

# Duplication and Continuity

**Robert Steven Bianchi**

The Ancient Egyptian Museum Shibuya (Tokyo)

ONE OF THE very first points that Bernard V. Bothmer made during the course of the very first lecture of his that I attended in the class, *An introduction to Egyptian art*, delivered at the Institute of Fine Arts on 28 September 1967, was his insistence that objects can only be considered works of art if they are one-offs, not duplicates.<sup>1</sup> In a subsequent lecture on 12 November 1974, Bernard elaborated on the point he made in his landmark exhibition of 1960<sup>2</sup> that there was stylistic continuity between the royal images of Nectanebo II and Ptolemy II.<sup>3</sup> The objective of the following essay is to connect Bernard's two observations in order to demonstrate, on the contrary, that duplicates are valid works of art and in certain contexts can be significant for establishing continuity. Olivier Perdu<sup>4</sup> provides a succinct over view of the subject of statuary duplicates, while Roberto Gozzoli,<sup>5</sup> Laurent Coulon,<sup>6</sup> and Karl Jansen-Winkel<sup>7</sup> present cogent, individual cases studies, thereby obviating any need to argue this case further. I wish, therefore, to consider as copies/duplicates two statues and a torso in order to demonstrate one aspect of stylistic continuity in ancient Egyptian art of the Late Period.

---

<sup>1</sup> ALEA (Archive of Late Egyptian Art, a photographic and bibliographic archive maintained by Dr Robert Steven Bianchi, Holiday, Florida USA) Notebook 1967. I am extremely indebted to the following colleagues for their assistance in obtaining the images appearing as illustrations: Sobhi Ashour, Yekaterina Barbash, Núria Benavent Battler, Robert Fuchs, Thomas Liepsner, Esther Pons, and Willeke Wendrich. I thank Caroline Delucé for her editorial assistance.

<sup>2</sup> B.V. BOTHMER, H. DE MEULENAERE, H.W. MÜLLER, *Egyptian sculpture of the Late Period: 700 BC to AD 100*, Brooklyn, 1960, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> ALEA Notebook 1974.

<sup>4</sup> O. PERDU, "De véritables jumelles parmi les statues privées de temples aux époques tardives," *MDAIK* 76-77, 2020-2021, pp. 261-274.

<sup>5</sup> R.B. GOZZOLI, *Psammetichus II: reign, documents and officials*, London, 2017.

<sup>6</sup> L. COULON, "Padiaménopé et Montouemhat: l'apport d'une statue inédite à l'analyse des relations entre les deux personnages," in Ph. Collombert, D. Lefèvre, S. Polis, J. Winand (eds.), *Aere perennius. Mélanges égyptologiques en l'honneur de Pascal Vernus*, Leuven, 2016, p. 91-119.

<sup>7</sup> K. JANSEN-WINKELN, "Ein Alter und ein Plagiat: der Würfelhocker London BM EA 48039 und seine Vorlage," in S. Gerhards, N. Grässler, S.A. Gülден, A. Ilin-Tomich, J. Kertmann, A. Kilian, T. Konrad, K. van der Moezel, M. Zöllner-Engelhardt (eds.), *Schöne Denkmäler sind entstanden. Studien zu Ehren von Ursula Verhoeven*, Heidelberg, 2023, p. 201-219.

## The Case Study

We begin with a kneeling statue inscribed with the full titularly of Nectanebo I<sup>8</sup> who holds an offering table [fig. 1a-b-c] This statue, suggested to have been found in Italy, either in Rome or perhaps in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli (?),<sup>9</sup> is first mentioned in the 17th century when it was in the collection of Queen Christine of Sweden in the Villa Albani.<sup>10</sup> It was later bequeathed with the collection to the Duke of Bracciano from whom it was purchased in 1724 by Philip of Spain for the royal collection of the Granja de S. Ildefonso, from where it was transferred to the Prado<sup>11</sup> until 1979, whereupon it entered the collections of the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid.<sup>12</sup> We reproduce the inscriptions<sup>13</sup> and their translation, beginning with the back pillar and continuing with that on the sides of the base, relying on publication of Alain-Pierre Zivie,<sup>14</sup> [fig. 2]:

Horus, Strong-of-arm, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The-one-belonging-to-the-Two-Ladies, The-one-who-beautifies-the-Two-Lands, Horus-of-gold, The-one-who-accomplishes-that-which-the-deities-desire, Kheper-ka-re, the son of the sun god, The-lord-of-appearances-in-glory, Nectanebo I, may he live eternally, The-one-who-is-beloved -of-Osiris-Merity, the king of the gods, the great god, the lord of heaven, The-one-who-resides-in Bâh, The-one-upon-whom-all-life-all-stability-and-all-dominion-is-bestowed, The-one-who-enjoys-good-health-and-happiness-forever-like-Re.

...beloved of...Nectanebo I, living eternally, The-one-beloved of Osiris, the great god, the lord of heaven, The-one-who-resides-in Bâh...

<sup>8</sup> A.-P. ZIVIE, *Hermopolis et le nome de l'ibis. Recherches sur la province du dieu Thot en Basse Égypte I. Introduction et inventaire chronologique des sources*, Cairo, 1975, p. 129, although earlier this statue had been repeatedly misidentified as an image of Nectanebo II (A. ROULLET, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments of Imperial Rome*, Leiden, 1972, p. 105).

<sup>9</sup> ROULLET (1972), no. 203.

<sup>10</sup> According to the web site:

<https://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main?btnSearch=Buscar&servletOrigen=AdvancedSearchUnion&servletDestino=AdvancedSearchUnion&ConsultaFinal={|UACB|off|Ed7P4S7V8|C}&search=advancedUnion&museoUnion=MAN&mosaic=on> (viewed 2024 May 26) but ROULLET (1972), p. 105, no. 167a, sites the collection in the Palazzo Riario.

<sup>11</sup> F. DE CLARAC, *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne : ou, description historique et graphique du Louvre et de toutes ses parties, des statues, bustes, bas-reliefs et inscriptions du Musée Royal des Antiques et des Tuileries et de plus de 2500 statues antiques [...] tirés des principaux musées et des diverses collections de l'Europe, une iconographie égyptienne, grecque et romaine, et l'iconographie française du Louvre et des Tuileries*, Paris, 1850, p. 303, no. 2559 B.

<sup>12</sup> Madrid, formerly, Museo del Prado 412-E; presently, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 1978/7/1: R. BLANCO Y CARO, *Un recuerdo del último faraón en el Museo del Prado (notas arqueológicas y epigráficas)* Madrid, 1924; A. BLANCO, *Museo del Prado: catálogo de la escultura I. Esculturas clásicas II. Esculturas, copias e imitaciones de la antigüas (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, Madrid, 1957, pp. 126-127; M. del Carmen Pérez Die, *Egipto y Próximo Oriente. Salas XIII y XIV*, Madrid, 1991. pp. 103-105; E. HÜBNER, *Die Antiken Bildwerke in Madrid: Nebst Einem Anhang Enthaltend Die Übrigen Antiken Bildwerke in Spanien und Portugal*, Berlin, Boston, 2019, p. 34-35; and M. JARAMAGO, "Dos falsificaciones ramésidas y una propuesta de clasificación tipológica de las piezas dudosas," *Trabajos de Egiptología - Papers on Ancient Egypt* 11, 2020, p.170-171.

<sup>13</sup> We are fully cognizant of the criticism against using such mechanically created fonts (D. MEEKS, "An Egypto-grammatology: Why and how?," *Hieroglyphs* 1, 2023, p. 7-30), but knowingly do so here because our interest in the text is not, *stricto sensu*, philological.

<sup>14</sup> ZIVIE (1975), p. 129-130, 34. The English translations here and elsewhere in this essay are those of the author, as is translation of the Latin into English, below.

...like... the-beloved-son-of-Re-of-his-own-body, Nectanebo I, living eternally, The-one-beloved of Osiris, the great god, the lord of heaven, The-one-who-resides-in Bâh...

Bâh, modern El-Baqliéh, is an area in the Eastern Delta, situated between Mansura and Simbellawein, a little over six miles from Mendes.<sup>15</sup> When initially explored by Edouard Naville in the late 19th century, the site was in such a deplorable condition that even the fellahein abandoned their attempts to mine it for sebakh.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless Naville did recover a damaged statue<sup>17</sup> and a worked block both inscribed for a pharaoh whose nomen was initially identified as Nectanebo II,<sup>18</sup> but is now recognized as that of Nectanebo I.<sup>19</sup> There must have been an impressive temple at the site to judge from the fragmentary door jambs, inscribed for Nectanebo I,<sup>20</sup> which may have been fronted by a dromos guarded by at least one pair of his lions<sup>21</sup> which formed a precinct in which his statue in Madrid must have also originally stood. The sanctuary must have been so visually attractive that it invited agents of the Roman Imperial administration to appropriate the pair of lions and repurpose them in the Iseum Campense<sup>22</sup> in the Eternal City. The sudden appearance of the Spanish statue in Queen Christine's collection in Rome suggests a similar fate.<sup>23</sup>

A view of the right-hand side of a torso seen on the art market, without a stated provenance, in 1991<sup>24</sup> [fig. 3a-b-c] suggests that it too may have been holding an offering table, to judge from the footprint still visible in the region of the navel. The right-hand column of inscriptions contains the beginning of the same titulary of Nectanebo I as inscribed on the Madrid statue whereas the few isolated signs in the left-hand column clearly mention Bâh, suggesting that this torso may have been erected at that site as a well.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>15</sup> ZIVIE (1975), p. vii-xii, for a discussion about the site's geography and designations.

<sup>16</sup> E. NAVILLE, J.J. TYLOR, F.LI. GRIFFITH, *Ahnas el Medineh (Heracleopolis Magna)*: with chapters on Mendes, the nome of Thoth, and Leontopolis / The tomb of Paheri at El Kab, London, 1894, p. 22.

<sup>17</sup> Cairo, The Egyptian Museum JE 38167: ZIVIE (1975), p. 23 and 121-122, no. 31.

<sup>18</sup> PM IV, 39-40.

<sup>19</sup> For the confusion, see J.J. CLERE, "À propos de l'ordre de succession des rois de la XXX<sup>e</sup> dynastie," *RdE* 8, 1951, p. 25-29; and the comments by Kh. EL-ËNANY, "Remarques sur les noms des rois de la XXX<sup>e</sup> dynastie," *BSEG* 30, 2014-2015, p. 5-24.

<sup>20</sup> Cairo, the Garden of the Egyptian Museum: NAVILLE (1894), 20; and ZIVIE (1975), p. 126-129, no. 33 A-B.

<sup>21</sup> Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 22676 and 22677: ZIVIE (1975), p. 122-126, no. 32 A-B; and C. STURTEWAGEN, R.S. BIANCHI, "Museo Gregoriano Egizio," in Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York N.Y.) Art Institute of Chicago and Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, *The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art*, New York, 1982, p. 178-179.

<sup>22</sup> E.M. MOORMANN, "Domitian's reshaping of Rome," in A. Raimondi Cominesi, N. de Haan, E.M. Moormann, C. Stocks, *God on earth: Emperor Domitian*, Leiden, 2021, p. 43-50; and M.J. VERSLUYS, "Anchoring Egypt. The Iseum Campense and Flavian Rome," in E.M. Moormann, "Domitian's reshaping of Rome," in Raimondi Cominesi, de Haan, Moormann and Stocks (2021), p. 169-172, fig. 2 for a hypothetical rendering of the sanctuary.

<sup>23</sup> O. LOLLOI BARBERI, G. PAROLA, M.P. TOTTI, *Le antichità egiziane di Roma Imperiale*, Rome, 1995, p. 93-127, in their catalogue of Italian collectors of *Aegyptiaca* Romana from the 16-18 centuries pass over in silence this collector.

<sup>24</sup> ALEA, M-1991.

<sup>25</sup> This pair invites comparison with Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 22671: STURTEWAGEN, BIANCHI (1982), p. 177, inscribed for Nectanebo I on the back pillar and belt, which was donated to the township of Latium by Pope Gregory XVI in 1838, but since the inscriptions lack a toponym, its provenance must remain open.

To these two must now be added a third, namely, a kneeling statue holding an offering table in Braunschweig<sup>26</sup> [fig. 4a-b-c]. The back pillar appears to have been purposefully erased but beneath the pt-sign the hieroglyphs containing the beginning of the titulary of Philip Arrhidæus<sup>27</sup> are distinctive enough [fig. 5]:

The-good-god, The lord-of-the-Two-Lands, The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Setep-ka-en-Re meri-Amun....

In examining the inscription Adolf Erman detected what he regarded as faint traces of a swallow (Gardiner Sign List 36) and a lasso (Gardiner Sign List V 4) before the very well preserved last hieroglyph (Gardiner Sign List N 36) which he interpreted as all belonging to the phrase, *w3d wr, the Great Green*.<sup>28</sup>

### Continuity as a Product of Prototype and Copy

A comparison between the Spanish and German statues suggests that both are indebted to a common model despite the fact that the statue of Nectanebo I (100 cm) is almost twice the size of the one inscribed for Philip Arrhidæus (59.4 cm), whereas the torso seen in 1991 is the shortest (30 cm). Coulon has cogently argued that the common model used for a statue of Peteamonophis (193 cm) was the same as the one used for that of his contemporary, Montuemhat (137 cm), over which the former towers.<sup>29</sup> This is entirely understandable if the common model employed utilized a grid<sup>30</sup> system which could be enlarged or reduced as needed to satisfy the requirements of the commission.

If the design of both of those statues is indebted to a common model, one may also argue that the same or similar model was used for their physiognomies. Although the original head of the statue in Madrid has been restored, the head on the statue of Philip Arrhidæus is virtually intact. [fig. 6] It bears a remarkable correspondence to a head inscribed for Nectanebo I which was actually found at El-Baqlieh<sup>31</sup> [fig. 7]. The head in Mansura belongs to a constellation of images relying on a common formulaic approach which combines a somewhat corpulent, but still idealizing face exhibiting rimmed, almond-shaped eyes under a natural brow in concert with sickle-shaped lips drawn up into a perceptible smile. These are in fact the very physiognomic features which characterize the image of Philip Arrhidæus under discussion as well as the physiognomies of the

---

<sup>26</sup> Braunschweig, Sammlungen des Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museums und des Städtischen Museums HAUM, Aeg. S 20: I. TINIUS, *Altägypten in Braunschweig. Die Sammlungen des Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museums und des Städtischen Museums*, Wiesbaden, 2011, pp. 97-102; and S.E. COLE, in J. Spier, T. Potts, S.E. Cole (eds.), *Beyond the Nile. Egypt and the classical world*, Los Angeles, 2018, p. 158-159.

<sup>27</sup> E.D. CARNEY, "The trouble with Philip Arrhidæus," *Ancient History Bulletin* 15/2, 2001, p. 63-89.

<sup>28</sup> TINIUS (2011), p. 97.

<sup>29</sup> COULON (2016), p. 97-101.

<sup>30</sup> G. ROBINS, *Egyptian painting and relief*, Princes Risborough, 1986, p. 27-37.

<sup>31</sup> Cairo, Grand Egyptian Museum 70372 (ex-Mansura 25: J.A. JOSEPHSON, *Egyptian royal sculpture of the Late Period, 400-246 B.C.*, Mainz am Rhein, 1997, p. 6.

statues in Vatican City<sup>32</sup> [fig. 8] and Strasbourg,<sup>33</sup> each of which is inscribed for Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

The take away is simple. Jack Josephson, following Bothmer, concentrates on physiognomic features to the exclusion of the body of the statue to which any particular head belonged. In discussing the statues in Madrid and Braunschweig it is clear that artistic continuity does not simply or exclusively rely on the transmission of a particular physiognomy. Continuity resides in the duplication of the entire package--head and body. This continued replication suggests that pharaonic ateliers operative during the Sebennytic dynasty continued to create throughout the Macedonian and into the early Ptolemaic Period. Such activity was not limited to the production of sculpture as the presence of the cartouches of Sebennytic royals and members of the Macedonian dynasty on the portico of the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna demonstrates.<sup>34</sup> Such continuity underscores the historical reality that the administration of the Macedonians and Ptolemies, fully cognizant of current events, continued to rely upon the services of capable individuals drawn from the ranks of those who had faithfully discharged their responsibilities for the Sebennytic administration. Those engaged in such continuous projects in the visual arts did not do so blindly. They were certainly aware of political realities because they presumably understood that Philip Arrhidaeos was serving in loco regis which is why the front of his nemes-headress on his statue in Braunschweig is snakeless. And the fact that Philip Arrhidaeos was assassinated<sup>35</sup> may very well explain why the inscription on the back pillar of that very same statue was targeted for erasure, despite the fact that he may never have set foot into Egypt.<sup>36</sup>

Such duplication must also be considered in terms of self-representation. Whereas one may argue that the stylistic correspondences shared by Arrhidaeos and Ptolemy II with their Sebennytic predecessors was a visual link to legitimize their position, does the perpetuation of such homogeneity set any of those so represented apart from the group so depicted? The question is not an idle one. Katja Goebis has recently argued that formulaic expressions of decorum to which elite members were expected to conform often exhibit the insertion of a small, personal detail, so that the treatise squarely positions the individual as one who is the same as all the others, but still stands out.<sup>37</sup> Her observations are indeed compatible with those of Alexis Den Doncker who prefers the noun “copy” to “replication” when discussing the appearance of the same vignette (e.g., pulling flax) in Theban tombs of the New Kingdom.<sup>38</sup> Such images, although conforming to the model, are tweaked so that the resulting image, as a manifestation of self-presentation, visually connotes

<sup>32</sup> Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 22681: JOSEPHSON (1997), p. 41-45.

<sup>33</sup> Strasbourg, Université de Strasbourg 1585: JOSEPHSON (1997), p. 44-45.

<sup>34</sup> S. SNAPE, D. BAILEY, *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt. The Great Portico at Hermopolis Magna: present state and past prospects*, London, 1988, p. viii.

<sup>35</sup> H. HAUBEN, “La chronologie macédonienne et ptolémaïque mise à l’épreuve. À propos d’un livre d’Erhard Grzybek,” *CdE* 67, 1992, p.143-171, who notes in passing that Arrhidaeos and Caligula both died on the same day of the same month, 25 September.

<sup>36</sup> A. WOJCIECHOWSKA, *From Amyrtaeus to Ptolemy: Egypt in the fourth century B.C.*, Wiesbaden, 2016, p. 96.

<sup>37</sup> K. GOEBIS, “Botched, tweaked, reinterpreted: three case studies of manipulated royal rituals in ancient Egypt,” in K.R. Morgan (ed.), *Pomp, circumstance, and the performance of politics: acting politically correct in the ancient world*, Chicago, 2024, p. 209-234.

<sup>38</sup> A. DEN DONCKER, “Visual indexicality in the private tomb chapels of the Theban necropolis: on flipping iconographic units as a compositional tool,” *Pražské Egyptologické Studie / Prague Egyptological Studies* 29, 2022, p. 43-73.

that the individual represented is a member of the same societal group because the model chosen for that self-representation conforms to expected societal decorum, but it is somehow set apart because of the tweak. As a result, we are permitted to inquire whether duplicated statuary, such as the kneeling, royal offering table bearers, were somehow analogously tweaked to indicate that the royal represented belongs to a continuum but is somehow set apart. The fact that those statues are inscribed only address that question in part because we are ignorant of their original context. The tweaking may have been achieved by the statue's placement, by its proximity to other statues, or by its physical environment. Studying statues alone and in isolation ignores their context and prevents them from being understood within the emerging awareness of the fact that such statues are statements of self-representation and were perhaps tweaked to set them apart from other members of their respective typology.

The statue in Madrid and perhaps the one in Braunschweig were found in Italian contexts, but they are passed over in silence in the more comprehensive inventories of *Aegyptiaca Romana*.<sup>39</sup> Both conform to an uncommon classification of pharaonic statuary which represents a kneeling individual presenting an offering table. This classification, perhaps triggered by antecedents of Old Kingdom date, appears to gain traction during the Dynasty XVIII<sup>40</sup> [fig. 9<sup>41</sup>] when it seems to be employed for both royal and elite representations. Thereafter, the classification is sporadically encountered<sup>42</sup> until Dynasty XXX to which a fourth example may be added, which may be slightly later in date.<sup>43</sup> The ritual represented appears to link the offering table with the name of the individual depicted.<sup>44</sup> Whether there is a correlation between the meaning of these kneeling royal figures and those representations<sup>45</sup> in temple relief frequently encountered on the soubassement<sup>46</sup> remains a subject for further investigation, but the one can, nevertheless, cautiously suggest that

---

<sup>39</sup> Neither are mentioned by ROULLET (1992); S. MÜSKENS, *Egypt beyond representation: materials and materiality of Aegyptiaca Romana*, Leiden, 2017; K. LEMBKE, *Das Iseum Campense in Rom. Studie über den Isiskult unter Domitian*, Heidelberg, 1994; or LOLLO BARBARI, PAROLA, TOTTI (1995).

<sup>40</sup> B. LURSON, "L'offrande du nom au Nouvel Empire : l'importance du sphinx Karnak-Nord Inv. 839," *ZÄS* 26, 1999, p. 55-60; and B. GEBLER-LÖHR, "Zur Datierung einiger königlicher Truchsesse unter Amenophis III," in B. Schmitz, A. Eggebrecht (eds.), *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath: zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. Februar 1990*, Hildesheim, 1990, p. 72; and B. FAY, "British Museum 21979 and Prince Thutmose III," *GM* 187, 2002, p. 23-26.

<sup>41</sup> Cairo, The Egyptian Museum CG 42073: <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cache/> (viewed 2024 May 31).

<sup>42</sup> T. BAGH,  *Finds from the excavations of J. Garstang in Meroe and F.Ll. Griffith in Kawa in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, Copenhagen, 2015, p. 111-112.

<sup>43</sup> Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 71: K. JANSEN-WINKELN, "Die Statue des Generals Petemiyis in Leiden," *OMRO* 77, 1997, p. 87-92.

<sup>44</sup> LURSON (1999).

<sup>45</sup> J. BAINES, *Fecundity figures: Egyptian personification and the iconology of a genre*, Warminster, Chicago, 1985, p. 101-103; 175-176; and 261-262.

<sup>46</sup> *Inter alia*, F. COPPENS, "Heh(u) ('infinity'): a personification of an aspect of the Nile inundation in the temples of Dendara and Edfu," *Anthropologie: International Journal of Human Diversity and Evolution* 56/3, 2018, p. 173-184. DOI: 10.26720/anthro.17.09.26.1; I. GUERMEUR, "Une conception religieuse du territoire: la Basse Égypte d'après la procession des dieux du soubassement nord du temple d'Arensnouphis à Philae," in J. Gonzalez, St. Pasquali (eds), *Au-delà du toponyme: une approche territoriale. Égypte & Méditerranée antiques. Actes du colloque tenu à Montpellier Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3 les 27-28 octobre 2015*, Montpellier, 2019, p. 79-129; and A.I. FERNANDEZ PICHEL, "Focus on *Esna II*, 17 and 31: new interpretations and conclusions," in M.H.T. Lopes, J. Popielska-Grzybowska, J. Iwaszczuk, R.G. Gurgel Pereira (eds.), *Ancient Egypt 2017: perspectives of research*, Warsaw, Wiesbaden, 2020, p. 201-205.

the proliferation of such images, as seen here at the Opet Temple [fig. 10]<sup>47</sup> in Karnak, may have possibly suggested to the Romans that such statues were possessed of a particular prestige which triggered their appeal.

I also think that it is remarkable that one of the largest concentrations of statues proffering tables should be localized in Italian contexts and all exhibit repairs/restorations in varying degrees: Anne Roulet<sup>48</sup> nos. 167a, 201, 202, 204, 205, and 208 [fig. 11]<sup>49</sup>. Given the apparent rarity of this classification after the Ramesside Period, it is remarkable that Roulet inventoried six examples. The example in Braunschweig increases that number to seven, and if the damaged, kneeling statue of Tuthmosis III can be restored with a tray in his extended hands, the total would number eight,<sup>50</sup> ranking the type, perhaps, as statistically one of the most popular among the Romans. Whether the ritual associated with the Egyptian examples was known to the Romans remains moot,<sup>51</sup> but it seems reasonable to argue that they specifically targeted the type for repurposing. It is significant to note that none of the kneeling examples<sup>52</sup> inventoried by Sander Müskens, following Roulet, is a pharaonic original in keeping with a general pattern of *Aegyptica Romana* which in some instances are free imitations of their model.<sup>53</sup> This observation leads one to suggest, however cautiously, that either the statue in Madrid or the one in Braunschweig, or both, might have been the model upon which the kneeling examples just cited were dependent. That suggestion is based on the theory that the Romans used pharaonic originals as models on which to base their copies, as seen in the statue suggested to represent Drusilla<sup>54</sup> which copies<sup>55</sup> one inscribed for Arsinoe II<sup>56</sup> and in an image of a baboon<sup>57</sup> apparently based on pharaonic originals<sup>58</sup> known to the Romans. I do not now wish to enter into a prolonged discussion about the terminology used to describe the “style” (Egyptianizing) of the Drusilla as opposed to that used to describe the “style” (Egyptian) of the Arsinoe II,<sup>59</sup> because, as Molly Swetnam-Burhnam has so forcefully argued, the Romans themselves did not make those distinctions.<sup>60</sup> There is no ancient terminology for such

<sup>47</sup> <https://digitalkarnak.ucsc.edu/opet-temple> (viewed 2024.06.10)

<sup>48</sup> I have purposefully not included ROULET (1972), no. 206, known only from a line drawing depicting a kneeling figure because it offers an indistinct, cylindrical object rather than an offering table. I exclude ROULET (1972), no. 203 for the same reason. Furthermore this example is known solely from a very indistinct drawing (ROULET [1972], fig. 218 [Cronaca MS. Christ Church, Oxford, inv. 0814 v] so that one cannot determine with certainty whether it represents an adaptation of the statue in Madrid. I exclude ROULET (1972), no. 207, which is probably a post-antique reproduction of Cairo, The Egyptian Museum CG 392, the so-called offering-bearers of Amenemhet III from Tanis: M. SALEH, H. SOUROUZIAN, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo: official catalogue*, Mainz, 1987, no. 104.

<sup>49</sup> ROULET (1972), p. 117, no. 208, which is illustrated by G. BOTTI, P. ROMANELLI, *Le Sculture Del Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, Vatican City, 1951, pl. 81, fig. 167, but without its modern head.

<sup>50</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre AF 6936: LOLLOI BARBERI, PAROLA, TOTTI (1995), nos. 42, 192-193, and 252.

<sup>51</sup> LEMBKE (1994), p. 36.

<sup>52</sup> Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. Ant. Com. 9746 and 9748: ROULET (1972), p. 201-202; and MÜSKENS (2017), p. 99 and 100.

<sup>53</sup> LEMBKE (1994), p. 42.

<sup>54</sup> Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 22683: MÜSKENS (2017), p. 202.

<sup>55</sup> MÜSKENS (2017), p. 334, the copy does not employ the same stone as the original but the intention appears to have been to replicate the material as closely as possible.

<sup>56</sup> Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 22682: MÜSKENS (2017), p. 166.

<sup>57</sup> Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 22833: MÜSKENS (2017), p. 270 and 336.

<sup>58</sup> Roulet 1972, nos. 201-202.

<sup>59</sup> For the terms “Egyptian” and “Egyptianizing,” see both ROULET (1972), p. 13-22; and LEMBKE (1994), p. 33-50.

<sup>60</sup> M. SWETNAM-BURLAND, *Egypt in Italy. Visions of Egypt in Roman Imperial Culture*, New York, 2015, p. 18-64.

distinctions,<sup>61</sup> and even those interested in things Egyptian in Italy during the Renaissance and later, among them Athanasius Kirchner, followed suit and did not distinguish between a pharaonic original and an adaptation/imitation.<sup>62</sup> It is interesting in this context to note that their contemporaries also avoided binary classifications regarding the simultaneous discovery of classical and early Christian remains being uncovered in Rome.<sup>63</sup>

As widely accepted as the working hypothesis for avoiding binary distinctions may be, it may require tweaking. Olaf Kaper has argued that a statue<sup>64</sup> from the sanctuary at Benevento generally identified as an image of the Roman Emperor Domitian was neither targeted in the pogrom of *damnatio memoriae* of that emperor in the aftermath of his death nor was his pharaonic image in the temple of Deir el-Hagar in Egypt.<sup>65</sup> Those examples seem to suggest that the Romans did indeed discriminate between objects in order to conform to political imperatives, perhaps as Kaper suggests, because those untouched images were not incorporated into the imperial cult, but the phenomenon requires further investigation.

On the other hand, when it comes to distinguishing the “style” of the statues in Madrid and Braunschweig from others within the context of *Aegyptiaca Romana*, I would adopt Müskens’s<sup>66</sup> phraseology, “the conceptual style” for both the Drusilla and the Arsinoe II, and “the naturalistic style” for all others including the three kneeling examples inventoried by Roulet (nos. 201-202 and 208). The justification for pigeon-holing the three kneeling examples cited by Roulet is based on the fact that they are less pharaonic in appearance, that they are sculpted in marble,<sup>67</sup> which is apparently first used for *Aegyptiaca Romana* during the reign of Domitian,<sup>68</sup> and that two examples (Roulet, nos. 201-202) were not found in a traditional “Isiaic” setting, but were rather found in the Sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on Rome’s Aventine Hill. I think that is an important distinction to make inasmuch as those two examples demonstrate that not every example of *Aegyptiaca Romana*, so classified modernly, was anciently, automatically associated with an Egyptian context. That observation should, therefore, caution all against automatically jumping to the conclusion that every object conforming to a pre-conceived modern notion of what constitutes *Aegyptiaca Romana* without provenance can be automatically be so identified.

Duplication and continuity of the kneeling presenter of an offering table emerges as one of the salient features of the material culture of the Late Period. Indeed the modern notion of “one-off” did not exist in antiquity.<sup>69</sup> Triggered perhaps by antecedents in the Old Kingdom, the type enjoyed a singular popularity that was apparently so appreciated by the Romans that they transported originals from Egypt to Rome, not only re-erecting them but also using them as models for new creations which were even erected in sanctuaries without explicit pharaonic overtones.

---

<sup>61</sup> MÜSKENS (2017), p. 15.

<sup>62</sup> J. WINAND, “Hieroglyphs in the Renaissance. Rebirth or new life?,” *Hieroglyphs* 1, 2023, p. 54-56.

<sup>63</sup> M.E. SCHWAB, A. GRAFTON, *The art of discovery. Digging into the past in Renaissance Europe*, Oxford, Princeton, 2022, p. 1-40.

<sup>64</sup> Benevento, Museo del Sannio 1903: VERSLUYS (2021), fig. 4.

<sup>65</sup> O.E. KAPER, “Domitian and the temples of Egypt,” in Raimondi Cominesi, de Haan, Moormann, Stocks (2021), p. 184.

<sup>66</sup> MÜSKENS (2017), p. 78.

<sup>67</sup> MÜSKENS (2017), p. 299, observes that *Aegyptiaca Romana* in the natural style are overwhelmingly in marble.

<sup>68</sup> LEMBKE (1994), p. 42

<sup>69</sup> W. CASEMENT, “Were the ancient Romans art forgers?,” *Journal of Art Historiography* 15, 2016, p. 10.



The motivation for this seeming predilection of the Romans for kneeling statues requires further investigation because as Kristine Clausen observed, kneeling statues are exceptions within the repertoire of Greek and Roman sculpture, all the more so because kneeling is an “unRoman motif.”<sup>70</sup> Indeed, the presence of two kneeling and headless, draped female statues<sup>71</sup> associated with an Iseum at Beneventum may perhaps have been depictions of Nephthys and Isis, the asymmetrical pose of the latter perhaps intended to privilege and distinguish her from her sister.

## Excursus A

### A suggested origin of transporting *Aegyptiaca* to Rome

The desire to relocate *Aegyptiaca* from Egypt to Rome may have begun with an experimental idea which was so successful that it was followed by a series of increasingly spectacular transports. The idea may very well have been the brain child of Cornelius Gallus,<sup>72</sup> the first prefect of Egypt, whose checkered career need not be rehearsed here.<sup>73</sup> It has been argued that the Vatican (now, Montecitorio) obelisk was originally moved by Cleopatra VII from its original position somewhere in Egypt, transported, and re-erected either in the Forum Iulium<sup>74</sup> or in the heroon for Anthony in Alexandria.<sup>75</sup> The obelisk was then moved to another location in the newly founded Alexandrian district of Nicopolis by Cornelius Gallus in 30/29 BC,<sup>76</sup> before its subsequent removal and transport to Rome by Caligula in AD 29.<sup>77</sup> That initial success by was followed by the decision to

---

<sup>70</sup> K.B. CLAUSEN, *The Flavian Isea in Beneventum and Rome: The appropriation of Egyptian and Egyptianising Art in imperial Beneventum and Rome*, Det Humanistiske Fakultet, Københavns Universitet, 2015, p. 93. (viewed 2024.05.27:

chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://staticcuris.ku.dk/portal/files/130596934/Ph.d.\_2015\_Clausen.pdf).

<sup>71</sup> H.W. MÜLLER, *Der Isiskult im antiken Benevent und Katalog der Skulpturen aus den ägyptischen Heiligtümern im Museo del Sannio zu Benevent*, Berlin, 1969, nos. 285 and 287.

<sup>72</sup> L. PANTALACCI, “Monuments des derniers Lagides à Coptos,” *CENiM* 35, 2023, p. 488, for the resistance he encountered at Coptos by the partisans of Cleopatra VII after her death.

<sup>73</sup> F. HOFFMANN, M. MINAS-NERPEL, S. PFEIFFER, *Die dreisprachige Stele des C. Cornelius Gallus: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Berlin, New York, 2009; and J. COERT, “Der kaiserliche Freundschaftsentzug als Instrument der Gewalt und Ordnung im Imperium Romanum,” in J. Diemke (ed.), *Forschungen zur Gewalt in der römischen Antike*, Stuttgart, 2023, p. 59-88, on the role of *renuntio amicitiae* as a possible reason for his suicide.

<sup>74</sup> F. KAYSER, *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d’Alexandrie impériale (I<sup>er</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> apr. J-C.)*, Cairo, 1994, p. 23-25, no. 4.

<sup>75</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, *Der Obelisk auf dem Peterplatz in Rom. Ein historisches Monument der Antike*, *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse Jahrgang 1990*, Bericht 2, p. 38-54, as discussed by S. WOODHOUSE, “The sun god,” in St. Quirke (ed.), *The temple in ancient Egypt: new discoveries and recent research*, London, 1997, p. 135.

<sup>76</sup> MÜSKENS (2017), p. 188; and S. PFEIFFER, *Griechische und lateinische Inschriften zum Ptolemäerreich und zur römischen Provinz Aegyptus*, Berlin, 2015, p. 228-231, no. 49, who dates the move to the period between 26 June 10 BC-25 June 9 BC.

<sup>77</sup> KAYSER (1994), p. 1-7.

move two obelisks to Alexandria in 13/12 B.C. during the prefecture of P. Rubrius Barbarus,<sup>78</sup> before being moved to London and New York, respectively, in the 19th century.

Augustus and his agents were preoccupied with urban planning aimed at changing the cityscape of Rome.<sup>79</sup> Those plans included the transformation of the Campus Martius into an organic, architectural ensemble into which the Ara Pacis would be integrated.<sup>80</sup> Those plans must have included the understanding that 10/9 BC would mark the 20th anniversary of the annexation of Egypt by Augustus.<sup>81</sup> The intentional use of an Egyptian obelisk as the gnomon<sup>82</sup> of a sun dial which was so integral to the design of that architectural program must have been purposefully premeditated and meticulously planned. The spectacular involved moving not one but two obelisks from Egypt to Rome,<sup>83</sup> which, as Pliny (*NH* 36,60) remarks, excited the greatest admiration. All must have fully understood the risks involved because the transport of such a massive monolith from its original location overland to the sea for transport by an ocean-going vessel only to be off-loaded a second time so that it could be transported to the site of its ultimate re-erection must have been challenging. The ocean going trip from Egypt to the port Puteoli, the port for their unloading if one can trust Pliny (*NH* 36, 70), was a twelve-day journey,<sup>84</sup> but transporting a pair of obelisks may have taken longer.<sup>85</sup> The distance from Puteoli to Rome is about 150 miles and the topography of the route must have presented obstacles.<sup>86</sup> The distance from the harbor on the Hudson River to the site in Central Park on which the NY obelisk was to be erected is a tad over 2 miles, or 10,905 feet. The transport over that distance took 112 days to complete so that the obelisk was moved on

<sup>78</sup> E. BERNAND, *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie : répertoire bibliographique des OGIS*, Paris, 1982, p. 41; see, too, L. BELL, "Divine kingship and the theology of the obelisk cult in the temples of Thebes," in H. Beinlich, J. Hallof, H. Hussey, C. von Pfeil (eds), *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Würzburg, 23.-26. September 1999*, Wiesbaden, 2002, p. 33.

<sup>79</sup> SUETONIUS, *Augustus*, 28, 3: *marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset* (He found Rome built of mud brick but left it built of marble) for which see E. LA ROCCA, "La Roma di mattoni diventa di marmo," in *idem* (ed.), *Augusto*, Milan, 2013, p. 92-105.

<sup>80</sup> É. DEMOUGEOT, "Obélisques égyptiens transférés à Rome en 357 et à Constantinople en 390," in *Hommages à François Daumas* 1, Montpellier, 1986, p. 153; and J.-Cl. Grenier, "Notes isiaques I (1-6)," *Bollettino dei Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie* 9, 1989, p. 6.

<sup>81</sup> J.-Cl. Grenier, "L'empereur et le pharaon," in *Égypte Romaine, l'autre Égypte*, Marseille, Paris, 1997, p. 38; and CLAUSEN (2015), p. 47-48.

<sup>82</sup> E. BUCHNER, "Horologium solarium Augusti," in M.R. Hofter (ed.), *Kaiser Augustus und Die Verlorene Republik: Eine Ausstellung Im Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin 7. Juni-14. August 1988*, Mainz, 1988, p. 240-245; and WOODHOUSE (1997), p. 143, n. 12, pushing back against the suggestion that obelisks in ancient Egypt were used as gnomons for sun dials.

<sup>83</sup> The suggestion by C. CANBY, *A guide to the archaeological sites of Israel, Egypt and North Africa*, New York, 1990, p. 162, that this Gallus was also responsible for this transport cannot be sustained because his death predates the event.

<sup>84</sup> M.J. VERSLUYS, *Aegyptiaca Romana: Nilotic scenes and the Roman views of Egypt*, Leiden, Boston, 2002, p. 423.

<sup>85</sup> H.H. Gorringer, *Egyptian Obelisks*, New York, 1882, p. 29, who records that it took over five weeks to transport the obelisk from Alexandria to New York City.

<sup>86</sup> Compare the issues confronting the overland transport of the obelisk in New York from its offloading on the Hudson River to its arrival at its destination at Greywacke Knoll in Central Park, GORRINGER (1882), p. 31. It is uncertain whether the Roman Emperor Nero's planned canal intended to link Puteoli with Ostia was operational, for which see both T. DERDA, "A Roman province in the Eastern Mediterranean," in K. Vandorpe, (ed.), *A companion to Greco-Roman and late antique Egypt*, Chichester, 2019, p. 54; and D. PALOMBI, "Rome AD 69: the city at the crossroads," in Raimondi Cominesi, de Haan, Moormann, Stocks (2021), p. 25-28.

average only 97 feet per day.<sup>87</sup> The mind boggles when it comes to estimating how many days it must have taken the Romans to transport those two obelisks.

The risks posed for the Romans must have been so equally daunting that it informed their decision to transport two obelisks,<sup>88</sup> the one acting as a kind of insurance should the other suffer a mishap. I do not think that one can even begin to image the impact that such a spectacular had on its contemporary audience and how scholars are still responding to the event.<sup>89</sup> That success was repeated when two more obelisks were subsequently and successfully moved and re-erected to grace the grounds of Augustus's mausoleum in Rome.<sup>90</sup> One can suggest that all aspects of the chaîne opératoire for the transport and erection of obelisks from Egypt to Rome were under the strict supervision of the state.

The earliest, modern views of the Karnak temples reveal that colossal statues and architecture were cut down so that all remained at the same, constant height.<sup>91</sup> The uniformity of such a "hair cut" may indicate just how intensively premeditative the Roman Imperial program from removing obelisks really was. The uniform height would have undoubtedly facilitated the erection of scaffolds for the lowering of the obelisks and eased passage ways for their transport through the sanctuary to the river.

## Excursus B

### Suggestions for how objects were targeted for removal

The selection of unworked blocks of stone for transport from Egypt to Rome appears to have been predicated on the targeted choice of specific stones, those ostensibly chosen for the creation of *Aegyptiaca Romana* privileged granite and granodiorite<sup>92</sup> whereas images of the ruling Julio-Claudian dynasty were exclusively sculpted in greywacke/schist.<sup>93</sup> Such targeted choices reinforce the observation that the Romans had developed a hierarchy with regard to prioritizing stone selection.<sup>94</sup> Native Egyptian quarrymen and sculptors,<sup>95</sup> some of whom worked during the reign of Cleopatra VII and remained active during the reign of Augustus, were doubtless included within the teams whose experience in terms of expedience, ease of acquisition, transport, and delivery would have proven to be invaluable. I imagine that that same criteria applied for the selection of

<sup>87</sup> GORRINGE (1882), p. 45.

<sup>88</sup> BELL (2002), discusses these two obelisks which were originally erected as a pair at Heliopolis.

<sup>89</sup> BUCHNER (1988); L. HASELBERGER, *The Horologium of Augustus: Debate and Context*, JRA supplementary series 99, 2014, for a discussion of the issues involved; and J. POLLINI, *From Republic to Empire: Rhetoric Religion and Power in the Visual Culture of Ancient Rome*, Norman, 2012, fig. 69, for a suggested reconstruction.

<sup>90</sup> The Quirinal and Esquiline obelisks: MÜSKENS (2017), p. 196 and 198, respectively.

<sup>91</sup> For the view by Frederic Louis Norden: M.-L. BUHL, *Les dessins archéologiques et topographiques de l'Égypte ancienne faits par F.L. Norden 1737-1738 et conservés à l'Académie Royale des Sciences et des Lettres du Danemark*, Copenhagen, 1993, p. 99-100, and pl. 56v; and for that by the Napoleonic expedition: C.G. Gillispie, M. Dewachter (eds.), *Monuments of Egypt: the Napoleonic expedition. The complete archaeological plates from La Description de l'Égypte*, Princeton, 1987, III, 17-18.

<sup>92</sup> MÜSKENS (2017), p. 299 and 333.

<sup>93</sup> R.S. Bianchi, "Sculpture in native Egyptian stones in Julio-Claudian contexts," *CdE* 95, 2020, p. 327-336.

<sup>94</sup> MÜSKENS (2017), p. 25-26, citing LEMBKE (1994), pp. 34 and 36.

<sup>95</sup> D. DEVAUCHELLE, G. WAGNER, *Les graffites du Gebel Teir : textes démotiques et grecs*, Cairo, 1984, p. 22-23.

targeted obelisks which likewise must have been easily accessible, standing in locations, the topography of which would not have encumbered their removal. The issue of selecting statuary for removal and transport presents a different set of concerns. Recognizing that examples of *Aegyptiaca* in Rome are often inscribed with names of pharaohs of the Late Period such as Psametik II and Nectanebo II, Roulet,<sup>96</sup> followed by Swetnam-Burland,<sup>97</sup> suggested the associations of such pharaohs with their well-established posthumous reputations triggered their acquisition. This is certainly a defensible position given the suggestion that such removal was state-sponsored. Egypt-friendly emperors certainly interacted with native Egyptian intellectuals insofar as imperial projects were concerned so that the selection process targeted objects which were thematically appropriate, as seen in the selection of the paired statues of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, erroneously interpreting their epithet, Philadelphus, literally as the sibling-loving royal couple, erected in Horti Sallustiani<sup>98</sup> by Caligula, echoing his incestuous fixation on his sister Drusilla.<sup>99</sup> Some Romans were, therefore, keenly aware of just what they were appropriating.<sup>100</sup>

Since the acquisition of *Aegyptiaca* was a thriving business, one can image that Roman agents frequently grabbed whatever was readily available. Monuments of the Late Period were doubtless more plentiful than those of earlier periods. To this must be added the engrained Roman habit of indiscriminately plundering works of art. The sacking of Corinth and the removal of its art by Mummius in 146 BC<sup>101</sup> and the unbridled, wholesale pillaging of art from Sicily by Verres<sup>102</sup> during his tenure there (73-71 BC) should signal that not all Roman collectors were connoisseurs. One must add that the transportation of statues had, by the Roman Imperial Period, become a perfected craft if the virtually intact examples of works of art modernly recovered from the sea bed of the Mediterranean is a reliable index.<sup>103</sup>

It is, therefore, remarkable that so many examples of *Aegyptiaca Romana* unearthed in Rome exhibit modifications ranging from minor tweaks to such virtual reworking that they are transformed into entirely new creations.<sup>104</sup> One has argued that such modifications were effected in Antiquity.<sup>105</sup> If that suggestion obtains, one is forced to inquire about how the damage occurred. It seems reasonable to argue that the damage was not accidental as a result of transport, given the condition of objects recovered from shipwrecks. It is perhaps possible to argue that some objects were originally erected on site but were subsequently damaged when the site was. Those objects

<sup>96</sup> ROLLET (1972), p. 17.

<sup>97</sup> SWETNAM-BURLAND (2015), p. 30-31.

<sup>98</sup> Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 22681 and 22682: MÜSKENS (2017), p. 164 and 166, respectively.

<sup>99</sup> S. FRANCOCCI, "L'Iseum et Serapeum du Champ de Mars : remarques sur les monuments égyptiens," in F. Lecocq (ed.), *L'Égypte à Rome : actes du colloque de Caen des 28-30 septembre 2002*, Caen, 2005, p. 187-199; and Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 22683: MÜSKENS (2017), p. 202, suggested by some to represent Drusilla.

<sup>100</sup> FRANCOCCI (2005).

<sup>101</sup> Velleius Paterculus I, 12-13; and L. YARROW, "Lucius Mummius and the spoils of Corinth," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 25, 2006, p. 57-70.

<sup>102</sup> I. GILDENHARD, *Cicero, Against Verres*, Cambridge, 2011; and I. KÖSTER, "Rome's Sicilian Disasters: Invective and the City in Cicero's *Verrines*," in V. Closs, E. Keitel (eds.), *Urban disasters and the Roman imagination*, Berlin, Boston, 2020, p. 73-92.

<sup>103</sup> S. HEMINGWAY, "Contexts of discovery," in J.M. Daehner, K. Lapatin (eds.), *Power and Pathos: Bronze Sculpture of the Hellenistic World*, Los Angeles, 2015, p. 60-71; and G. KOUTSOULAKIS, A. SIMOSI, "Hellenistic bronze sculptures from the Aegean Sea: Recent Discoveries (1994-2009)," in Daehner, Lapatin (2015), p. 72-82.

<sup>104</sup> SWETNAM-BURLAND (2015), p. 34.

<sup>105</sup> SWETNAM-BURLAND (2015), p. 41.

were presumably repaired as part of the process of the renewal of those sites. The objects associated both with the Iseum Campense and the Horti Sallustiani would seem to reinforce that suggestion. Some of the sculpture associated with the Iseum Campense in Katja Lembke's catalogue are virtually intact, namely the personifications of the river gods and the pair of lions. Only two are restored. The striding, falcon-head striding male figure in Munich exhibits a tastefully restored base, conforming to its original design<sup>106</sup> and a female sphinx,<sup>107</sup> ostensibly of Tuthmoside date in Rome,<sup>108</sup> which has been restored jig-saw like so that its original design is not violated. The majority of statuary, however, is fragmentary.<sup>109</sup> and that damage may be attributed to the passage of time. Most of the objects from the Horti Sallustiani are remarkably well preserved, including the monumental statues of Tiya, Ptolemy II, Arsinoe II, and its clone, the so-called "Drusilla". The majority of standing statues from the Villa Hadriana at Tivoli,<sup>110</sup> although damaged and reassembled, are so homogeneous in appearance that one can very well suggest that they were all both contemporaneously damaged and subsequently repaired.

All of the repairs/restorations of the statues from the three sites just discussed are in keeping with the original designs upon which their execution was based. That set of circumstances differs from the repairs exhibited by the statue in Madrid and in Braunschweig, particularly with regard to the compositional design of the fingers holding the offering table. Although those restorations are not identical, their design and execution in both cases are not in keeping with the expected design tenets of pharaonic statues holding offering tables. In other examples the restored hands support the tray either by resting its bottom on their open palms<sup>111</sup> or by grasping two of its corners with its fingers. According to pharaonic practice, such objects are generally held by pressing open palms against each of the object's two sides.<sup>112</sup> During the reign of Nectanebo II, as Bothmer perceptively remarked, the bottom of such objects rests on the fingers.<sup>113</sup> It would, therefore, have been of interest to have had the original designs of the hands as they held the tray on these two statues, but in their present state one can cautiously suggest that the restoration on both the Madrid and Braunschweig statues is both post-antique and perhaps by the same individual or atelier, all the more so since the design of the fingers do not conform to those of statues holding offering trays which are designed in the naturalistic style.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst G.L. WAF 22: ROULLET (1972), pl. 96.

<sup>107</sup> New York, Private Collection, ROULLET (1972), no. 277, 132-133; illustrated but apparently not discussed by LEMBKE (1994), pl. 34, 1, for which there is no entry on p. 225, where one would expect it to be.

<sup>108</sup> Rome, Museo Barocco 13: LEMBKE (1994), pl. 33, 1.

<sup>109</sup> LEMBKE (1994), pls. 5-18.

<sup>110</sup> J.-Cl. GRENIER, *La décoration statuaire du "Serapeum" du "Canope" de la Villa Adriana: Essai de reconstitution et d'interprétation*, Rome, 1990, pls. V, VI, VIII, X, and XII-XIV.

<sup>111</sup> As here in a statue inscribed for Taharqa, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 1706 [0730]: BAGH (2015), p. 111-112.

<sup>112</sup> M. EL-MEZAIN, M.M. KACEM, "Two unpublished sphinxes of Amenemhat V and Ramses II," *JARCE* 55, 2019, p. 85-96 and fig. 6, where a human-handed sphinx, inscribed for Rameses II, holds an offering table with open palms pressed on each side.

<sup>113</sup> BOTHMER, DE MEULENAERE, MÜLLER (1960), p. 149.

<sup>114</sup> Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 91: ROULLET (1972), p. 177, no. 208.

## Excursus C

### The chaîne opératoire for the transport of *Aegyptiaca*

The transport of *Aegyptiaca* from Egypt to Rome must be regarded as part of a much larger program. During the Roman Imperial Period stone statuary moved regularly across the Egyptian landscape as if it were tumble weed in the American southwest. Kyriakos Savvopoulos suggests that the Romans intercalated so many pharaonic monuments into the city of Alexandria that its cityscape was transformed into an open-air “museum” of Egyptian antiquities,<sup>115</sup> echoing the observation by Elizabeth Brophy that the *Aegyptiaca* transported and re-erected in Rome transformed not only individual sites within that city into virtual museums,<sup>116</sup> but transformed the entire city into, paraphrasing her here, a kind of Disneyland.<sup>117</sup> And in fact an Egyptian presence was felt in a documented more than twenty sites within Italy ranging from the south at Tauromena in Sicily to the northeastern corner of the Italic peninsula at Aquileia.<sup>118</sup> To that number of moved statuary must be added the significant number of others which were cumulatively transported to other sites across the Mediterranean in general.<sup>119</sup>

The transportation of grain to Rome provides a window into how state-control of the administration of that transport did in fact interface with the private sector.<sup>120</sup> The Nile River was fundamental to that transport.<sup>121</sup> Before transshipment to Rome, the grain was stored in Alexandria,<sup>122</sup> where it was doubtless inventoried for export. One can envision the same chaîne opératoire for the transport of obelisks as well as, presumably, for unworked blocks of stone,<sup>123</sup> in which the military controlling the quarries worked in partnership with civilian entrepreneurial enterprises<sup>124</sup> which normally handled all of the physical aspects of the actual transport.<sup>125</sup> The objects were then

<sup>115</sup> K. SAVVOPOULOS, *Alexandria in Aegypto. The role of the Egyptian Tradition in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. Ideology, Culture, Identity, Public Life*, Phd Thesis, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, 2011, p. 328.

<sup>116</sup> LEMBKE (1994), p. 50.

<sup>117</sup> E. BROPHY, *Royal statues in Egypt 300 BC - AD 220: context and function*, Oxford, 2015, p. 69-70; and MÜSKENS (2017), p. 5, who notes the same transformation of Rome likewise occurred in the 16th century as a result of the ‘Renovatio Romae’ as increasingly more and more examples of *Aegyptiaca* Romana were discovered and re-erected throughout the city.

<sup>118</sup> S. MOSER, “Presents, imports or ‘loot’? Ancient Egyptian artefacts found in Aquileia (Udine, Italy),” in M.H.T. Lopes, J. Popielska-Grzybowska, J. Iwaszczuk, R.G.G. Pereira (eds.), *Ancient Egypt 2017: perspectives of research*, Warsaw, 2020, p. 139-152.

<sup>119</sup> BROPHY (2015), p. 70-71.

<sup>120</sup> C. ADAMS, “Nile River Transport under the Romans,” in A. Wilson (ed.), *Trade, Commerce, and the State in the Roman World*, Oxford, New York, 2018, p. 175-210.

<sup>121</sup> ADAMS (2018).

<sup>122</sup> A. TCHERNIA, *The Romans and Trade*, Oxford, 2016, p. 265-276.

<sup>123</sup> MÜSKENS (2017), p. 34-39.

<sup>124</sup> H. CUVIGNY, *Mons Claudianus. Ostraca graeca et latina III. Les recus pour avances à la familia (O. Claud. 417 à 63)*, Cairo, 2000, p. 10; and T. Wilkinson, “A red sea of trade. A new perspective on violence in Rome’s Eastern desert and Indian Ocean trade,” in J. Diemke (ed.), *Forschungen zur Gewalt in der römischen Antike*, Stuttgart, 2023, p.105-132.

<sup>125</sup> A.K. BOWMAN, “Trade and the flag: Alexandria, Egypt and the imperial house,” in D. Robinson, A. Wilson (eds), *Alexandria and the north-western delta: joint conference proceedings of Alexandria: city and harbour (Oxford 2004) and the trade and topography of Egypt’s north-west delta, 8th century BC to 8th century AD (Berlin 2006)*, Oxford, 2010, p. 105-106.

shipped via ocean going vessels to Roman ports,<sup>126</sup> that at Puteoli receiving the most traffic. One expects the same processes were employed for the documented transport of a statue from the Dakhla Oasis to Alexandria, although that documentation deals exclusively with the costs involved.<sup>127</sup>

## Excursus D

### Shopping for *Aegyptiaca* in Rome

Assuming that examples of *Aegyptiaca* Romana were luxury goods, one can profitably turn to the different types of market places at which an economically advantaged Roman might shop for *Aegyptiaca*. It has been suggested that Egyptians resident in Rome may have been art dealers.<sup>128</sup> The choices open to collectors and their putative advisors might include speciality shops, auctions, and fairs, as well as private transactions between individual parties.<sup>129</sup> If, on the other hand, a client was in the market for custom-made statue from one of the unworked blocks of stone of his/her choice, the commission may not have differed much from the transactions between clients and artisans,<sup>130</sup> such as goldsmiths, gem-cutters, purveyors of pearls and of dyed, luxury textiles, and master perfumers.<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>126</sup> J. PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ, “Sumptuary specialists and consumer elites in Rome’s world order,” *Collecció Instrumenta* 75, 2021, p. 41-59.

<sup>127</sup> P. Kellis Gr 29: C.A. Hope, G.E. Bowen (eds.), *Kellis: A Roman-period village in Egypt’s Dakhleh Oasis*, Cambridge, 2022, p. 155.

<sup>128</sup> M. SWETNAM-BURLAND, “Egyptian objects, Roman contexts: a taste for aegyptiaca in Italy,” in L. Bricault, M.J. Versluys, P.G.P. Meyboom (eds.), *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman world. Proceedings of the IIIrd International Conference of Isis studies, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University May 11-14 2005*, Leiden, Boston, 2007, p. 113-115.

<sup>129</sup> C. HOLLERAN, *Shopping in Ancient Rome: The Retail Trade in the Late Republic and the Principate*, Oxford, New York, 2012.

<sup>130</sup> M. FLOHR, “Artisans and Markets: The economics of Roman domestic decoration,” *AJA* 123, 2019, p.101-125.

<sup>131</sup> PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ (2021), p. 93-183.



Fig. 1a

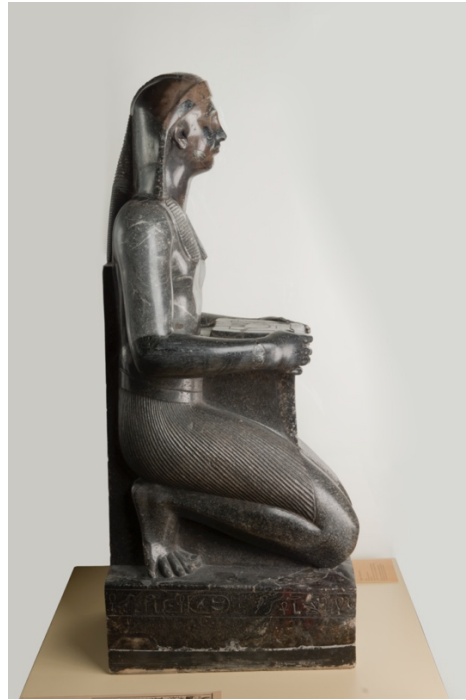


Fig. 1b.

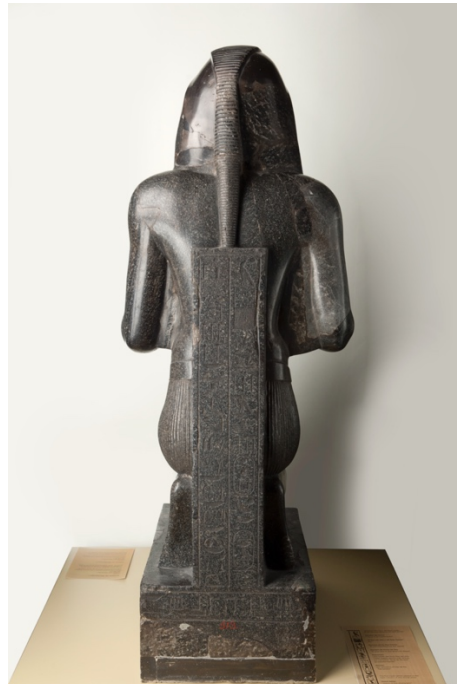
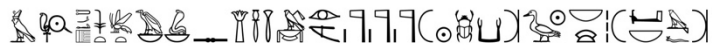


Fig. 1c.

Fig. 1a-c. Statue of Nectanebo I  
 (Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Inv.: 1978/71/1. Phot. Fernando Velasco Mora).





a. Back pillar column on the right



b. Back pillar column on the left



c. Right hand side of the base



d. Back of base



e. Left hand side of the base

Fig. 2a-e. Facsimile of the inscriptions on the statue of Nectanebo I (generated by the author using JSesh 7.6.1).



Fig. 3a.

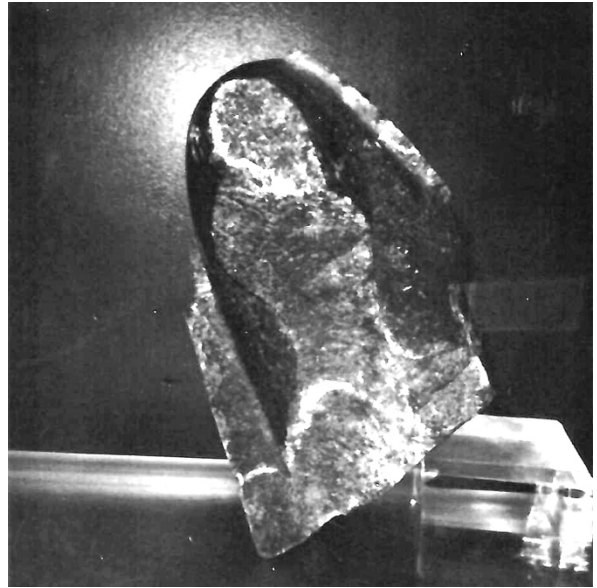


Fig. 3b



Fig. 3c.

Fig. 3a-c. Statue of Nectanebo I suggested to have been holding an offering table.

Art market, 1991 ©ALEA



Fig. 4a.



Fig. 4b

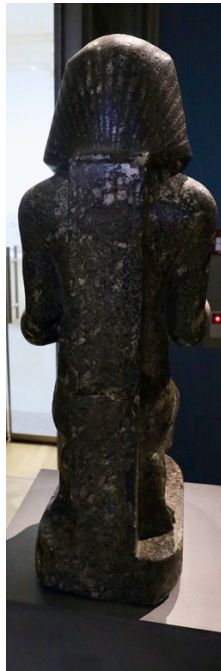


Fig. 4c.

Fig. 4a-c. Statue of Philip Arrhidaeus (Braunschweig, Sammlungen des Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museums und des Städtischen Museums HAUM, Aeg. S 20, ©ALEA).

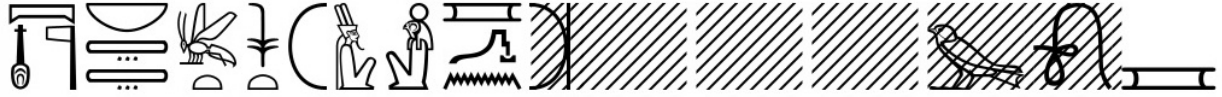


Fig. 5. Facsimile of the inscription on the back pillar of the statue of Philip Arrhidaeus (generated by the author using JSesh 7.6.1).



Fig. 6. Detail the head of Philip Arrhidaeus (© ALEA).



Fig. 7. Head of a statue inscribed for Nectanebo I (Cairo, Grand Egyptian Museum 70372 [ex-Mansura 25]. Courtesy of the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture at the Brooklyn Museum).



Fig. 8. Head of a statue inscribed for Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 22681, © ALEA).



Fig. 9. Kneeling statue of Amenhotep II with an offering table Cairo (The Egyptian Museum CG 42073; <https://egyptianmuseumcairo.eg/artefacts/statues-of-tuthmosis-iii-2> (viewed 2024.06.01, there is an error in the link which refers to Tuthmosis III although the image which pops up is that of Amenhotep II).



Fig. 10. Two trains of “fecundity” figures, both male and female, on the soubassement of the Opet Temple, Karnak (courtesy, Digital Karnak Project).



Fig. 11. Kneeling statue holding an offering table (Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 2281).