape and Bailey 1988, pl. 49; Winter 2005, 210). Erich Winter speculates that this kneeling figure could be the High Priest of Thoth himself, Petosiris, shown serving Philip (2005, 210). Despite his physical absence, Philip was symbolically present through his inscribed name in the temple where Petosiris served.[13] This presence, and Petosiris' necessary deference to it, provide the background against which his self-presentation and that of his family should be considered.

Beyond Petosiris' autobiographical inscription, other aspects of the tomb emphasise the major role he played within his community. The tomb's location, along a processional route leading to a sanctuary where ibises may have been bred as part of the cult of Thoth, evokes Petosiris' importance and made the monument especially visible (Badawy 1956; Lembke 2010, 232 n. 9).[14] The architecture of the tomb has clear precedents in Late Period tomb chapels and in 30th Dynasty temples.[15] The limestone façade of the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis, begun under Nectanebo I and continued under Philip and Ptolemy I, bore close similarities to the façade of Petosiris' tomb.[16] This temple could well have served as the primary inspiration for the tomb layout, which seems to have been the first of its kind in the necropolis (Snape and Bailey 1988, 6; Cherpion *et al.* 2007, 2–3).[17] The tomb's evocation of temple architecture and

the façade's resemblance to Nectanebo I's local building projects raised Petosiris to an implied kingly status. The decoration of the structure's façade, whose sunken relief images show Petosiris making offerings to Egyptian deities in a manner quite similar to the way the pharaoh was represented on temple façades, took this implication one step further (Lefebvre 1923–1924, I: 45; Venit 2016, 19).

Situated between the Egyptian façade and *naos* – which was devoted to commemorating Petosiris' father and brother – the *pronaos*' decoration experiments with Greek influences and speaks most clearly to Petosiris' cultural manoeuvring.[18] Among its daily life scenes, showing agricultural and manufacturing activities associated with the temple estate, Petosiris appears in scenes that incorporate Greek iconography and figural poses, as well as a Greek manner of representing drapery, although in these scenes he is shown in a fully Egyptian rendering.[19] Particularly noteworthy is a sequence showing a grape harvest and wine-making, where the workers wear the Greek *chiton* or are nude and stand in a variety of poses, including a *contrapposto* stance for a nude young man picking grapes, a three-quarter view for several others, and true profile (as opposed to the Egyptian composite manner, with both shoulders visible; Cherpion *et al.* 2007, 56–63 scenes 56a–c). The attention to the musculature and movement of the nude male form here is characteristically Greek.[20] At the end of the sequence, workers carry the wine-filled vessels toward a scribe and the supervising figure of Petosiris, both of them dressed in Egyptian garments in contrast to the *chiton*-clad or nude workers. Unlike his workmen, Petosiris is shown in the composite manner, clasping his hands in front of him.[21] His head is shaved and he wraps a fringed shawl around his shoulders. His Egyptian appearance stands out in contrast to the non-Egyptian elements of this tableau. A similar contrast appears in a scene on the east wall of the *pronaos*, in which Petosiris supervises agricultural activities, again looking markedly different from his labourers, who wear Greek garments and are shown in a variety of non-Egyptian poses (Cherpion *et al.* 2007, 75 scene 60a). These scenes indicate that amidst political and social change, Petosiris unwaveringly maintains his traditional role and, along with it, the prosperity of his estate. His consistent self-presentation is in keeping with the picture presented by his autobiographical inscription.

While Petosiris is always shown in the Egyptian manner, the same may not be true for his wife and children. On the south wall of the *pronaos*, which contains the doorway to the *naos*, one encounters the tomb's most strongly Greek-influenced – and most enigmatic – scenes. The Egyptian-style middle registers on either side of the doorway depict Petosiris and his wife seated and receiving homage from their family: from their son and grandson on the east side, from their daughters on the west.[22] The accompanying hieroglyphic inscriptions contain speeches by the children.[23] Beneath these scenes is a sequence of funerary rituals rendered in a Graeco-Egyptian manner. Although the figures in this sequence are not captioned, they likely include Petosiris' family, performing the rituals in his honour (Török 2011, 64). The sequence, containing the same characters, thus provides a Hellenising counterpart to the Egyptian scenes

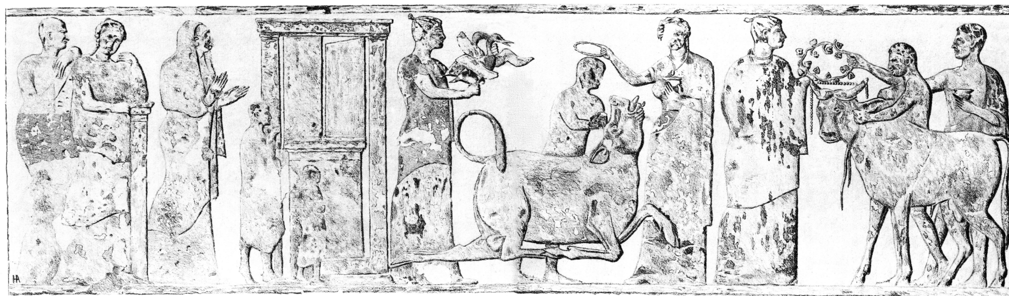

Fig. 4.1: Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, South Wall, Lower Register (after Lefebvre 1923–1924, III pl. XIX). © IFAO

above.[24] Here again, Petosiris engages in a manoeuvre to maintain his status while securing his family's future. He does not appear in the hybridising scenes (this would be at odds with his consistently Egyptian self-presentation throughout), but the juxtaposed depictions of his family members demonstrate a strategy of cultural flexibility.[25]

The lower left register of the wall shows an offering procession (Cherpion *et al.* 2007, 91–4 scene 72). The recipient, at the right end of the composition, is a woman wearing a long *chiton* and a *himation* draped over her natural hair. In the absence of an inscription or any identifying iconography, we can only speculate as to who she is. Lefebvre identified her as Petosiris' wife (Lefebvre 1923–1924, I: 107; Venit 2016, 39); she may be receiving offerings on behalf of her deceased husband. Török (2011, 64) suggests that she is a goddess or priestess. It is conceivable that she is in fact a conflation of both: Petosiris' wife performing the role of a protective goddess.[26] The procession is made up of men and women bringing an array of offerings. This scene bears similarities with offering processions on the east and west walls of the *naos*, scenes that are characteristic of 4th century BC Egyptian tomb chapels, but here the overall effect is more heavily Hellenising with its elongated figures and less crowded composition.[27] The artists seem to have utilised a contemporaneous scene type and incorporated Hellenising aspects, taking it in a new direction.

The lower right register of the wall contains a sequence of three groups of figures, each engaged in a related activity (Fig. 4.1). The narrative should be read from right to left: the scenes on both sides read inwards towards the doorway.[28] This sequence stands out as unique in comparison both to the other scenes in the tomb and other tomb art in Egypt at this time. In the first group of figures (at far right), two young men (one with a *himation* draped over his shoulder, the other perhaps nude) stand behind a bull adorned with a fillet as they lead it to sacrifice.[29] The draped youth holds a vessel in his hand that is similar in shape to the Achaemenid bowls introduced to Egypt. Elsewhere in the *pronaos*, craftsmen are shown fashioning *rhyta*, another vessel shape brought to Egypt from the Near East.[30] The incorporation of such iconography does not necessarily signal direct Persian influence in the tomb, but rather demonstrates

that once particular objects or iconography entered the Egyptian repertoire they could continue to be used and represented for a long time. A small bowl like this is also featured in a late 4th century BC marble relief found near Pella in Macedonia that shows a libation scene dedicated to the hero Hephaistion: a young woman pours a libation from an *oinochoe* and holds a bowl in her left hand that probably contained incense to be burned.[31] This is probably also the case with the bowls held by the participants in Petosiris' sequence of scenes, as incense-burning accompanied animal sacrifices.

The bull faces forward in a three-quarter view. The two young men approach a larger figure of a woman – perhaps a priestess overseeing the ritual – at the left, who wears a *himation* over a floor-length garment.[32] The larger of the two males extends an ivy wreath in her direction, probably to crown the bull's head. Similarly, in the procession scene on the east portion of the wall, one participant extends an ivy wreath to the wife/goddess figure.[33]

The middle group of figures shows the act of animal sacrifice, an unusual subject for both Egyptian and Greek funerary art. Greek depictions of funerary activities are typically devoid of sacrifices (although several features of this sacrifice scene have close parallels in non-funerary Greek depictions of animal sacrifices, including sacrifices to heroes, like the votive to Hephaistion mentioned above), while Egyptian ones show the animal already dead and being butchered (Venit 2016, 42–5).[34] Another priestess stands to the left, holding the feet of two struggling ducks and carrying a bowl like the one in the previous scene. In the centre, a nude young man forces the bull's head back with his left hand and prepares the knife with his right hand.[35] The animal has all four legs off the ground in an unprecedented manner of depicting a sacrificial animal in Egyptian art. Another priestess stands to the right in a view that is almost *en face*. Unlike the other women in these scenes, her forward profile is discernable beneath her clothing, and her pose is similar to that of the wife/goddess figure on the east wall. With her right hand, she extends a diadem toward the head of the man performing the sacrifice.

The final scene in this series shows a group of people processing towards an enigmatic structure that resembles an altar or *naos*, with Doric pillars and a door across the upper part with its right panel partially ajar. This scene may depict the family processing towards an altar – the location of the sacrifice.[36] Two small, cloaked male figures in the front – presumably Petosiris' grandson and son – are followed by his three daughters or his wife and two of their daughters (however, if his wife is depicted on the other side of the doorway as the recipient of the offering procession, then these three women could all be Petosiris' daughters). The first woman wears a veil draped over her hair (perhaps indicating that she is a widow in mourning and thus the wife, not a daughter) and she raises her hands. Behind her the second woman leans against a short Doric pillar; she twists her torso into a three-quarter view and bends her right knee as if in a *contrapposto* stance.[37] The third and final woman raises her arms to lean in a mournful pose against her sister's shoulder.[38] The unusual altar-like

structure the family moves towards is similar in appearance to the Doric doorways often painted on the slabs that covered *loculi* in Alexandrian tombs.[39] The structure's partially open door could symbolise the transition of the deceased as he is interred. If this is the case, then Petosiris' presence is indicated in the scene even though he is not explicitly depicted. In this way, the Graeco-Egyptian sequence of scenes avoids having to show Petosiris in a non-Egyptian manner while still signalling that he is the focus of the events taking place.

This entire sequence is unprecedented. Parallels for elements in the sacrifice scenes can be found in Macedonian and Attic votive reliefs, as well as in Classical vase-paintings, which could have been reinterpreted through indirect transmission to achieve new forms here.[40] The bull in the central Petosiris group is reminiscent of a scene from the north frieze, block 2 of the Parthenon in which a bull rears up and tilts its head back as it is led to slaughter (Neils 2001, 150–4; Delivorrias 2004, 89; Symeonoglou 2004, 11–6 figs. 1.7–1.14), although any direct influence from this rather earlier example seems highly unlikely. The depiction of the family processing towards an altar contains elements taken from Greek funerary *stelae*, including images of a family approaching an altar or the reclining figure of the deceased, which have been re-imagined in this setting.[41] A late 5th century BC funerary *stela* from Kameiros, Rhodes shows two young women, Krito and Timarista, who mirror the pose of the two sisters at the end of the Petosiris procession (Pfuhl and Möbius 1977–1979, 22–3, pl. 12 fig. 46; Fraser 1977, 8–9 n. 23 fig. 16a). Similar imagery could have either reached Egypt via portable objects, such as small votives, figurines, or painted pots, or been created by Greek artists working in Egypt who subsequently influenced Egyptian workshops. Egyptian patrons and artists, who associated animal sacrifice with mortuary (and temple) cult, may have felt that such motifs were appropriate subject matter to incorporate into a tomb setting, thus adopting Greek scene types and re-purposing them. An array of Greek motifs is combined in this set of scenes in a new, experimental form that suited the needs of this particular family.

Petosiris and his family chose to have certain scenes executed in a hybridising style in order to balance their concurrent need for stability and adaptability: Petosiris remains steadfastly Egyptian and maintains order, while his family (the future of his lineage) demonstrates flexibility. In these scenes, Greek influences are evident in content and composition, but the artists integrated these treatments into a sequence of scenes that otherwise remained largely Egyptian in their function – essentially serving the same purpose as pharaonic-era images of the deceased being presented with offerings of food and drink by his living relatives.[42] The arrangement thus situates the scenes within local religious practices despite their Hellenising appearance and adapts a foreign manner in such a way that it harmonises with the rest of the tomb decoration while still displaying marked differences. Irregularities in figural proportion and interior modelling in the Greek-influenced scenes, and the overall Egyptian character of the monument's architecture and decorative programme, indicate artists more familiar with Egyptian than Greek conventions. The artists used

elements of foreshortening and turns of the body taken from the Greek repertoire and incorporated them into an essentially Egyptian way of assembling a complete composition. The workshop in question may have done this because Petosiris (and/or his family members) commissioned them to stretch their capacities and attempt new forms and new interpretations of existing scene types.

The pattern of what survives is a poor guide for routes by which Petosiris' tomb artists might have developed their approach, so speculation about influences is necessarily hypothetical. Memphis is a likely centre where this Graeco-Egyptian style was developing, and it is conceivable that Petosiris employed Memphite workmen to decorate his tomb: in the Late Period, Carian and Ionian mercenaries living in Memphis had funerary *stelae* made that combined Egyptian and East Greek styles and inscriptions (Masson and Yoyotte 1956; Masson 1978; Gallo and Masson 1993; Kammerzell 1993; 2001; Höckmann 2001). A similar trend is evidenced in a *stela* that combined Achaemenid Persian and Egyptian elements (Mathieson *et al.* 1995). Thus, prior to the Ptolemaic period, Memphite workshops were already serving multicultural clienteles interested in expressing a fluid cultural identity through funerary art. Workshops in the area may have catered to similar demands in the Ptolemaic period, in this case for a combination of Egyptian and Hellenic influences.

The carefully planned way in which Petosiris and his family are depicted within the tomb reveals something of the family's strategy for maintaining their hereditary priesthood and its local authority. While Petosiris shows a willingness – perhaps even an eagerness – to embrace Greek elements in his tomb, overall the decorative programme and inscriptions emphasise his status as an Egyptian priest and local leader. These themes begin with the pharaonic allusions – appropriating traditional royal imagery – on the tomb's façade, continue through the demonstration of the prosperity of his estate in the *pronaos*' daily life scenes, and culminate in the *naos*, where his autobiographical inscription reminded the visitor that during a time of chaos he maintained order, propitiated the gods, administered the temple estate, and even founded and rebuilt temples. Petosiris strikes a balance between the need to accept the new Macedonian dynasty in Egypt, in which the pharaoh and the divine status of his office had ultimate authority over the priesthood, and the desire to maintain his role as keeper of ancient institutions and practices. But he is also a loyal servant of the new ruler, and he and his family are willing to engage in cultural manoeuvring to accommodate the socio-cultural transformation happening in Egypt.

The hybridising scenes in the tomb's *pronaos* are adjacent to fully Egyptian representations of Petosiris and his wife and children. With Egyptian scenes above, and hieroglyphic inscriptions framing the outer sides of the wall, the Graeco-Egyptian scenes are contained by their Egyptian context, while their location on the wall that would face the viewer immediately upon entering the tomb makes them immediately visible. The base register – in which these scenes are located – could often contain images that stepped outside of the stricter decorum that governed the main registers of Egyptian relief compositions.[43] This is true also for the offering bearer processions

on the base registers of the east and west walls in the *naos*. This juxtaposition of very different styles prompts the viewer to contemplate the family as culturally both Egyptian and Hellenic and not to see these two manners as mutually exclusive.[44] The family's Egyptian ancestry did not dictate their cultural self-presentation. In presenting themselves in the Egyptian manner in the larger, upper register but in a Greek-influenced manner in the register below, the family shows that they can both *do Hellenic* and *do Egyptian* at the same time.

During Petosiris' life, the Egyptian priesthood faced the dilemma of loyalty to an absent, non-Egyptian king and a desire to maintain their office and its religious and administrative power.[45] Petosiris' tomb art mitigates this uncertainty by incorporating both Egyptian temple traditions and artistic references to the new Greek rule. Petosiris was successful in navigating the changing socio-cultural and political landscape in Egypt; he served as High Priest in the late 4th century BC and weathered the enormous changes of that period. The hybridising decoration in his tomb displays his and his family's cultural manoeuvring as a necessary – perhaps welcome – survival strategy for this priesthood and Petosiris' own position therein, while his own self-presentation maintains his firmly Egyptian heritage.

Moustapha Pasha (Moustapha Kamel) Tomb I

Serving as a gateway between Egypt and the broader Hellenistic Mediterranean, the Ptolemaic capital city of Alexandria was cosmopolitan in character, with an extremely diverse population and rich intellectual life. Unlike established Egyptian cities, such as Hermopolis, that had entrenched traditions and roles within the Egyptian state, Alexandria was a newly founded Hellenistic *polis* whose inhabitants had the opportunity to fashion an identity for themselves and for their community. Alexandria's tombs reflect a multiculturalism that made use of both Greek and Egyptian traditions. Their architecture and decorative programmes are unlike those found elsewhere in Egypt, or indeed elsewhere in the Hellenistic world (see the examples in Fedak 1990; Venit 2002; 2016; McKenzie 2007; Landvatter 2013).

The monumental tombs of Ptolemaic Alexandria are *hypogea* (subterranean chambers), each entered by a rock-cut staircase.[46] The central court, open to the sky, contained an altar and a water well for sacrifices to the dead during the funerary rites. Several rooms surrounded the court, including a *kline* chamber containing a rock-cut couch on which the deceased could be laid. Other rooms contained rock-cut *loculi* to receive additional burials, which could consist of mummified inhumations or urns containing cremated remains. These *loculi* were sealed with slabs often painted to look like Doric doors but sometimes bearing painted figural scenes that resemble those found on Greek grave *stelae* (Brown 1957, 13–39; Adriani 1966, 112–7; Bozkhurt 1998). These tombs do not have direct antecedents in the Greek or the Egyptian traditions, although they took inspiration from both, including multi-chamber Egyptian rock-cut tombs, Greek peristyle buildings, and the use of *klinai* and the Doric order of

monumental Macedonian tombs.[47] They thus exemplify how hybridisation can result in novel forms that still bear distinct impressions of cultures that came into contact with one another.

Alexandrian tombs were both public and private monuments. Although subterranean, the open courtyard at each tomb's centre enabled viewers to look into it from above ground. The courtyard was also a performative space, in which funeral rites were conducted at the time of interment and where the family could commemorate the deceased in the continuing mortuary cult. The decoration of the courtyard in particular, therefore, made a public statement about those interred there. In the case of the particular tomb discussed here, its size and its use by multiple individuals over time meant that its decoration was viewed repeatedly after the first interment.

The elite tombs of Ptolemaic Moustapha Pasha (Moustapha Kamel), a necropolis located to the east of the city, are well preserved and published. The necropolis was first excavated by Achille Adriani in the 1930s.[48] Tomb I, of the 3rd century BC, is the largest and most elaborate in the necropolis, serving as a prime example of the form of tomb that developed in this location.[49] The bold architecture of the courtyard emphasises its performative function (Venit 2002, 37), with a painted frieze on the main wall providing clues about the identity and social status of the owner.

Like the other Alexandrian *hypogea*, the tomb is entered via a covered rock-cut staircase, which leads to the roughly square central courtyard. Ten rooms extend from the courtyard, all but one of them containing *loculi* for secondary burials. Adriani (1936, 15–44) and Marjorie Venit (2002, 50–61; 2016, 53–5) both describe the tomb at length; I focus here on the courtyard and its painted frieze, as this ritual area of the structure was its most visible one, and the frieze may contain the only surviving image of the tomb's primary occupant or his family. The walls of the court, which are decorated with partially fluted, engaged Doric columns and topped with a Doric entablature consisting of an architrave, a frieze of triglyphs and metopes, and a cornice, are closely similar to the facades of 4th century BC monumental Macedonian tombs.[50] Rising above the cornice was a storey of small plastered blocks, now destroyed save for a few remnants in the northeast corner (Venit 2002, 53). When the tomb was discovered, the courtyard altar still contained ashes, attesting to the performance of funerary rituals or to activities from the continuing cult after the initial burial (Adriani 1936, 19).[51]

The most striking architectural and decorative elements in the tomb are on the south wall, where three doorways lead to the main burial chambers (Venit 2002, 56 fig. 40–1, 57; Stewart 2014, 262 fig. 157). Each doorway is flanked on either side by a freestanding pedestal bearing a sculpted sphinx of Egyptian type with a detailed, traditional *nemes* headdress. Each of the three entrances is framed by a smaller doorway topped by a lintel and projecting short cornice. Painted motifs that took inspiration from Greek forms once decorated the doorframes.[52] An open space between the cornices and the upper entablature of the left and right doorways allows light into the interior chambers.

Fig. 4.2: Moustapha Pasha Tomb I, painted frieze over the central doorway of the south façade of the court (after Venit 2002, 57 fig. 42)

These dramatic entrances and their brightly coloured decoration would have made a marked impact, but the most prominent decorative aspect of the tomb is a figural frieze painted above the centre doorway on the south wall (Fig. 4.2).[53] The scene shows three men on horseback. Between them stand two women carrying *phialai* (shallow offering vessels) towards an altar situated to the left of the central rider. Most of the top layer of pigment has worn away, but traces reveal how brightly painted this frieze was, and the remaining black-brown outlines of the figures are still visible. J. J. Pollitt notes this frieze's indebtedness to Attic forms of the 4th century BC, as well as to Hellenistic and specifically Alexandrian developments (1986, 255). The scene probably represents a funeral ritual, or refers at once to military and funeral rites, mirroring the actions of the funeral participants in the courtyard.

The painting was applied to a layer of stucco covering the stone surface. The outlines of the figures were applied directly to the wet plaster – that is, in true fresco technique or *buon fresco* – which explains their survival where other colours have faded (Venit 2002, 55). The scene would have been coloured with a blue background, reddish skin for the men and pinkish for the women, garments of violet, yellow, and red, as well as a red altar and yellow vessels indicating gold or bronze (Adriani 1936, 110–1).[54] Thick shadow lines painted around the outline of each figure would have created a sense of depth when painted over with the blue background. Each woman wears a long *chiton* covered by a *himation* belted at the waist and drawn up over her head as a veil.[55] The men typically wear a short *chiton*, cuirass (torso armour), and woollen *chlamys* (cloak). The man to the far right wears boots or high-laced sandals and a Macedonian helmet with cheek-pieces and a crest. The two other men wear the *kausia* (a flat Macedonian hat) and all three are armed with swords. The three horses rear back on their hind legs. The elements of this painting – its execution, style, subject matter, and iconography – have antecedents in the paintings of the monumental Macedonian tombs and funerary *stelae* of the 4th century BC and are paralleled in several painted Alexandrian grave *stelae*.[56]

Both the presence of Macedonian cavalrymen and the performance of the libation indicate the high status of the tomb owner.[57] The frieze could reference a military connection, specifically an association with the Ptolemaic cavalry.[58] The rearing horses establish a link with Macedonian and Ptolemaic royal iconography. For instance, the hunt frieze above the Tomb of Philip II (Tomb II) at Vergina shows several riders on rearing horses, including the central figure whom some identify as Alexander the Great. On the Ptolemaic Raphia Stela, Ptolemy IV sits astride a rearing horse, commemorating his victory over the Seleukid king Antiochus III in 217 BC.[59] Other Ptolemaic cavalry officers were shown in similar ways in Alexandrian funerary art: a late 4th century BC painted *stela* for a Macedonian cavalry officer from the Shatbi necropolis shows him mounted on his rearing horse, his cape billowing behind him as he raises his spear (Rostovtzeff 1941, 150–1 pl. XIX.1; Brown 1957, 26 no. 21 pl. XI; Fischer-Bovet 2014, 130 fig. 4.4). There are other similar examples, one of which comes from the Hadra necropolis and shows the mounted officer wearing what looks like a Macedonian *kausia* (Breccia 1930, 106, 116 pl. XII; Brown 1957, 24–5 no. 16 pl. X).[60] Another, a 3rd century BC painted *loculus* slab from the Soldiers' Tomb in Alexandria's Ibrahimiya cemetery, commemorates a man named Pelopides from Thessaly, a region that produced many members of the Ptolemaic cavalry, and depicts a man trying to control a rearing horse (Brown 1957, 16 no. 4, 20–1, pl. V; Picón 2007, 186, 447 no. 213). In view of these other examples, the central rider in the Moustapha Pasha frieze may represent the deceased as a member of the Alexandrian military elite.[61]

Venit argues that the performance of a sacrifice within the courtyard for the deceased is suggestive of "active heroisation of the quotidian dead in Alexandria as early as the third century BCE" (2016, 83).[62] Heroic imagery in funerary reliefs for the "ordinary" (non-royal) deceased began appearing in East Greece in the 6th century BC, where it took the form of a warrior on horseback or a hunter (Wypustek 2013, 65–6). While heroisation of the deceased and its religious connotations were restricted to a small number of individuals in Classical Greece, the practice became available to most of the population in the Hellenistic period, in many cases eschewing religious meaning in favour of civic honour (Hughes 1999).[63] Battles, as well as symbolic references to the military through iconography, are a frequent theme in Hellenistic tomb paintings and served to glorify, or heroise, the dead (Miller 2014, 174, 185–92). The depiction of warriors on horseback combined with a represented and actualised ritual – a frieze depicting women performing libations as a backdrop to the actual performance of a sacrifice in the tomb's courtyard – further enhanced the heroisation of the individual in whose honour these rites were carried out. The location of the painting over the doorway leading into the tomb's main burial chamber shows that it refers directly to the tomb owner, much like the above-mentioned painted friezes over the entrances to Macedonian tombs and figures found on the painted *stelae* and slabs that sealed Alexandrian *loculi*.

Other paintings in the tomb also display Macedonian or more broadly Hellenic influences. Several chambers were painted in either the Masonry Style or its sub-

type, Zone Style, two techniques that mimicked marble (Venit 2002, 53).[64] The rooms entered through the north wall of the court contained an elaborate well system and wall paintings. Rectangular niches held Greek-style panel paintings probably related to the mortuary cult but not precisely identifiable because of poor preservation.[65] One room is notable for a painting, now lost but documented by Adriani, that depicted a *tholos* temple.[66] Judith McKenzie has argued that the late Hellenistic wall paintings found in Italy – primarily Pompeii – were influenced by Alexandrian painting and architecture (2007, 96–113). The use in this tomb of at least two major elements that appear in Pompeian wall paintings – Masonry/Zone Style and *tholoi* – may support this idea.[67] At the same time, Alexandrian trends in wall painting and related media, such as mosaics, were in keeping with broader Hellenistic practices, so their place of origin is far from certain and the most we can say with confidence is that Alexandrian artists kept pace with elite Hellenistic fashions.

This tomb speaks to the new schemes created by Alexandria's urban elite. Overall, the heaviest influence in the tomb's decoration is Macedonian, but the structure is also in dialogue with its Egyptian context. The architectural form is consistent with other tombs in the Moustapha Pasha necropolis and is characteristic of monumental Alexandrian tombs of this period.[68] The painted frieze, with cavalrymen clad in Macedonian attire and women pouring libations, may mark the primary owner as a member of the Ptolemaic cavalry, or a descendant of a Macedonian cavalryman. Its iconography is also suggestive of a connection to the royal sphere and maintains associations that are at once Macedonian and Ptolemaic. Whoever the owner was, he wished both to remain linked to Macedonia and to participate in the developing elite burial practices in Alexandria. Elements that have distinctively Egyptian or Hellenic antecedents are combined to create something uniquely Alexandrian that displays the cosmopolitan character of the city's elite. While elements within the tomb point to a Macedonian cultural heritage, its nature as a whole marks its main inhabitant as first and foremost Alexandrian, reflecting the process by which the inhabitants of the city and their descendants came to identify with their new home.

The tomb of Siamun

Siwa Oasis in Egypt's Western Desert was known in antiquity as an ancient cult centre of Amun (Greek Zeus-Ammon), and Alexander the Great famously visited the oracle there in 332/331 BC.[69] The area was first incorporated into the Egyptian state in the Late Period. Lying at the fringe of Egypt and closer ethnically and linguistically to Cyrenaica, Siwa was ruled by local elites who also served as high priests of Amun.[70] At the edge of the central town of Siwa lies Gebel Mawta, a rock outcrop containing tombs from the Late, Ptolemaic, and Roman periods. This site provides an opportunity to examine hybridisation in what was essentially a frontier area among Greeks (who had been visiting the oracle since the Archaic period), local Libyans, and Egyptians. On the north side of the outcrop is the rock-cut tomb of a man named Siamun.[71]

The tomb, which was discovered devoid of grave goods or human remains in 1940, is decorated with a programme of wall paintings that raise questions about its owner's cultural identity, as his figure is represented at times in a fully Egyptian manner but also in a hybridising mode that suggests a mixed Graeco-Egyptian identity.[72]

The long, narrow tomb is entered from the north and consists of a rectangular first chamber and a smaller, undecorated burial chamber. The east and west walls of the first chamber contain *loculi* for secondary burials.[73] Greek graffiti in the tomb name two men, Aniketos and Pnepheros, who seem to have been necropolis officials (Lembke 2014, pls. 4.1–4.2). Thought to date to the 1st century AD, these graffiti would provide a *terminus ante quem* for the tomb's construction and decoration (Rémondon 1951, followed by Kuhlmann 1998, 164).[74] It is most likely that the tomb dates to the period of transition from Ptolemaic to Roman rule, as Siwa was coming more securely under the control of a centralised Roman authority in Egypt after its annexation as a Roman province (Kuhlmann 1998, 164). Siamun's self-presentation is evocative of shifting identities during this time. The first chamber was decorated with high-quality wall paintings on the north, west (two registers), and east (one register) walls.[75] The paintings are executed in an Egyptian style and contain Egyptian motifs relating to the passage to the next world, including the weighing of the heart vignette to Book of the Dead Spell 125. Several scenes depicting Siamun, his wife, and two sons survive (Kuhlmann 1988, col. pls. I–XII; Lembke 2014).

The variations in Siamun's appearance, and the use of one apparently Greek scene type within this otherwise Egyptian tomb, hint at cultural manoeuvring. In some instances, Siamun is shown in an entirely Egyptian manner, with traditional Egyptian clothing and a skull cap or shaved head. One example is a scene on the south portion of the west wall's lower register (now lost, but documented in a sketch by Ahmed Fakhry), in which Siamun is seated before a table bearing tools used in the Egyptian Opening of the Mouth ceremony (Fakhry 1973, 197 fig. 73; Kuhlmann 1988, col. pl. XI). He wears a skull cap, Egyptian Broad Collar, and long kilt, and holds in his hands the *ankh* (life) and the *tchau* (breath/wind) signs. Behind the table, Siamun's eldest son (still partially preserved) is shown wearing the priestly leopard skin, preparing to perform the ceremony. Siamun's wife Rayt, also shown in an Egyptian manner, stands behind their son. The southern portion of the eastern wall shows Siamun offering before Osiris and Isis, again fully Egyptian in appearance with a clean-shaven face, a tight skull cap, and a long kilt (Kuhlmann 1988, col. pl. XII; Lembke 2014, pl. 3.3).

In other instances, Siamun exhibits a combination of Greek and Egyptian attributes, as in a second scene that references the Opening of the Mouth. The northern half of the eastern wall shows him with dark curly hair and a beard (a hairstyle that was not traditionally Egyptian), bare chested (no Broad Collar), but wearing a high-waisted Egyptian kilt (Kuhlmann 1988, col. pl. I; Lembke 2004a, 68 fig. 121; 2004b, 367 fig. 8; 2014, pl. 2.2; Doyen 2008, 139 fig. 3).[76] Above his head hovers the vulture goddess Nekhbet. His eldest son follows behind, again wearing the leopard skin and holding the *wer-hekau* instrument used in the ceremony. Between Siamun and his son stands

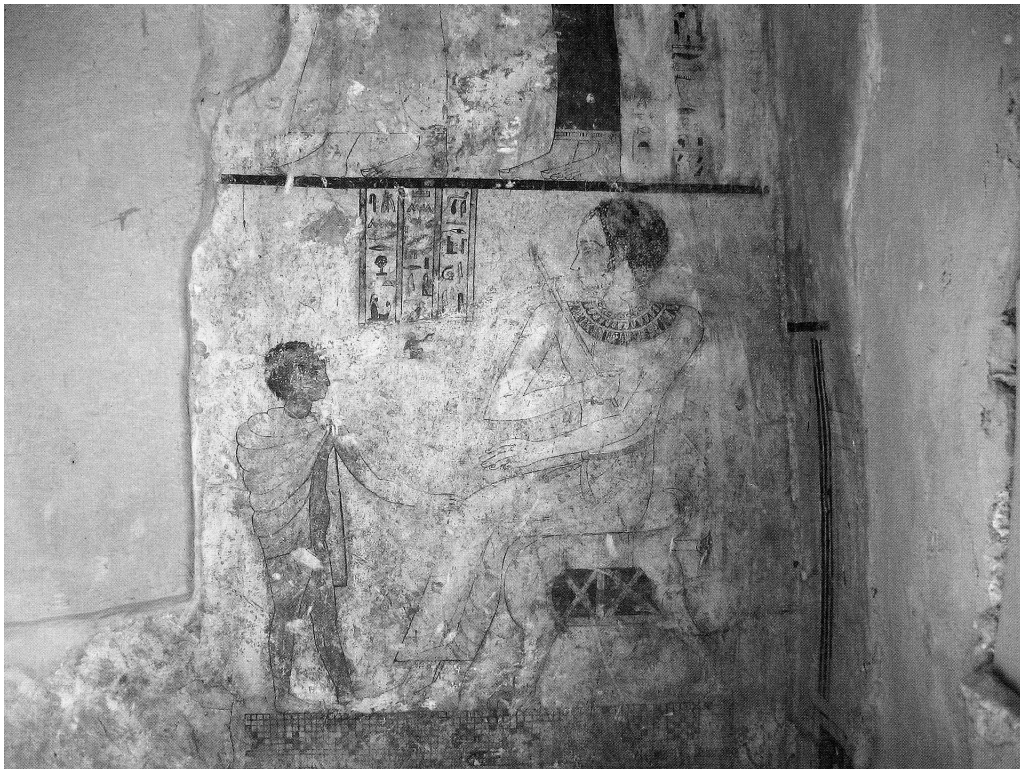

Fig. 4.3: Tomb of Siamun, West Wall, Lower Register, North End. Siamun bids farewell to his son. © DAI Cairo

a table with Opening of the Mouth tools. This scene, unlike the others in the tomb, deviates from the norms of Egyptian painting and relief by representing Siamun and his son not in the composite manner (with both shoulders visible) but in true profile, with a single shoulder visible.[77]

One painting in the tomb uses Egyptian conventions to render a scene type from Greek funerary art (Fig. 4.3). On the lower register of the northern half of the western wall, Siamun sits on an elaborate chair with lion-footed legs; his youngest son stands before him (Kuhlmann 1988, col. pl. II; Doyen 2008, 140 fig. 4; Lembke 2014, pl. 7.1). Siamun wears traditional Egyptian dress – a Broad Collar and a long kilt, with a staff in his right hand – but again he has receding curly hair and a beard (identifiable from traces) in Greek fashion. Siamun's son, who also has dark curly hair, is nude except for a Greek *chlamys* pinned at the left shoulder. This partial nudity may be a fusion of both the Greek tradition of depicting youthful heroes nude except for a cloak and the partially nude figures found in 4th century BC Egyptian tomb reliefs (including some in the tomb of Petosiris). The son reaches out with his left arm to touch his father's knee, and Siamun extends his left arm toward his son's hand. This scene is similar to the parting scenes on Greek funerary *stelae*, in which the deceased bids

farewell to family members by clasping hands (Kuhlmann 1998, 172).[78] While all other scenes in the tomb derive from the Egyptian repertoire, this one stands out for its reliance on a Greek model.

Who was Siamun and why did he choose such a variety of self-presentations? No other known tomb at Siwa rivals the quality of the painted decoration in that of Siamun, which suggests that he was an individual of great local importance, perhaps not unlike Petosiris in Hermopolis. No official or priestly titles are inscribed in the tomb's surviving decoration. Siamun must have been wealthy in order to afford the high quality of its painting. Several scholars have even suggested that an artist was brought to the oasis from a major centre in the Delta or Nile Valley to decorate the tomb (Kuhlmann 1998, 171–2; Lembke 2004a, 70; Doyen 2008, 132). Klaus P. Kuhlmann notes that some of the iconography – including protective vultures and a falcon frieze – could demonstrate a connection with the local royal family who ruled in Ammon in the Oasis (1998, 172). We have seen allusions to pharaonic status in the tomb of Petosiris as an indicator of high social rank and local power; Siamun may have been engaging in a similar strategy by appropriating both pharaonic and Greek – that is, cosmopolitan or international – attributes.

In view of the probable diversity of the population at Siwa, Siamun could have been of mixed Graeco-Egyptian descent. Siamun's father was named Heriu, a name attested from the Ptolemaic period (Kamal 1909, 101–2 no. 23127; Ranke 1933, 230 n. 27).[79] His use of an Egyptian name does not preclude also having a Greek name; other instances are known in which individuals went by Greek names in life and Egyptian names in death (*e.g.* Yoyotte 1969), or by such "double names" throughout their lives (*e.g.* Broux and Coussement 2014). It was also not unusual for Ptolemaic individuals with Greek names to choose an Egyptian manner of burial; thus, the Ptolemaic *diokētēs* Dioskourides largely subordinated the Greek aspects of his identity in the decoration of his Egyptian anthropoid sarcophagus (Collombert 2000; Baines 2004, 42; Gorre 2009, 249–54).[80] Siamun's use of a Greek scene in his tomb could have been motivated by his heritage or by a desire to display cultural status and access to a Hellenistic elite *koine*. Though there is no other trace of Greek religion in the tomb, there is a clear choice to hint at Greek cultural associations. Siamun lived in a place where several cultural groups had long been in contact, and his self-presentation suggests that his cultural identity was plural.

Conclusion

In selecting his tomb's decorative programme, each Ptolemaic patron was motivated by particular loyalties, responsibilities, and anxieties. The broad range of forms found in these examples shows how far elites stretched the limits of tradition and expressed status through individual modes of presentation while keeping within the bounds of acceptable conventions. The late 4th century BC Hermopolite tomb of Petosiris

combines the architectural form of Late Period Egyptian temples with a hybridising Graeco-Egyptian decorative program. This tomb is an instance of a native Egyptian elite and his family responding to the new Macedonian rule. A 3rd century BC tomb in the Moustapha Pasha (Moustapha Kamel) necropolis of Alexandria combines an Alexandrian form with Macedonian-influenced decoration. In particular, this tomb demonstrates how Hellenic individuals living in the capital adapted to their Egyptian surroundings to create monuments that were specific to their setting. Finally, the late Ptolemaic/early Roman tomb of Siamun in Siwa Oasis incorporates Greek attributes into a sequence of traditional Egyptian wall paintings of the transit into the next world.

The ways in which elites in Ptolemaic Egypt represented themselves in funerary art show that cultural identity was remarkably fluid among them and cannot be partitioned into strict categories of "Egyptian" and "Greek." As Frits Naerebout states, "concerns about distinguishing between 'true' Egyptian and Hellenized/Romanized Egyptian and Greek and Roman, could hardly have been shared by the ancients" (2007, 548). It is thus illuminating to see these monuments as expressive of a hybridisation process, with each example articulating a different way in which elites could use Greek and Egyptian modes of representation to communicate their social role in life and their projected identity in facing the afterlife. The interchange of cultural symbols that has been discussed here was – at least in some instances – about asserting status and these symbols could be presented or ordered differently in different contexts, in whatever ways best suited the patrons' interests.

Many Ptolemaic elites saw social value in expressing ongoing cultural hybridisation in their funerary art. Each employed a hybridised self-presentation in a different way, and such personalised aggregates of traditions were probably a combined result of both habits that developed organically through daily practice and intentionally cultivated strategies of cultural manoeuvring. These practices found expression in tombs, where they were intermixed with markers of social rank to create an image intended to memorialise the deceased within their communities. Members of the elite class had both the motivation and the means to create visual monuments that served this end. The rank of these individuals made them prisms of the intermixing of cultural currents around them, filtered through their individual situations and the need to balance their multifaceted cultural performance, both public and private, in life and afterlife.

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Notes

1. For an overview of funerary art in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, see Riggs 2002. On elite status in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Lloyd 2002; Baines 2004; Rowlandson 2007.
2. It should be noted that these three case studies are not meant to represent the *only* forms of tomb art in use during the Ptolemaic period. A wide variety of tomb architecture, interior decoration, and funerary object assemblages were employed. Not all funerary art was hybridising, and not all hybridising art was exclusive to elites (*e.g.* the tombs discussed in Landvatter 2013; Venit 2016). See also Riggs 2002, esp. 86 and n. 8 for other publications of Ptolemaic and Roman tombs throughout Egypt.
3. The most recent publications are Venit (2016) on Graeco-Roman tombs in Egypt and Lembke (2014) on the tomb of Siamun.
4. See also Young 1995; 2003; van Dommelen and Rowlands 2012, 27–9.
5. Ptolemaic Egypt meets these criteria, though the emphasis on colonial situations as a necessary context for hybrid practices in this definition is not applicable to all instances of Greek-Egyptian exchange during this period. For an argument against the colonial model for Ptolemaic Egypt, see Bagnall 2007. Many archaeologists, however, define colonialism in antiquity differently than Bagnall: see Gosden 2004; Malkin 2004; Stein 2005; van Dommelen 2012. Van Dommelen identifies colonialism by two criteria: "In structural terms, the definition rests on two key features, namely, in the first place, the presence of one or more groups of foreign people (the colonisers) in a region at some distance from their own place of origin and, in the second place, asymmetrical socio-economic relationships between the colonising and colonised groups–inequality, in a word" (2012, 398).
6. While the Greek presence in Egypt was by no means "new" at the start of the Ptolemaic period (Greek communities had settled in Egypt since the Late Period), what changed in the late 4th century BC was the nature of the political relationship between these groups and the significant increase in immigration and international trade, changes that created a new type of contact situation between Greek and Egyptian groups.
7. On identity theory, see Gleason 1983; Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Insoll 2007; Burke and Stets 2009. "Identity" can serve as a broader substitution for the problematic concept of "ethnicity," one that is especially difficult to identify in the archaeological record (Antonaccio 2010, 33–4). On ethnicity in the ancient Greek world, see Hall 1997; 2002; Malkin 2001. On the archaeology of ethnicity, see Jones 1997.
8. "Greek" and "Hellene" were also legal categories in Ptolemaic Egypt that could determine fiscal privileges and which court system an individual used. It is somewhat unclear how people obtained the legal status of "Hellene," but it may have required Greek literacy or education (Thompson 2001). These legal categories did not necessarily correlate with self-perception or cultural performance, but they do provide some insight into how individuals were categorised by the Ptolemaic administration. On the Ptolemaic legal system, see Pierce 1972; Wolff 1998; Keenan *et al.* 2014.
9. On the multiplicity of identities in Ptolemaic funerary contexts, see Landvatter 2013.
10. These men were also priests of Thoth and shared with Petosiris the titles "great one of five" and "master of thrones." For Petosiris' family tree, see Broekman 2006, 98 fig. 1.
11. Inscription 81: Lefebvre 1923–1924, II: 53–60 (transcription); Lichtheim 2006, 44–9 (translation); Cherpion *et al.* 2007, 132–5 scene 92, 1–7 (illustration).

12 The name is attested in a dedicatory inscription from the temple at Hermopolis: see Sethe 1904, 9 no. 6; Gauthier 1916, 206 pl. XI. See also de Meulenaere 1991, 54; von Beckerath 1999, 232–3; Leprohon 2013, 176. If the inscription does refer to Philip, his assassination in 317 BC places the tomb sometime after that date. Others have suggested that the king in question is the Persian Artaxerxes III: see *e.g.* Lefebvre 1923–1924, I: 10–2; Vittmann 2003, 143; Lichtheim 2006, 49 n. 7.

13 Török (2011, 63) suggests that the artists who worked on Petosiris' tomb also decorated roof blocks from the portico of the temple, based on their "Hellenising decoration." For the blocks, see Parlasca 1998. See also Snape and Bailey 1988, 112 pl. 47a–b.

14 For the animal necropolis at Tuna el-Gebel, see Kessler and Nur el-Din 2002; 2005; von den Driesch *et al.* 2005.

15 The use of a *pronaos* and the alternation of column capitals on temple façades were introduced in the Late Period and are widely attested from the 4th century BC onwards (Arnold 1999, 96, 277–82).

16 On the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis, see Roeder 1940, 78; 1954; Arnold 1999, 111–3 figs. 65–6. On the temple's similarity with the tomb façade, see Snape and Bailey 1988, 5–6; Venit 2016, 7–8. The use of screen walls between columns is typical of Late Period temple facades (see *e.g.* the *pronaos* of the temple of Psamtek II at Hibis: Arnold 1999, 278–9 fig. 239), but the feature is older.

17 Two roughly contemporaneous tombs nearby in the necropolis are the earlier tomb of Petosiris' older brother Djed-djehuty-ef-ankh (of a different but related architectural type) and the later family tomb of the royal scribe Padikem. For Djed-djehuty-ef-ankh, see Sabottka 1983; Kessler *et al.* 2008, 13. For Padikem, see Gabra *et al.* 1941, 11–37; Kessler 1986, 802; Minas-Nerpel 2013.

18 While this space for the most part returns to a fully Egyptian decorative programme, offering-bearer processions in the bottom register of the east and west walls (based on existing scene types from late 4th century BC funerary chapels) incorporate hybridising elements (see Cherpion *et al.* 2007, 113–27, 136–47). See comparable examples in Leahy 1988.

19 Such scenes look back to those of earlier dynastic periods, in keeping with their Late Period revival. In the preceding centuries of the Third Intermediate Period, above-ground funerary chapels and their relief decoration had fallen out of use.

20 For example, Venit notes the similarity between these men and 4th century BC Lysippan sculpture (2016, 28, 32).

21 This can be contrasted with later tombs of Roman-period Egypt, in which the deceased is shown in a Graeco-Roman style among otherwise Egyptian-style figures. In addition to Roman tombs in those works already cited, see Castiglione 1961; Venit 2010, 104–6.

22 East: Cherpion *et al.* 2007, 90 scene 71. West: Cherpion *et al.* 2007, 83–4 scene 67.

23 From the daughters: Inscription no. 58 – Lefebvre 1923–1924, I: 84–90 (translation), II: 29–32 (transcription). From the son and grandson: Inscription no. 61 – Lefebvre 1923–1924, I: 100–7 (translation), II: 35–8 (transcription); Menu 1994, 322. The doorway leading into the *naos* bears an autobiographical inscription of Petosiris' deceased son Thothrekh: Inscription no. 56 – Lefebvre 1923–1924, I: 113–7 (translation), II: 27–8 (transcription); Lichtheim 2006, 52–4 (translation).

24 I use "Hellenising" not to mean a one-way process of assimilation, but instead to indicate an intentional strategy of engagement with "Greek" objects and images.

25 Derchain (2000, 54–7) believes that some of the inscriptions in Petosiris' tomb, particularly a speech made by his deceased son (no. 56) show knowledge of Greek literature, in which case the cultural manoeuvring on display in the tomb is not only artistic but linguistic as well. Guermeur (2003, 338–40) argues against this interpretation.

26 A goddess of the "West"/"Western Desert" (often identified with Hathor or a Hathor-hybrid), who received and protected the deceased, appears frequently in earlier tombs and Third Intermediate Period and Late Period tomb *stelae*. She typically has the "West" hieroglyph (R14) on her head: *e.g.* Refai 1996; 2006a; 2006b; von Falck and Martinssen-von Falck 2008.

27 West wall of the *naos*: Cherpion *et al.* 2007, 113–27 scene 88, 136–47 scene 93. For comparable scenes, see *e.g.* Leahy 1988.
28 Venit (2016, 42–6) reads the sequence from left to right, which does not accord with the traditional organisation of Egyptian wall decoration.
29 Compare, for example, a 5th century BC Attic red-figure *amphora* that shows two young women placing fillets on the horns of sacrificial bulls (Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 237 no. 108).
30 *E.g.* Cherpion *et al.* 2007, 34–5 scene 30 [GL 28] and others.
31 Despinis *et al.* 1997, 42–3 no. 23, 233 fig. 44.
32 This woman's hairstyle appears to be the "melon coiffure" that became the standard hairstyle for Ptolemaic queens and elite women (Török 2011, 64; Venit 2016, 42).
33 Venit suggests that these wreaths may refer to the chthonic cult of Dionysos in the Egyptian *chora* (2016, 40).
34 Compare a scene from the *naos* of a bull being butchered in the funeral of Nes-shu (Cherpion *et al.* 2007, 132 scene 92, 2–1 [GL 81]).
35 The positioning of the knife in the facsimile in Lefebvre (1923–1924, III: pl. XIX) does not agree with the photograph of the scene in Cherpion *et al.* 2007, 87 scene 68b. Whereas the drawing shows the young man apparently plunging the knife into the bull's shoulder (Venit 2016, 45 interprets it as such), the photograph shows him holding the knife with the blade pointing upwards, likely preparing to reach around and slit the animal's throat.
36 Lefebvre identifies this as a representation of Petosiris' tomb (1923–1924, I: 91–2).
37 Women leaning against pillars is a motif paralleled in Greek art. Several Hellenistic Tanagra figurines, for instance, show women in this pose: see *e.g.* Foulon 2003, 162–3, cat. 110 (dated to 330–300 BC, approximately the same time period as the tomb). The mourning pose of Petosiris' daughter – one arm crossed over the body, opposite hand raised to the chin/cheek – appears frequently in Greek and Hellenistic funerary *stelae* (*e.g.* numerous examples in Schmidt 1991; Despinis *et al.* 1997; Fabricius 1999).
38 While the gender of this final figure is ambiguous due to the close-cropped hair and *himation*, which could be worn by a male or female, the pose of the figure and her jewellery suggest that this is a female. On her left arm she appears to be wearing a thick bracelet. A bracelet is also worn on the right wrist of the veiled woman. Such thick band bracelets are often worn by female relatives of the deceased in Late Period tomb chapel reliefs (Leahy 1988, 224). See also Leahy 1988, 214–6 for short hairstyles on women in Late Period tomb reliefs. This mourning pose, in which one woman leans on another, is found on Hellenistic funerary *stelae*.
39 See *e.g.* a painted limestone slab excavated in the Gabbari necropolis in Alexandria (Empereur 1998, 193; Walker and Higgs 2001, 123 no. 150).
40 See numerous examples in Van Straten 1995.
41 See *e.g.* numerous examples on votives and funerary reliefs in Mitropoulou 1975; Schmidt 1991; Comella 2002; Kalaitzi 2016.
42 On pharaonic offering and banquet scenes in Egyptian tombs, see Harrington 2016; Robins 2016.
43 On decorum in Egyptian art, see Baines 2007, 3–30.
44 This cultural manoeuvring is evident in other areas of Ptolemaic society as well, including the use of so-called double names by members of the Ptolemaic military and administration; see Clarysse 1985; Bagnall 1988; Quaegebeur 1992; Vittmann 1998; Broux and Coussement 2014.
45 For another priest's reaction to the transition to Macedonian rule, see the funerary *stela* of Somtutefnakht (Sethe 1904, 1–6 no. 1; Tresson 1931, pl. 1–3; Roeder 1959, 214–9; Lichtheim 2006, 41–4).
46 Venit summarises the layout of Ptolemaic *hypogea* in Alexandria (2002, 15). See also Pagenstecher 1919, 98; Daszewski 1994, 55–6.
47 For monumental Macedonian tombs see Andronikos 1984; 1994. On *klinai* in Macedonian tombs see Sismanidis 2001; Brecoulaki 2006, I: 349–70, 373–7, II: pls. 118–25.

48 For a plan of the six tombs he excavated, see Adriani 1936, pl. XXXV.
49 For the layout of the tomb, see Adriani 1966, pl. 48 fig. 181. On its date, see Adriani 1936, 173–4; 1966, 133; 1972, 116; Brown 1957, 57; Pollitt 1986, 253–5; Fedak 1990, 132; McKenzie 1990, 64; Venit 2002, 51; 2016, 53.
50 Venit notes that the partially fluted column and the columns that meet in an ivy-leaf shape in each of the four corners of the courtyard are Hellenistic innovations (2002, 51–2 fig. 36, 201–4). Similar columns are also found in the earlier Hypogeum A of the Chatby necropolis (Venit 2002, 26–36, fig. 12). For the Doric order in Alexandrian architecture, see McKenzie 2007, 83. The tomb can be compared, for instance, to the Tomb of Philip (Tomb II) at Vergina (Brecoulaki 2006, I: 101–33 no. 3, II: pl. 26) and the Tomb of Judgment at Lefkadia (Brecoulaki 2006, I: 204–17 no. 13, II: pl. 74).
51 The altar was damaged during the excavation and was restored under Adriani (1936, 19).
52 Described in detail by Venit (2002, 54–5), who also notes that the door uprights are angled slightly outward facing the court, while the underside of the architrave slants slightly upward, making the doorways appear larger than they are and creating a sense of depth and drama.
53 Adriani 1936, 37, 109–12 fig. 2 pls. IV, XXVI–XXVIII; Brown 1957, 52–3 no. 34, 55–7, pl. XXIV.1; Pollitt 1986, 253–5 fig. 273; Venit 2002, 55–8 fig. 42; Miller 2014, 188 fig. 5.10.
54 Compare to Venit 2002, 56.
55 Brown (1957, 57) noted that the arrangement of these ensembles closely resembles the garments worn by Ptolemaic queens on faience *oinochoai* associated with their ruler cults, for which see Thompson 1973. Pollitt notes that these garments originally derived from 4th century BC Attic art (1986, 255).
56 Noted by Venit 2002, 57. See Andronikos 1984, 106–19; 1994; Brecoulaki 2006; Franks 2012. For other painted Macedonian tombs and *stelae,* see *e.g.* Brecoulaki 2006; Miller 2014.
57 Elite activities, sometimes including the deceased, often appear in Macedonian tomb paintings. Compare, for instance, a symposium scene on the façade of a late 4th century BC tomb at Aghios Athanasios, which includes Macedonian soldiers and men approaching on horseback (Brecoulaki 2006, I: 268–74, II: pl. 91–5; Miller 2014, 183–4 pls. 5.8–5.10). *Phialai* and other cultic objects appear in Hellenistic tomb paintings to symbolise ritual practices (Miller 2014, 175).
58 On the Ptolemaic cavalry, see Fischer-Bovet 2014, 125–33.
59 The scene is preserved on a fragmentary example of the *stela* from Mit Rahina (Simpson 1996, 4; Hölbl 2000, 163 fig. 6.1; Fischer-Bovet 2014, 129 fig. 4.3).
60 See also several terracotta figurines from the Alexandrian necropoleis that show men wearing the *kausia* (Breccia 1930–1934).
61 Rostovtzeff (1941, 408) interpreted all five figures as members of an elite Macedonian family buried in the tomb (the father in the centre, flanked by his two sons and their wives).
62 See also Rostovtzeff 1941, 408.
63 On the heroization of the dead on Hellenistic Macedonian tombstones, see Kalaitzi 2016.
64 On Masonry Style and Zone Style, see Miller 2014, 172. For reconstructions of the paintings in rooms 6 and 7, see Adriani 1936 pls. A–B. For a reconstruction of the view into chamber 10 from chamber 8, see Adriani 1936, 39 fig. 17. For a colour reconstruction of the *kline,* see Adriani 1936, pl. D. For a Macedonian comparable, see *e.g.* a wall painting in the related "Relief Architectural Style" from Pella in Miller 2014, 172 pl. 5.19.
65 According to Venit, the panels on the north wall of Room 2 must have been added later, because they cut into the painted zone decoration (2002, 59).
66 For the photograph, see Adriani 1936, 27–8 pl. X.2. For a sketch, see Adriani 1936, 27 fig. 12.
67 For forms similar to *tholoi* in Macedonian painting Venit (2002, 60 n. 453) cites the following: a pillar topped with three statues in the hunt frieze from Vergina Tomb II (Tomb of Philip: see Pekridou-Gorecki 1996, 96–9; Franks 2012, 9 figs. 11, 18, 78, 86–7) and architectural elements on the painted stone *kline* from a tomb at Potedaia (Sismanidis 2001, pls. 4–6).

68 See the other Alexandrian tombs documented in Venit 2002; 2016.
69 Relatively little is known about life in Siwa prior to the Roman period. See *e.g.* Fakhry 1944; 1973; Kuhlmann 1998; Bagnall 2004, 271–7; Lembke and Minas 2006.
70 See Kuhlmann 1988, 102–9. These elites were called *archaioi dynastoi* (Diodorus 17.50.3). Herodotus called the local ruler a *basileus* (2.32).
71 Originally published in Fakhry 1940; 1944, 132–59; republished in Lembke 2014. See also Lembke 2004a, 68–72; 2004b; Doyen 2008; Venit 2016, 136–48.
72 Other funerary art that shows similar characteristics includes painted shrouds and coffins. See *e.g.* a Roman period coffin of a man from Kharga Oasis, Panakht, on which the deceased is depicted as both a young Greek *ephebe* and an Egyptian mummy (Riggs 2005, 57–61).
73 It is not known whether the *loculi* were contemporaneous with the tomb painting or some (or all) were cut at a later date. Lembke (2004b, 367, 369–70) argues for contemporaneity, while Fakhry (1944, 133) and Venit (2016, 136, 139, 141–2, 147) see some of the *loculi* as interrupting the decorative programme and so argue that they must have been cut later.
74 On the date, see also Kuhlmann 1988, 85 n. 594; 1998, 171–2; Lembke 2004a, 70; Doyen 2008, 133; Lembke 2014, 59–60. Some scholars have tried to place the tomb earlier: Parlasca 1966, 304 (3rd century BC); Morenz 1969, 66 n. 108; Braun 1982, 48 (Dynasty 26–30).
75 For recent discussions, Lembke 2014; Venit 2016, 136–48. For the layout of the paintings, Doyen 2008, 137 fig. 1; Lembke 2014, insert.
76 Kuhlmann argues that this hairstyle is representative of Bedouin identity (1998, 171). Fakhry (1944, 134) and Koenen (1983, 145) see it as Greek. A mummy shroud from Saqqara shows a man similar in appearance, with a white Egyptian tunic belted at the waist and dark curly hair with a beard (Brooklyn Museum 37.1811E; Fazzini *et al.* 1989, 82–3 cat. 84; Riggs 2005, 90–2 fig. 38). The provenance of Saqqara suggests that the hairstyle would not identify the subject as Bedouin. By the late Ptolemaic/early Roman periods, beards were probably quite common among Egypt's population and not necessarily indicative of a Greek identity, but Siamun's choice to show himself with a beard in some of his funerary scenes would probably have been seen as a Hellenising feature by his contemporaries, especially because in other scenes he is shown clean-shaven. Traditional Egyptian, pharaonic style art of this period (*e.g.* relief scenes found in temples) did not include figures with full beards, while they are found on funerary art in varied media such as painted mummy portraits, shrouds, and cartonnage masks (see examples in Walker 2000; Riggs 2005). In Siamun's case, the presence or lack of a beard signals allusions to Greek and pharaonic Egyptian traditions, respectively.
77 Noted by Venit 2016, 138.
78 Compare a 4th–3rd century BC Alexandrian funerary *stela* that bears a painted scene of the seated deceased clasping the hand of a standing woman in a gesture of farewell (Latini *et al.* 2011, 65 fig. 25a).
79 Felber in Lembke (2014, 59). The name was previously read as Pr-iw.w by Kuhlmann (1988, 83 n. 572).
80 See also the much earlier example of the Egyptian anthropoid sarcophagus of a man named Wahibreemakhet, who died around 600 BC and whose parents had the Greek names Alexikles and Zenodote (Vittmann 2003, 203 pl. 21).

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