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LATE DYNASTIC PERIOD

العصر المتأخر

Ivan Ladynin

Spätdynastische Zeit
Époque tardive

The Late Dynastic Period is the last period of Egyptian independence under Dynasties 28 to 30 (404 - 343 BCE). As for Egypt's position in the world, this was the time their military and diplomatic efforts focused on preventing reconquest by the Persian Empire. At home, Dynasties 28 - 29 were marked by a frequent shift of rulers, whose reigns often started and ended violently; in comparison, Dynasty 30 was a strong house, the rule of which was interrupted only from the outside. Culturally this period saw the continuation of certain Late Egyptian trends (archaistic tendency, popularity of animal cults, cult of Osiris and divine couples), which became the platform for the evolution of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.

إن العصر المتأخر هو آخر عصور الإستقلال المصرية تحت حكم الأسرات من الثامنة والعشرين إلى الثلاثين (404-343 ق.م). ونتيجة لموقع مصر المتميز في العالم ، شهد هذا العصر جهودا مصرية عسكرية ودبلوماسية ركزت على تجنب إعادة الإحتلال الفارسي لمصر. أما على الصعيد الداخلي شهدت الأسرتان الثامنة والعشرون والتاسعة والعشرون تغيير متكرر للحكام ، اللذين غالبا ما انتهت فترات حكمهم بالعنف. على النقيض كانت الأسرة الثلاثون قوية ولم يتزعزع حكمها إلا نتيجة التأثيرات الخارجية ، أما على المستوى الثقافي شهدت هذه الفترة إستمرار لبعض الاتجاهات التي كانت موجودة بالعصر المتأخر (مثل إتباع الطرز القديمة، شعبية طوائف كل من أوزير والحيوانات والأزواج الإلهية)، والتي أصبحت أساسات تطور العصور البطلمية والرومانية.

The Late Dynastic Period comprises Dynasties 28, 29, and 30. They ruled Egypt from 404 to 343 BCE, between the First and the Second Persian Domination, the latter period being the eve of the Macedonian conquest of Egypt. Thus, it actually became the last period of Egyptian independence under native Pharaonic rule.

Table 1. Chronology of the Late Dynastic Period (after Hornung et al. 2006: 270).

Political History and Chronology

Dynasty 28	Amyrtaios (II)	c. 404/3 - 398/7
Dynasty 29	Nepherites I	c. 398/7 - 392/1
	Psammuthis	c. 392/1
	Hakoris	c. 392/1 - 379/8
	Nepherites II	c. 379
Dynasty 30	Nectanebo I	c. 379/8 - 361/0
	Teos	c. 361/0 - 359/8
	Nectanebo II	c. 359/8 - 342/1

Dynasty 28: Amyrtaios (II)

Placing the Roman digit behind the name of the king in brackets is motivated by his probable connection to the rebels' leader Amyrtaios, who fought against the Persians together with Inaros in the mid-fifth century BCE (Herodotus II. 140, III. 15). The traditional dynastic names of the anti-Persian leaders (Psammetichus, father of Inaros, cf. Thucydides I, 104; Petubastis (III), cf. Yoyotte 1972) led to believe that they could have been the descendants of the earlier Libyan royal houses (see also Colin 2000: 93, n. 252). After the defeat of Inaros in 454 BCE, a sort of guerrilla autonomy retaining contacts with its Athenian supporters existed in the Western Delta (cf. Thucydides I, 110, about Amyrtaios "the king in the marshes"; Philochoros, FGrHist 328, F. 119, about Psammetichus sending to Athens a gift of bread c. 451/0 BCE; cf. Plut. Pericles 37; Rottpeter 2007: 20 - 21); it is attested in c. 412/411 (Thucydides VIII, 35), and it probably was the base for the victorious revolt of Amyrtaios (II). It must have started c. 405 BCE in Lower Egypt (according to Manetho, Amyrtaios was Saite, cf. frgg. 72a-c, in Waddell 2004); by 400 BCE the rebels held Elephantine where the local Jewish garrison produced the latest Egyptian documents dated with the years of Artaxerxes II (at 402 - 401 BCE; Kraeling 1953: nos. 9 - 13). Amyrtaios was the only king of Dynasty 28 according to Manetho; his Egyptian attestation (including the name-form of *Imn-(j.)jr-dj-s(w)*) is found in the *Demotic Chronicle* (II, 2); no monuments of his time have yet come to light (except perhaps for two Demotic ostraca belonging to the period after the First Persian Domination but dated to the reign of "Psammetichus," the name with which Amyrtaios was designated by Diodorus, see Wuttmann et al. 1996: 411 - 412). The execution of Tamos, the *satrap* (provincial governor) of Ionia of Egyptian descent who fled to Egypt after the misfortune of Cyrus' mutiny, by Amyrtaios (named mistakenly Psammetichus, cf. Diod. XIV, 35; Traunecker 1979: 399) demonstrates his reluctance to irritate the Persians by housing their enemies.

Dynasty 29

The founder of this house (perhaps a lucky opponent of Amyrtaios, cf. Salmon 1985: 158 - 159) Nephertites I (*Nꜣy=f-ꜣw-rwꜥ(w)*, "His greatness grows") came from Mendes (where he was buried, see Redford 2004). In a short interregnum after his reign, power was claimed by his son, whose name is unknown, and by Psammuthis (*Pꜣ-šꜣj-(n)-Mwt*, "The child of (the goddess) Mut"; attested in the south, including Thebes; perhaps, Psammuthis' ascent took place later, in the middle of Hakoris' reign, cf. Carrez-Maratray 2005: 46 - 50, 53 - 55, and 61 - 63). In the end Hakoris (*Hkr/Hkr*), possibly a minor son of Nephertites I, prevailed; his reign is the longest period of stability in this dynasty (fig. 1). The feud recurred after the death of Hakoris, whose son Nephertites II failed to succeed him for long.



Figure 1. Basalt sphinx bearing the name of king Hakoris (393 - 380 BC). Found in Rome, maybe at the Iseum of the Campus Martius. Louvre, A 27.

The most important developments of the time were obviously the alliances and the military activities of Egyptian kings aimed at preventing the Persian reconquest of their country. Nephertites I sided somewhat reservedly with Sparta, rejecting a military alliance but sending material support to its army in Asia Minor. Hakoris actively sought allies to fight against Persia: in the early 380s

BCE, he negotiated treaties with Euagoros of Cyprus and, probably with the latter's mediation, with Athens (Aristoph. *Plutos*, 178); there is a possibility that Egypt had contacts with Pisidia (in modern Turkey), which was de facto independent of Persia (Kienitz 1953: 83). Around that time the Egyptians hired the Athenian general Chabrias. However, contacts to Athens were made ineffective by the Peace of Antalcidas in 386 BCE that prohibited the city and other Greek poleis to side overtly with the enemies of Persia. In the mid-380s BCE, Artaxerxes II waged war against Cyprus and Egypt: the former was defeated by 380, while the latter defended itself gloriously—as attested by Isocrates (Paneg. 140)—for three years. The precise dating of this war is unknown, though it is likely to be placed c. 385 - 383 BCE, undoubtedly under Hakoris.

Dynasty 30

Soon after the death of Hakoris the royal power was seized by Nectanebo I (*Nht-nb=f*, “Strong is his lord,” fig. 2). The name-form “Nectanebo” used by English-speaking scholars for both the first and the third ruler of Dynasty 30 is a conventionality based on the Greek form found in the *Romance of Alexander* (e.g., *recensio* α', I.2.3: ὁ Νεκτανεβῶ), where it actually applies to the last Egyptian king Nectanebo II (*Nht-Hr-(n)-Hbyt*, “Strong is (the god) Horus of (the town of) Hebyt,” i.e., the town in the Delta known to the Greeks as Iseum, modern Behbeit el-Hagar), who was represented as the father of Alexander the Great (see on the Nectanebo legend in the *Romance of Alexander* and, generally, on its Egyptian background in Jasnow 1997). Manetho distinguished the two rulers with the name-forms Νεκτανέβης and Νεκτανεβός (frgg. 74 a-b, in Waddell 2004). It is noteworthy that the “sequence” of the two Egyptian names (their correct attribution to Nectanebos I and II) was established only after the discovery of the *Demotic Chronicle* (cf. Clère 1951; Spiegelberg 1914: 6).



Figure 2. Lion statue of king Nectanebo I. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, 16.

A debatable issue in the history of Dynasty 30 is its chronology. It is quite certain that Nectanebo I reigned for 18 years and died in his Year 19 (Lloyd 1994: 357 - 358). The totality of the years of Nectanebo II is 18; but at the same time the date of the Persian invasion into Egypt (which is generally dated to 343 BCE)—according to the Greek and the Demotic versions of the so-called *Nectanebo's Dream*—is the middle of his Year 16: the night from 21 to 22 Pharmouthi of this year, i.e., probably 5 to 6 July 343 BCE (Spalinger 1992), must have preceded this event shortly before. At the same time, the sources are unanimous that the second king of Dynasty 30 Djed-Hor (*Dd-Hr*, Teos) ruled solely for two years (Lloyd 1994: 358). Taken together, these figures are the basis of the chronology found in table 1 above. Recently arguments have been given for redating the invasion of Artaxerxes III to a later time, between November 340 and summer 339 BCE (Depuydt 2010). If true, this redating calls for a new shift in the Egyptian chronology of the fourth century BCE; hence the need for its much more thorough discussion than appropriate here. However, it also implies discounting the date of the *Nectanebo's Dream* as relevant to Artaxerxes' invasion, which is hardly reasonable.

Nectanebo I was a native of Sebennytos and a commander of the army (*mr-mš*) under preceding kings. Despite his royal relations (his father was the “king's son *Dd-Hr*,”

possibly a son of Nepherites I, see De Meulenaere 1963), his official texts and the texts of his contemporaries affirm that he was singled out for kingship by deities from the “multitude” (the Naucratis Stela, l. 2; the Heracleion Stela, l. 2; cf.: Blöbaum 2006: 242 - 243; Brunner 1992: pls. 25 - 26; Yoyotte 2001) or from his “pairs” (text of the statue of Amenhapi, Cairo JE 47291, cf. Guerneur 2009: 186, comm. “z”). The king probably appreciated being legitimized through his own deeds showing divine support rather than any dynastic right to the throne. According to the historical stela from Hermopolis, the activities that brought him to power started specifically at Hermopolis in the time of “trouble” (*nšnj*) under the king “who was before him” (i.e., taking these words literally, in the short reign of Nepherites II, see Roeder 1954: 389). Hermopolis was perhaps the place where Nectanebo I’s ascent to royal rank was prophesized by the goddess Nekhmetawy (Klotz 2010: 247 - 251); and in due course this temple featured prominently in his building activities (fig. 3).



Figure 3. Basalt slab showing Nectanebo I with a bread offering. From Sais. London, British Museum, E 22.

Under Nectanebo I, Egypt stood alone before the Persian threat; nevertheless the Egyptians repulsed a mighty Persian assault in 373 BCE. Its failure despite its great strength (200,000 Asiatic warriors and 20,000 Greek mercenaries under the command of the famed generals Pharnabazus and Iphicrates, on 500 warships: Diod., XV.41.3) demonstrated the decline of the Persian power (also seen in the Great Satrapal Revolt in Asia Minor in the 360s BCE).

Nectanebo’s son Teos became his coregent in c. 365 BCE (Johnson 1974: 15 - 16; maybe he was merely an important agent of his father, cf. Engsheden 2006: 63). Egypt’s offensive against Persia took place at the end of his brief reign (c. 359 BCE). Incidentally, the aims of this war (and especially their motivation that led Teos to perceive them realistically) deserve being studied better than they have been. According to Diodorus (XV.92.3 - 4), the king intended to take military actions in Syria, while his nephew Nectanebo was besieging the towns of Phoenicia; this means that he planned to seize at least the entire Eastern Mediterranean. This plan had to be inspired by a profound belief that the Persians could be defeated, a belief backed by enthusiasm, which is unlikely to have been quite irrational. One ought to recall here the arguments of Isocrates that the Persian empire was rotten and easy to overcome, which set the stage for the Greco-Macedonian invasion. The strength of Teos’ offensive was considerably greater than that of Alexander’s Oriental campaign at its start: Teos amassed 80,000 Egyptian troops and 10,000 elite Greek mercenaries, 200 warships, and had with him famous Greek generals: the Athenian Chabrias, who had already served Egypt (the inscription IG II² 119 mentions a delegation from Teos to Athens that probably sought a full alliance with the city), and the much-aged but still active Spartan king Agesilaus. To prepare his war, Teos, on Chabrias’ advice, put the economy of Egypt under strict control confining the income of the temples to 10 percent of their regular size, confiscating from his subjects precious metal, and introducing a 10 percent tax on all

revenues and deals (Will 1960); these measures must have caused indignation, first of all on the part of the priesthood.

Teos' campaign collapsed with the outright mutiny of his nephew general Nectanebo, who on the initiative of his father Tjahepimu (*T3-Hp-jmw*)—brother of Teos (De Meulenaere 1963: 92) or perhaps Nectanebo I (Engsheden 2006: 64 - 66) and Egypt's vicegerent for the duration of war—was declared king. Chabrias, who stayed at Teos' service as a private mercenary, wanted to remain loyal to him; but Agesilaus, who represented the Spartan state, declared Sparta the ally of Egypt and not of Teos personally and supported the new king. Teos followed the example of the Athenian Themistocles more than a century earlier and fled to Persia, perhaps with some supporters (see the evidence in the tomb of Wennefer at Saqqara as interpreted by von Kaenel 1980). Another claimant to the throne, whose name is not known, appeared at Mendes and was oppressed by Nectanebo II and Agesilaus. The interregnum ended with the abolition of Teos' pre-war measures by Nectanebo II.

The reign of Nectanebo II continued under the menace of assault from the outside: the Persians, who had been preparing an attack since 354/3, tried to invade Egypt in 351/0 and finally succeeded in 343 BCE; eventually the *Romance of Alexander* depicted him as a magician who put his skills in effect to repulse enemies. In the 340s the Egyptians were trying to support the anti-Persian insurrection of Phoenician cities (also sending to them the Greek mercenaries): the revolt spread to Cilicia, Cyprus, and Judah, and Artaxerxes' invasion of Egypt in 343 BCE was actually a sequel of its oppression. There is a probability that Nectanebo II fled southwards during Artaxerxes' invasion (Ladynin 2010).

Social History

A few things should be said about the major features of Egyptian society under the Late Dynastic Period. The royal power of this period can be defined in the first place as the military and the political authority. The ritual

function, once inherent for the Egyptian kingship, was by that time vested mostly in the priesthood, although the king ought to have been a beneficent donor to temples. Egypt became closely connected to the Greek world, including even a minor migration to its states (e.g., the Athenian inscriptions IG II² 7968, 7969); symptomatically, the fourth century BCE was the time when Egypt started its own minting in order to pay its mercenaries from abroad (Daumas 1977). Trade with Greeks is attested in the Naucratis Stela (fig. 4) of Nectanebo I stipulating 10 percent tax on the Naucratis import to the benefit of the temple of Neith at Sais (Brunner 1992: pls. 25 - 26; Erman and Wilcken 1900; a copy of this act was found in Herakleion, another locality of the Western Delta, cf. Yoyotte 2001). However, Egypt's connections to the outside world hardly had any serious impact on the fundamentals of its own society: significantly, the coin minted for the payment of mercenaries was not put into circulation inside the country, and its economy remained basically natural. Inside the country the growth of the economy under Nectanebo II made it necessary to increase the number of "planners" (*snty*, an administrative position once established by the Saites): instead of one there were three "planners" at Memphis, Hermopolis Magna, and Hermonthis (Yoyotte 1989: 76 - 77; fig. 5).



Figure 4. The Naucratis Stela. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 34002.



Figure 5. Stater of Nectanebo II (360 - 342 BC). Kestner Museum, Hannover.

The outcome of Teos' manipulations is a rather telltale indicator of the internal state of Egypt of the time: though radical and rapid, his actions were well-motivated by the military need. The resistance to Teos must have come from the corporations, into which Egyptian society had split since the beginning of the first millennium BCE, the priesthood and the military class being the most authoritative. To sum up, the rulers of the period (Nectanebos undoubtedly being the strongest figure ever since the end of the Saite time) were not able to overcome the decentralization of the Egyptian society.

Religion and Ideology

Of the Late Dynastic Period, Dynasty 30 is especially known for excessive temple building, which touched both major and minor temple centers (Thebes, Memphis, Abydos, Heliopolis, Hermopolis Magna, Hermopolis Parva, Sais, Bubastis, Mendes, Sebennytos, Saft el-Henna, Edfu, Dendara, Elephantine, Philae, Hibis in the Kharga Oasis, etc.; Arnold 1999: 105 - 136), its climax being the reign of Nectanebo II (Jenni 1998: 87 - 101). This required great expenditures, which might have been covered by the income of the temples themselves (fig. 6). The reform that presumably made it possible was carried out by Nectanebo I, the result being

visible in the growth of the state income and the architectural boom under Nectanebo II (Kessler 1989: 231 - 232). The integration of the royal cult with the local cults of sacred animals, once established under Amasis (Kessler 1989: 225 - 229), took a more definite shape under Dynasty 30: the kings provided for the organization of special rearing places for sacred animals and their cemeteries; the most important was the Serapeum at Saqqara that was built and enlarged by Nectanebo I and II and housed their cult temple (*ts-dhnt* = the East Temple of the Serapeum area) and perhaps burials (Arnold 1999: 111, 130; Kessler 1989: 124 - 130, 300). Evidence of the cult of the sacred bull Buchis (embodiment of the god Montu worshiped in the Theban region) appeared under Nectanebo II (the first Buchis bull was born in his Year 3, cf. Goldbrunner 2004: 102, 287 - 288).



Figure 6. Wall-reliefs of Nectanebo II from Behbeit el-Hagar (on the left) and of Nectanebo I from Sebennytos (on right). Cairo, Egyptian Museum.

The building strategies of Dynasty 30 in Egyptian temples often focused on the creation of processional avenues and enclosure walls, as well as the erection of naoi (Spencer 2006: 49, 64 - 65). The former two devices were undoubtedly intended to delineate and partly to expand (Spencer 2006: 50) the sacred space of temples; as for the naoi with rich decoration in imagery and text (the best-known are those from Saft el-Henna; fig. 7), their installation is considered

the attempt to parallel the rule of Dynasty 30 with a phase in Egypt's mythological history (in the text of the naos from el-Arish, see Schneider 2002) and to build a “theological rampart” against the foes of Egypt on its easternmost border (Virenque 2006). These interpretations, coherent as they may be, should not discount a significant mythological connotation: the Egyptian presumption that the demiurge established the temple shrines and installed in them gods at the moment of creation (Shabaqo Stone, ll. 59 - 60). Thus, the erection of naoi by the kings of Dynasty 30 must have been in line with their delineating the sacred space of temples, presenting them as (re)creators and organizers of not only the temples but to some extent the universe. An important feature of the temple building under the Late Dynastic Period were the *mammisi*, or “birth houses,” i.e., specific buildings located apart from the main temple complex and devoted to the birth of a child of a divine couple (Daumas 1958).



Figure 7. Top half of the naos dedicated to the god Shu. Nectanebo I. Louvre, D 37.

The concept of kingship that must have prevailed in the early fourth century BCE is presented best of all in the *Demotic Chronicle*: though Early Ptolemaic (probably from Euergetes' time, cf. Felber 2002: 68), it summed up the attitude of the Egyptian elite (in the first place the priesthood) towards the Late Dynastic Period kings. The *Demotic Chronicle* shows them easily deposed if and when they declined from the standard of

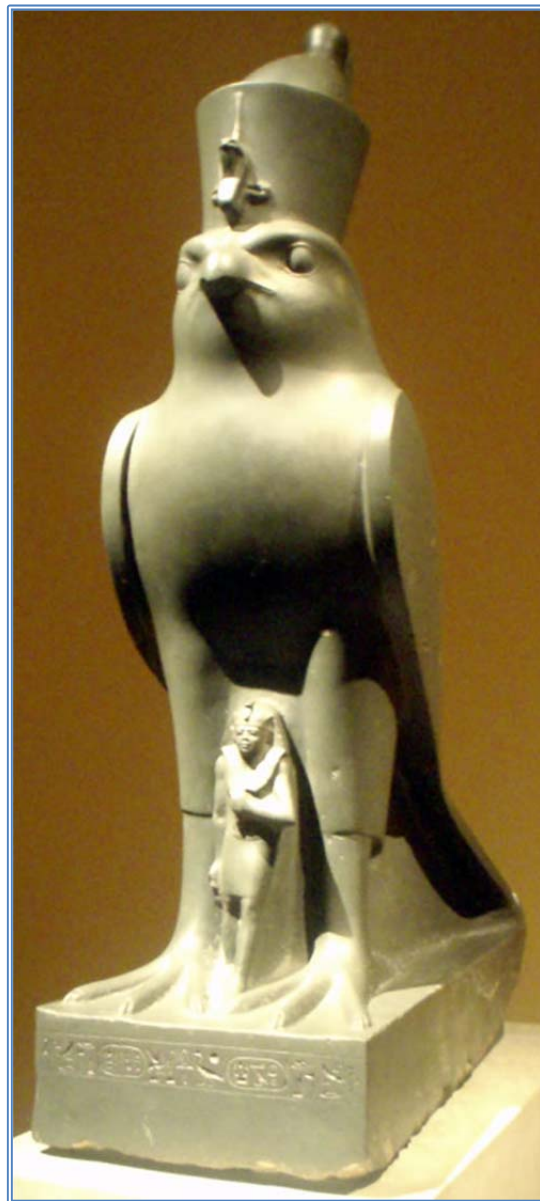


Figure 8. Nectanebo II in front of the falcon god Horus. From Heliopolis. Sculpture group made of graywacke. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 34.2.1.

behavior defined as “law” (*hp*; a replacement of the earlier notion of *mꜣꜥt*, cf. Johnson 1983: 68 - 69) or “way of god” (*tꜣ mj(t) pꜣ nꜥr*; evidently a calque of the Middle Egyptian *wꜣt nꜥr*, cf. Vittmann 1999: 54 - 64); the latter, according to the *Chronicle*, was not followed by king Psamuth (IV/7; Vittmann 1999: 124 - 125). Thus, the kings' nature revealed itself to

be similar to human nature, with its aptitude to temptations; and the idea of the king's sacrality came to be compatible with the recognition of his weaknesses, which might have led to the loss of kingship, i.e., in Egyptian terms, to the loss of sacrality as well. To say the least, sacrality must have been thought not inherent to a king; and its loss by him, for the lack of a stronger authority in the mundane, must have certainly been attributed to a divine will.

A replica of this idea might be seen in the sculpture groups that show Nectanebo II in front of the giant falcon Horus (fig. 8). This composition was often thought to represent the protection of the king through the god, though it has been shown that these sculptures were objects of worship, with special priesthoods installed for them in major temple centers (De Meulenaere 1960; Gorre 2009). The sculpture group of this type from Tanis shows on its base a symptomatic inscription: "Be alive Horus Beloved by Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the divine falcon, issue of Isis (*bjk ntr[j] pr m St*), Lord of Two Lands Senedjem-ib-Ra..." (Jenni 1998: 90, n. 585; Montet 1959). Judging from the divine epithet inserted in the royal title, the sculpture group represented the identity of the god and the king; and this is also seen in the designation of these cult objects (known from the titles of their priests) "Nectanebo-the-Falcon" (*Nht-Hr-(n)-Hbyt-p3-bjk*). Their cult must have been installed by Nectanebo II in temples in order to emphasize that the embodiment of the divinity in him was unceasing (Ladynin 2009); and if the need to stress this was felt, the relationship between the king and the god was generally thought to cease. The "functioning" of "Nectanebos-the-Falcons" must have been designed to affirm that Horus, son of Isis, was immanent to the person of Nectanebo II, whatever his deeds were. The *Demotic Chronicle* clearly denounced this ambition: "Shall you say in your heart: 'the king's office is with me, and nobody will take it from me'? Sword is the king's office, whose appearance is the falcon's image. They say: 'a mightier sword might rise!'" (V/9-10). "A mightier sword"

was probably the god's wrath against the king's arrogance.

Probably, in the ideas of the fourth century BCE the legitimate royal and, accordingly, the divine status of the ruler utterly depended on god's embodiment in him; god would leave him if he violated the accepted standard of behavior. Such violations were in the first place misdemeanors in the provision of cult that was the king's duty: no wonder, Teos was utterly bad in the *Demotic Chronicle* (V/12).

Significance

The Late Dynastic Period was not only the last period of Egyptian independence but also paved the way to the advent of Hellenism in many respects. Due to its alliances with the Greek city-states, Egypt became a standing factor of their international situation. The contacts to Greeks were strong enough to produce even a certain "Hellenization" (at least some knowledge of the Greek culture) in Egyptian society: the Hellenic education of Manetho mentioned by Josephus Flavius (*Contra Apionem* I. 14. 73) is likely to have been acquired still under Dynasty 30. The religious trends represented at that time (the flourish of the animal cult; the cult of royal statuary; the importance of mammisi; the choice of such building grounds as Edfu, Dendara, the isle of Philae, etc., fig. 9) is well-attested under the Ptolemies.



Figure 9. The kiosk of Nectanebo I on the island of Philae.

Bibliographic Notes

The history of the Late Dynastic Period is largely covered by classical accounts, which makes it a domain of Classicists no less than of Egyptologists. The political history of the time is adequately summed up in a compendious work by F. K. Kienitz (1953: 67 - 139); its much shorter but up-to-date counterpart is the essay by O. Perdu (2010). An important point mentioned by Kienitz was the calculation of the reign of Nectanebo I from 381/0 (Kienitz 1953: 173 - 175); this calculation stood strong for some time, but nowadays it is not considered a great improvement compared to what is hinted at by a number of sources registering the end of the reign of Nectanebo II (Hornung et al. 2006: 269 - 270; Lloyd 1994: 358 - 359). Egypt's encounters with Greece and the Near East were studied by P. Salmon (1965: 237 - 243, 1985) and touched on by P. Briant (2002). Monuments of the Late Dynastic Period were studied extensively: a general list was compiled by Kienitz (1953: 194 - 230; see later, with insight into the evidence of official propaganda, Blöbaum 2006: 347 - 360); for Dynasty 29 this was done by Cl. Traunecker (1979) and for Nectanebo II by H. Jenni (1998: 87 - 101). A handy assessment of these monuments was given by K. Mysliwiec (2000: 162 - 169). One should bear in mind studies on important artifacts revealing the prosopography of the period (De Meulenaere 1958, 1963), on the cult-statues from the time of Nectanebo II (De Meulenaere 1960; Gorre 2009), and on the specific temple edifices—mammisis—appearing within the period (Daumas 1958). Significant remarks on the religious policy of Dynasty 30 were made by D. Kessler in his compendious study of animal cults in Egypt (Kessler 1989: 230 - 235). The perception of kingship under the Late Dynastic Period is reflected on in the later, probably early Ptolemaic *Demotic Chronicle*: a comprehensive publication as replacement of the edition by W. Spiegelberg (1914) is still lacking, but its categories were largely covered by J. H. Johnson (1974, 1983, 1984) and, more recently, by H. Felber (2002). A number of studies by J. Ray (1986, 1987, 2002) are perhaps the best-considered attempt to provide for the synthesis of the extant knowledge of the period.

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