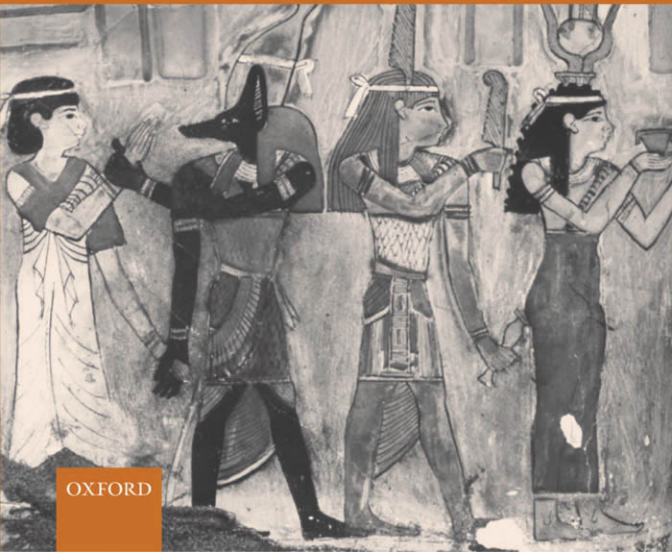


OXFORD STUDIES IN ANCIENT CULTURE AND REPRESENTATION

THE BEAUTIFUL BURIAL IN ROMAN EGYPT

Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion

CHRISTINA RIGGS



OXFORD

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For Denis

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PREFACE

This book looks at the intersection of two ancient cultures through their art. The questions it asks are, on the one hand, quite general: how do artists combine the iconographies and representational forms of different visual traditions, and why? On the other hand, they are specific to a time and place: Egypt from the generation just before its conquest by Rome to the early Byzantine era, roughly from the middle of the first century BC to the end of the third century AD. The study focuses on the combination of Greek and Egyptian art forms in the funerary sphere, where naturalistic mummy portraits have received the bulk of popular and scholarly attention because they provide a rare glimpse of ancient Greek painting in a form that is intimately familiar to Western viewers.

Where this book differs from other studies of funerary art in Roman Egypt is in considering the numerous works of art that did *not* rely on naturalistic Greek art forms, or that subsumed Greek features into an otherwise Egyptian setting. The coffins, masks, and other works discussed here have often been dismissed as crude or anomalous or eccentric by modern scholars, but presenting them in their archaeological and cultural context has helped reveal the intentions, working practices, and inventiveness of the artisans who created ‘beautiful burials’ for their patrons. In a changing cultural landscape, the constancy of Egyptian mortuary practice met a need in local communities, and close scrutiny of the texts and art from such burials also reveals many details about individuals’ lives and deaths, from their names, professions, and family relationships to the roles of age, gender, and status within the social structure. At the same time, the beautiful burial had an ultimate goal—the glorification of the dead.

My research on this subject began as a doctoral thesis at Oxford University under the supervision of Helen Whitehouse, whose guidance and expertise made the project possible. I am indebted to Bert Smith and Simon Price for their insights throughout the process of revising the thesis for publication; to Mark Smith, Martin Andreas Stadler, and Mark Depauw for their patient advice on the Egyptian and Demotic texts; and to Terry Wilfong, Alan Bowman, and Helen Whitehouse for their comments on portions of the book.

I am especially grateful to Karl-Theodor Zauzich for permitting me to include his unpublished translation of the Demotic inscription on a mummy mask (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, III-89) in Chapter 3. The Griffith Egyptological Fund of Oxford University provided generous financial support for travel and photography expenses and for the production of colour plates. The book was completed while I was the Barns and Griffith Junior Research Fellow in

Egyptology at The Queen's College, Oxford, and I thank the Provost and Governing Body of the College for their financial support.

The research for this book depended on first-hand study of objects in European, North American, and Egyptian museums, where curators and staff generously fielded my requests for access, information, and photographs. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the following individuals: Peter Lacovara, the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta; Regine Schulz, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; Ingeborg Müller, Caris-Beatrice Arnst, and Frank Marohn of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin; Richard Fazzini, the late James Romano, and Edward Bleiberg at the Brooklyn Museum of Art; Ken Bohac at the Cleveland Museum of Art; Sally Dummer of the Ipswich Borough Council Museums and Galleries; Maarten Raven at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden; John Taylor, Tania Watkins, and Ewan Walker from the British Museum, London; Dorothea Arnold, Marsha Hill, and Claudia Farias of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Emily Teeter at the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago; Roberta Cortopassi and Marie-France Aubert at the Louvre, Paris; Carolyn Graves-Brown, The Egypt Centre, Swansea; and Roberta Shaw of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

C.R.

Manchester

April 2004

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAASH	<i>Acta Antiquitatum Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>Ancient Faces</i> (London)	S. Walker and M. Bierbrier, <i>Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt</i> (London 1997)
<i>Ancient Faces</i> (New York)	S. Walker (ed.), <i>Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt</i> (New York 2000)
ANRW	W. Haase, H. Temporini <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> (Berlin 1972–)
ASAE	<i>Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
BASP	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
BGU	<i>Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden</i> , i–xv (Berlin 1895–1983)
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
Borg, <i>Mumienporträts</i>	B. Borg, <i>Mumienporträts: Chronologie und kultureller Kontext</i> (Mainz 1996)
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de Société française d'égyptologie</i>
CAJ	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CRIPPEL	<i>Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille</i>
<i>Dem. Nb.</i>	E. Lüddeckens, W. Brunsch, G. Vittmann, and K.-Th. Zauzich, <i>Demotisches Namenbuch</i> , 1/1–18 (Wiesbaden 1980–2000)
Edgar, <i>Graeco-Egyptian Coffins</i>	C. C. Edgar, <i>Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks, and Portraits</i> , Catalogue général du Musée de Caire (Cairo 1905)
Grimm, <i>Römischen Mumienmasken</i>	G. Grimm, <i>Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten</i> (Wiesbaden 1974)
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
Kurth, <i>Sarg der Teüris</i>	D. Kurth, <i>Der Sarg der Teüris: Eine Studie zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten</i> (Mainz 1990)
LÄ	W. Helck, E. Otto, and W. Westendorf (eds.), <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , i–vii (Wiesbaden 1975–1992)

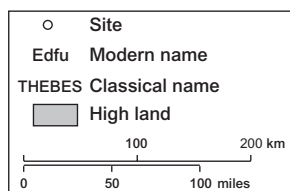
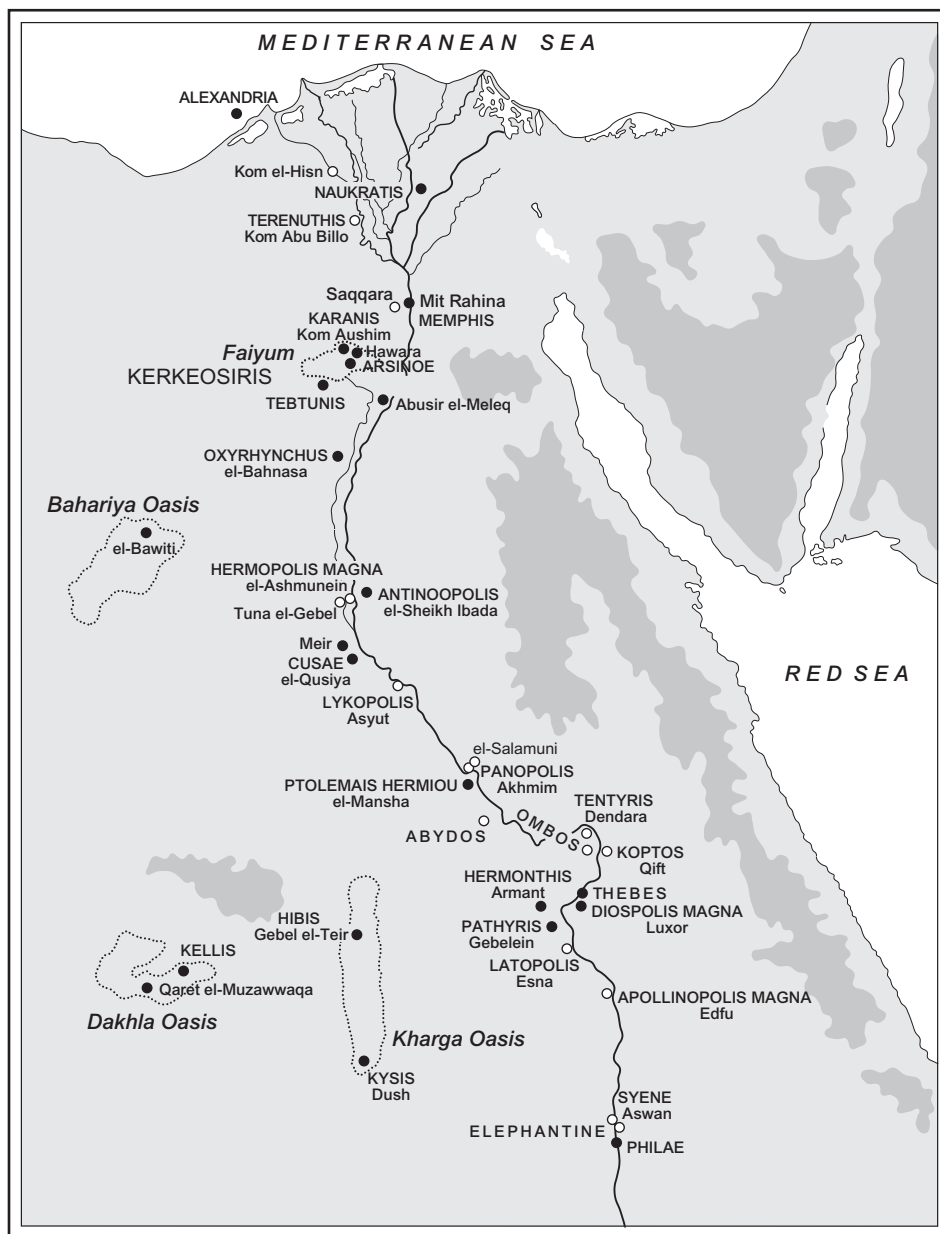
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , i–viii (Zurich and Dusseldorf 1981–1997)
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Kairo Abteilung</i>
OGIS	W. Dittenberger (ed.), <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae: Supplementum Syllologes Inscriptionum Graecorum</i> (Leipzig 1903–5)
OMRO	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i>
Parlasca, <i>Mumienporträts</i>	K. Parlasca, <i>Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler</i> (Wiesbaden 1966)
Parlasca and Seemann, <i>Augenblicke</i>	K. Parlasca and H. Seemann, <i>Augenblicke: Mumienporträts und ägyptische Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit</i> (Frankfurt and Munich 1999)
PM	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> , i–viii; 2nd edn., i– (Oxford 1927–)
PCPS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
Preisigke, <i>Sammelbuch</i>	F. Preisigke, <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> , i (Strasbourg 1915)
Ranke, <i>Personennamen</i>	H. Ranke, <i>Die ägyptischen Personennamen</i> , i–ii (Glückstadt 1935)
RdÉ	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
Real-Encyclopädie	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft: Neue Bearbeitung begonnen von Georg Wissowa</i> (Stuttgart 1891–)
RecTrav	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
Urk.	G. Steindorff (ed.), <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , i–viii (Leipzig 1904–61)
Wb.	A. Erman and H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , i–v (Leipzig 1926–31)
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

NOTE ON NAMES AND TRANSLITERATION

Most personal names in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt were derived from an Egyptian origin, although Greek names were very common as well. The Egyptian names, which often form complete phrases or sentences in the ancient language, can appear long and unwieldy to modern readers, and their alternative Greek forms are customarily preferred by scholars. Some equivalents are straightforward—such as versions of the name ‘Harpocrates’ derived from the Egyptian *Hor-pa-khered*, literally ‘Horus the child’—while others are less obvious, such as the female name ‘Sennesis’ derived from the Egyptian *Ta-sheryt-en-Isis*, literally ‘The daughter of Isis’. I have generally used the Greek versions of names (following the *Dem. Nb.*), but when doing so I have tried to indicate or discuss their Egyptian origin.

Place names in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt also reflect the layering of Egyptian, Greek, and later Coptic and Arabic terminology on the country’s landscape. I have used the place names that most commonly appear in Egyptological literature, while pointing out the ancient and modern alternatives as appropriate. Spellings conform to J. Baines and J. Malek, *Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, 2nd rev. edn. (New York 2000).

The transliteration of both hieroglyphic and Demotic Egyptian is another area in which different systems coexist. I have retained authors’ preferred transliteration systems when quoting their editions of ancient texts, since the transliteration is an integral part of the translator’s work. My own translations follow the ‘traditional’ transliteration system; compare J. P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge 2000), 14–15, 38.



Map of Egypt in the Roman Period, showing sites mentioned in this book. Site names are given in both Greek and modern Arabic forms; the more familiar name is used in the text.

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Introduction

Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion

rmy n=k p.t t3 tw3.t

iw n=k n3 hm.w-ntr irm n3y=w s3.w

‘q n=k qs.t mnhy.t iw=s wd3 r bw

The sky, the earth, and the underworld will weep for you.

The god’s-servants have come to you with their amulets.

An excellent burial outfit, safe from desecration, has come in to you.

Papyrus BM 10507, col. VI, ll. 11–13¹

One of the challenges facing historians of ancient art is to view it with the eyes of its original audience in so far as that is possible. Our own eyes, accustomed to the aftermaths of the Renaissance and the photographic age, must be trained to see in unfamiliar ways, and our minds to appreciate the difference.

The academic study of ancient art has been defined and subdivided by a number of approaches—geographic origin, chronological period, scholarly methodology. At the most basic level, this compartmentalization is merely the result of how different subject areas have developed over time. At another level, however, it poses a potential impediment to appreciating the original intent of those works of art that fall across or between the boundaries of modern disciplines. Such a difficulty has arguably plagued analyses of the funerary art produced in Roman Egypt, which is the focus of this study.

During the Roman Period in Egypt, inhumation of the corpse remained the preferred method of disposal of the dead, and mummification was the typical and ideal treatment for the body. The thoroughness of the process varied, however, and the quantity of skeletonized remains in Egyptian cemeteries suggests that many people were buried with minimal, if any, evisceration and desiccation.² Although

¹ M. Smith, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, iii: *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* (London 1987), 42.

² For instance, the skeletal or partly mummified remains at Dush in Kharga Oasis (F. Dunand, J.-L. Heim, N. Hencin, and R. Lichtenberg, *Douch*, i: *La Nécropole* (Cairo 1992)) and Kom el-Samak, western Thebes (*Malkata-South*, iii: *The Burials and the Skeletal Remains in the Area around ‘Kom Al-Samak’* (Tokyo 1988)).

some personal tombs were built at this time, more usually bodies were either placed in small graves or entrusted to mortuary workers for burial in pits or reused tombs, depending on the site.³ Funerary goods like canopic equipment (for the storage of internal organs removed during mummification) or *shawabti* figurines ('servants' dedicated to work for the deceased in the afterlife) were rare. Mummies placed in coffins or adorned with masks and other body decorations are in the minority of what excavators actually found, but in these instances, the mummified body itself became the focus of the artistic attention once lavished on the decoration and equipage of tombs. As a result, thousands of objects were created specifically for the disposal of the dead: coffins, mummy cases, biers, and catafalques; plaster and cartonnage masks; linen shrouds; encaustic portraits on wooden panels; stone stelae that either marked the burial or commemorated the deceased elsewhere; and a few painted tombs.

The value of these works of art lay not only in their aesthetic appearance but also in their practical function: to furnish the burial, protect the body, and assist in the rebirth of the dead. Funerary rituals of the period refer to the deceased's wish for an 'excellent' or 'beneficent' burial outfit that would be 'safe from desecration'. According to the texts, a fine burial was a gift from the Egyptian gods, and a 'beautiful' or 'good' burial—*qst nfrt* in Egyptian—would glorify the deceased in this life and the next.⁴ Gilded masks, vividly painted shrouds and portraits, and ornately crafted coffins were created to help realize this goal in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.

It is among these funerary objects that the practice developed of representing the deceased in a more lifelike, 'naturalistic' manner than before, sometimes with a painted portrait which, had it not been attached to a mummy, would not have looked out of place elsewhere in the Mediterranean world. Symbols and decorative motifs with origins in the Greek and Roman cultural milieu were likewise incorporated into art for the Egyptian dead. This phenomenon of combining Greek and Egyptian elements in a single work defines the character of much of the funerary art from Roman Egypt—yet to modern eyes the resultant juxtaposition can seem more odd than meaningful.

A shroud in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, formerly in the collection of Hilton Price, presents a particularly vivid example of such a juxtaposition (Fig. 1).⁵

³ On the mortuary industry in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, see P. W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes* (Leuven 1993); D. Devauchelle, 'Notes sur l'administration funéraire égyptienne à l'époque gréco-romain', *BIFAO* 87 (1987), 141–65.

⁴ Papyrus Harkness (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 31.9.7), col. 1, l. 4: M. Smith, 'Papyrus Harkness', *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 95–105; T. Logan, 'Papyrus Harkness', in J. H. Johnson and E. F. Wente (eds.), *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago 1976), 147–61. Translation here courtesy of M. A. Stadler, pers. comm.

⁵ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 50.650 (L: 115.0 cm): S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara, and C. H. Roehrig, *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston 1988), 203–4 (no. 153), with further bibliography.

FIGURE 1 The Egyptian deities and mummiform body decoration were executed after the naturalistic portrait face and hands had been painted on this linen shroud, of which only the portion depicted here is preserved.

L: 115.0,

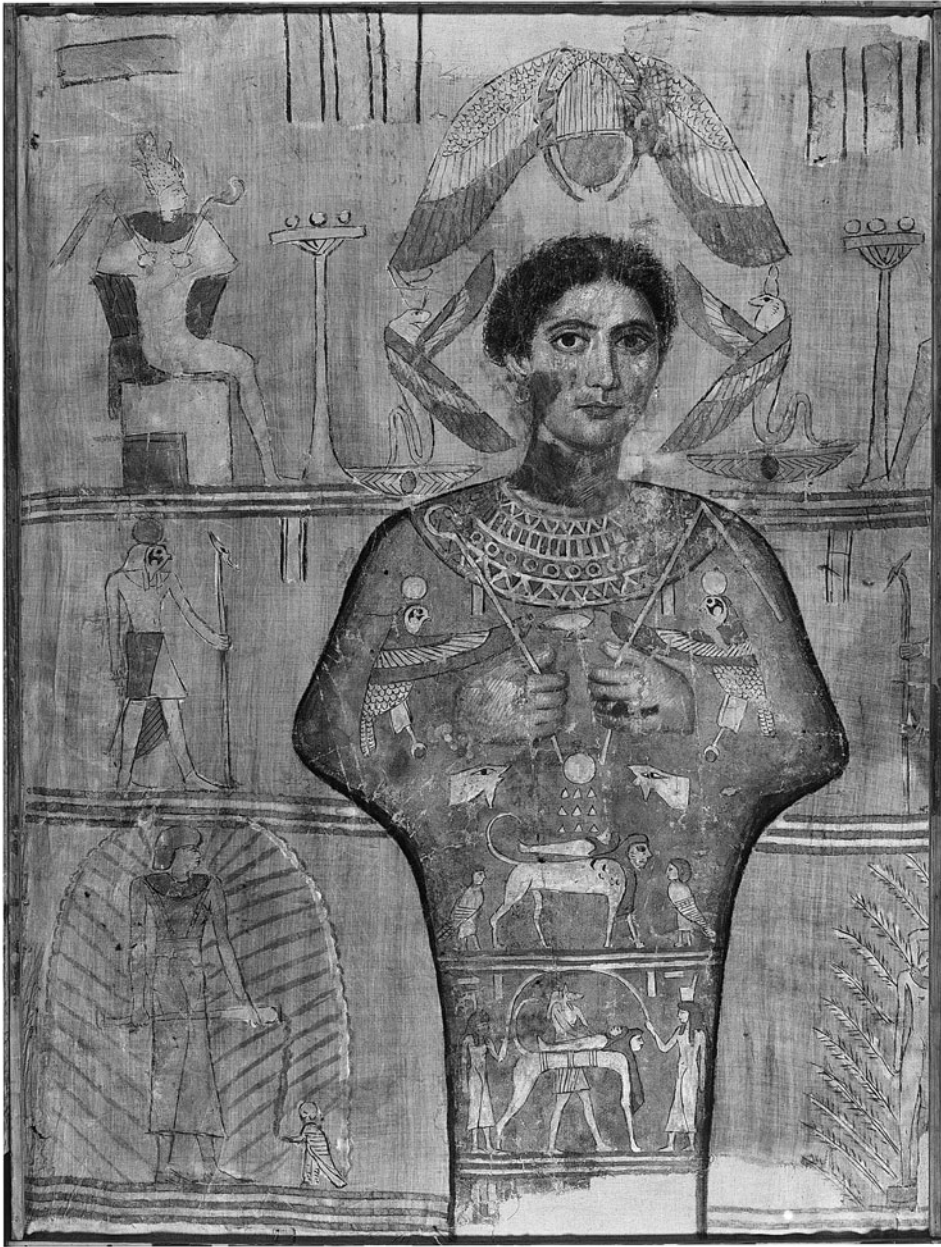
W: 88.5 cm.

Purchased at Akhmim (Panopolis).

Mid- to late first century AD.

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 50.650; Martha A. Willcomb Fund.

© 2003 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



In the centre of the shroud is a mummiform body coloured red and decorated with a broad collar, protective winged falcons and *wedjat*-eyes, and the crook and flail, symbols of kingship and, by extension, of Osiris, the underworld deity who had been a king before his murder and magical rejuvenation. On the body are two preserved registers of funerary scenes much like those on the body coverings of some actual mummies from this period. The upper register depicts a mummy lying

on a leonine funerary bed beneath streaming solar rays, and the lower shows the jackal-headed god Anubis embalming the mummy while two goddesses hold a cloth overhead; a third register is broken away at the bottom edge of the textile.

On either side of the shroud's central mummiform figure, banded register lines separate more scenes relating to Egyptian funerary religion. At the top left, Osiris sits enthroned before a tall incense burner. The dead wished to replicate Osiris' mythic triumph over death, in defiance of the enemies who had murdered him and defiled his corpse. Flanking the portrait of the deceased are protective winged cobras, identified by the hieroglyphic symbols on their heads as Isis and Nephthys, the sisters of Osiris who mourned and revived the god. Seen upside-down over the portrait is a winged scarab beetle, which would surround the head of the mummy when it was wrapped in the shroud. The scarab evokes both the sun god, who could travel in this form across the sky, and Osiris, from under whose head a scarab emerged when he lay on his funerary bier at Abydos, the site sacred to his cult.⁶ In the register below the enthroned figure of Osiris, the falcon-headed solar deity Re-Horakhty strides forward, and in the lowest preserved register, a tree goddess pours out water to a human-headed bird representing the *ba* of the deceased—the soul-like aspect of the person that the Egyptians believed could travel between the corpse and the afterlife and receive sustenance for the dead. These scenes would have been mirrored, with minor changes, on the other side of the shroud; for instance, the register opposite the tree goddess partly preserves a scene in which the same goddess, in a sycamore fig tree, suckles a nude, childlike figure representing the deceased.

Amid the Egyptian symbolism, however, the naturalistically painted face of the dead woman is what first arrests the gaze of the modern viewer, for in every aspect the woman's face, as well as her hands, are at variance with the rest of the shroud. Unlike the Egyptian figures, with their profile faces and lack of depth, the portrait uses darkness, light, and varied colour hues to create the illusion of three-dimensional space on the flat surface of the shroud. The paint is more thickly applied, brushstrokes are visible, and outlines are soft, whereas the Egyptian elements are starkly outlined in black and painted in a thin, uniform layer. The position of the Egyptian figures relative to the portrait indicates that the latter was painted first: the wings of the cobras and falcons have been made to fit around the face and hands, respectively, and the crook and flail that the woman holds in her hands have been superimposed on her thumbs and on the other painted details in this area. It is difficult to say whether one, two, or more artists painted the shroud. The Egyptian scenes on the mummiform body differ from those outside the body: compare the *ba*-bird receiving water from the tree goddess with the *ba*-birds

⁶ M. A. Stadler, 'Der Skarabäus als osirianisches Symbol vornehmlich nach spätzeitlichen Quellen', *ZÄS* 128 (2001), 71–83, esp. 75–6.

flanking the lion bier. If two hands were responsible for the Egyptian scenes, did a third artist execute the face and hands of the deceased? Or was one of the painters competent in the different techniques and visual concepts necessitated by the illusionistic portrait and the unforeshortened deities? Either scenario is possible, for both types of artistic representation were recognized in Roman Egypt.

Scholarship on the art of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods has always been quick to observe those traits which set it apart from earlier material, and this has been true for funerary art from Roman Egypt in particular. For his volume of the *Cairo Catalogue général* on 'Graeco-Egyptian' coffins and mummies, Edgar limited his corpus to those objects in which 'the Greek element is either predominant or strongly pronounced', although he did not specify what he meant by 'the Greek element'.⁷ Edgar understood the masked mummies he published to be those of actual Greeks who had settled in Egypt and adopted Egyptian burial practices, but who introduced the influence of Greek art into mummy decoration more and more as time went by.⁸ When the main tomb of the Kom el-Shuqafa catacomb was cleared and published, von Bissing described its elaborate architectural scheme, sculpture, and reliefs as 'Mischkunst',⁹ and this catchword was used again decades later to characterize the same sort of mummy masks Edgar had considered 'Graeco-Egyptian'.¹⁰ To Needler, who published a Roman Period funerary bed in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum,¹¹ artificially concocted 'mixed forms' and 'hybrid work' are the hallmarks of this mortuary art; the incorporation of Greek elements in contemporary grave stelae made them 'degenerate' and of a 'crude mixed-style'.¹²

What such appraisals were attempting to convey is the simultaneous use of elements that struck the observer's eyes as being Greek or Egyptian or some combination of the two in a single object or decorative scheme. But what is discordant to our eyes—the portrait head on a real or represented mummy, for instance—was a choice made by the artists involved, at the instigation of their patrons and within the bounds of what the culture deemed useful or desirable. No one sets out to produce 'crude' or 'degenerate' art. The choice to employ conventions and elements not traditionally included in the Egyptian artistic repertoire was a meaningful one, whether consciously or not, and the art created as a result of that choice is all the more significant because of it. Only by analysing precisely how the divergent pictorial and symbolic traditions interact and by imagining the funerary art of Roman Egypt in its own place and time can we begin to apprehend the meanings it embodied.

⁷ Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 1. ⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹ T. Schreiber, *Die Nekropole von Kom-Esch-Schukafa* (Leipzig 1908), 149.

¹⁰ Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, III, 123.

¹¹ Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 910.27: see Chapter 4.

¹² W. Needler, *An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto 1963), 23–4.

Such analysis hinges on three lines of enquiry, each of which is addressed in turn in this chapter. First, since developments in visual art are at the core of the discussion, a more specific understanding of the artistic phenomena involved is essential. This includes, but is not limited to, more precise identification of what is visually Egyptian in origin and what is not, and how the Egyptian and the not-Egyptian can intersect, overlap, or diverge. Secondly, the social, political, and economic life of Roman Egypt is the setting in which the funerary art must be placed, alongside other uses of images in that society. At issue here, among other things, is the self-presentation of the individuals commemorated by this funerary art: what segment(s) of the population do they represent, and what factors determined their use of such tombs, coffins, or decorated mummies? One determining factor was traditional Egyptian funerary religion, the third line of enquiry to be pursued. In Roman Egypt, the ongoing development of funerary texts in the native language points to continued engagement with a rich literary and symbolic corpus, as does the iconography of the art itself. The beliefs and practices relating to death and the dead were intrinsic to the Egyptian world view, which was nurtured in the country's temples and priesthoods. Consequently, funerary religion was a bridge to the native past and the impetus for creating a unique body of art.

ART

Roman Egyptian funerary art combined two artistic traditions, the Egyptian and the Greek, which were based on very different assumptions about visual perception and artistic representation.¹³ Each of these traditions also served different functions and goals. Much of Egyptian art was intended to be hidden from public view in a tomb or a temple. In a tomb, statues, equipment, and wall decoration provided for the deceased in the afterlife, while in a temple context, images of gods and kings preserved the cosmic order (*maat*) of the universe.¹⁴ The Egyptians did not write explicit commentaries, descriptions, or expositions of their art, in contrast to the numerous Greek and Roman sources which preserve art criticism as well as information on individual artists and the commissioning and disposition of works of art. As such commentaries make clear, Greek art was concerned with imitating 'reality' and capturing the actual appearance of a thing or person, which was achieved in painting with illusionistic techniques like perspective, highlights, and shadows. Famously, Pliny the Elder related that the great Greek painter

¹³ 'Greek' is used in a broad sense throughout this book, to encompass the Classical and Hellenistic periods of Greek art as well as Roman imperial art, in that the latter shared its underlying representational principles with the former.

¹⁴ See J. Baines, 'On the status and purposes of ancient Egyptian art', *CAJ* 4 (1994), 67–94.

Parrhasios painted such a realistic curtain that his rival Zeuxis asked him to lift it.¹⁵ Realism was not the only basis for art production in the Greek and Roman worlds, but it was a characteristic that endured and offered a 'seductive illusion'.¹⁶ Egyptian art also contained closely observed depictions of the natural world, the human body, and objects and architecture, but it incorporated them in a conceptual visuality, rather than a realistic one.

These two artistic approaches confront each other in the Boston shroud described above (Fig. 1). In keeping with its goals and functions, each representational system has unique formal properties. How these properties are combined to form a coherent whole is important, not as a positivist exercise or as an end in itself, but as a step towards further interpretation. The combination of distinctive Greek and Egyptian formal properties governs not only the appearance of this shroud and so many other works of funerary art from Roman Egypt, but also the significance of what is being represented. Form is one possible vehicle for expression and the transmission of meaning.

Egyptian Art, Greek Art, and the 'Double Style'

In a 1961 article, the Hungarian Egyptologist László Castiglione observed what he termed a '*dualité du style*' in the funerary art of Roman Egypt.¹⁷ The article, based on a paper delivered at the 23th International Congress of Orientalists held in Moscow in 1960, has regularly been cited in subsequent works on Roman Egyptian funerary art and has remained the sole and fundamental analysis of this perceived 'duality'.¹⁸ In light of political tensions in the early 1960s, the fact that Castiglione wrote, delivered, and published his paper from behind the Iron Curtain may have affected the reception of his work by western European and North American scholars, however, and limited the response to his insightful and original observations. The evidence Castiglione mobilized for his discussion is especially remarkable when one considers that he wrote this article several years

¹⁵ Pliny, *Natural History* 35. 65–6: K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (Chicago 1968), 111; J. Isager, *Pliny on Art and Society: The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (Odense 1991), 138.

¹⁶ N. Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (London 1983), 167, and his discussion at 13–18; compare also J. Elsner, 'Between mimesis and divine power: Visuality in the Greco-Roman world', in R. S. Nelson (ed.), *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw* (Cambridge 2000), 45–69; R. L. Gordon, 'The real and the imaginary: Production and religion in the Graeco-Roman world', *Art History* 2 (1979), 5–34.

¹⁷ L. Castiglione, 'Dualité du style dans l'art sépulcral égyptien à l'époque romaine', *AAASH* 9 (1961), 209–30.

¹⁸ e.g. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 168, regarding shrouds that incorporate a portrait, or L. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt* (Chicago 1995), 2, rejecting Castiglione's theory of a 'double style'.

before the appearance of Parlasca's and Grimm's compendia of funerary art from Roman Egypt helped stimulate interest in the subject.¹⁹

Following Alexander's conquest of Egypt and the ensuing Greek colonization, wrote Castiglione, art pertaining to Egyptian religious concepts, such as temple reliefs and sculpture, continued to be executed in traditional forms due to the survival of the Egyptian priesthood and temples, which provided the only support structure for Egyptian art in the absence of indigenous kingship. As the Greek and native populations of Egypt integrated and intermarried in the course of the Ptolemaic Period, they formed a social base in which conditions were suitable for the 'interpenetration' of Greek and Egyptian art.²⁰ The result of this interpenetration, which Castiglione attributed exclusively to the realm of funerary art, is a '*mélange*' of the two artistic traditions, which he designated the '*style double*'. Castiglione defined his term as the representation of some figures in Egyptian style and other figures in Greek style in the same work of art. His use of the word 'style' is, by his own indication, only in a broad sense, in order to permit him to make the distinction between two different '*manières de la représentation*', one characteristic of Egyptian art, the other of Greek.²¹

Although the premise of a double style is his crucial point, Castiglione did not state what constitutes the actual difference between his Greek and Egyptian styles, or manners. He intended to use the word 'style' in a general sense, but in its direct English translation, this problematic term obscures his argument. In art historical usage, the word 'style' has been both notoriously difficult to define and persistently useful as a way of describing 'a coherence of qualities in periods or people'.²² It is possible to speak of the style of a certain time period, such as the style of the late Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt or that of the late eighteenth century in France. Additionally one can associate style with a particular artist or a phase of the artist's career to recognize the uniqueness of an individual's work—but this concept of 'style' is alien to a society like that of ancient Egypt, where individual artists are generally anonymous craftsmen.²³ Greater difficulty arises when 'style' is applied to

¹⁹ Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*; K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, B I: *Ritratti di mummie*, i (Rome 1969); *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, B II: *Ritratti di mummie*, ii (Rome 1977); and *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, B III: *Ritratti di mummie*, iii (Rome 1980); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*.

²⁰ Castiglione, 'Dualité du style', 209.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 211.

²² J. Elkins, 'Style', in J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art* (London 1996), 876–83, at 876. Also: M. Schapiro, 'Style', in M. Schapiro, *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist, and Society: Selected Papers* (New York 1994), 51–101 (revised and reprinted from A. L. Kroeber (ed.), *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory* (Chicago 1953), 287–312); E. Gombrich, 'Style', in D. L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, xv (New York 1968), 352–61; S. Alpers, 'Style is what you make it: The visual arts once again', in B. Lang (ed.), *The Concept of Style* (Ithaca, NY, and London 1987), 137–62.

²³ R. Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und Ihre Tätigkeit im Alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden 1976); and 'Artisans and artists in Pharaonic Egypt', in J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, i (New York 1995), 331–43, with further references.

an entire culture or nation, which is the pitfall if one speaks of an 'Egyptian style' and a 'Greek style'. The spectrum of art produced in the Egyptian and Greek worlds is too broad to be reduced to a single 'style'. Since the term cannot support the weight of meaning with which it has been imbued in this instance, a better alternative is to think of Egyptian and post-Archaic Greek art in terms of their systems of representation. Each system was characterized by certain assumptions or rules about pictorial representation, rules which transcended the individual artist, work, or time period.

What is inherently characteristic of Egyptian art, from its Protodynastic (c.3000 BC) origins onwards, is its standardized representation of the human form in two-dimensional space, as elaborated by Heinrich Schäfer,²⁴ as well as its reliance on register lines and bordered areas to assert order in compositions. Schäfer's central theme was

that Egyptian artists, as well as many others, construct their representations according to mental images which, in their view, summarize the essential character of the objects depicted as opposed to their appearance, which is incomplete and foreshortened.²⁵

In the simplest terms, the Egyptian artist was concerned to depict not what he saw, but what he knew. The rendering of the human figure in two dimensions was developed early in the history of Egyptian pictorial representation—including hieroglyphic writing—and maintained, like a 'talisman',²⁶ in its basic form thereafter (Fig. 2). For anthropomorphic figures, the feet, legs, and head of the body are depicted in profile, but the outline form of the shoulders is depicted frontally, which allows the artist to position both arms in a variety of ways while obscuring as little of the arms or the body as possible. Clothing, jewellery, hair, and other adornments are rendered in their most characteristic aspect.²⁷ The front line of the chest, with a nipple, appears in profile, whereas the abdomen and the rear of the chest are essentially arbitrary connecting lines to demarcate the transition from the upper body to the lower.²⁸ From the New Kingdom (c.1400 BC) onwards, this space was sometimes used to depict the second breast for female figures. While it is easy to misinterpret the Egyptian torso as a three-quarter view, which is familiar to modern viewers from Classical and European art, it emphatically is not.²⁹ Finally, on the head and face of a two-dimensional Egyptian figure, the eye and eyebrow dominate the space between the profile of the forehead and the hairline's edge. Only one eye is shown, and it assumes an oversized, almond shape, rather than being embedded in its socket.

²⁴ H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford 1986), esp. 277–309. See also J. Baines, 'Theories and universals of representation: Heinrich Schäfer and Egyptian art', *Art History* 8 (1985), 1–25; and 'On the status and purposes of ancient Egyptian art', *CAJ* 4 (1994), 67–94; and P. J. Frandsen, 'On categorization and metaphorical structuring: Some remarks on Egyptian art and language', *CAJ* 7 (1997), 71–104, discussion at 72–8.

²⁵ J. Baines, 'Translator's introduction', in Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, xi.

²⁶ Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, 277.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 286–7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 284–5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 287, 308.

FIGURE 2 Egyptian artists depicted the body according to a set of conventions, rather than by visual observation. After c.1400 BC, artists drew toes or ankle bones to distinguish left feet from right, as on the figures of Nephthys and Osiris, shown here with Anubis. Detail from the left side of a painted linen cartonnage mummy mask. H of image: c.20.0 cm. From Meir (near Hermopolis), Middle Egypt. Mid- to late first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, VÄGM III-89.



With the exception of informal sketches and depictions of lower-status figures in complex scenes, these representational guidelines were consistent through many changes of style from one period to the next in Egyptian history. A relief of the Old Kingdom and a relief of the Late Period will adhere to these conventions while exhibiting very different outward appearances, or styles. The same holds true for sculpture in three dimensions. In each case, the system of representation remains constant.

It has already been observed that Greek, and by extension Roman, representations are characterized by a desire to replicate depth and movement through space and to give a 'life-like' appearance to human figures. Naturalism was not the only option, however, and Roman imperial art in particular could adopt a style to suit either 'realistic' or allegorical themes, or could adapt forms or styles from the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greek past to suit contemporary Roman aims.³⁰

³⁰ Formulations of these ideas include P. G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art, with Special Reference to the State Reliefs of the Second Century* (Copenhagen 1945); T. Hölscher, *Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System* (Heidelberg 1987); P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988); M. D. Fullerton, *The Archaistic Style in Roman Statuary* (Leiden 1990).

Otto Brendel's observations on the base of the column of Antoninus Pius are apposite here, touching as they do on both the essential appearance of Greek and Roman art and the potential of Roman art to combine pictorial forms.³¹ Erected shortly after the emperor's death in AD 161, the face of the column base represents Antoninus Pius and Faustina Major being carried upwards on the back of a winged figure identifiable as the genius (personification) of the *saeculum aureum*, the imperial Golden Age.³² The realistic portraits of the emperor and empress adhere to official iconography and do not engage with the rest of the composition. In contraposition to them, the genius of the Golden Age floats upwards with billowing draperies and streaming hair, like a Hellenistic-era god or hero. It was necessary for the artists of the column base to depict Antoninus and Faustina in an accepted form, and it would have been inappropriate to show them otherwise; similarly, the Hellenistic style of the *saeculum aureum* personification is appropriate to its allegorical nature. The contrast between the Roman portraits and the Hellenistic personification on the column face may not seem as stark as that between the Egyptian and Greek forms on the Boston shroud (Fig. 1), to take one example, but it represents a motivated choice. Likewise, the 'double style' observed in the art of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt was one alternative among several possibilities available to artists and their patrons.

Form and Content in Pictorial Representation

The combination of a naturalistic Greek portrait of the deceased with Egyptian-form deities, symbols, and frame was primarily a phenomenon of funerary art from the *chora*, or countryside, of Roman Egypt.³³ Combining Egyptian and Greek pictorial forms or motifs was not restricted to funerary art, however: the public and highly visible portraits of Ptolemaic dynasts and Roman emperors grafted iconography developed for a ruler's Greek or Roman images onto Egyptian statues in the dress and posture of Egyptian kings and queens.³⁴ The possible combinations of Greek and Egyptian elements can be elucidated by imposing a (somewhat artificial) distinction between form and content, where 'form' is taken as the system of representation, and 'content' as the symbol, concept, or figure being portrayed. The form and content can correspond to each other, like the Egyptian gods, scenes,

³¹ O. J. Brendel, *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art* (New Haven 1979), 160; for the column, see L. Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973).

³² Vogel, *Column of Antoninus Pius*, 33–8.

³³ Castiglione, 'Dualité du style', 230.

³⁴ Ptolemaic portraiture: R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford 1988), 86–98; and 'Ptolemaic portraits: Alexandrian types, Egyptian versions', in K. Hamma, *Alexandria and Alexandrianism* (Malibu 1996), 203–13; S.-A. Ashton, *Ptolemaic Royal Sculpture from Egypt: The Interaction between Greek and Egyptian Traditions* (Oxford 2000); P. E. Stanwick, *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs* (Austin 2002). Roman imperial portraits from Egypt: Z. Kiss, 'Notes sur le portrait impérial romain en Égypte', *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 293–302; and *Études sur le portrait impérial romain en Égypte* (Warsaw 1984).

and symbols portrayed in Egyptian form on the Boston shroud, but both can also function independently. From the second century BC onward, tombs in Alexandria incorporated Egyptian motifs in both Egyptian and Greek forms, appropriating the ancient content for a new urban setting in an early instance of ‘Egyptomania’.³⁵ An Egyptian deity could be depicted in Greek form, as in the representation of an armour-clad Anubis in the main tomb of the Kom el-Shuqafa catacomb at Alexandria.³⁶ Throughout Egypt, though, it was tellingly rare for the reverse to occur, with Greek or Roman content given an Egyptian appearance. The Egyptian forms of astrological signs in some temple and funerary contexts are one example, since the zodiac was typically Greek in appearance.³⁷

A fragment from a mummy mask (Fig. 3) shows a man wearing a green mantle (the *himation*) over a tunic (*chiton*) with two pink stripes down its front. He is understood to be the owner of the mask, and comparisons with preserved masks suggest that the fragment dates to the first century AD and comes from Middle Egypt.³⁸ To Castiglione, the man is depicted in the Greek *manière*; to du Bourguet, the figure was faithful to pharaonic conventions.³⁹ The latter is correct in that the man is represented in strict adherence to Egyptian representational principles. Any ‘Greekness’ in his appearance is due to his clothing and his loose curls of hair. The tunic and *himation* were standard apparel for elite men in the Greek East and thus lie outside the traditional Egyptian artistic repertoire—necessarily so, since the costume did not exist during Egypt’s dynastic period. Natural, curly hair began to replace wigs and head-coverings in Egyptian representations of men from about the fourth century BC, perhaps influenced by exposure to Greek art, or an internally driven interest in representing different styles and textures of hair.

³⁵ M. S. Venit, ‘Ancient Egyptomania: The Uses of Egypt in Graeco-Roman Alexandria’, in E. Ehrenberg (ed.), *Leaving No Stones Unturned: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Donald P. Hansen* (Winona Lake, Ind., 2002), 261–78.

³⁶ Schreiber, *Die Nekropole von Kom-Esch-Schukafa*, pl. 25; Venit, ‘Ancient Egyptomania’, 271 fig. 5; M. S. Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: The Theatre of the Dead* (Cambridge 2002), 124–45.

³⁷ O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, iii: *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs* (Providence 1969), 206–12. Egyptian sign forms are found in the temples of Dendera and Esna: S. Cauville, *Le zodiaque d’Osiris* (Leuven 1997), esp. 23–7; and inside several Roman coffin lids, including those of Kornelios Pollios (80), Soter (77), Petamenophis called Ammonios (81), Sensaos (76), and Kleopatra (78): Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, 89–93 (nos. 66–71), pls. 46–8, 49A, 50. This may reflect the fact that use of the zodiac reached Egypt from the Near East via the Hellenistic Greek world; in Demotic astronomical and astrological texts, the names of the zodiac signs are directly translated from Greek, excepting Libra: Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, 207.

³⁸ Compare the draughtsmanship, format, and manufacture of masks from Meir (near Hermopolis), discussed in Chapter 3.

³⁹ Castiglione, ‘Dualité du style’, 214, with fig. 4; P. du Bourguet, ‘Une peinture-charnière entre l’art pharaonique et l’art copte’, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 13–17, esp. at 16. Recent publications of the fragment: H. Willems and W. Clarysse, *Keizers aan de Nijl* (Leuven 1999), 233 (no. 143); and *Les empereurs du Nil* (Leuven 2000), 233 (no. 143); M.-F. Aubert and R. Cortopassi, *Portraits de l’Égypte romaine* (Paris 1998), 82 (no. 38).

FIGURE 3 A man drawn according to Egyptian conventions could be shown wearing contemporary Greek dress: a white *chiton* with pink stripes, a green *himation*, and dark, softly curled hair. Fragment from a painted plaster mummy mask.

H: 17.0 cm. From Middle Egypt. Mid- to late first century AD. Paris, Louvre, E 25384.



One of the issues raised by objects like this mask is how to assess the significance of a visual element that appears in Egyptian art but originates in another cultural milieu. In metropolitan Rome or in the Greek East, the tunic and *himation* conveyed a man's identity as a Greek, as opposed to a togate Roman, and thus as someone who was educated, decorous, and well-heeled, all elite ideals. When the clothing appears in an Egyptian context, and no more Egyptian context could be found than a mummy mask, did its audience read the same ideals into it? Yes and no, must be the answer: the pre-existing link between those ideals and the tunic and *himation* apparel made this clothing part of a generally desirable image. But the garments also seem to have been a synecdoche for 'everyday' clothing, demonstrating the extent to which non-indigenous norms, like dress, had become an integral part of Egyptian society. Depicting the man in a kilt, which was the usual elite

‘everyday’ dress of pharaonic Egypt, would have been an archaism unsuited to the purpose here. This figure represents ‘the deceased as he was in life’, that is, in his human form, distinct from the gods and from the form he would acquire after his transfiguration in the afterlife.

These observations hint at the limitations of formalism on its own for interpreting funerary art from Roman Egypt. The next step is to reinstate the viewer as much as it is viable to do so, because how things looked and what they meant depended on how they would be seen and used in any given circumstance.⁴⁰ The context of viewing and function set the stage for conjoining the Greek and Egyptian pictorial systems, an act which presumes that the ancient audience was cognizant of both systems of representation and familiar with the symbolism associated with each. The viewer thus harboured implicit notions of what each pictorial system and its symbols conveyed, even if some symbols acquired new meanings in the process of moving from one system to the other, or meeting in the middle. Content alone did not necessarily dictate what type of representation an artist would employ, and an awareness of the possibilities suffuses the production of funerary art in Roman Egypt. The role of choice was paramount. Artists and their patrons relied selectively on both Egyptian and Greek representations because each visual ‘language’ had something to say, singly and jointly. Egyptian art was inextricably yoked to Egyptian religion and writing, to the country’s long history, and to the sphere of the priesthoods and temples, which had given art its fullest expression and served as repositories and training grounds. Art in the Greek vein conjured up the contemporary world of the national and urban elites, the reigning emperors, and the new vocabulary of divine images introduced in Ptolemaic times. In this world, which was not dissimilar to other Roman-controlled parts of the Eastern Mediterranean, visual phenomena like realism and portraiture evoked Greek ideals of physical appearance, education, and demeanour. Accordingly, how these ideals influenced representational choices has a direct bearing on personal and group identity in Roman Egypt.

IDENTITY

Outside the ancient Mediterranean world, there are parallels to the coexistence of two representational systems in one work, which have been interpreted as coded expressions of cultural identity or as a means of distinguishing one ethnic group from another. The latter explanation has been postulated for some examples of Mesoamerican art from the classic period (AD 300–900) in which one figure or

⁴⁰ For a similar position regarding Roman art, see J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity* (Cambridge 1995), esp. at 1–3, 154–5.

group of figures is depicted not only in the distinctive clothing but also in the representational manner of his or their ethnic group or state (for instance, a Teotihuacán figure in a Mayan relief).⁴¹ To Pasztory, whose observation this is, such 'style juxtaposition' indicates that the Maya considered the representation of a thing or person to be 'part of the essential nature and reality' of that thing or person, rather than an extrinsic quality that could be changed at the artist's will.⁴² The conclusion drawn from this is that different historical traditions may have different understandings of what style is or how representations behave, necessitating culture- and context-specific analysis of art.

A second example, drawn from early modern European art, touches on the relationship between systems of representation and the self-identity of a culture. In Elizabethan England, portraits of the queen and the nobility rejected the florid naturalism of contemporary Flemish or Italian painting in favour of rigid and flattened forms, elongated body types, and compositions replete with iconographic conceits.⁴³ An artist might execute religious or historical paintings in the continental style, but that same artist would rely on traditional English forms for portraiture.⁴⁴ The peculiar characteristics of the Elizabethan portrait were the result of a conscious and sophisticated effort to create a unique visual repertoire that would match the unique identity of England, set apart from most of Europe by its Protestantism and its unmarried, female monarch.⁴⁵

The preceding section has argued that *how* the individual or thing is represented can be as important as *who* or *what* is represented: the form itself is a communicative tool. In funerary art from Roman Egypt where the Greek representational system is used for images of the deceased and the Egyptian for the frame and religious content, does the Greek, or Roman, appearance of the dead indicate that they were Greek or Roman, like the Teotihuacáns represented in Mayan art? The converse would then have to be true: that individuals represented in Egyptian form—of which there are many—were identifiably Egyptian. This straightforward correlation was not the case in Roman Egypt, and in fact, in a single work, the deceased may be represented in both Greek and Egyptian forms, as on the coffin of Panakht (2) discussed in Chapter 2. Does the combination of Greek and Egyptian art then point more broadly at the identity of a culture, rather than an individual,

⁴¹ E. Pasztory, 'Identity and difference: The uses and meanings of ethnic styles', in S. J. Barnes and W. S. Melion (eds.), *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Washington, DC, 1989), 15–38, at 18–19.

⁴² Pasztory, 'Identity and difference', 34.

⁴³ A. T. Friedman, 'Did England have a Renaissance? Classical and anticlassical themes in Elizabethan culture', in S. J. Barnes and W. S. Melion (eds.), *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Washington, DC, 1989), 95–111, at 95–7.

⁴⁴ See Friedman, 'Did England have a Renaissance?' 99–100, figs. 4 and 5, using the painter Isaac Oliver as an example.

⁴⁵ Friedman, 'Did England have a Renaissance?' 96.

thus reflecting the character of Roman Egypt as a whole, in a similar way to how late Tudor portraiture captured Elizabethan England?

To answer these questions, it is necessary to consider what Roman Egypt was like and what political, ethnic, or cultural classifications were applied to its inhabitants—both by the state and by themselves. Mid-twentieth-century scholarship on Egyptian society during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods tended to see it as divided between an elite made up of the descendants of Greek settlers or ‘Hellenized’ natives who had fully assimilated, and a vast lower stratum adhering primarily to the old pharaonic Egyptian ways.⁴⁶ Hand-in-hand with this view went the idea that Egypt was treated differently by Rome than other provinces were, permitting Egypt to remain politically and culturally distanced from the rest of the Empire. But this interpretation is no longer accepted. Egypt was very much a part of the Roman administration, the more so because of the economic importance of its agricultural resources, its geographic location on trade routes from the Red Sea and Nubia, and the cosmopolitan character of its chief city, Alexandria. While Ptolemaic policies had built in part on existing native administrative structures and relied on the support of the native elite, the new Roman government began to adapt those structures to suit Rome’s own purposes with ‘radical changes in communal organization’.⁴⁷ The period from the second half of the first century BC through the first half of the first century AD is poorly documented in the papyrological record, but the institution of regular censuses suggests the Augustan administration’s efforts to account for, and clarify, its new possession.⁴⁸ Rome solidified its control of the country through a strong military presence and the encouragement of urbanization.⁴⁹ It looked to the existing urban elites for support, and identified specific groups—the gymnasial and metropolite classes—in registers created in AD 4/5.

Privileges were also accorded to Alexandria and the other historically Greek cities of Egypt—the former trading colony of Naukratis in the Delta and Ptolemy I Soter’s foundation, Ptolemais Hermiou, in the Thebaid, and to Antinoopolis after its founding in AD 130. These *poleis* were administered individually by their

⁴⁶ A perceptive discussion of Ptolemaic historiography is found in A. E. Samuel, *The Shifting Sands of History: Interpretations of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Lanham, Md., New York, and London 1989), 1–12, 35–49, 83–4. Studies of Late Roman and Byzantine (Coptic) Egypt also followed this pattern, e.g. K. Wessel, *Koptische Kunst* (Recklinghausen 1963), 59–67.

⁴⁷ A. K. Bowman and D. Rathbone, ‘Cities and administration in Roman Egypt’, *JRS* 82 (1992), 107–27, at 107.

⁴⁸ J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, ‘Entre la cité et le fisc: le statut grec dans l’Égypte romaine’, in F. J. Fernández Nieto (ed.), *Symposion 1982: Actas de la Sociedad de Historia del Derecho Griego y Helenístico* (Valencia 1985), 241–80, esp. 265–6.

⁴⁹ A. K. Bowman, ‘Urbanization in Roman Egypt’, in E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformations, and Failures: Papers of a Conference Held at the American Academy in Rome, 14–16 May 1998* (Portsmouth, RI, 2000), 173–87.

councils, not by the *strategoi* (governors) of the forty-odd Egyptian nomes, or districts.⁵⁰ To be registered officially as a citizen of Alexandria or a *polis* was a badge of status and offered exemption from the poll tax (*laographia*) that was levied on every male resident of Egypt between the ages of 14 and 62. Roman citizens, who were fewer in number, were also exempt from the poll tax. The Roman administration ensured that Alexandrian and Roman citizenship were controlled by inheritance: both parents had to be registered in the relevant category in order for their offspring to qualify for the same status, although it was possible for children to inherit their mother's Roman citizenship if their father was declared as unknown.⁵¹ The *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, a second-century AD version of Augustan guidelines used by the department responsible for government-owned land in Egypt, typifies the Roman administration's concern with citizenship issues and states that children whose parents were of differing status would inherit the lesser status, not the higher.⁵²

Roman classification of status for taxation purposes extended to the nome capitals, each of which was known as a *metropolis*. Metropolitite citizenship, which had been defined in the registers drawn up shortly after Rome annexed Egypt, granted the holder a reduced poll tax rate.⁵³ Thereafter, boys applied to register as metropolitites before the age of 14 in a process known as *epikrisis*.⁵⁴ A second type of *epikrisis* assigned some boys to membership of the gymnasium, which seems to have been a prerequisite for holding municipal offices. The role of the gymnasium in promoting Greek education and culture was turned to Roman advantage by concentrating gymnasia in the cities and closing the village gymnasia that were active in Ptolemaic times.⁵⁵ Like metropolitite status, gymnasial membership helped define an urban elite who could be expected to showcase their loyalty to Rome. Gymnasial status was more restricted than metropolitite status, however, and consequently had more stringent qualification criteria; in a second-century AD papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, several generations of descent on both the mother's

⁵⁰ J. D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, pt. ii: *The Roman Epistrategos* (Opladen 1982), 103. Town councils: A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971).

⁵¹ A Latin text from Karanis documents such a case: J. F. Gilliam, 'Some Roman elements in Roman Egypt', *Illinois Classical Studies* 3 (1978), 115–31.

⁵² BGU v. 1210: C. A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt* (Amsterdam 1979), 2–3; A. K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (London 1996), 128; and S. Riccobono, *Il gnomon dell' Idios Logos* (Palermo 1950), with full edition and bibliography. For the Idios Logos, see P. R. Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos* (Toronto 1970).

⁵³ A. K. Bowman and D. Rathbone, 'Cities and administration in Roman Egypt', *JRS* 82 (1992), 107–27, esp. 120–7, is relevant to much of the following discussion.

⁵⁴ See Nelson, *Status Declarations*, 22–4.

⁵⁵ According to Bowman and Rathbone, 'Cities and administration in Roman Egypt', 121, the latest attestation of a village gymnasium is in AD 2. For Greek education in Roman Egypt, see R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996); and *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton and Oxford 2001).

and father's sides are listed in support of a boy's gymnasial *epikrisis*.⁵⁶ Belonging to the gymnasia or the ephebia, another Greek institution in which boys could be registered, did not guarantee that members reached the highest educational or professional ranks: the gymnasial member Pekysis and his son, who were living at Ptolemais in the first century AD, share the rather prosaic profession of donkey-driver.⁵⁷ Also, there were considerable differences between, and among, the elites of the *poleis*, *metropoleis*, and villages, and the cultural and financial resources of villages and minor metropolises were presumably far less than in the Greek cities and more cosmopolitan towns, like Hermopolis Magna and Oxyrhynchus. For instance, a papyrus from the Fayum village of Tebtunis records that in AD 99 a fisherman named Ammonios, who had been registered as an ephebe in boyhood, had to have a friend and fellow ephebe write out confirmation of the registration because Ammonios was a slow, or incompetent, writer in Greek.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, classification as an ephebe, gymnasial member, or metropolitite presumably cemented social ties for many people and encouraged a sense of unity, if not entitlement, within these groups.

'Ethnicity' in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt

In the eyes of Rome, however, any resident of Egypt who was not either a Roman citizen or a citizen of Alexandria, Naukratis, Ptolemais, or Antinoopolis was simply an Egyptian, a designation that applied to metropolitites and villagers alike, without respect to one's ethnic descent. To appreciate how this stratification affected the populace, it is helpful to consider the social norms that had prevailed in Ptolemaic Egypt. From the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, native Egyptians served in the administration and the military. High-ranking clergy advised the court, and the family of the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis may even have intermarried with the royal family.⁵⁹ Egyptian scribes learned to write Greek as well as

⁵⁶ P. Oxy. XVIII 2186: E. Lobel, C. H. Roberts, and E. P. Wegener, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, pt. xviii: Nos. 2157–2207 (London 1941), 134–6. On the gymnasial class, see Nelson, *Status Declarations*, 26–35.

⁵⁷ R. S. Bagnall, B. W. Frier, and I. C. Rutherford, *The Census Register P.Oxy.984: The Reverse of Pindar's Paean* (Brussels 1997), 59–60 (Household 89-Pt–7).

⁵⁸ P. Tebt. II 316, ll. 101–2 (B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and E. J. Goodspeed (eds.), *The Tebtunis Papyri*, pt. ii (London 1907), 116–20), as discussed in H. C. Youtie, 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ: An aspect of Greek society in Egypt', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 75 (1971), 161–76, at 174–5, and 'Βραδέως Γράφων: Between literacy and illiteracy', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 12 (1971), 239–61, at 260–1. Few documents from Roman Egypt deal with the registration of ephebes, known as *eiskrisis*; some boys were members both of the gymnasium and of an ephebic organization, but in at least one case, a boy entered as an ephebe would not have qualified for the gymnasium based on his mother's line of descent: see Nelson, *Status Declarations*, 47–58.

⁵⁹ G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (New York and London 2001), 222 (= G. Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches: Politik, Ideologie und Religiöse Kultur von Alexander dem Großen bis zur römischen Eroberung* (Darmstadt 1994), 195), citing W. Huß, 'Die Herkunft der Kleopatra Philopator', *Aegyptus* 70 (1990), 191–203.

Demotic, just as other Egyptians learned to speak Greek in order to operate more effectively in the changing social climate. Importantly, acculturation worked both ways. A man named Horemheb who lived at Naukratis during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus seems to have had a Greek father and an Egyptian mother and was a priest in the city's Egyptian cult, attaining such a position that he was posthumously honoured with an Egyptian statue that stood 3.6 m high.⁶⁰ Greek immigrants to Egypt, especially those who settled in Upper Egypt where their numbers were fewer and little Greek culture had penetrated, also learned to operate in the Egyptian sphere and married into Egyptian families.⁶¹ Demotic and Greek documents found near Pathyris (Gebelein) date to the second century BC and involve two families in which some individuals are identified in Demotic as 'Greeks born in Egypt' (*Wynn ms n Kmy*), which helps reveal what close connections existed between 'Greeks', such as the cavalry officer Dryton, and local Egyptian families.⁶²

The Ptolemaic administration did not define 'Greek' and 'Egyptian' in legal terms, but in a 1988 study, Goudriaan collected more than 200 private documents in which someone was described as one or the other. Such a distinction depended on the perspective of whoever composed the document: in contracts written by a Demotic scribe, for instance, specifying who was a Hellene might have been a tool for identification as well as an indication of the party's native language. The language a person used seems to have been the chief criterion for applying either label, and the language in which the contract was written determined what kind of court, Greek or Egyptian, would hear any dispute arising from it. Living side by side, Greeks and Egyptians affected each other and even became each other, because the boundaries between the two groups were permeable.

That permeability and the fact that the ethnic designations depended on context were justifiably central to Goudriaan's understanding of ethnicity.⁶³ Ethnicity is not an intrinsic characteristic of an individual or a group but is negotiated through social relations. The ethnic identity of the group depends not only on interaction with other individuals, both within and outside of the group, but also on the wish

⁶⁰ Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 1230: L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, iv: Catalogue général du Musée de Caire (Berlin 1934), 120–1, pl. 171; see P. Derchain, *Les impondérables de l'hellenisation: Littérature d'hiéroglyphes* (Turnhout 2000), 20–1, 42–3.

⁶¹ For Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Period: W. Clarysse, 'Egyptian estate-holders in the Ptolemaic Period', in E. Lipinski (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* (Leuven 1979), 731–43; 'Some Greeks in Egypt', in J. H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond* (Chicago 1992), 51–6; and 'Greeks in Ptolemaic Thebes', in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1995), 1–19; and also Derchain, *Les impondérables de l'hellenisation*.

⁶² Interconnections and ethnic designations: K. Goudriaan, *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Amsterdam 1988), 58–69, emphasizing the Demotic evidence. For Greek documentation concerning Dryton, see N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt: Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1986), 88–103; S. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt* (Detroit 1990), 103–24.

⁶³ Goudriaan, *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 8–13.

or need to differentiate 'group' from 'non-group' in a given situation.⁶⁴ An ethnic group is defined by itself, not by its language, religion, genetic make-up, or cultural practices, although any of these might be used by the group to symbolize its identity. The sociologist Anthony D. Smith has outlined six features of ethnicity: use of a common name for the group; a myth of common descent; shared histories of a common past; one or more cultural elements, often religion or language; a sense of a territorial homeland, either actual or ancestral; and a sense, among some of the members, of belonging together to a group.⁶⁵ Smith's characterization informs the work of Jonathan Hall on ethnicity in ancient Greece, which further deduces that when an ethnic group is politically excluded or dominated, individual members will align themselves more strongly with their ethnic identity.⁶⁶ At every juncture, 'ethnic identity is *socially constructed and subjectively perceived*'.⁶⁷

In Ptolemaic Egypt, then, Greek and Egyptian ethnic identity contributed to individuals' sense of themselves and each other, but it had less impact than other, independent factors, such as profession, kinship, or where one lived (town or village, north or south), in terms of how Ptolemaic society was organized. Over time, intermarriage, acculturation in both directions, and the prevalence of Greek cultural and administrative institutions encouraged the creation of a social elite who were externally recognized as Hellenes, presumably because of their primary language, perhaps because of certain cultural practices, but regardless of their religious affiliations, physical appearance, or assets. Concentrated in the leading towns and among the holders of kleruchic land (the estates given to military veterans under the Ptolemaic administration), this *de facto* Hellenic stratum was made *de jure* by the Augustan reforms that registered metropolites and regulated gymnasia. This system fixed the membership of status groups and limited upward mobility by making lineage a prerequisite.⁶⁸

Around the same time, the ethnic designations of 'Greek' or 'Egyptian' disappeared from documents, especially since Demotic had fallen out of use in the legal sphere, where Greek was now required.⁶⁹ Instead, papyrological evidence such as

⁶⁴ K. A. Yelvington, 'Ethnicity as practice? A comment on Bentley', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33 (1987), 158–68, responding to G. C. Bentley, 'Ethnicity and practice', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29 (1987), 24–5. Thus also J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge 1997), 33: 'Ethnic identity can only be constituted by apposition to other ethnic identities.'

⁶⁵ See J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith (eds.), *Ethnicity* (Oxford and New York 1996), at 6–7, adapted from A. D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford 1986). Similarly, the eight-point characterization of ethnicity in C. Renfrew, 'Prehistory and the identity of Europe, or, Don't let's be beastly to the Hungarians', in P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones, and C. Gamble (eds.), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities* (London 1995), 125–37, at 130.

⁶⁶ Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, 16–33.

⁶⁷ Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, 19; italics original.

⁶⁸ Thus Goudriaan, *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 119: non-official use of ethnic designations in Ptolemaic Egypt 'created a precedent, which was to become acutely dangerous the moment the Romans came'.

⁶⁹ N. Lewis, 'The demise of the Demotic document: When and why?', *JEA* 79 (1993), 276–81.



FIGURE 4 The Greek inscription *Titos Flaugios* [sic] *Demetrios* on this mummy mask is rare in that it identifies the dead man as a Roman citizen who was born under the Flavian emperors in the late first century AD. Gilded and painted linen cartonnage. H: 57.0 cm. From Hawara. Late first to early second century AD. Ipswich Borough Council Museums and Galleries, Ipswich Museum, R1921-89.

tax receipts or *epikrisis* petitions specify whether an individual had metropolite or gymnasial status, or else such status can be inferred for individuals who hold offices where it was obligatory, like the gymnasiarchy. When an individual held Roman or Alexandrian citizenship, this was also stated, either explicitly or, for Roman citizens, could normally be inferred from the *tria nomina* (three-part Latin name).⁷⁰ Only one case of a Roman *tria nomina* is securely attested among the funerary art: the name Titos Flavius Demetrios (*Τίτος Φλαυγίος Δημητρίος*) adorns the back of a traditional mummy mask from Hawara, made of gilded and painted cartonnage (Fig. 4).⁷¹ The central element ‘Flaugios’, for the Latin ‘Flavius’ or Greek equivalent

⁷⁰ Other Roman citizens might be unrecognized among single or double Greek names: compare Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 155–6.

⁷¹ Ipswich Borough Council Museums and Galleries, Ipswich Museum, R1921–89 (L: 57.0 cm): W. M. F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* (London 1889), 16; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 104; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 53, 126; S. J. Plunkett, *From the Mummy's Tomb: Ancient Egyptian Treasures in Ipswich Museum* (Ipswich 1993), 50, 52 (no. 16); *Ancient Faces* (London), 84–5 (no. 74). The name is included in Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, i. 291 (no. 4179), erroneously as written on a piece of mummy linen.

'Flaouios', suggests that Titos was named in honour of the Flavian imperial house (AD 69–96); he may even have been a freedman of the Flavians who settled in the Fayum and was mummified and buried in the Egyptian manner. In fact, his mask is more conservative-looking than earlier Hawara masks that incorporated Roman hairstyles and contemporary clothing,⁷² and the peculiar spelling of 'Flaugios' suggests a writer unfamiliar with Greek conventions.

No one identified in papyri or inscriptions as a metropolite, a member of the gymnasium, or an Alexandrian citizen can securely be linked to a mummy, burial, or tomb in Roman Egypt, although the nature of the evidence limits what can be read into this observation. It is difficult, if not impracticable, to gauge someone's legal status from archaeological or art historical evidence alone: if Titos' mask were not inscribed, nothing about its appearance would inform us that he held Roman citizenship. Funerary art can reveal the deceased's profession or associations, such as the military cloaks depicted in mummy portraits or the Isis and Sarapis iconography in portraits that may represent priests, priestesses, or initiates of these cults.⁷³ Not all clues are as direct as they might seem, especially in the absence of confirming details. Thus mummy portraits of young males with bare torsos no doubt reflect a cultural association linking athleticism, physical beauty, and men who died young,⁷⁴ but it does not follow that youths represented in this way had actually been admitted to a gymnasium or ephebate.⁷⁵

Even though funerary art rarely offers a straightforward revelation of how the deceased slotted into the administrative categories (citizen or Egyptian, metropolite or villager), it can still be used to explore social and personal identities in Roman Egypt. However, the exploration must start from the premise that there is no fixed relationship between the use of material culture, including art, and the ethnic identity of a person or group.⁷⁶ Put simply, Greek art forms in Egypt were not the preserve of 'Greeks', nor were Egyptian forms, like the mask in Fig. 4, the exclusive prerogative of 'Egyptians'. Furthermore, ethnicity in Roman Egypt was probably constructed in different ways than it had been in Ptolemaic times, given the widespread effects of the government reforms. The ethnic dichotomy between 'Greek' and 'Egyptian', which had been based on factors like one's mother tongue

⁷² Such as the first-century AD female examples in *Ancient Faces* (London), 80–3 (nos. 58–60).

⁷³ Portraits with military cloaks: Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 157–8, and e.g. *Ancient Faces* (London), 95–7 (nos. 87, 88). Portraits of Isis 'priestesses' or cult members: Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 112–13, pl. 54, 1; D. L. Thompson, 'A priestess of Isis at Swarthmore College', *AJA* 85 (1981), 88–92. Portrait of a Sarapis priest: *Ancient Faces* (London), 69–70 (no. 46); and compare H. R. Goette, 'Kaiserzeitliche Bildnisse von Serapis-Priestern', *MDAIK* 45 (1989), 173–86.

⁷⁴ D. Montserrat, 'The representation of young males in "Fayum portraits"', *JEA* 79 (1993), 215–25.

⁷⁵ S. Walker, 'Mummy portraits in their Roman context', in M. L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks* (London 1997), 1–6, at 4.

⁷⁶ S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London and New York 1997), esp. 113–15, 124–5, 130–4.

and the claim to a real or ancestral homeland, seems not to have been recognizable (or worth recognizing) from a Roman perspective—thus most of the country's population were classed as 'Egyptians'. From our perspective, some of these 'Egyptians' were more Hellenic in their cultural habitus than others were, and more likely to avail themselves of Greek education and entrance to the gymnasia or ephebrates, like 'exiles of an ideal country'.⁷⁷

Being Greek or being Egyptian were no longer two discrete states, and perhaps had ceased to be so well before Rome arrived on the scene. They were not necessarily the same state, either. Instead, Greek-ness and Egyptian-ness were possible constructions of identity which might complement, compete with, or blend into each other depending on the specific context in which, and for which, they were created—a burial, for instance, versus a property deed. 'Identity' is a more useful term than 'ethnicity' in discussing self-presentation in Roman Egypt, since being a Greek or a Roman had come to be a cultural designation, not an ethnic one.⁷⁸ Papyrological evidence from the Roman Period does not explicitly describe people in ethnic terms and refers to groups like 'Hellenes' or 'Macedonians' in only a few, exceptional cases.⁷⁹ In any case, such documentation is slanted towards Greek literacy, and further publication of Demotic and early Coptic sources might paint a different picture.

Art and Identity: the Cultural Context

Removing the assumption that art forms correlate directly to identity or ethnicity also has important implications for the concept of Romanization, which is understood as the process whereby people governed by the Roman Empire adopted Roman material culture.⁸⁰ Use of Roman cultural forms is still assumed, implicitly

⁷⁷ Criore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 9.

⁷⁸ J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago 2002), esp. 221–5. For identity in antiquity, see also P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones, and C. Gamble (eds.), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities* (London and New York 1996); R. Laurence and J. Berry (eds.), *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire* (London and New York 1998).

⁷⁹ Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Entre la cité et le fisc'.

⁸⁰ 'Romanization' is primarily a concern of the Western Empire. In the Eastern Empire, 'Hellenization' was at issue; see, for instance, S. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East* (Oxford 1997). A selection of the extensive literature on Romanization includes: P. W. M. Freeman, "'Romanisation" and Roman material culture', *JRA* 6 (1993), 438–45 (review of M. Millett, *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation* (Cambridge 1990)); G. Woolf, 'Becoming Roman, staying Greek: Culture, identity and the civilizing process in the Roman East', *PCPS* 40 (1994), 116–43; J. C. Barrett, 'Romanization: A critical comment', in D. J. Mattingly (ed.), *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire* (Portsmouth, RI, 1997), 51–64; P. W. M. Freeman, 'Mommsen to Haverfield: The origins of studies of Romanization in late 19th-C. Britain', in Mattingly, *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*, 27–50; C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 2000); G. Woolf, 'Macmullen's Romanization', *JRA* 14 (2001), 575–9 (review of R. MacMullen, *Romanization in the Time of Augustus* (New Haven 2000)).

at least, to reflect an identification with the Roman Empire' and a legitimization of imperial power.⁸¹ While sometimes the use of a Roman-style art form or product did imply alignment with Rome, to assume that this was always the case leaves no room for the more flexible associations of art and identity posited above, or for the varied motivations behind them. Alongside the status designations that determined rank and privilege in Roman Egypt, there were numerous aspects of individual, family, and group identity that could be more freely adapted in social interactions. Being Egyptian, Greek, Roman, or some combination of these might depend on a given context or on an observer's perspective.

The challenge, then, is how to glean information about identity in Roman Egypt from a corpus of funerary art that uses both Greek and Egyptian visual forms, interspersed with Roman elements like fashionable imperial hairstyles. Obviously the country's cultural background up to and during the Roman Period coloured the choices that were made in the production of funerary art. Developments in the Roman centre had an impact in Egypt, just as throughout the Empire, but as a former Hellenistic kingdom, Egypt shared the general Hellenic character of the Eastern Mediterranean. Against this cultural backdrop, many Egyptian cities and larger towns could boast a hippodrome, baths, a theatre, colonnaded streets, a plethora of temples to a wide array of deities, and various other buildings in a classical architectural style.⁸² Egypt's classical architectural forms 'differed little from other Roman provinces',⁸³ and the remnants of classical buildings, particularly capitals, are littered throughout Egyptian sites despite centuries of destruction from reuse and lime production.

In terms of the art and artefacts that were in common circulation, the population of Roman Egypt was familiar with sculpture, painting, mosaics, pottery, terracotta figurines, coins, and other 'everyday' objects that were consistent with the idiom of the classical world. Most of these types of artefacts were of little interest to the early excavators who found them, and who were more interested in locating papyri or uncovering much earlier remains. Ample statuary in classical form survives, presumably stemming from both private and public contexts,⁸⁴ and monumental public sculpture, such as honorary columns and the reliefs and statuary decorating

⁸¹ Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 36.

⁸² D. M. Bailey, 'Classical architecture in Roman Egypt', in M. Henig (ed.), *Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1990), 121–37, with extensive additional references; R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London and New York 2002), 235–45.

⁸³ Bailey, 'Classical architecture in Roman Egypt', 121.

⁸⁴ C. C. Edgar, *Greek Sculpture*, Catalogue général du Musée de Caire (Cairo 1903); P. Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits d'Égypte romaine* (Cairo 1936); A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, A II: *Scultura* (Palermo 1961); H. Jucker, 'Römische Herrscherbildnisse aus Ägypten', in *ANRW* 11/12.2. 667–724; H. Jucker, 'Marmorporträts aus dem römischen Ägypten: Beobachtungen, Vorschläge und Fragen', in G. Grimm, H. Heinen, and E. Winter (eds.), *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (Mainz 1983), 139–40.

public buildings, were fairly standard in the major towns.⁸⁵ Paintings and mosaic floors display techniques and motifs in keeping with those preserved elsewhere in the Mediterranean.⁸⁶ Coins are an obvious example of a widely disseminated category of object bearing, on the obverse, the approved imperial image and, on the reverse, an assortment of images drawing on Greek, Roman, and Egyptian content but conveyed in the Greek mode.⁸⁷ Terracotta figurines occur in such high numbers that they must have been popular devotional objects, functioning in the home, as burial goods, and as votive offerings; nearly all are classical in form.⁸⁸ Personal objects—jewellery, glass vessels, bronzes, lamps, and pottery—are consistent with those made in other parts of the contemporary Mediterranean world.⁸⁹ These objects and artworks, so present yet so silent in the archaeological record, were a fundamental part of visual experience in Roman Egypt, where Greek representational forms, whether in two or three dimensions, the exceptional or the mundane, had been incorporated into the fabric of the society and grown familiar.

At the same time, native Egyptian culture maintained a strong presence, both physically and in terms of social practices and language. Because of the longevity and cultural embeddedness of Egyptian religion in all aspects of Egyptian society, the country never experienced a ‘Hellenization’ of its religious and political

⁸⁵ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchus* (London 1924), 14–6, pls. 36–7, with sculpture from the theatre of Oxyrhynchus; Bailey, ‘Classical architecture in Roman Egypt’, 129–30 on honorary columns and tetrastyles.

⁸⁶ Domestic wall paintings: O. Rubensohn, ‘Aus griechisch-römischen Häusern des Fayum’, *JDAI* 20 (1905), 1–25, pls. 1–3; A. E. R. Boak and E. E. Peterson, *Karanis: Topographical and Architectural Survey of Excavations During the Seasons 1924–28* (Ann Arbor 1931), pls. 24–5; E. M. Husselman, *Karanis: Excavations of the University of Michigan in Egypt, 1928–1935: Topography and Architecture: A Summary of the Reports of the Director, Enoch E. Peterson* (Ann Arbor 1979), pl. 102a. Mosaics: W. A. Daszewski, *Corpus of Mosaics from Egypt*, i: *Hellenistic and Early Roman Period* (Mainz 1985).

⁸⁷ The design of coins was governed by considerations unique to that medium and has been extensively discussed in numismatic sources; publications of excavated coins from Egypt include J. Milne and A. Hayter, ‘Three coin hoards’, in A. Boak (ed.), *Karanis 1924–1931* (Ann Arbor 1933), 57–84; R. Haatveldt, *Coins from Karanis* (Ann Arbor 1964).

⁸⁸ L. Török, *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt* (Rome 1995); J. Fischer, *Griechisch-römische Terrakotten aus Ägypten* (Tübingen 1994); F. Dunand, *Catalogue des terres cuites gréco-romaines d’Égypte*, Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités grecques et romaines (Paris 1990), all with further references. Most terracottas lack a firm provenance, but for excavated examples from Athribis, found in datable Ptolemaic contexts, see K. Mysliwiec, ‘Fruchtbarkeitskult’, in H. Felber and S. Pfisterer-Haas (eds.), *Ägypter-Griechen-Römer* (Leipzig 1999), 47–81, with further references. At Antinopolis, Gayet excavated a group of terracottas in a tomb: A. Gayet, ‘L’exploration des nécropoles de la montagne d’Antinoë. Fouilles exécutées en 1901–1902’, *Annales du Musée Guimet* 30 (1903), 115–40, at 124, pls. 3–4.

⁸⁹ Glass: D. B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis Found by the University of Michigan Archaeological Expedition in Egypt, 1924–29* (Ann Arbor 1936). Bronzes: C. C. Edgar, *Græco-Egyptian Bronzes*, Catalogue général du Musée de Caire (Cairo 1904). Lamps: L. Shier, *Terracotta Lamps from Karanis* (Ann Arbor 1978). Pottery: B. Johnson, *Pottery from Karanis* (Ann Arbor 1981); J. W. Hayes, *Handbook of Mediterranean Roman Pottery* (London 1997).

ideologies to the degree that other Hellenistic and Roman provinces had.⁹⁰ The survival of Egyptian religion was aided not only through the continued existence of the temples, their priests, and a scribal class operating in the native language, but also, and more lastingly, through the actions of individuals and communities in terms of rituals, festivities, and cult practices. In terms of artistic change, though, new art and artefact forms do not impede cultural and religious survivals and may even contribute to them, either by providing new forms for the expression of traditional beliefs or by creating an impetus and outlet for the preservation of the old forms. The Greek visual character of material goods, artworks, and architecture in Roman Egypt, fleshed out in the foregoing paragraphs, is a demonstrable aspect of ‘everyday’ life and of the range of visual forms and experiences that were then available.

Traditional approaches to Roman Egyptian funerary art have interpreted the presence of Greek or Roman elements as indicating a commensurate change in an individual’s identity and pointing to his or her ‘Greek’ or Roman status. If such an interpretation were universally applied, however, Titos Flavios Demetrios (Fig. 4) would be an Egyptian simply for having been buried like one. Without its Greek inscription, Titos’ mask might have been consigned to obscurity because of the added weight that scholarship has given to the evidence of Greek art forms, like naturalistically painted mummy portraits.⁹¹ Petrie, who excavated the mask, gave up looking for such mummy masks at Hawara in preference for finding more mummy portraits, which he considered intrinsically better in terms of quality, material value, and cultural worth. Portraits are only one aspect of funerary art in Roman Egypt, and they are not the only aspect which communicates how people thought about themselves and their place in society. The manner and place of burial, inscriptions and papyri, and the non-illusionistic art forms contributed to formulating and expressing identity as well. With or without Greek imagery, what made the funerary art of Roman Egypt so distinctive was part of what made Roman Egypt distinctive, too: its ongoing engagement with the Egyptian religious heritage.

FUNERARY RELIGION

Embalming and interring the dead, commemorating them through funerary art or monuments, and invoking ritual protection and empowerment on their behalf were actions through which Egyptian religion continued to function and develop

⁹⁰ D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton 1998), 7.

⁹¹ C. Riggs, ‘Facing the dead: Recent research on the funerary art of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt’, *AJA* 106 (2002), 85–101, esp. 86–7.

during the Roman Period. Like other religious outlets where native traditions were maintained—healing cults, fertility rituals, and oracles, for instance⁹²—mortuary practices were strongly localized and had a broad appeal. If the imperial cult, urban sanctuaries, and major temples like Edfu and Dendara, where the arcana of myths were recorded in meticulous detail, are at the more elite, regulated, and remote end of a religious continuum in Roman Egypt, then smaller cults, domestic shrines, and funerary customs are at the other end, and comparatively more accessible, flexible, and responsive to the needs of individuals and local communities.

Egyptian Myths of Death and Rebirth

Although funerary religion should not be seen as separate from other areas of religious practice, it is possible to discuss it on its own, given the existence of a large body of texts, myths, and iconography that were specific to the care of the dead. The basis of Egyptian funerary thought was the intertwined mythology of Osiris and the sun god, which was also linked with the ideology of kingship. Osiris was a kingly figure and one of four children born to the earth god Geb and the sky goddess Nut. His brother Seth murdered Osiris and, in one version of the tale, dismembered and dispersed his corpse, so that Osiris' sister and wife, Isis, had to search all over Egypt for parts of the body. Together with the fourth sibling, the goddess Nephthys, Isis mourned the loss of Osiris and pleaded for him to return from the dead; the goddesses could be likened to kites, perhaps because the sound of their mourning cries resembled the calls of these birds of prey. When Osiris had been reassembled by Anubis through the process of mummification, Isis and Nephthys hid his body to protect him from the continued threat posed by Seth, a vigil ritually commemorated during the twelve hours of the night.⁹³ By magically restoring Osiris' procreative powers, Isis became pregnant by him and bore the son, Horus, who was destined to grow to adulthood, defeat his uncle Seth, and, in his falcon or falcon-headed form, reclaim the throne of Osiris for earthly kings. Thus, Egyptian kings were likened to Horus and had a 'Horus name' as one part of their official titulary. Early kings were buried at Abydos, perhaps in emulation of Osiris, whose cult centre and burial place it was.⁹⁴

The Egyptian king was also, from the Fourth Dynasty (c.2400 BC) onwards, characterized as the son of the sun god, whose chief form was another falcon-headed deity, Re. The progress of the sun from its 'birth' in the morning to its

⁹² On which see Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, which informs much of the following discussion.

⁹³ H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien, nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae* (Vienna 1910).

⁹⁴ There are numerous Egyptian sources pertaining to the Osiris cult, and the only continuous narrative of his myth cycle is Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, translated and edited by J. G. Griffiths (Cardiff 1970). For further discussion and references, see J. G. Griffiths, 'Osiris', in *LÄ* iv. 623–33.

'death' in the evening formed a parallel to the Osirian cycle of myths. After the twelve hours of the day, the sun god died in the form of the primeval god Atum and entered the region of the *Duat*, or netherworld. During the twelve hours of the night, his boat was beset by obstacles and dangers. In the sixth hour, at the deepest part of the underworld, the sun god was united with his own corpse, embodied by Osiris. The approach of dawn heralded the sun god's rebirth, which effectively created the world anew as the god took to the sky in the form of a scarab beetle propelling the solar disc. In his scarab or scarab-headed form, the sun god was Khepri. The myriad other forms and symbols associated with the sun god included a ram or ram-headed man, a child emerging from a lotus blossom, and baboons, whose dawn calls were construed as adulation for the sun.⁹⁵

Both Osiris and the sun god passed through threats of the unknown, of physical harm, and of annihilation, to emerge reborn and transformed. In the same way, the deceased could survive the fears and dangers of death and would then be reborn not as he or she was in life, but as a transfigured and perfected being, the *akh*. The physical body and the aspects of what we would term the 'soul', in particular the *ba* and *ka*, needed to be protected, magically enabled, and suitably equipped in order for this process to occur and to be perpetuated indefinitely.⁹⁶

Drawing on imagery from the Osirian and solar mythologies, Roman Period funerary art contributed to the protection and transfiguration of the deceased, with symbols like the *ankh*-sign (for 'life'), *was*-sceptre ('power'), *tyet*-knot (for Isis), and *djed*-pillar (for Osiris); the amuletic *wedjat*-eye of Horus, and Horus in his falcon form; winged scarabs, associated with both Osiris and the sun god; armed guardian deities; and manifestations of Isis and Nephthys. Symbols of kingship also had a role in the form of uraei (rearing cobras), sphinxes, and the pairing of the Lower Egyptian cobra goddess Wadjet and the Upper Egyptian vulture goddess Nekhbet, who crowned, glorified, and protected the king and, by extension, the dead. Some compositions can be traced to tomb decoration and illustrated papyri from pharaonic periods, such as the judgement scene in which the deceased's heart is weighed against *maat* in a balance.⁹⁷ Other elements derive from the decoration

⁹⁵ For the *Amduat*, or 'Book of that which is in the netherworld', as recorded in New Kingdom (c.1550–1050 BC) royal tombs, see E. Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife* (Ithaca 1999), 27–53 (= E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher* (Darmstadt 1997), 40–55), with further literature cited there. Other compositions summarized in these volumes are relevant to solar theology as well, and see J. Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism* (London and New York 1995).

⁹⁶ General surveys of funerary beliefs and practices: J. H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London 2000), esp. 15–32 and 186–213; J. Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits im Alten Ägypten* (Munich 2001). J. Baines and P. Lacovara, 'Burial and the dead in ancient Egyptian society', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2 (2002), 5–36 contains important discussion; E. Hornung, 'Zur Struktur des ägyptischen Jenseitsglaubens', *ZÄS* 119 (1992), 124–30 considers the relationship between funerary beliefs and other aspects of Egyptian religion.

⁹⁷ C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* (Munich and Berlin 1976), with Ptolemaic and Roman judgement scenes at 8–9, 51–4, 229–36, figs. 23–8.

of Ptolemaic and Roman (and earlier) temples, or share a source or repertoire: processions of deities and offering bearers, for instance, and the royal iconography which brought the powers and privileges of kingship into service on behalf of the deceased.⁹⁸ Still other scenes are either innovative or given greater prominence than in previous periods, notably the presentation of the deceased to Osiris, in which Anubis ushers the lifelike deceased into the presence of the god, or else supports a mummy understood to represent the deceased.

These compositions were deployed on burial equipment that was in many ways characteristic of the Roman Period, although it had developed from forms used in the preceding centuries. Into the Ptolemaic Period, burials might include the small 'servant' figurines called *shawabtis*; a statuette of the composite funerary deity Ptah-Sokar-Osiris; a Book of the Dead papyrus roll; an anthropoid wooden coffin or stone sarcophagus; and the mummy, with amulets and jewellery inside its wrappings and a cartonnage mask, body cover, and sandals outside. A stela could mark an offering place near the burial or outside the tomb.⁹⁹ Inadequate preservation and publication of dated burials makes it difficult to say precisely when such assemblages were scaled back, and in any case, only a few burials will have included the full complement of equipment. By the end of the Ptolemaic Period, *shawabtis* and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figurines had fallen out of use, and the latest attested Book of the Dead is a Demotic version written in AD 64.¹⁰⁰ Anthropoid wooden or stone coffins gave way to more fluid forms modelled in mud, linen, or papyrus cartonnage, and the coffin was often abandoned in preference for the wrapped body alone. Many more varieties of mummy masks were developed in the Roman Period, and large sheets of linen with painted decoration were for the first time used to envelop the mummy completely.

A mask and shroud could also be used together to create a carapace for the mummified body, like the gilded plaster mask and painted linen shroud in Fig. 5.¹⁰¹ This male mummy was one of two dozen or so masked mummies excavated by Petrie at the Fayum necropolis of Hawara, which famously yielded the much more numerous wooden mummy portraits.¹⁰² The Hawara cemetery abutted the revered

⁹⁸ Discussed in Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 57–63.

⁹⁹ See D'Auria *et al.*, *Mummies and Magic*, 173–80 (nos. 125–7) for excavated Late Period burial goods.

¹⁰⁰ F. Lexa, *Das demotische Totenbuch der Pariser Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus des Pa-Month)* (Leipzig 1910); M. A. Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. nat. 149)* (Wiesbaden 2003).

¹⁰¹ Dublin, National Museum of Ireland, 1911:442 (L: 98.0 cm): W. M. F. Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis (IV)* (London 1911), 15, pl. 12; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 107–8, 167, 251, pl. 57. 1; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 21 n. 76, 22, 48, 55, 75, 117, 127 B 1, pls. 8. 2 (mask, lost) and 8. 4 (shroud).

¹⁰² Petrie first worked at the site in 1888 and returned in 1911, the seasons being published respectively as Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, and Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis*. For a comparison of Petrie's excavation notebooks, preserved in University College London, and the published accounts, see P. C. Roberts, "One of our mummies is missing": Evaluating Petrie's records from Hawara', in M. L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks* (London 1997), 19–25. For other masked mummies from Hawara, see *Ancient Faces* (London), 77–85; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 44–54, 126–8.

FIGURE 5 A photograph from W. M. F. Petrie's 1911 excavations at Hawara shows the Dublin shroud (see Fig. 6) intact on the mummy. The gilded plaster mask, now lost, is one of several similar examples from the site, with Egyptian scenes painted around the back of the head.

H of mummy: 1.5 m (estimated).
Mid-first century AD.



pyramid of the Middle Kingdom pharaoh Amenemhat III (c.1850–1800 BC), who was worshipped as a god in the region, and the Roman burials at the site are probably drawn from the neighbouring nome capital of Arsinoe as well as the surrounding area. Although the mask and mummy have been lost, the shroud (Fig. 6) exemplifies several motifs in funerary art. The *wesekh*-collar at the top, which covered the midsection of the mummy when the shroud was in place, was protective, as were the extended wings of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys on either side of it. The panel to the viewer's left depicts four standard-bearing priests in procession, a mummy lying in state on a funerary bier, and two images of Osiris, one with a griffin, and the other flanked by an enigmatic female figure and an owl. The corresponding right panel repeats the priestly procession and shows Isis and Nephthys

FIGURE 6 Made to wrap the lower body of a mummy whose head was covered by a gilded plaster mask (see Fig. 5), this

shroud represents the deceased in festal or priestly attire and a half-beard. At the sides, priests and deities accompany the mummy before

Osiris. L: 98.0 cm.

From Hawara. Mid-first century AD.

Dublin, National Museum of Ireland,

1911.442.



in a gesture of mourning as they pour a libation to the boat on which a mummy is enthroned in a shrine, a reference to Osiris' journey to Abydos. Finally, Anubis supports a mummy in the presence of Osiris himself. The panels' iconography ensures that the deceased will undergo the same process of rejuvenation that Osiris did and locates this process in a sacred and secret, temple-like place, signalled by the files of priests.¹⁰³

The central figure of the Dublin shroud is a man drawn in Greek form, with the folds of his garments indicating that his bodyweight is shifted to one leg. He stands between two columns forming a gateway, and each column is topped by a falcon and adorned with a serpent, like the boat shrine in the side panel. His short curly hair and the beard that covers only the underside of his jaw and chin reflect fashions of the mid-first century AD, confirming the date suggested by comparing the lost mask with other masks from the site.¹⁰⁴ The man wears a white tunic with a fold or dip in the neckline, loosely formed sleeves that end above his elbows, and a white mantle draped over his left arm. Across his chest is a black stole studded with gilt squares and ornamented by a swag of pink flowers. This flower-covered bandolier and the distinctive tunic and mantle identify the deceased as a participant, perhaps a priest or a synod member, in the popular cults devoted to Isis and the youthful Horus, who was termed Harpocrates after the Egyptian phrase meaning 'Horus the child' (*Hr-p3-hrd*). The identification is made clear by the fact that the same clothing and bandolier are worn by the child-god in a wall painting at the Fayum village of Karanis, some 25 km north of Hawara, and by several terracotta figurines, which seem to be humorous depictions of priests or festival celebrants.¹⁰⁵

The Karanis painting (Fig. 7) covered part of one wall in a large structure that probably served as a granary.¹⁰⁶ Harpocrates sits, finger to mouth, before a reed structure whose pointed corners were typical of Egyptian reed and mud-brick architecture. Inside are bunches of lotuses, stalks of which are also clutched in the god's hand. In front of Harpocrates and the reed hut are a pair of incense burners, and next to each burner is a sacred bovine with black-and-white markings, probably representing the sacred Apis bull housed at Memphis. On either side of the structure stands the god Tutu, who wields knives in each paw, has snakes around his legs and a crocodile emerging from his back, and radiates light from his regal

¹⁰³ Compare the priestly processions carved in the stairwells of Dendera and other temples: É. Chassinat and Fr Daumas, *Le Temple de Dendera* v/2 (Cairo 1972), pls. 666–91.

¹⁰⁴ Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 47–8, pls. 6; 7. 1; 3. 1; 9. 1–2, 4. The half-beard appeared on later portrait types of Nero, in the 60s AD: U. W. Hiesinger, 'The portraits of Nero', *AJA* 79 (1975), 113–24, at 119–22, esp. pl. 24, figs. 3–4.

¹⁰⁵ Such as Török, *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas*, 151–2 (no. 228), pl. 123; Fischer, *Griechisch-römische Terrakotten*, 221 (no. 417), pl. 41; Dunand, *Catalogue des terres cuites gréco-romaines*, 188–9 (n. 510).

¹⁰⁶ House C65; Husselman, *Karanis*, 58–64, pl. 102A; Boak and Peterson, *Karanis 1924–28*, 54–7, pl. 36, fig. 71.



FIGURE 7 The floral bandolier and lotus blossoms that Harpocrates wears in this wall painting were mirrored in the festive dress of officiants in the child-god's cult. Tutu, the sphinx, was a solar and protective deity whose cult was widespread in Roman Egypt. Wall painting, tempera on mud brick. H of image: c.90.0 cm. From Karanis (Kom Aushim), House C65, probably a granary. First or second century AD.

nemes-head-dress.¹⁰⁷ Whether this painting relates to the function of the building is uncertain; perhaps there was some association between the building and the worship of Harpocrates and Tutu. The shared iconography of Harpocrates in this painting and the deceased man in the Hawara shroud links the funerary and non-funerary spheres of religion in a way that must have been quite common at the time, though most of these links are now missing or overlooked. That both the shroud and the wall painting employ the same tunic and bandolier reveals something not only about the dead man, but also about the ubiquity of such imagery in Roman Egyptian society. The funerary art of Roman Egypt comfortably deployed standard, pharaonic symbolism alongside more novel and contemporary iconography, because both were relevant, meaningful, and understood.

¹⁰⁷ O. E. Kaper, *The Egyptian God Tutu: A Study of the Sphinx-god and Master of Demons, with a Corpus of Monuments* (Leuven 2003).

Mummification Rituals and Funerary Texts

In idealized expressions of Egyptian mortuary beliefs, the mummy was essential to the deceased's attainment of an eternal existence, though in reality, Egyptian thought did not prevent the non-mummified from enjoying an afterlife.¹⁰⁸ The physical transformation of the corpse into a mummy mirrored the spiritual transformation of the dead human into an empowered being.¹⁰⁹ Emphasis on the body as the site of divine transfiguration was integral to Egyptian conceptualizations of the cosmos, and in elite textual and pictorial representations, gods had always assumed human or partly human forms.¹¹⁰

As tombs and burial outfits were scaled down over time, the added ideological weight placed on the mummy further emphasized the need for all the bodily parts, functions, and senses to be intact and operative. Chief among these was the capacity for reproduction, which was tied up with fecundity and the agricultural cycle as well as the deceased's gendered social role, the acquisition of mature sexual characteristics, and sexual enjoyment. Funerary art often relied on gender-specific imagery to mark the deceased as sexually mature and vital, prefiguring the qualities of the transfigured dead. To this end, the dead had divine models in Hathor, for females, and Osiris, for males. For girls and adult females in particular, the depiction of sexual characteristics—firm breasts, erect nipples, rounded bellies, and fleshy thighs framing the pubic triangle—charged a funerary image with fertility and implied an ability to conceive and bear children, even if the young age of the deceased had prevented her from fulfilling this potential in life.

Funerary texts from the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods are a rich source for the religious context in which the burials were carried out. New compositions in the native language replaced earlier texts like the Book of the Dead and old-fashioned offering formulae with a variety of religious and ritual texts preserved on papyri: the Book of Breathing,¹¹¹ the Book of Traversing Eternity,¹¹² the ritual for embalming,¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ E. Hornung, 'Fisch und Vogel: Zur altägyptischen Sicht des Menschen', *Eranos Jahrbuch* 52 (1983), 455–96, at 466–7.

¹⁰⁹ For the significance of mummification, see E. Hornung, 'Vom Sinn der Mumifizierung', *Die Welt des Orients* 14 (1983), 167–75; Hornung, 'Fisch und Vogel'.

¹¹⁰ E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (Ithaca 1982), 107–25.

¹¹¹ J.-C. Goyon, *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte* (Paris 1972), 185–317; M. Coenen, 'Books of Breathing: More than a terminological question?', *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 26 (1995), 29–38; M. Coenen and J. Quaegebeur, *De Papyrus Denon in het Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, Den Haag, of het Boek van het Ademen van Isis* (Leuven 1995), esp. 40–4, 65–90, 104–13; M. A. Stadler, 'The funerary texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766: A Demotic Book of Breathing (Part I)', *Enchoria* 25 (1999), 76–110, with M. A. Stadler, 'The funerary texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766: A Demotic Book of Breathing (Part II)', *Enchoria* 26 (2000), 110–24.

¹¹² F.-R. Herbin, *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité* (Leuven 1994).

¹¹³ Goyon, *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte*, 18–84; S. Sauneron, *Rituel de l'embaumement* (Cairo 1952).

and the ritual of opening the mouth for breathing.¹¹⁴ Shorter texts on coffins, stelae, or mummy labels had a similar content, even if one aim of these inscriptions was to identify the deceased.¹¹⁵ Some texts were written either in the hieratic script (for papyri) or in hieroglyphs; the majority were composed and copied in Demotic, a form of the Egyptian language that self-consciously excluded Greek loanwords and preserved the ancient tie between the sanctity of script and content alike.¹¹⁶

The central theme of such texts is that the deceased will live forever, rejuvenated eternally by taking part in offerings and libations consecrated to the gods. The dead may address their families or be addressed by them, offering reassurance about the efficacy of the mummification and the security of the tomb.¹¹⁷ A speaker—the family, a priest, or, in the text below, glorified spirits in the underworld—could exhort the body and soul to reawaken after death:

May your *bas* be renewed and you be renewed. May your body live, your bones be soundly knit, and your limbs be firm. May your muscles be reinvigorated, and your spine be enlivened. May your eyes see for you, your feet go for you, and your ears be open for you. May your tongue be open for you and your throat be open for you. May your lips speak for you. May your heart create perfection for you similar to our own. May you awake together with Osiris and be renewed in the presence of the lord of the gods.¹¹⁸

Elsewhere, the sacred geography of Egypt was evoked in litanies listing cult places and deities throughout the country, as if this sacred knowledge were being committed to memory.¹¹⁹ Frequent reference is made to the mourning and protection of Osiris, his triumphant journey to Abydos in the *neshmet*-barque, and the annual festival of his syncretistic counterpart, the falcon-headed Sokar, which was held in the month of Khoiak.¹²⁰

These texts share some of the concerns of funerary art, such as addressing the deceased as ‘Hathor’ or ‘Osiris’, but the texts and art are complementary, not identical: texts do not ‘caption’ art, nor does art ‘illustrate’ the texts. The resonant imagery of the papyri underscores the continuity between dynastic and post-dynastic funerary thought as well as the evolution of that thought, which contributed to its

¹¹⁴ M. Smith, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing* (Oxford 1993); and generally Goyon, *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte*, 87–182.

¹¹⁵ Two examples: M. Smith, ‘A Demotic formula of intercession for the deceased’, *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992–3), 131–54, and J. Barns, ‘A Demotic coffin inscription in Edinburgh’, *Archiv Orientalní* 20 (1952), 69–71, re-edited in Stadler, ‘The funerary texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766 (Part II)’, 116–17.

¹¹⁶ See also Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, 248–56.

¹¹⁷ Thus Smith, *Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*; M. Smith, ‘Papyrus Harkness’, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 95–105.

¹¹⁸ P. Berlin 8351, col. I, ll. 4–8: Smith, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*, 30.

¹¹⁹ See Stadler, ‘The funerary texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766 (Part II)’, esp. 119–20.

¹²⁰ É. Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak* (Cairo 1966); G. A. Gaballa and K. A. Kitchen, ‘The festival of Sokar’, *Orientalia* 38 (1969), 1–76; P. Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre* (Cairo 1962).

longevity. Art for the dead can be similarly characterized. It was not a static repetition of earlier forms, but an ongoing development, adapted to suit the needs of individuals and communities in the changing social, and physical, environment of Roman Egypt.

APPROACHES TO THE FUNERARY ART OF ROMAN EGYPT

Although naturalistically painted mummy portraits have received the bulk of attention in discussions of Roman Egyptian funerary art, a range of artworks in several media was created for the dead, varying across regions and over, not to mention within, generations. The art forms and burials used in Roman Egypt were diverse, as the objects illustrated in this chapter have shown, but this observation has often been eclipsed by a scholarly output centred around the mummy portraits themselves, which skews our perception of contemporary funerary art and, by extension, society.

Castiglione's 1961 foray into the subject of Roman Egyptian funerary art did not stand alone for long, especially once a series of studies by Klaus Parlasca began to appear later in the 1960s.¹²¹ Like Drerup, Zaloscer, and others before him,¹²² Parlasca focused on the wooden portrait panels typified by mummies from the Fayum, and one of his chief concerns was to arrange the known corpus of portraits in chronological order. A similar approach informed Grimm's 1974 monograph, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten*, which grouped mummy masks and coffins by find-spot and created chronological typologies by comparison with Roman art. These studies were invaluable in terms of presenting the material and opening a line of questions and debate, but their deployment of classical scholarship overshadowed the Egyptian context and character of the funerary art.

Facing the Dead: The 1990s and Beyond

During the 1990s, new scholarship and a series of museum exhibitions marked a resurgence of interest in the funerary art of Roman Egypt, picking up the thread of influential scholarship from the late 1960s and 1970s.¹²³ Cross-disciplinary interest in 'multi-cultural' societies and constructions of identities helped shape this research, which was conducted from the perspectives of Egyptology and papyrology as well as classical archaeology. The focus began to shift from descriptive characterizations

¹²¹ See n. 19.

¹²² H. Drerup, *Die Datierung der Mumienporträts* (Paderborn 1933); H. Zaloscer, *Porträts aus dem Wüstensand: Die Mumienbildnisse aus der Oase Fayum* (Vienna 1961); and see H. Zaloscer, 'Die Mumienbildnisse und die Geschichte ihrer Rezeption', *Enchoria* 24 (1997–8), 103–24.

¹²³ Summarized in Riggs, 'Facing the dead'.

of funerary art to cultural and historical investigations of who was creating it, and why. Still, Greek visual forms like the panel portraits received the bulk of public and academic attention. Museum catalogues presented two-dimensional objects more easily than sculpture, masks, and coffins, and the familiar, 'lifelike' naturalism of the mummy portraits helped lend them broad appeal.¹²⁴ More general readers were also treated to informative and well-illustrated books by Euphrosyne Doxiadis and Barbara Borg, which successfully presented mummy portraits and other works of art along with the social, religious, and historical setting from which they came.¹²⁵

At the same time, a number of specialist articles and monographs furthered the study of Roman Egypt and its funerary art. Surveys of mortuary practices and editions of funerary texts considered how the people of Roman Egypt experienced death on both practical and eschatological levels,¹²⁶ while demographic and social analyses created a clearer image of contemporary society and elucidated both the limits and the possibilities of the ancient record.¹²⁷

Research explicitly concerned with funerary art included in-depth studies of a single object or monument, like Kurth's examination of a coffin from Middle Egypt,¹²⁸ or of a cohesive group of objects, such as Corcoran's analysis of intact portrait mummies in Egyptian museums or Abdalla's work on stelae from Upper Egypt.¹²⁹ Scholarship returned to the subject of the mummy portraits with a fresh eye: Borg's authoritative 1996 monograph refined the dating of the portraits based on up-to-date research on Roman sculpture, and emphasized the Greek, as opposed to Roman, character of the naturalistic representations.¹³⁰ Walker, who coordinated major exhibitions on the subject at the British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, posited the Roman character of the portraits and other Egyptian funerary art using details of hairstyle, clothing, and jewellery.

Mummy portraits and, to a lesser extent, other works of art from Roman Egypt thus inspired a level of interest at the end of the twentieth century much as they had at the end of the nineteenth century, when Petrie displayed his Hawara finds to the

¹²⁴ Riggs, 'Facing the dead', 87–91.

¹²⁵ E. Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt* (London 1995); B. Borg, *Der zierlichste Anblick der Welt'—Ägyptische Porträtmumien* (Mainz 1998).

¹²⁶ e.g. C. Römer, 'Das Werden zu Osiris im römischen Ägypten', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 2/2 (2000), 141–61; W. Scheidel, 'The meaning of dates on mummy labels: Seasonal mortality and mortuary practice in Roman Egypt', *JRA* 11 (1998), 285–92; D. Montserrat, 'Death and funerals in the Roman Fayum', in M. L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks* (London 1997), 33–44; F. Dunand and R. Lichtenberg, 'Pratiques et croyances funéraires en Égypte romaine', *ANRW* 11/18.5, 3216–315; Smith, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*.

¹²⁷ R. S. Bagnall and B. W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994); D. Montserrat, *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (London 1996); Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*.

¹²⁸ Kurth, *Sarg der Teiuris*.

¹²⁹ L. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt* (Chicago 1995); A. Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt* (Liverpool 1992).

¹³⁰ Borg, *Mumienporträts*.

public in London. Covering Petrie's Piccadilly Hall exhibit in 1888, the British press unabashedly expounded the Hellenocentric merit of these works of art:

With the thorough conviction of the soul's immortality, the Egyptians in all ages did their best to make death beautiful; but in the Ptolemaic and Antonine epochs Greek art, which is the presentment of Nature herself, was grafted on to Egyptian conventionality, and beauty was crowned with joy.¹³¹

More than a hundred years on from this characterization, the groundwork has been laid to consider what both Greek art and 'Egyptian conventionality' offered to the viewer in Roman Egypt.

Goals, Methods, and Parameters

This study examines how art, identity, and funerary religion intersected in Roman Egypt. Looking at representations of the deceased in works of funerary art, especially works that employ both the Egyptian and the Greek systems of representation, it asks how people used the mortuary sphere to shape and record their identities.

To extrapolate as much information as possible from the sizeable corpus of funerary art in Roman Egypt, the study focuses on groups of objects with affinities of craftsmanship, or an archaeological provenance, that distinguish them as being from a single workshop or from a particular site or region. Objects that can be linked together through a common provenance, shared iconography, reasonably secure dating, and ideally some archaeological and textual evidence, provide the best opportunity to examine the cultural context in which the object group was created and used. This approach has two advantages: a group of objects is more revealing than an object in isolation, and objects that had been scattered both geographically and scholastically have been reunited in the process of reassembling the groups. In the course of research, priority was given to studying as many objects as possible in person; thus, to some extent the accessibility of material has affected the selection of works included here. An exception has been made for a few decorated tombs, which it was not possible to visit but for which adequate publications and photographs exist.

The chronological range of this study is from the late Ptolemaic Period, c.80 BC, to around AD 300, shortly after governmental reforms began to divide the Roman Empire into eastern and western halves. These termini were suggested by the material itself. A change from Egyptian mummiform or anthropoid coffins to coffins, shrouds, and masks that incorporate some Greek artistic forms into an Egyptian scheme occurs in the course of the first century BC. Production of mummy portraits,

¹³¹ *The Illustrated London News*, 30 June 1888, quoted in D. Montserrat, 'Unidentified human remains: Mummies and the erotics of biography', in D. Montserrat (ed.), *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings: Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity* (London and New York 1998), 174.

masks, and painted shrouds declined sharply in the late third century AD, and funerary art with Egyptian motifs disappeared altogether during the fourth century AD.¹³²

Any study of funerary art from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt requires an adequate chronological framework within which to place the considerable quantity of extant material. Much of the material lacks a sound archaeological context, either due to the excavation methods employed at the time the objects were unearthed, or because the objects appeared on the art market without any reliable record of their provenance; thus the archaeological record can only rarely be relied upon for dating or other purposes. Early excavators such as Petrie readily assumed that what they perceived to be the best quality work must also be the earliest,¹³³ and even later studies make the misguided assumption that works more in keeping with traditional Egyptian appearances must predate those incorporating Greek or Roman elements.¹³⁴ In general, there has been a persistent tendency to adopt a low chronology for funerary and other works of art, based in part on the fallacy that anything that looks 'unusual' or has a naturalistic appearance must date to the Roman Period.¹³⁵ Such assumptions about the chronological development of funerary art and mortuary practices in this period highlight both the importance of accurately dating these objects and the difficulties of doing so.¹³⁶ Inconsistent or conflicting dates are sometimes assigned to objects based on vague stylistic criteria. More reliable dating criteria include the Roman hairstyles on mummy masks or portraits,¹³⁷ the content and palaeography of inscriptions, and sometimes a relative date gleaned from the archaeological context of a monument or burial. Comparative study can suggest a range of dates for material that lacks these criteria, but in such cases, an element of uncertainty remains.

The earliest material in this study are two groups of coffins, the first from the vicinity of el-Hibis in the Kharga Oasis and the second from Akhmim (Panopolis) in Middle Egypt. Both groups seem to date to the first century BC or first half of the first century AD, and Chapter 2 investigates how gender affected the ways in which these coffins represent the dead. Chapter 3 moves forward to the first and second

¹³² Such as the fourth-century AD shrouds from Antinoopolis: *Ancient Faces* (New York), 147–8 (no. 99); Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 74–8, esp. n. 15. One or two wooden mummy portraits include imperial hairstyles of the late third or early fourth century AD, for which see *Ancient Faces* (New York), 36; Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 36, 238 (no. 146, Musée Royal de Mariemont 78/10); and K. Parlasca, 'Eine neue Monographie über Mumienbildnisse', *CdÉ* 75 (2000), 171–86, at 181–2, with fig. 8 (the Mariemont portrait again).

¹³³ For instance, Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis*, 4.

¹³⁴ Such as A. Schweitzer, 'L'évolution stylistique et iconographique des parures de cartonnage d'Akhmim du début de l'époque ptolémaïque à l'époque romaine', *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 325–52, at 342–4.

¹³⁵ Terracotta figurines are among the objects whose traditional dates have been shifted earlier in light of new evidence: Török, *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas*, 22, with further references.

¹³⁶ For problems in chronology and dating methods, see Riggs, 'Facing the dead', at 93–5.

¹³⁷ The latter decisively analysed in Borg, *Mumienporträts*; see also her contribution in E. Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt* (London 1995), 229–35.

centuries AD to consider why naturalistic images of the deceased found widespread favour and how such images shaped, and were shaped by, religious concepts. Chapter 4 takes up the themes of the preceding chapters in a diachronic survey of western Thebes (modern Luxor), whose cliffs sheltered the last masked mummies buried in Egypt, at the close of the third century AD.

Wherever possible, a range of textual, archaeological, and art historical evidence has been used to illuminate these object groups and to explore related subjects such as the method and cost of manufacture, nomenclature and family relationships, and iconography. The decorated coffins, shrouds, masks, and tombs considered in this study were made to beautify the dead, and to this end they unite both past and present art forms, crafted in materials ranging from humble mud to pure gold. In these burials, the images of the dead substantiate the appeal that both Greek and Egyptian art forms enjoyed and the adaptability that made them endure. Considering funerary art in this light and situating it in a localized context opens up the possibility that we might see the art and people of Roman Egypt from a vantage point closer to their own.

Osiris, Hathor, and the Gendered Dead

One type of identity which was quite clearly expressed in funerary art was the sex of the deceased, based on the binary pairing of male and female. By the start of the Roman Period, the custom of describing and depicting women in a different way from men in a mortuary context had been more or less fixed for at least two thousand years. This desire to preserve the gender identity of the dead stemmed from Egyptian ideas about rebirth and renewal but also reflected the social construction of distinct roles for men and women. In artistic terms, the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods saw an increased variety in the ways that both genders were represented. The cultic roles of the Ptolemaic queens revived the representation of women in Egyptian sculpture, which had nearly disappeared in the Late Period. There was also a rise in the number of representations of females in funerary art, where women and girls were increasingly commemorated with their own burial outfits, stelae, or papyri.

Gender-based iconography expressed the dual but complementary nature of the reproductive forces through which Osiris, the sun god, and the dead were rejuvenated. The greater frequency with which dead women were likened to Hathor from the Late Period onwards suggests an increasing concern with individualizing the deceased in funerary texts and pictorial representations, by maintaining in the afterlife the gendered role, identity, and body that individuals assumed in Egyptian society. Thus one's gender, and concomitant physical appearance, in life was a factor in how one achieved and experienced the afterlife and in the artistic commemoration of one's death and rebirth.

This chapter first surveys the construction of gender difference in funerary texts and art. A cluster of coffins from the Kharga Oasis demonstrates how inscriptions and art modelled men as Osiris and women as Hathor, and also offers some of the earliest evidence for Greek representational forms being brought into an Egyptian funerary context. The bulk of the chapter considers a distinct group of coffins from late Ptolemaic or early Roman Akhmim (Panopolis), which differ markedly from earlier assemblages at the site and have sometimes been interpreted as examples of Greek or Roman artistic influence. The inscriptions of the coffins, their context, and their iconography, however, indicate that the owners of the Akhmim coffins were a local elite engaged with indigenous high cultural forms.

'THE OSIRIS MONTSUEF' AND 'THE HATHOR TANUAT'

Wrapping, shaping, and decorating the corpse made manifest the divine qualities that the dead would acquire when they experienced rejuvenation in the afterlife. In the conceptual language of Egyptian art, the shrouded, undifferentiated, body connoted divine or semi-divine qualities and was used to represent gods like Osiris as well as the ideal shape of a mummified body. The undifferentiated body may relate to the archaic, emblematic forms of Egyptian gods, as Hornung has suggested,¹ but because it was widespread for coffins, mummy masks, and the wrapped mummy itself, this body type is usually described as 'mummiform'. A hieroglyphic sign in the shape of a mummiform body with a tripartite head-dress—another divine element, connoting radiance—was used to write the word for mummy (*s'ḥ*, *Wb.* iv. 51–2) and words related to statues and divine images (e.g. *twṯ*, *Wb.* v. 255–6).

The mummiform iconography of Osiris changed little since its first appearance in the Middle Kingdom (c.2000–1700 BC), when his cult became the focus of Egyptian funerary mythology. Osiris had a shrouded body, a tall, feathered *atef*-crown, a braided false beard, and crossed hands holding the crook and flail of kingship (Fig. 8). His skin might be green or black, symbolizing the fecundity of the earth, and his eyes were rimmed in kohl to help mark his elevated, other-worldly status. The attributes of the mummiform body, both for the dead and for Osiris, supported the analogous relationship between the dead and the gods and between the dead and the god of the dead.

Similarly, the addition of 'Osiris' in front of the name of the deceased signalled the altered state of the dead in funerary papyri and in tomb, coffin, and statue inscriptions. From the New Kingdom (c.1550–1070 BC) onwards, the dead person could be referred to as 'the Osiris N'. This phrase implies that the deceased acquired a new form with certain powers and characteristics likened to those of Osiris.² The deceased did not become Osiris, since the god had a distinct identity and existence. Instead, being 'an' Osiris was another facet of the dead person's own self. This is especially clear in the alternative construction 'the Osiris of N', where the genitive *n* was inserted between 'Osiris' and the personal name.³ Both phrases recognize that the designation referred to the person not as in life, with his or her name 'N', but transformed in death. Like the phrase *m3' ḥrw*, 'justified' (literally 'true of voice'), which could be added after a personal name, the prefix 'Osiris' identified an

¹ E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (Ithaca 1982), 107.

² Cf. *ibid.*, 96: '... through his own efforts the human being takes on a previously determined role that bears the name Osiris'.

³ In use from the Third Intermediate Period (c.1070–712 BC). M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507. Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, III* (London 1987), 75–9 discusses both constructions and their implications.

FIGURE 8 In his typical form, Osiris had a shrouded body, tall feathered crown, and a crook and flail, as in this vignette from the bilingual hieratic and Demotic funerary papyrus, P. Rhind I. H of image: 5.0 cm. From Thebes, dated 9 BC. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum.



individual as dead and affirmed his or her successful passage through the stages of death and rebirth.

Osiris, however, was a male deity. Although dead women were referred to as ‘the Osiris N’, for instance in the tomb of Ramesses II’s queen Nefertari (c.1250 BC), religious texts and images hint that men and women had different requirements, and perhaps different expectations, for the afterlife.⁴ On a Middle Kingdom tomb statue representing a man seated next to a woman, probably his wife (Fig. 9), an inscription next to the man describes him as ‘glorified before Osiris’, while the corresponding inscription next to the woman states that she will be ‘glorified before Hathor’.⁵ The goddess Hathor was a central figure in both the celestial and funerary realms, where she contributed respectively to the rejuvenation of the sun god and of the dead.⁶ Although closely associated with goddesses such as Isis, Nephthys, and Nut, Hathor was not a direct participant in the mythology and ritual surrounding the Osiris cult. Instead, she was the feminine counterpart to Osiris, and funerary texts present her in multivalent roles. She guarded cemeteries and, like Nut, sheltered and succoured the deceased in the form of a sycamore

⁴ A. M. Roth, ‘Father earth, Mother sky: Ancient Egyptian beliefs about conception and fertility’, in A. E. Rautman (ed.), *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record* (Philadelphia 2000), esp. 198–9; cf. A. M. Roth, ‘The absent spouse: patterns and taboos in Egyptian tomb decoration’, *JARCE* 36 (1999), 36–53.

⁵ W. M. F. Petrie, *Denderah 1898* (London 1900), 26, pls. 15, 21.

⁶ Hathor as the ‘feminine prototype’ in Egyptian concepts of renewal: L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala 1986), 53–4; Roth, ‘Father earth, Mother sky’.

FIGURE 9 One side of this painted limestone statue bears a hieroglyphic inscription for the lady Nefermesut to receive offerings 'in the presence of Hathor', an early instance of a dead woman being linked to Hathor. H: 28.0 cm. From Dendera, Dynasty II, c.2040 BC. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, E 1971.



fig tree.⁷ The west was associated with cemeteries and the dead, and Hathor could be called the 'mistress of the west', an epithet which paralleled Osiris' appellation *ḥnti-imntiw*, 'foremost of the westerners', that is, the dead. Hathor was called 'the golden one' and praised for her beautiful hair.⁸ She was a goddess of music, love, and drunkenness, and in festivals and temple rituals, she was closely associated with

⁷ Hathor's funerary roles: S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (Berlin 1963), 99–138; A. Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt* (Liverpool 1992), 112.

⁸ P. Derchain, 'Snefrou et les rameuses', *RdÉ* 21 (1969), 19–25; and 'La perruque et le cristal', *SAK* 2 (1975), 55–74.

the *sistrum* rattle and the multiple-strand *menit*-necklace, both of which made soothing music to attract and placate the gods. The importance of Hathor did not diminish over time: her Ptolemaic temple at Dendera was a major monument, where the goddess was described as ‘the perfect sister of Osiris’, and she was identified with Aphrodite in Greek sources of the Roman Period.⁹

From about 400 BC onwards, inscriptions could prefix the name of a deceased woman with ‘the Hathor’ or ‘the Osiris-Hathor’ rather than ‘the Osiris’; ‘the Hathor of N’ was also possible.¹⁰ Among the earliest attestations of a dead woman being called a Hathor or an Osiris-Hathor are three fourth-century BC statues of private women dedicated in the temple of Amun at Karnak, Thebes. The women were *sistrum*-players for the cult of Amun-Re.¹¹ The lid of a fourth-century BC limestone sarcophagus found at Tuna el-Gebel is inscribed for an Osiris-Hathor, as are several Books of Breathing dating to the Ptolemaic Period.¹² By the end of the Ptolemaic Period and throughout the Roman Period, it had become standard practice to refer to a deceased woman as ‘the Hathor N’. Men remained ‘the Osiris N’.

The Rhind Papyri

Just as the verbal expression ‘the Osiris N’ was reflected in the Osiris-like, mummiform iconography of the male dead, ‘the Hathor N’ existed in both words and pictures. In the early Roman Period, these twin expressions are exemplified by two funerary papyri found in a reused tomb in western Thebes (see Chapter 4).¹³ The papyri are a similar size and have similar contents, handwriting, and vignettes. Each is written in both hieratic and Demotic, and each was found with a body, now lost, in two different chambers of the tomb.¹⁴ The first papyrus (P. Rhind I) is inscribed for Montsuef, who died in 9 BC, and the second (P. Rhind II) for his wife Tanuat, who followed him to the grave a few months later. In P. Rhind I, Montsuef

⁹ F. Daumas, *Les mammisis de Dendara* (Cairo 1959), 255. 6–7.

¹⁰ Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, 129–31.

¹¹ For the statues (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37026, JE 37027, and JE 38017), see S. Albersmeier, *Untersuchungen zu den Frauenstatuen des Ptolemäischen Ägypten* (Trier 2002), 129–30 (nos. 68, 69), 133–4 (no. 74); pls. 7a–b, 8b, 10a–b (inscriptions), 77, 81, 82a–b; and R. Fazzini, in A. Capel and G. Markoe (eds.), *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York 1996), 57–8 (no. 7) and 194, under n. 11.

¹² Sarcophagus lid: G. Lefebvre, ‘Un couvercle de sarcophage de Tounah’, *ASAE* 23 (1923), 238–9. Books of Breathing: M. Vallogia, ‘Le Papyrus Lausanne No. 3391’, in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, i (Cairo 1979), 290–1.

¹³ A. H. Rhind, *Thebes, Its Tombs and Their Tenants* (London 1862), 118–23; S. Birch and A. Rhind, *Facsimiles of Two Papyri Found in a Tomb at Thebes* (London 1863); H. Brugsch, *A. Henry Rhind's zwei bilingue Papyri, hieratisch und demotisch* (Leipzig 1865); G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburgh* (Leipzig 1913).

¹⁴ C. Riggs, ‘The Egyptian funerary tradition at Thebes in the Roman Period’, in N. Strudwick and J. H. Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present, Future* (London 2003), 189–201.

FIGURE 10 The hieroglyphic caption identifies this mummiform figure as Montsuef, the owner of P. Rhind I. H of image: 5.0 cm. From Thebes, dated 9 BC. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum.



is referred to as an Osiris, and in P. Rhind II, Hathor is called ‘the Hathor Tanuat’.¹⁵ According to the hieratic text of her papyrus, after her embalming Tanuat will appear in the form of Hathor, mistress of the west.¹⁶

While the vignettes of P. Rhind I consistently depict Montsuef as a shrouded mummy with a tripartite head-dress and Osiris-like beard (Fig. 10), his wife Tanuat appears as a mummy in only one of the nine vignettes of her papyrus, P. Rhind II.¹⁷ The remaining eight vignettes of P. Rhind II reinforce Tanuat’s gender identity by depicting her as a woman in the bare-breasted sheath dress traditionally worn by Egyptian goddesses, with her hair covered by a tripartite wig (Fig. 11). The cone of ointment and a lotus blossom on top of her head indicate her purified state, while a vignette on the last sheet of the papyrus shows her holding a lotus flower, symbolizing rebirth.¹⁸ Another scene depicts Tanuat in the sheath dress as she lies down on the bier used for mummification (Fig. 12).¹⁹ In this vignette, her hair falls loosely over her shoulders and the sides of the bed, and a Demotic notation above the frame of the vignette, apparently an instruction to the artist, specified that a female figure with flowing hair should be depicted here.²⁰

Representing Tanuat in the bare-breasted sheath dress, with her hair arranged either as a tripartite wig or as a flowing mane, was the visual equivalent of

¹⁵ P. Rhind II, 7 h 1, 7 d 1; 8 h 9, 8 d 8; 9 h 7, 9 d 8–9, in Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, at 64–9. The ‘h’ and ‘d’ refer to hieratic and Demotic columns, respectively.

¹⁶ P. Rhind II, 4 h 6–7, in Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, 58–9.

¹⁷ Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, pl. 13; Birch and Rhind, *Facsimiles of Two Papyri Found in a Tomb at Thebes*, pl. 7.

¹⁸ Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, pls. 12, 15–20; Birch and Rhind, *Facsimiles of Two Papyri Found in a Tomb at Thebes*, pls. 7–11.

¹⁹ Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, pl. 14; Birch and Rhind, *Facsimiles of Two Papyri Found in a Tomb at Thebes*, pl. 8 (right), with face and hair intact.

²⁰ In Demotic, *p3y=sa wl*: Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, 56.

FIGURE 11 Tanuat, in an archaic dress and wig, is led to the afterlife by Anubis. The cone of incense on her head evokes the power of scent, and the lotus symbolizes rebirth. Vignette from P. Rhind II, the funerary papyrus of Tanuat. H of image: 5.0 cm.

From Thebes, dated 9 BC. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum.

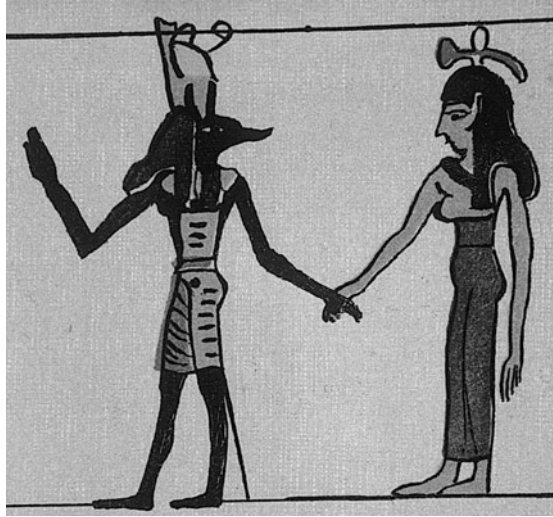
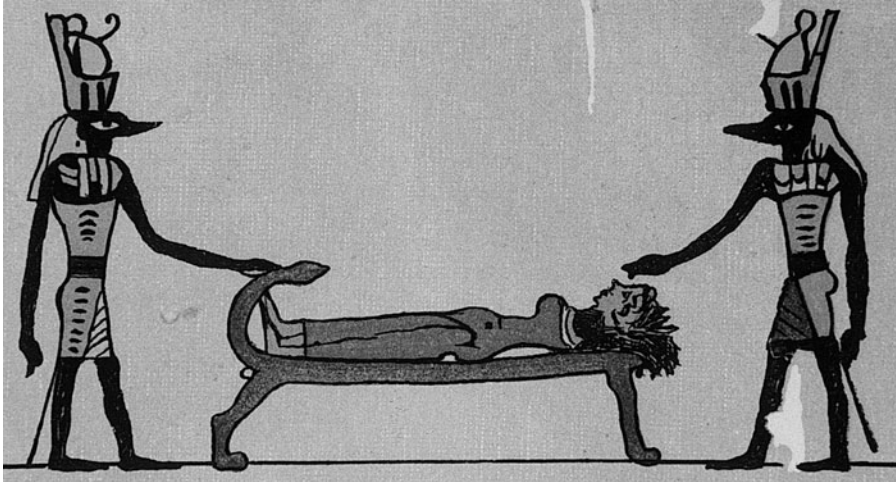


FIGURE 12 (*below*) In another vignette from P. Rhind II, Tanuat reclines on a funerary bier, awaiting rebirth. As the papyrus's Demotic instructions to the artist indicate, her hair is shown falling loosely around her shoulders. H of image: 5.0 cm. From Thebes, dated 9 BC. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum.



representing her husband in mummiform guise. Each image projects the deceased in a form with divine qualities that were comparable, but not identical, to those of the funerary deity with whom he or she was affiliated. The vignettes of P. Rhind II fulfil the prophecy of its text: Tanuat has come forth in the guise of Hathor.

It is difficult to pinpoint why the identification of women as Hathor became so prevalent and replaced the earlier use of 'Osiris' or the intermediary 'Osiris-Hathor'. The development suggests that it was important for this aspect of a person's identity to be carried over into death, in much the same way that the physical capacity to breathe, walk, and procreate was carried over. Since Egyptian thought equated reproductive capacity and sexual desire with rebirth and renewal, it was especially apt for funerary art to emphasize the individual's gender role. Use of the 'Hathor'

epithet and iconography also reflect the fact that more burial equipment was being made for women and girls, whereas female burials in the past had often been subsumed in those of their fathers, husbands, or sons. In this sense, comparing the dead to Hathor and Osiris was the result of a more personalized death and afterlife, attained by the near-deification of the dead. However, the comparison was also a social act, affirming the Egyptian cosmological view that a binary pairing of male and female had been established by the creator god and was to be perpetuated throughout time.

THE KHARGA OASIS COFFIN GROUP

The five coffins considered in the following discussion are typical of the Roman Period in that they exhibit the gender-based distinctions, in both texts and art, recounted above. Their iconography, hieroglyphic inscriptions, and the names of the dead are native Egyptian, but these coffins also have several features which point to the influence of Greek art on traditional funerary objects. Each object in the group is numbered in an Appendix at the end of the book, where its museum information, measurements, information about its inscriptions, and a select bibliography are provided. Boldface numbers in the text refer to the Appendix.

Workmanship, Provenance, and Date

Three of the coffins of this group (**2–4**) are made of linen cartonnage moulded to approximate the outline of a human body. Coffins **1** and **5** consist of wooden planks arranged in a vault over a shallow wooden base; **5** preserves only two contiguous planks from the top of the vault.

The hieroglyphic inscription on **5** and the Demotic text inside **4** refer to the town of el-Hibis and thus imply that these coffins come from Kharga Oasis, the largest of the western desert oases. One other coffin (**3**) mentions ‘the Well of *Snt*’. This unattested place name is in keeping with the names of wells, or settlements near wells, in the oases.²¹ Both place names appear on the coffins in lists of the cult-places of Osiris, elevating rather humble locales to the level of Busiris and Abydos, the god’s ancient, sacred cities. Like the other oases, Kharga increased in wealth and population during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. The western desert was an important military and trade link between Nubia and northern Egypt, and the mild oasis climates proved to be well-suited to wine production. Since all the coffins stem from the art market in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,

²¹ Attested in Egyptian and Greek, as well as modern Arabic. See G. Wagner, *Les oasis d’Égypte* (Cairo 1997), 157–65; P. J. Parsons, ‘The wells of Hibis’, *JEA* 57 (1971), 165–80.

nothing is known about their original disposition, however; they may come from different cemeteries or from the same necropolis. Their date is also inexact, but it seems likely that they belong to the early decades of the Roman Period, up to the mid-first century AD. This date range is suggested by the details of the Greek image of the deceased on coffin 2 and by features like the tripartite head-dress without any hair revealed (on 3 and 4), which has parallels on more securely dated coffins and masks of the first century AD.²²

The five coffins share peculiarities of decorative design, drawing, and coloration which clearly indicate that they were painted by the same workshop, or even by a single artist.²³ Some of the identifiable quirks of the artist include drawing a figure's toenails as a double line curved the full width of each toe (1–3); the facial features, hands, and body shape of *en face* figures (1, 2); and concentric circles used as a fill pattern (1 shroud on main figure, 3 Abydos reliquary, 4 scene backgrounds, and 5 background). Since the coffins are made of different materials, their construction either was the responsibility of different production centres or else reflects the work of one production centre working in different forms and media. The final decoration of the coffins might have been executed by someone within the workshop or by an artist who operated independently.

Identifying and Representing the Deceased

The inscriptions of the Kharga Oasis coffins prefix the names of the deceased and his or her parents, if already dead, with either 'Osiris' or 'Hathor' as appropriate. The epithet 'justified', indicating that the person named has died, can also be used, with or without the Osiris and Hathor designations. In this way, the Kharga inscriptions consistently indicate which of the named individuals were still living — thus the owners of 1–3 each have at least one dead parent, while the parents of the boy Paopis (4) were both living at the time of his burial.

The Kharga coffins base the representation of the deceased on the image of a wrapped mummy, tailored to the sex of the individual. Coffin 3, inscribed for a man whose name is partly lost, exemplifies this (Fig. 13). He wears a tripartite head-dress studded with rosettes along the hairline, and his face is moulded into idealized features, with wide-open, kohl-rimmed eyes, a narrow, straight nose, somewhat oversized ears, and a firmly set mouth with the corners indented and curved slightly in a smile. Gold leaf applied to the skin marked the elevated, perfected state

²² See Chapter 3.

²³ Compare also a sixth coffin, illustrated in Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, pl. 115. 4, which is not included in the discussion here because the small published photograph of it did not permit detailed study to confirm that it belongs to the group.

FIGURE 13 The front of this coffin, whose owner's name is not fully preserved, represents the dead man like a decorated mummy. The scenes on his body relate to Osiris, Horus, and Sokar.

Linen cartonnage, painted and gilded with glass inlays.

L: 166.5 cm. From Kharga Oasis, first half of the first century AD. Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust, 1914.715 (3).





FIGURE 14 A three-dimensional face was moulded from the linen cartonnage, giving a sculptural presence to the image of the deceased. Linen cartonnage, painted and gilded with glass inlays. L: 166.5 cm. From Kharga Oasis, first half of the first century AD. Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust, 1914.715 (3).

of the dead, whose flesh became gold like the flesh of the Egyptian gods.²⁴ The rest of the lid surface continues the mummiform scheme, uninterrupted by the portrayal of the deceased's limbs. A bead net recalls the amuletic faience nets draped on mummies, and the sides of the coffin are devoted to the minor deities who guard the passages to the underworld (Fig. 14). The footcase of the coffin (Fig. 15) reintroduces human features to the mummified shape by depicting the sandal-clad feet of the deceased, with the top of the foot shown on top of the footcase, as if viewed from above, and the soles of sandals on the bottom of the footcase. The sandals on top of the footcase are painted black and have a thong between the first and second toes; the thong connects to a thicker tongue on top of the foot from which the two side straps of the sandal extend. The artist has carefully illustrated an indentation in the sandal sole between the first and second toes and the fact that the sole follows the outer contours of the feet, suggesting that a sandal of the type known from contemporaneous depictions in art was intended.²⁵ On the bottom of the footcase, the soles are drawn in the same shape and filled with a pattern imitating woven reeds. Scorpions symbolize the dangers the deceased will successfully overcome after death. The related concepts of trampling one's enemies and of having the ability to stand up and walk around freely in the afterlife elucidate the importance of representing the feet of the deceased in Egyptian funerary art; actual sandals placed in burials served a similar purpose.²⁶

A striking, nearly life-size figure of the deceased in mummiform guise dominates the lid of coffin I (Fig. 16), a female example inscribed for Ta-sheryt-Isis; 'Sennesis' is the Greek version of her name. Unlike a male mummy, Sennesis wears a crown

²⁴ S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara and C. H. Roehrig, *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston 1988), 201, 223. Gold leaf was regularly applied to the skin of mummies during the Roman Period: F. Dunand, J.-L. Heim, N. Hencin, and R. Lichtenberg, *Douch*, i: *La Nécropole* (Cairo 1992), 235–6.

²⁵ K. D. Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture* (Madison 1985), 90, 155 fig. ii–k.

²⁶ Footcases: L. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt* (Chicago 1995), 50–1; W. K. Simpson, 'Ptolemaic-Roman cartonnage footcases with prisoner bound and tied', *ZAS* 100 (1973), 50–4.

FIGURE 15 The soles of basketry sandals appear in a shrine on the bottom of the footcase, alongside two scorpions which represent evil and danger, trampled on by the deceased. Linen cartonnage, painted and gilded with glass inlays. H: 20.5 cm. From Kharga Oasis, first half of the first century AD. Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust, 1914.715 (3).



combining a horned disc and two feathers, a type of divine insignia that had been associated since the New Kingdom with queens and goddesses, especially Hathor.²⁷ In her hands, Sennesis clasps two other divine attributes: a sceptre shaped like a papyrus bloom, which was carried exclusively by goddesses, and a slender *hes*-vase, the vessel that the tree goddess (Nut or Hathor) used to pour water to refresh the dead or make a libation.²⁸ Sennesis' hairstyle also has divine associations, since it is the same hairstyle, adapted for an *en face* view, worn by the kneeling, mourning goddesses that flank the dead woman's head. On Sennesis and the goddesses, the hair swells into a rounded coif at the nape and is painted black and dark brown in a pattern of echelon curls.²⁹

Elsewhere in the Kharga group, a dead woman could be represented like Tanuat in P. Rhind II, not mummiform but as a woman elevated among the gods. This occurs in a frieze on the exterior of the boards making up fragmentary coffin lid 5

²⁷ L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala 1986), 126–9.

²⁸ M.-L. Buhl, 'The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6 (1947), 80–97.

²⁹ Compare the hairstyle on a bronze statuette of Isis mourning: G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren* (Berlin 1956), 231 (§284b), pl. 33a.

FIGURE 16 The mummiform figure of Sennesis on the lid of her coffin wears the crown of Hathor. Flanking her head are mournful women representing Isis and Nephthys, and around her body are several mummiform deities, including the Four Sons of Horus who protected the internal organs of the dead. Painted wood. L: 159.0 cm. From Kharga Oasis, first half of the first century AD. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 7070 (1).

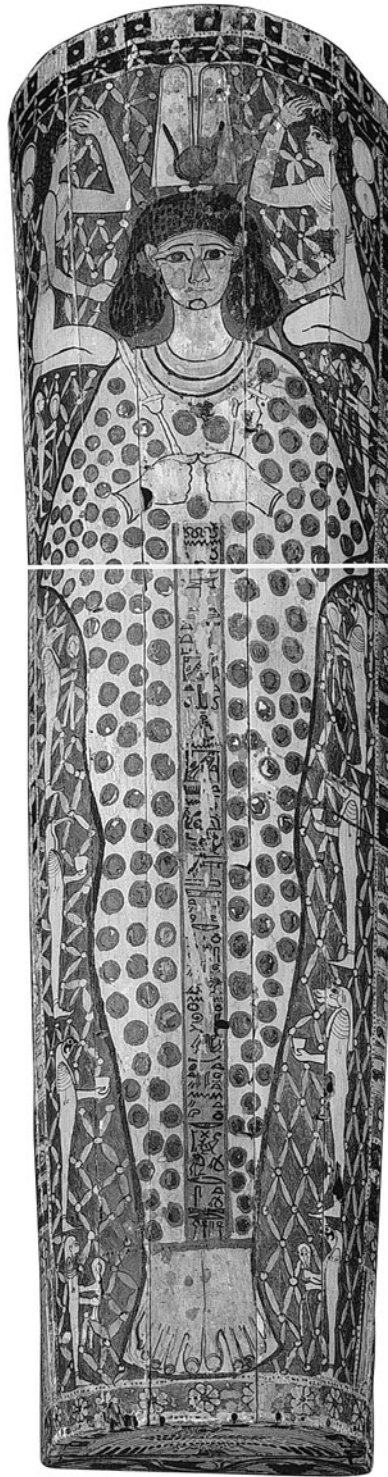


FIGURE 17 At the left, or head, end of these coffin boards (5), three priests, the dead woman Senpeteuris, and a goddess gesture before a table piled with offerings and a boat bearing the *djed*-pillar of Osiris. The mummy wrappings from which she has been freed hang from Senpeteuris' arms. Painted wood. L: 170.0 cm. From Kharga Oasis, first half of the first century AD. Paris, Louvre, E 31886 (5).



(Fig. 17), which is inscribed for 'the Hathor Ta-sheryt-pa-di-Hor', or Senpeteuris. It is probably only by coincidence that 1 and 5, both designed for women, are the two coffins of the group made in a different form and material. The coffins might have been made around the same time, and their inscriptions are written in a similar hand.

In its extant state, coffin 5 consists of two long boards which fit together side by side. The boards are decorated on both faces, and the centred position of a column of inscription on the exterior indicates that the boards formed the top of a vaulted lid identical in form to the lid of 1. Coffin 5 could not have accommodated a large-scale representation of Senpeteuris, like that on Sennesis' coffin. The only representation of the deceased is in the frieze preserved on the right springing of the vault, in which a series of deities and fantastic creatures witness the deceased's successful passage to the afterlife in a procession which begins at the foot end of the board and culminates in a representation of Osiris at the other end. The frieze is executed in strict adherence to the Egyptian system of representation, and Senpeteuris appears twice as a participant in the scenes. In both instances, she wears a sheath dress, broad collar, and tripartite wig. Only the incense cone and lotus on top of her head—symbols of the justified dead—distinguish her from the goddesses in the frieze. Like the vignettes of Tanuat in P. Rhind II, and the mummiform figure of Sennesis on 1, the representation of Senpeteuris is modelled on the iconography of Egyptian goddesses and is formulated within the traditions of Egyptian art.

Greek and Egyptian Art Forms: The Zodiac

The reverse side of the boards, which was the interior of coffin 5, breaks away from the uniformity of the Egyptian representational system in one small but revealing detail (Fig. 18). The interior lid of a coffin was analogous to the ceiling of a tomb; thus, protective vultures are shown flying from either end of the lid towards the centre, in a motif dating back to New Kingdom tomb and temple decoration, if not earlier. In the centre of the 'ceiling' is a more recent feature: the signs of the zodiac arranged in a circle around a bifurcated disc representing the day and night skies. In the 'day' half of the circle, a man (the sun god) stands in the solar disc, and in the 'night' portion, there is a baboon inside the lunar disc and crescent. The zodiac is in counterclockwise order, with the ram of Aries above the circle and Taurus just visible to the left. After a gap for missing signs, Libra (just visible), Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces complete the circle. At the bottom of the disc, part of the figure holding the balance of Libra is preserved, but the other signs are lost. From an artistic point of view, the figures of Aquarius and Libra hold a special interest. Aquarius, the water-bearer, is shown with his torso turned towards the viewer and his weight on his right leg (see Fig. 18). His left leg, turned out from the axis of his body, rests lightly on its forefoot. His face is frontal, and his

FIGURE 18 Inside the coffin of Senpeteuris, a circular zodiac may be one of the earliest examples of its kind in Egypt. The Greek form of the signs for Aquarius and Gemini contrasts with the Egyptian figures in the centre.

Painted wood. L: 170.0 cm. From Kharga Oasis, first half of the first century AD. Paris, Louvre, E 31886 (5).



arms are lifted over his head to support the vase from which streams of water gush forth. The preserved figure in Libra adopts a similar stance, with a *contrapposto* posture sketched by the frontal torso, supporting right leg, and turned left leg. These figures are drawn by the same hand as the rest of the zodiac and all of the coffin decoration, implying that one artist understood that different representational options existed.

The zodiac had been popular in Egypt since Ptolemaic times, to such an extent that Greek and Latin authors often associated astrology with Egypt, despite the Babylonian origins of the zodiac itself.³⁰ Astrology could be found at every level of society, and forecasting auspicious days or casting an individual's horoscope was a learned activity as well as a commonplace pastime.³¹ The popularity of astrological predictions in the Roman Period is attested not only by written evidence like charts and horoscopes preserved on papyri, but also by representations of the zodiac in art, where it is chiefly known through tomb and temple ceilings and a number of coffins. Because the pictorial imagery of the zodiac was a recent introduction to Egypt, via the Greek world, its figures lent themselves easily to being shown in their established Greek forms.³²

In addition to the Senpeteuris coffin lid, circular zodiacs with Greek signs are found in several tombs at Akhmim and the tomb of Petubastis in Dakhla Oasis, dated to the first century AD.³³ The similar date of coffin 5 helps demonstrate that the inclusion of Greek artistic forms among Egyptian representations was not an especially late development.³⁴ Other zodiacs in Roman Egypt, including examples much later than the Senpeteuris coffin, 'translated' the signs into the Egyptian representational system. This was especially true when the zodiac appeared in an Egyptian temple.³⁵ It seems that artists chose which type of zodiac to employ—more Greek or more Egyptian—depending on the context of the monument.

The Coffin of Panakht

In the Kharga coffin group, the element of choice also contributed to how the deceased was represented, for one of the coffins rejected the purely mummiform

³⁰ T. Barton, *Ancient Astrology* (London and New York 1994), 10–31, 178; see also F. Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues* (Brussels 1937), *passim*.

³¹ Barton, *Ancient Astrology*, 157–78.

³² Of the twenty-four monuments with zodiacs catalogued in O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, iii: *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs* (Providence 1969), nine depict signs according to the Greek system of representation (nos. 73–81, including the coffin of Senpeteuris).

³³ J. Osing, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Faklry* (Mainz 1982), pls. 36–7.

³⁴ Neugebauer and Parker's suggested second-century AD date for Senpeteuris' coffin (in Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, iii, 205) is based on unspecified stylistic criteria.

³⁵ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, iii, 206–12; S. Cauville, *Le zodiaque d'Osiris* (Leuven 1997), 23–7.

imagery of the others in favour of an image inspired by Hellenistic Greek portraiture. Coffin 2 is inscribed for ‘the Osiris Panakht, justified, born of Ta-sheryt-Amun’. Most of Panakht’s coffin is very similar to coffins 3 and 4 of the group, except for the naturalistic depiction of his head, chest, and hands (Figs. 19, 20). As on coffin 3 (Fig. 13), the face of Panakht is gilded, with a straight nose, large ears, and upturned mouth. Panakht’s eyes and brows are not defined by a cosmetic line of kohl, however, in keeping with the lifelike, rather than god-like, inspiration for his image. Similarly, his hair is not covered by a tripartite head-dress but arranged in a fringe over his forehead and in front of his ears. Incised lines striated with black paint indicate the sweep of the straight, short locks. This style is not a specific Roman imperial hairstyle; instead, it derives from the representation of ephebic youths in the Hellenistic world, where short hair and a clean-shaven face were a visual trope for well-groomed young men of high social status.

Hellenistic representations of young men also inspired the clothing and posture in which Panakht is shown. Folds of actual textile form a mantle draped behind his neck and over his shoulders. The textile is covered by a thin surface of plaster and painted with a pattern of red and black dots. Panakht’s hands emerge from the opening of the mantle, and the position of the right hand copies the ‘arm-sling’ posture prevalent in Hellenistic statues and reliefs of men wearing the Greek mantle, or *himation*.³⁶ In the arm-sling figure type, the right hand normally grasps the *himation*’s folds, and the left arm hangs alongside the body, swathed in the garment. For the representation of Panakht, the pose has been altered to fit the confines of the coffin. Panakht’s right hand lies flat, covering a branch of leaves and berries, while his left hand, wearing two rings on the smallest finger, is curved to grasp the edge of the mantle as if pulling it back. This position of the left hand recalls another common figure type from Hellenistic sculpture, but the combination of the two hand positions is unique to this coffin.³⁷

The fact that coffin 2 employs the Hellenistic Greek idiom of hairstyle, clothing, and pose to represent Panakht indicates that both the artist and his patron were familiar with such portrait representations and were willing to adapt them for use in an Egyptian funerary context. Familiarity was, in fact, a prerequisite for such adaptation. Appropriating the portrait characteristics of Greek sculpture displayed awareness of contemporary high cultural forms and tacitly acknowledged their desirability. Another function of the Greek image on coffin 2 is that it commemorated the deceased as a living individual. The naturalism of the face, hair, clothing,

³⁶ K. Polaschek, *Untersuchungen zu griechischen Mantelstatuen* (Berlin 1969); A. Lewerentz, *Stehende männliche Gewandstatuen im Hellenismus: Ein Beitrag zur Stilgeschichte und Ikonologie hellenistischer Plastik* (Hamburg 1993), 18–57.

³⁷ For figures where the left hand grasps the mantle edge, see E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechische Grabreliefs* (Mainz 1977), 109–11.

FIGURE 19 The portrait of Panakht on his coffin presents him like a young Greek ephebe, but it emerges from the bead-net pattern of an Egyptian mummy.

Linen cartonnage, painted and gilded with glass inlays. L: 136.0 cm. From Kharga Oasis, first half of the first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 14291 (2).

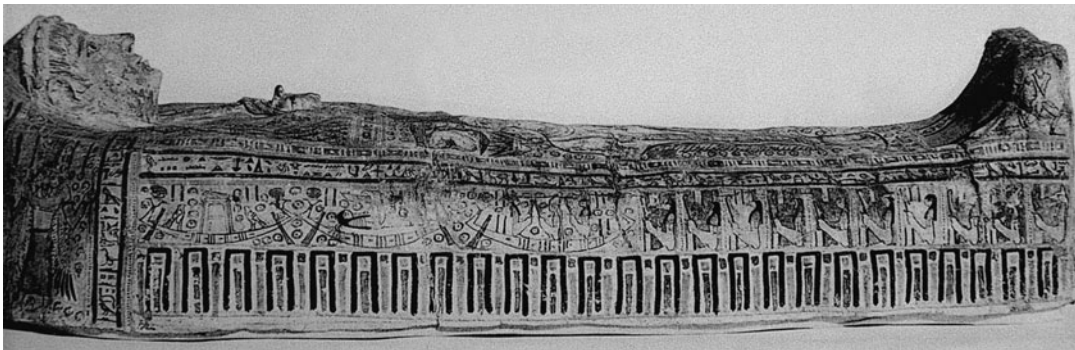
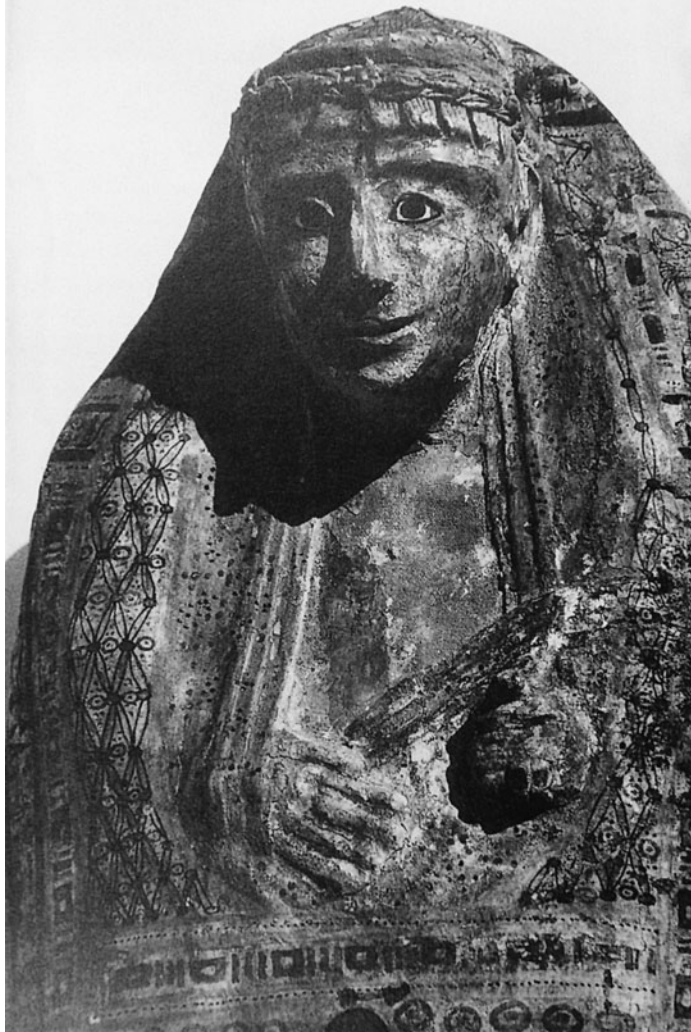
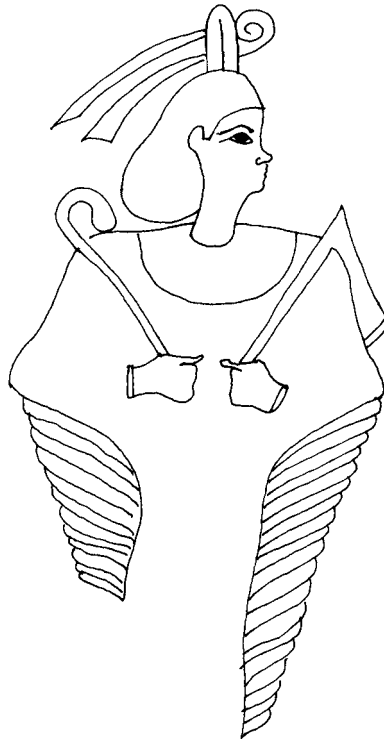


FIGURE 20 Judges of the dead, holding feathers of truth, line the sides of Panakht's coffin. Near his head, the winged, lion-headed god Bes warded off danger. Linen cartonnage, painted and gilded with glass inlays. L: 136.0 cm. From Kharga Oasis, first half of the first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 14291 (2).

and hands formed a contrast to the limbless, shrouded, head-dressed body of a mummy or a god.

Panakht is still an Osiris-like, transfigured being, though, and mummiform imagery is prominent elsewhere on his coffin. The remarkable character of this coffin stems not from the sculpted, lifelike representation of Panakht but from the ease with which the naturalistic and mummiform traits are linked. For example, the mantle that Panakht wears is delimited by a bead net pattern (see Fig. 19), so that he seems to be emerging from the net covering of his mummy, like the dead who throw off their mummy wrappings in the afterlife. Below, an *en face* representation of Osiris himself fills the surface of the lid from beneath Panakht's hands to his ankles, where the footcase begins (see Fig. 20). The god wears his usual crown and holds the crook and flail, but a column of inscription over the legs identifies this image as 'the Osiris Panakht'; thus Osiris *is* Panakht, or more accurately, Panakht in one possible transfigured form. Yet another image of the transfigured Panakht appears at the head end of the coffin (Fig. 21). There, he is depicted with a mummiform body and the crook and flail, but with a *khat* head-dress (or 'bag wig') instead of Osiris' crown. Atop the bag wig is an incense cone and a loop of cloth, which, like the incense cone and lotus flower worn by Senpeteuris on coffin 5, mark the dead Panakht as a pure, justified, and rejuvenated being. The same sort of

FIGURE 21 At the head end of his coffin, Panakht is represented as a mummy with a crook and flail; the incense cone and loop of cloth on his head are signs of his transfiguration after death. Linen cartonnage, painted and gilded with glass inlays. H of image: c. 25.0 cm. From Kharga Oasis, first half of the first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 14291 (2).



meaning was conveyed by the rolled fillet and floral or leafy wreaths that encircle the heads of Panakht, Paopis (coffin 4), and the deceased on coffin 3: in both Greek and Egyptian settings, circlets like these had similar, celebratory associations.³⁸

The fact that all the coffins of the Kharga Oasis group were decorated by a single artist or workshop means that the difference between Panakht's naturalistic representation and the more traditional appearance of the other coffins cannot satisfactorily be explained as a chronological development. Furthermore, the three forms in which Panakht was represented on his coffin—the naturalistic portrait of his head and chest, the inscribed Osiris figure, and the purified mummiform figure—are not far removed from each other in terms of how the afterlife was conceived. As each coffin inscription specifies, the deceased is an Osiris or a Hathor, transformed in death to a god-like state, and a range of iconographic options existed to bear out this transformation in images as well as words. In other parts of Egypt, concerns about gender identity, desirable self-images, and rebirth motivated still other artistic choices, to which the remainder of this chapter now turns.

THE AKHMIM COFFIN GROUP

The town of Akhmim (Egyptian *ḥnt-Mnw*, Greek Panopolis or Chemmis) in Middle Egypt flourished as a seat of Egyptian religious learning, a tradition that it carried into the Byzantine era as an early centre of Christianity and monasticism.³⁹ Akhmim lies on the east bank of the Nile and was the cult centre of the ancient fertility god Min, who was associated with Pan in Greek sources. On the opposite bank of the river from Akhmim, the town of Athribis was home to Ptolemaic temples, including one dedicated to Repit (Greek Triphis) by Ptolemy XV Caesarion, and the cliffs west of Athribis sheltered several Ptolemaic and Roman tombs.⁴⁰ In the environs of Akhmim in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, Min was worshipped in a triad with Repit and the child-god Kolanthes. Few remains

³⁸ The rolled fillet, like the loop of cloth worn with an incense cone, may be the *seshed*-band, which was associated with New Year festivities, regeneration, Osiris, and the royal funerary cult: J.-F. Pecoil and M. Maher-Taha, 'Quelques aspects du bandeau-*sesched*', *Bulletin de Société égyptologique de Genève* 8 (1983), 67–79, 75; S. A. Collier, 'The Crowns of Pharaoh: Their Development and Significance in Ancient Egyptian Kingship', unpublished doctoral dissertation (UCLA 1996), 61–7.

³⁹ M. Smith, 'Aspects of the preservation and transmission of indigenous religious traditions in Akhmim and its environs during the Graeco-Roman Period', in A. Egberts, B. P. Muhs, and J. Van Der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest: Acts from an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne 2002), 233–47; D. Frankfurter, '"Things unbecoming Christians": Violence and Christianization in fifth-century Panopolis', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 8 (2000), 273–95.

⁴⁰ Athribis: W. M. F. Petrie, *Athribis* (London 1908); R. el-Farag, U. Kaplony-Heckel, and K. P. Kuhlmann, 'Recent archaeological explorations at Athribis', *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 1–8.

from the town of Akhmim survive, however; the temple of Min reportedly had a zodiac ceiling, and Egyptian excavations in 1983 yielded the remains of a temple gateway with a Roman imperial cartouche.⁴¹

The cemeteries of Akhmim were at el-Salamuni and el-Hawawish, in the eastern desert cliffs and wadis.⁴² Maspero, head of the Antiquities Service, explored the sites in 1884 and found tombs crammed with bodies and artefacts on ‘an almost apocalyptic order’.⁴³ He sent several of the coffins considered here to the museum in Cairo (e.g. 9, 10, 32), but after Maspero left, the burials were gradually exhausted for the antiquities trade. Akhmim was a regular stopping-point for tourists and archaeologists who travelled on the river in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and both casual collectors and seasoned museum men like E. A. Wallis Budge sought out purchases while in Akhmim. On a short buying trip for the British Museum in January 1896, Budge acquired six coffins, a mummy inside an openwork mummy case, and a thick papyrus roll containing two separate papyri.⁴⁴ The coffins acquired by Budge are identified here as 14 (Fig. 24), 15 (Fig. 26), 25 (Fig. 31), 26, 27 (Fig. 32), and 36 (Fig. 33); the mummy case is 28, and the papyri are P. BM 10507 and 10508, both of which are returned to below. This material is part of a homogeneous group consisting of some two dozen other coffins and innumerable coffin fragments, especially of faces and heads. The most complete coffins and a selection of the fragments are listed in the Appendix, organized by female coffins first, then the male examples.

The Date of the Akhmim Coffin Group

On the evidence of the Demotic inscriptions that several of the Akhmim coffins bear, the entire group dates to the mid-first century BC or the early first century AD. The inscriptions identify the deceased and his or her parents and sometimes

⁴¹ Y. al-Masri, ‘Preliminary report on the excavations in Akhmim by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization’, *ASAE* 69 (1983), 7–13. For Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine Akhmim, see A. Egberts, B. P. Muhs, and J. Van Der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest: Acts from an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne 2002).

⁴² K. P. Kuhlmann, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim* (Mainz 1983), 50–8. Summary of coffin finds: Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 146–8.

⁴³ M. Depauw, ‘The late funerary material from Akhmim’, in A. Egberts, B. P. Muhs, and J. Van Der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest: Acts from an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne 2002), 71.

⁴⁴ M. Smith, ‘Budge at Akhmim, January 1896’, in C. Eyre, A. Leahy, and L. M. Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore* (London 1994), 292–303. Items that Budge bought in different regions on the same trip (such as a girl’s coffin from Middle Egypt, discussed in Chapter 5) were confused with the Akhmim material once he had arrived back in London, perhaps in a haste to justify the purchases to the Museum Trustees.

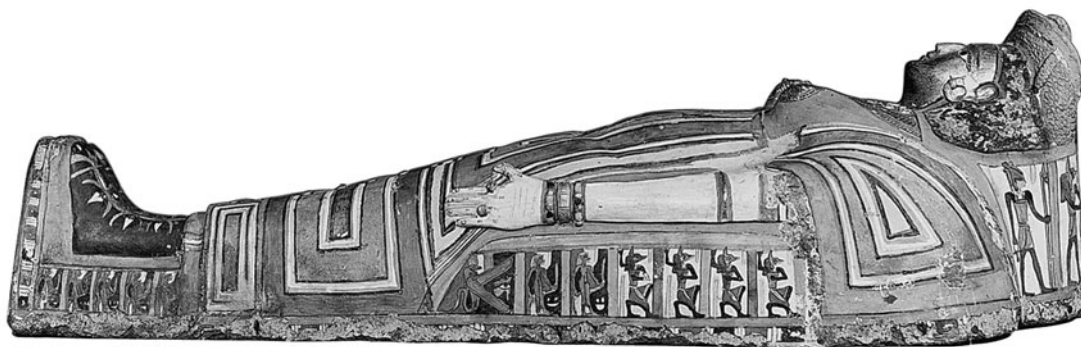


FIGURE 22 A core of dried mud and straw was coated with linen, plaster, paint, and gilding to construct the coffin lid of Tatriphis, daughter of Inaros and Thermuthis. L: 154.0 cm. From Akhmim (Panopolis), mid-first century BC to early first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 13462 (8).

mention a day, month, and regnal year, probably the date of the burial (on **13** and **29**). Some of the inscriptions take the form of ritual speech attributed to the deceased, as on coffins **8** (Fig. 22) and **15**, and others add a prayer that the soul of the deceased will live forever, found on **8**, **16**, and **30**. Like the Kharga Oasis coffins, the inscribed coffins from Akhmim tend to preface the name of the deceased with ‘Osiris’ or ‘Hathor’ as appropriate. Thus ‘the Hathor Taminis’, buried in coffin **15**, is ‘like (the sun god) Re forever and ever’, and ‘the Osiris’ buried in coffin **29** is willed to ‘live forever and ever’. The personal names of the dead and their parents are Egyptian in origin. Many refer to Egyptian deities, especially the local cults of Min (e.g. Peteminis, Spemminis), Repit (Tatriphis), and Kolanthes (a man named for this god is the father of Meter, on coffin **23**).

According to Mark Smith’s 1997 study of several of the Demotic inscriptions from female coffins (**8**, **12**, **14**, **15**), the orthography and palaeography of the script allow the coffins to be dated to the end of the Ptolemaic Period or to the beginning of the Roman occupation, in the reign of Augustus.⁴⁵ Smith relied on judicious comparison of the hands of the coffin inscriptions with Demotic papyri whose date is better established, including the British Museum papyri purchased along with the coffins. Since the female coffins are contemporaneous with the male coffins, as discussed below, the range of c. 50 BC to AD 50 suggested by Smith can be narrowed further by considering the evidence of coffin **29**, in the Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh.⁴⁶ The inscription written on the head-dress lappets of this coffin gives ‘Day 14, fourth month of winter, year 33’ as the date of the man’s burial or death; no ruler is named, which is not unusual. For the first century BC and first century AD, only the reigns of Ptolemy IX (116–107 and 88–81 BC in Egypt,

⁴⁵ M. Smith, ‘Dating anthropoid mummy cases from Akhmim: The evidence of the Demotic inscriptions’, in M. L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks* (London 1997), 66–71.

⁴⁶ R. Jasnow, ‘Demotic texts from the Carnegie Museum of Natural History’, *Enchoria* 17 (1990), 95–6.

but numbered consecutively) or of Augustus (30 BC–AD 14) are an adequate length. The Ptolemaic reign yields a date of 83/2 BC for the Carnegie Museum coffin. This fits Smith's suggested date range if one accepts recent evidence that the papyri used as comparanda for the coffin inscriptions are even earlier than previously thought. These papyri, including P. Spiegelberg and P. Insinger, were conventionally dated to c. 50 BC to AD 50, but they are now accepted as dating to the first half of the first century BC.⁴⁷ Regardless of whether coffin 29 dates to 83/2 BC or to AD 3/4 in the reign of Augustus, Smith's original premise stands: the Akhmim coffins are considerably earlier than had previously been assumed by authors who used stylistic grounds alone to date the coffins to the second century AD, or to reason that the group had a broad chronological range across the Roman Period.⁴⁸

Grimm, for example, estimated that the group began with late Ptolemaic and early Roman 'Egyptian' types (17, 18, 27, 28), then continued with late first- and early second-century 'Egyptian' types with arms and hands added to the mummiform body (22, 26), which led to a 'Roman group' no earlier than the second century AD, distinguished by the tunic and mantle costumes of both males and females.⁴⁹ More recently, Schweitzer adhered to the same broad timeline and the division into 'Egyptian' and 'Roman' groups, maintaining that the 'costume of the living' shown on the latter is 'typically Roman'.⁵⁰ However, these analyses do not consider the form, manufacture, and decoration of the Akhmim coffins in detail or consider the interrelations between the different types of coffins and other material from the site, including the papyri that Budge obtained at the same time as the British Museum coffins. The formal characteristics of the coffins and mummy cases indicate that they were made at approximately the same time, probably within one workshop over the course of a generation corresponding to the lifetime of the artisans responsible. Furthermore, the group cannot be divided into 'Egyptian' and 'Roman' types because the decoration of all the coffins relies for the most part on the dictates and concerns of Egyptian representation, in particular the portrayal of males and females according to gender-differentiated funerary iconography.

⁴⁷ F. Hoffmann, 'Neue Fragmente zu den drei grossen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten', *Enchoria* 22 (1995), 38–9 assigns both P. Spiegelberg and P. Insinger to the first half of the first century BC by comparison with a Moscow papyrus dated in 68 BC; cf. Smith, 'Aspects of the preservation and transmission of indigenous religious traditions in Akhmim', 241.

⁴⁸ For instance Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 96–100, or D. C. Patch, *Reflections of Greatness: Ancient Egypt at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1990), 101–2 (no. 82), in part following Jasnow, 'Demotic texts from the Carnegie Museum of Natural History', by accepting a date in the reign of Commodus (AD 180–92) for coffin 27. Jasnow pointed out that an Augustan date was possible, but suggested Commodus as a second-century AD alternative since Demotic texts refer to AD 192/3 as year 33 of his reign: P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques* (332 av. J.-C.–453 ap. J.-C.) (Leiden 1967), 109.

⁴⁹ Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 98–9.

⁵⁰ A. Schweitzer, 'L'évolution stylistique et iconographique des parures de cartonnage d'Akhmim du début de l'époque ptolémaïque à l'époque romaine', *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 336.

The Akhmim Coffins: Plaster, Mud, and Paint

Before turning to the representation of the deceased on these coffins, a discussion of how they were made and decorated will demonstrate that only cooperative artisans working within a limited time span could have manufactured them. Most of the coffins are made from a mixture of Nile mud and straw, which was moulded into the desired form and allowed to dry into a hard shell. Coffins **11** and **14** were made of a different, and probably more costly, material—papyrus cartonage. The two mummy cases, **16** and **28**, were made of linen cartonage. These are not true coffins but three-part sets consisting of a mask, body cover, and footcase that sheathed the body. Cartonage of either type was moulded like the mud mixture but may have offered a more pliable material.

A complete coffin consisted of a lid that fitted over a shallow base, but the lid and base together are preserved only for **6**, **13**, **26**, **33**, and **36**. A lid and base in the Field Museum, Chicago, are identified separately here as **11** and **37** (see Fig. 28) because they do not belong together: the lid is shorter than the base, and the lid is female while the base bears an inscription naming the deceased as a man. The small size of at least nine coffins (**6**, **7**, **12**, **13**, **26**, **27**, **33**, and **36**) suggests that they were made for children. Of these, coffins **6**, **26**, and **33** contain intact mummies; the mummies of **6** and **26** have been X-rayed, revealing that an unidentified long, narrow object is placed over the thorax or chest. The adult mummy in case **28** is also intact.

Each coffin lid is contoured into an anthropoid shape, with the shoulders sloping out from the neck and the body tapering to the footcase. All the female lids depict the deceased with her arms held alongside her body and her hands lying flat on her outer thighs. The shape of the female figures emphasizes their breasts, erect nipples, full thighs, and curvaceous hips, and often indicates an indented navel, protruding abdomen, and the junction of the upper thighs and pubic triangle (see Figs. 24, 28). Some of the male coffins depict hands and arms, either emerging from a shrouded mummy (see Fig. 31) or positioned with the left arm bent at the waist and the right arm straight, its hand clenched on the figure's upper thigh (see Fig. 33). Sculpted elements too detailed to be part of the original moulding, such as jewellery, floral wreaths, decorative rosettes, and hair, were formed from plaster and added as the decoration of the coffin surface progressed. Pieces of linen were also added to create draped effects for the clothing on several female lids, like **11** (Fig. 28), **14** (Fig. 24), and **15** (Fig. 25). When dry, the completed coffin shell was coated inside and out with a thin layer of white ground.⁵¹ Painting and gilding completed each case. The colours pink, white, and red predominate; blue, green,

⁵¹ The term 'ground' indicates a surface treatment, usually incorporating some calcium compound, which is applied to an object in preparation for painting and/or gilding. 'Plaster' refers to a primary modelling material; plaster objects can receive ground, paint, and gilding layers. Cf. P. Hatchfield and R. Newman, 'Ancient Egyptian gilding methods', in *Gilded Wood: Conservation and History* (Madison, Conn., 1991), 34.

and a yellowish brown are also present. Gilding could be added to individual details like jewellery, uraei, and the skin of the face, but case **28** was almost completely covered in gold leaf, which added considerably to the cost of production and required the specialized skills of a goldsmith.⁵²

The coffins and mummy cases bear one of two face shapes, indicating that there were two general mould types in use, each presumably created by a different artisan and made available in a range of sizes. Only the use of such moulds would produce the nearly identical modelling observed in the coffin faces. The first, and less common, facial type has rounded contours and a semicircular smile which indents the mouth corners and makes the apples of the cheeks appear especially prominent. This rounded face type is found on the female coffins **11**, **14**, and **13** which is for a young girl, and on the male cases **18**, **22**, **23**, **28**, and **26**, an infant's coffin. The second facial type appears on the other coffins, of which **8** (Fig. 22), **15** (Fig. 25), **25** (Fig. 31), **35** (Fig. 35), and **36** (Fig. 33) are illustrated here. These coffins have triangular faces with broad foreheads, pointed chins, and flat facial planes. The mouths are straight and the lips are pressed firmly together.

Some sort of mould might have been used to sculpt other parts of the coffins as well, since some lids have very similar body or hand shapes. The bodies of the female coffins **10** and **13**, although of different sizes, closely resemble each other, and the hands of the male coffins **25** (Fig. 31), **30** (Fig. 34), and **36** (Fig. 33) are identically shaped and painted, with the little fingers of each hand outlined in red and shown as if they were folded away from the fist.

The painted decoration and added plaster elements of the Akhmim coffins also display the input of a small number of craftsmen. For some of the Egyptian scenes and deities depicted on the coffins, one artist painted simplified figures with rubbery limbs and no mouths. Attributes such as staffs and crowns are barely distinguishable, and the figures are painted in just one or two colours against a dark blue background. This artist's technique is visible on **8** (Fig. 32), **14** (Fig. 24), and in the gilded scenes impressed in the skirt of **11** (Fig. 28). The same style also appears on **6**, **22**, **27**, **29**, and the exterior of **37**. Another draughtsman must have executed the crisper, elongated figures seen on **15** (Fig. 25), **20**, **25** (Fig. 31), **30**, and **35** (Fig. 35), which are painted in multiple colours against a stark white background.

The recurrence of individual motifs on the coffins also points to their shared workshop, and perhaps to the use of some sort of pattern book. Coffins **29** and **34** both have a decorative frieze of squatting female figures holding *mw*-pots alternating with *beker*-ornaments (not illustrated), and fantastic winged animals encircling mummies appear only on the mummy cases **16** (Pl. 1) and **28** and on coffin **25** (Fig. 31). Among the female coffins, the skirts of **14** (Fig. 24) and **15** (Fig. 25) have

⁵² A second-century BC Greek papyrus from the Arsinoite nome mentions a goldsmiths' tax in connection with the manufacture of mummy masks: see W. Clarysse, 'Gilding and painting mummy masks', in U. Horak (ed.), *Realia coptica: Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harrauer* (Vienna 2001), 67–70.

similar patterns, as do the skirts of **6**, **7**, **9**, and **12**. The plaster elements added to the surface of the coffins were made in the same way, probably by pressing the plaster into moulds. Consequently, on the heads of several of the coffins (**17**, **18**, **22–9**), the sun disc is shown being pushed by a winged scarab, and in each case an identical falcon is impressed (or painted, on **26**) within the disc.

These detailed comparisons demonstrate that despite the superficial differences in their appearance, or the tripartite structure of cases **16** and **28**, the Akhmim coffin group was manufactured and decorated by a small group of artisans working in tandem. It is impossible to know the exact division of labour involved, since the painting and plasterwork could have been done independently of the actual production of the mud or cartonnage cores. Nonetheless, the shared traits described above link the Akhmim cases together in a way that negates any attempt to stratify them chronologically. The distinctive *beker*-filled frieze of women with *mw*-pots appears on both a mummiform coffin (**29**) and a coffin in ‘living’ dress (**34**), for instance, while the triangular facial shape is evident on female coffins (like **15**) as well as male coffins of every permutation—three-part cover (**16**), mummiform coffin (e.g. **25**), and coffin in ‘living’ dress (e.g. **30**). There does not seem to be a one-to-one correlation between different traits; that is, the round facial type does not always occur with the falcon-in-disc motif, nor does one body or face shape match a particular drawing style, and so on. The entire group is the product of a limited time, place, and patronage, and interpreting its representations of the dead must proceed with that in mind.

Connections with Other Objects from Akhmim

Fortunately, there is a little more evidence for the owners of the Akhmim coffins than for the Kharga Oasis group. Because the Akhmim coffin inscriptions list the parents and sometimes grandparents of the deceased, it is possible to establish a prosopography linking two of the coffin owners with other material from Akhmim. The woman buried in coffin **8** (Fig. 22), which was destroyed in Berlin during the Second World War, was Tatriphis, the daughter of Inaros the younger, who was the son of Peteminis the younger, a scribe; the mother of Tatriphis was Thermuthis. Both Tatriphis and her father are commemorated on a stela in Cairo (Fig. 23), which is inscribed in Demotic for each of them, using the same ‘recitation’ formula as some of the coffin inscriptions:

Recitation (by) the Osiris of Inaros the younger, the son of Peteminis the younger the scribe, whom Tatriphis bore. May his *ba* live forever and ever. Recitation (by) the Hathor of Tatriphis, the daughter of Inaros the younger the scribe, whom Thermuthis bore. May her *ba* live forever and ever.⁵³

⁵³ Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 31123 (H: 48.0 cm): W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, i: *Die demotischen Inschriften*, Catalogue général du Musée du Caire (Leipzig 1904), 48–9, pl. 12; see Smith, ‘Dating anthropoid mummy cases from Akhmim’, 69 for the text and family relationship.

FIGURE 23 Since this stela jointly commemorates Tatriphis (from coffin 8) and her father Inaros, the two may have died around the same time as each other. Limestone. H: 22.0 cm. From Akhmim (Panopolis), mid-first century BC to early first century AD. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 31123.



The genealogy given on the Cairo stela is the same as that on Tatriphis' coffin, with the added information, in the stela inscription, that the mother of Tatriphis' father was also named Tatriphis; it was a common Egyptian practice to name children after their grandparents. The Demotic text refers to 'the Hathor of Tatriphis' and 'the Osiris of Inaros', using the genitival alternative of the formula, but the coffin inscription gives 'the Hathor Tatriphis'. The stela of Tatriphis and her father has a curved top filled by a winged solar disc, representing the arc of the sky. In a single register, Inaros and Tatriphis appear at the left, behind an unidentified goddess in a net-patterned dress, who is probably Hathor, and Osiris. At the right, facing the deities and the deceased, is an anonymous king pouring a libation. The composition refers to the role of the Egyptian king as an intermediary between the gods and humanity. Traditional ritual formulae credited funerary offerings to the efficacy of the king. Libations stream over the figures of Inaros and Tatriphis from *hes*-vases

depicted over their heads. Like Montsuef and Tanuat in the Rhind papyri, Inaros and Tatriphis are represented in their altered forms, Inaros as a mummy with a human face and short or shaved hair, and Tatriphis as a slender woman in a tight dress, broad collar, and tripartite wig. She clasps her right wrist with her left hand, which may be a gesture of prayer or respect.⁵⁴

The second instance of a coffin owner being linked to other material concerns a mummy case in Berlin (16, Pl. 1), whose inventory number is consecutive to that of Tatriphis' coffin. The Demotic inscription on this case identifies the owner as Horos, the son of Peteminis, who was the son of Petharoeris. Around the same time that Berlin acquired Horos' case and the coffin of Tatriphis, Budge had purchased the British Museum's group of coffins and two Demotic papyri bundled together, P. BM 10507 and P. BM 10508. The former papyrus, which is almost 1.80 m long, contains three funerary compositions, the second of which is entitled 'The book which was made in exact accordance with his desire for Hor(os) the son of Peteminis to cause it to be recited as an opening of the mouth document in his presence on the night of his burial feast'.⁵⁵ In other words, this part of the papyrus is a version of the ancient ritual which 'opened the mouth' of the mummified corpse to restore its senses.⁵⁶ The man who commissioned the text for his own burial, Horos son of Peteminis, is likely to be the same man as Horos the son of Peteminis, who was buried in case 16. Moreover, since P. BM 10508 was wrapped up in a bundle with the funerary papyrus P. BM 10507 when Budge purchased them, it is likely that the two papyri were found together as well, as part of the burial of Horos. The papyrus P. BM 10508 is a literary text called the 'Instructions of Ankhsheshonky'.⁵⁷ 'Instruction' or 'wisdom' literature was a genre with its roots in Middle Kingdom literature. The texts are purportedly written by a sage old man or a king who passes on his wisdom and guidance in a series of maxims.⁵⁸ If the 'Instructions of Ankhsheshonky', the mortuary texts of P. BM 10507, and mummy case 16 belonged to the same man, this suggests that Horos, the son of Peteminis, was an educated Egyptian actively engaged with indigenous high cultural forms in late Ptolemaic or early Roman Period Akhmim. His family names and his literary interests suggest that he identified himself as an Egyptian.

One would expect the Akhmim coffins to express a similarly traditional funerary ideology and, as on the stela of Tatriphis and Inaros (Fig. 23), a commensurate

⁵⁴ B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn 1960), 83–4, calls this the 'Persian gesture', but it is attested since at least the New Kingdom for mourning women or goddesses in funeral scenes.

⁵⁵ Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, 22 (with 'Petemin').

⁵⁶ E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* (Wiesbaden 1960).

⁵⁷ S. R. K. Glanville, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, ii: *The Instructions of 'Onkhsheshonky (British Museum Papyrus 10508)* (London 1955); M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, iii: *The Late Period* (Berkeley 1980), 159–84.

⁵⁸ M. Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context* (Fribourg and Göttingen 1983), 13–92 on the Ankhsheshonky text; R. B. Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection* (London and New York 2002), 235–77 on the genre in the Middle Kingdom.

FIGURE 24 This coffin (14) and coffin 15 (Fig. 25) exemplify the two basic face shapes used to mould the Akhmim coffins: here, the cheeks and chin are round and the lips are pressed into a smile, while coffins like 15 have more angular facial features. Papyrus cartonnage with added linen and plaster, painted and gilded. L: 165.0 cm. From Akhmim (Panopolis), mid-first century BC to early first century AD. London, British Museum, EA 29585.



image of the deceased. Yet the coffins of this group have been taken as evidence for the effect of Greek and Roman art on both the form and the content of Egyptian funerary art: the coffins wear ‘classical costume and jewellery’ and ‘illustrate the extent to which Hellenistic influence had penetrated burial customs’.⁵⁹ Certainly the female coffins of the group, like 14 and 15 (Figs. 24, 25), with their sculptural

⁵⁹ *Ancient Faces* (London), 29; similarly S. Ikram and A. Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt* (London and New York 1998), 190–1. Edgar’s Cairo catalogue entry for the female coffin 10, which he terms ‘of Egyptian type’, is a notable exception: Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 112.



FIGURE 25 Under the gesso and paint, a layer of linen created a fluttering and draping effect for the mantle on the coffin of Taminis, who is identified by the Demotic inscription on the left shoulder. Mud-straw mixture with added linen and plaster, painted and gilded. L: 151.0 cm. From Akhmim (Panopolis), mid-first century BC to early first century AD. London, British Museum, EA 29586 (15).

effect and elaborate clothes, are a departure from the smooth contours of the cases used for both men and women up until this point. In the early third century BC at Akhmim, for instance, the daughter of a priest was buried with a traditional gilded mask and a cartonnage body cover.⁶⁰ Some of the male coffins from the Akhmim group (30–36) also depict the ‘costume of the living’ rather than the trappings of a mummy. Whether these changes were overtly influenced by Greek art and motivated by a wish to appear ‘Greek’ can only be determined by first considering what the forms and the clothing of the coffins expressed.

Tying on the Dress of Hathor? The Female Coffins from Akhmim

All but one of the female coffins of the group wear an identical ensemble of clothing. The exception is 13, a small coffin for the girl Tawa, which depicts her in a striped, ankle-length tunic. On the other coffins, such a tunic is worn under a

⁶⁰ C. W. Griggs, ‘Evidences of a Christian population in the Egyptian Fayum and genetic and textile studies of the Akhmim noble mummies’, *Brigham Young University Studies* 33 (1993), 219, with colour photos on the cover of the journal.

FIGURE 26 This detail from the statue base of a man named Petubastis shows one of his daughters wearing the Egyptian knotted ensemble and carrying a *sistrum*-rattle and *menit*-necklace. Black granite. H: 17.5 cm. From Memphis, mid-first century AD to early first century AD. London, British Museum, EA 521.



mantle, which the wearer seems to have wrapped as an overskirt under her breasts and around her lower body, so that the textile draped over her abdomen, hips, and legs. She then drew the uppermost corners of a shawl over her shoulders and knotted one or both of them to the corners of cloth gathered between her breasts from the overskirt. This method of tying the shawl and mantle secured the garments without restricting the movement of the wearer's arms and legs.

This outfit has also been reconstructed as consisting of a tunic and one mantle, which formed both the overskirt and the 'shawl', but some depictions of women wearing the ensemble show the bottom ends of the shawl hanging freely down the wearer's back, rather than wrapped around her lower body (Fig. 26).⁶¹ It is possible that both arrangements—tunic plus mantle, and tunic plus overskirt plus shawl—were used, since they result in a similar effect. On the Akhmim coffins, where the garments are not depicted from behind, it is difficult to ascertain their precise arrangement; therefore, the costume is simply called 'the knotted ensemble' here.

The knotted ensemble begins to appear in pictorial representations of Egyptian women from the sixth century BC onwards. The earliest examples restrict it to subsidiary figures like musicians in tomb reliefs, who were more likely to be shown

⁶¹ R. S. Bianchi, 'Not the Isis knot', *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 2 (1980), 9–31 interprets three separate parts of the ensemble, as do S. Albersmeier and Martina Minas, 'Ein Weihrelief für die vergöttlichte Arsinoe IP', in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years: Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, 1 (Leuven 1998), esp. 12 pl. 3. H. Schäfer, 'Das Gewand der Isis: Ein Beitrag zur Kunst-, Kultur- und Religionsgeschichte des Hellenismus', *Janus* 1 (1921), 194–206 describes just one knotted mantle over a tunic.

in contemporary ‘everyday’ dress than were the major figures, for whom the traditional sheath dress was the norm.⁶² In the late fourth century BC, the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel represents one of the tomb-owner’s daughters in a tunic, knotted overgarment, and a broad collar, indicating that by this point the costume had become acceptable for representations of elite women in some contexts.⁶³ Figure 26 shows how the knotted ensemble was worn by the daughters and wife of a priest named Petubastis on his statue base from Memphis, in the late Ptolemaic or early Roman Period. The statue is inscribed with funerary formulae, and Petubastis’ wife and daughters are identified as singers (priestesses) of Anubis and shown with *sistra* and *menit*-necklaces in their cultic roles.⁶⁴

The knotted ensemble came into its own under the Ptolemies, when it became an alternative to the sheath dress for Egyptian statues and reliefs of the Ptolemaic queens.⁶⁵ On a gateway at the Karnak temple, Berenike II wears a queenly crown incorporating the horns and disc of Hathor, an overskirt with folds falling from a central pleat, and what appears to be a shawl with one end tucked into the top edge of the overskirt and the other left to hang free.⁶⁶ A stela of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III, from Tanis, likewise depicts the queen in the knotted ensemble.⁶⁷ Several Egyptian statues of Ptolemaic queens depict the distinctive knotted mantle,⁶⁸ as do

⁶² As on the lintel of Tjanefer (Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, 380): C. Ransom-Williams, ‘The Egyptian collection in the Museum of Art of Cleveland, Ohio’, *JEA* 5 (1918), 282–3, pl. 40 (drawing). See also Bianchi, ‘Not the Isis knot’, 16, fig. 11 (a lintel fragment in Paris, Louvre, E 11162).

⁶³ G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris* (Paris 1924), iii, 84–90, pls. 16 (Nesnehtawwy, far right) and 17 (right).

⁶⁴ London, British Museum, EA 512 (W: 32.5 cm): D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep: Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten* (Munich and Berlin 1977), 73–8 (§47), pls. 14–15.

⁶⁵ S. Albersmeier, *Untersuchungen zu den Frauenstatuen des Ptolemäischen Ägypten* (Trier 2002), 90–105 (‘Isisgewand’), esp. 103–4; Albersmeier and Minas, ‘Ein Weihrelief für die vergöttlichte Arsinoe II’, 21. Albersmeier’s book (which was not available to this author at the time of writing) presents Ptolemaic private and royal sculpture of women wearing the knotted ensemble; her conclusions emphasize the ensemble’s connection with deified queens and their cultic roles.

⁶⁶ P. Clère, *La porte d’Euergete à Karnak* (Cairo 1961), pl. 43, reproduced in R. S. Bianchi, *Cleopatra’s Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies* (Brooklyn 1988), 48, 51 fig. 22. The arrangement of the shawl ends—right free, rather than left—might be a reversal due to the queen’s leftward orientation; rightward orientation was dominant in Egyptian art. Similarly, the centre line of the skirt is depicted over the queen’s near thigh due to Egyptian conventions in two-dimensional art.

⁶⁷ London, British Museum, EA 1054 (H: 74.0 cm): S. Walker and P. Higgs (eds.), *Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth* (London 2001), 76–7 (no. 56); *La gloire d’Alexandrie* (Paris 1998), 188 (no. 136); Bianchi, *Cleopatra’s Egypt*, 105 (no. 15).

⁶⁸ Albersmeier and Minas, ‘Ein Weihrelief für die vergöttlichte Arsinoe II’; Walker and Higgs, *Cleopatra of Egypt*, 165 (no. 164, Cleopatra VII?), 166–7 (no. 166, deified Arsinoe II), 169 (no. 168, unknown queen), and 170 (no. 169, Arsinoe II?); S.-A. Ashton, *Ptolemaic Royal Sculpture from Egypt: The Interaction between Greek and Egyptian Traditions* (Oxford 2000), 106–15 (nos. 49–62), 116–17 (no. 65), 118–19 (nos. 67–9); B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn 1960), 145–7 (no. 113, a Cleopatra), 159–60 (no. 123, deified Arsinoe II), and 169–70 (no. 130, unknown queen).

FIGURE 27 This statue probably represents a Ptolemaic queen, who wears a knotted mantle, a short-sleeved tunic, and rosette breast covers. On top of the ring of uraei is a hole for affixing a tall crown to her head. Black granite. H: 56.0 cm. From Naukratis, late second or first century BC. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 27471.



faience oinochoai moulded with reliefs of queens executed in Greek representational form.⁶⁹

An uninscribed Egyptian statue in Cairo (Fig. 27), found at Naukratis and almost certainly of Ptolemaic date, typifies how the knotted ensemble was represented in three dimensions.⁷⁰ The statue probably represents a queen, since there appears to be a trace of the royal uraeus on its brow. Ptolemaic queens were sometimes shown in the knotted ensemble on ceremonial occasions, but for the most part the costume was worn by deified queens or by queens in temples where they were honoured as *synnaoi theoi*, ‘temple-sharing gods’.⁷¹ If the Cairo statue

⁶⁹ D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience: Aspects of the Ruler-Cult* (Oxford 1973), 30–1 (costume Type IV), 93.

⁷⁰ Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 27471 (H: 56.0 cm): Edgar, *Græco-Egyptian Coffins*, 18, pl. 9.

⁷¹ Albersmeier and Minas, ‘Ein Weihrelief für die vergöttlichte Arsinoë II’, 22.

represents a goddess, as Edgar thought, it raises the question of whether the knotted ensemble in Ptolemaic Egypt already carried the divine associations it acquired in the Roman world. Under the Empire, as Egyptian cults spread throughout the Mediterranean, the knotted mantle became inextricably linked to the iconography of Isis and to depictions of the female devotees of her cult.⁷² In its original Egyptian context, the garment had no specific association with Isis,⁷³ and no evidence for the knotted costume being used to represent Isis can firmly be dated prior to the Roman Period, in or outside of Egypt. The fact that the *interpretatio graeca* or *romana* of the knotted ensemble identified it so strongly with Isis is suggestive, however. It implies that something about the iconography of the knotted ensemble in Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt invited its association with the Egyptian goddess.

The appearance of the knotted ensemble on the female Akhmim coffins further illuminates how these garments were perceived in their Egyptian context. One clue comes not from the female coffin lids but from the coffin base inscribed on its exterior for a man named Sematawy (37). On its interior (Fig. 28), Sematawy's coffin base is decorated with a full-length figure of the goddess Nut. This sky goddess was regularly depicted on the floor of Egyptian coffins or inside the lid, where she appears on Akhmim coffin 14. When the mummy of the deceased was placed inside the coffin, Nut embraced it to empower its rejuvenation, just as, by swallowing the solar disc at night and giving birth to it at dawn, she was instrumental in the cyclical renewal of the sun god. Nut had very close and ancient ties to Hathor, and to some extent the iconography of the two goddesses was interchangeable. In the closing vignette of Montsuef's funerary papyrus, P. Rhind I, where Nut is depicted inside a coffin with her arms raised up to receive his mummy (Fig. 29), she wears the crown of cow horns and a solar disc that was usually the insignia of Hathor.⁷⁴ The horned disc crown was also worn by queens and by Isis, because Isis too shared many qualities with Nut and Hathor.

On the interior of coffin base 37 (Fig. 28), Nut is represented as a slender woman with her arms held alongside her legs. Her long hair, or wig, covers her ears and is restrained by striped bands at either side of her face and by a striped fillet around her forehead. She wears sandals with T-shaped straps and a bracelet on either wrist. On her head sits a frog, representing the goddess Heket who attended at births and at the bier of Osiris.⁷⁵ Most importantly for the discussion here, Nut is wearing the

⁷² See especially J. Eingartner, *Isis und ihre Dienerinnen in der Kunst der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leiden 1991); E. J. Walters, *Attic Grave Reliefs That Represent Women in the Dress of Isis* (Princeton 1988).

⁷³ Bianchi, 'Not the Isis knot', 19.

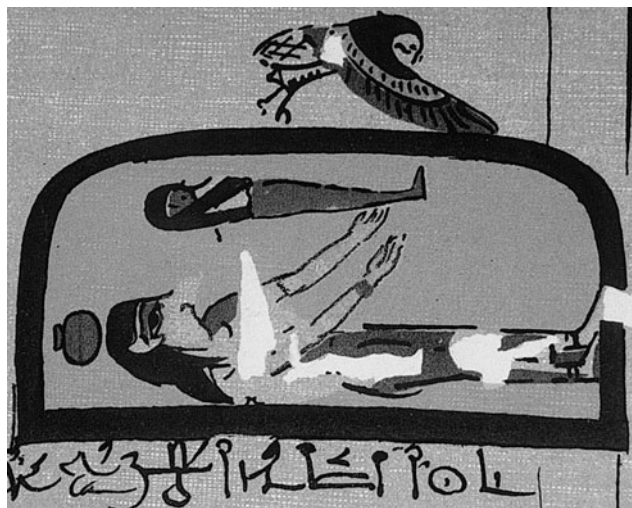
⁷⁴ Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyri Rhind*, pl. 11; Birch and Rhind, *Facsimiles of Two Papyri Found in a Tomb at Thebes*, pl. 6.

⁷⁵ H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin 1952), 284–5; L. Kákosy, 'Heqet', *LÄ* ii. 1123–4.

FIGURE 28 Though acquired together, this coffin base (37) and lid (II) originally come from two different sets. The base, with a representation of the goddess Nut inside it, is inscribed on the other side for a man named Sematawy, while the lid was made for a woman's burial. Mud-straw mixture with added linen and plaster, painted and gilded. L of base: c.170.0 cm. L of lid: c.160.0 cm. From Akhmim (Panopolis). Chicago, The Field Museum, 30020.



FIGURE 29 The goddess Nut was believed to embrace the dead inside their coffins, an idea given visual expression here in the funerary papyrus of Montsuef, P. Rhind I. H of image: 5.0 cm. From Thebes, dated 9 BC. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum.



knotted ensemble. Over her tunic is an overskirt with selvages at the centre, patterned in multicoloured zigzags reminiscent of the Egyptian hieroglyphic notation for water.⁷⁶ The top edge of the overskirt is knotted to the end of the shawl or mantle pulled over her right shoulder, near her right breast, while the other end hangs freely over her left shoulder. The figure of Nut inside coffin 14 wears this costume as well. The knotted ensemble could thus be used not only to represent the deified Ptolemaic queens and some elite women, but also a goddess.

From the earliest periods of Egyptian history, cloth and clothing were imbued with symbolic value. Temple rituals included the consecration of linen offerings; statues and mummies were wrapped in cloth; and knotted belts and fillets both protected the wearer and conveyed divine or glorified status.⁷⁷ The *tyet*-knot, for example, was an amulet symbolizing a loop of red cloth that was especially identified with Isis, and belts of red cloth were often depicted around the waists of Isis and other goddesses. Clothing associated with Hathor appears in the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts, where her dress is usually called the *tstn*, derived from the word ‘to knot together’.⁷⁸ In Coffin Text Spell 484, the deceased says, ‘I don the dress of Hathor’, and in Spell 485, ‘I have put on the cloak of the Great Lady (i.e., Hathor), and I am the Great Lady’.⁷⁹ Although the specific associations of various garments, belts, and other pieces of cloth in Egyptian religious iconography is imperfectly understood, the consistent inclusion of these different clothing elements in art and texts suggests that they had both an actual and a semiotic function.

One function of the knotted ensemble on the female Akhmim coffin lids may have been ‘tying’ the deceased to Hathor, in much the same way that the dead woman or girl herself could be referred to as ‘the Hathor Tatriphis’ or ‘the Hathor of Tatriphis’. On the three fourth-century BC statues from Karnak that were mentioned earlier in this chapter, each woman is depicted wearing the knotted ensemble, and each is referred to in her statue inscription as ‘the Hathor’ or ‘the Osiris-Hathor’; at least one of the women served in the cult of Hathor.⁸⁰ The representation of Ptolemaic queens in the knotted ensemble (Fig. 27) also had divine and divinized associations, though not specifically with Hathor, and the daughters of Petubastis on his statue base (Fig. 26) are shown in priestly roles, carrying the *sistrum* and *menit*-necklaces that were especially sacred to Hathor. The fact that it is not ubiquitous in all contexts or all representations suggests that the knotted

⁷⁶ Cf. the patterned dress on a bronze statuette of Bastet: G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren* (Berlin 1956), 268–9 (§330c), pl. 39b–d.

⁷⁷ W. B. Kristensen, *Het Leven uit de Dood: Studien over Egyptische en Oud-Griekse Godsdienst* (Haarlem 1949), 46–88 (English edition: *Life out of Death: Studies in the Religions of Egypt and of Ancient Greece* (Leuven 1992)).

⁷⁸ Coffin Texts 483–6: R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, ii; *Spells 355–787* (Warminster 1977), 128–31. See also Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 126, esp. n. 2.

⁷⁹ Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, ii. 128, 130.

⁸⁰ See n. 11.

ensemble communicated a religious association other than, or in addition to, that carried by an archaic sheath or feathered dress—the cultic role of a queen or priestess, for instance, or the transformation of the dead. Part of its original appeal may have been that it looked quite different from the other dresses and thus offered a novel form. Although the knotted ensemble derived from actual native dress, in the Ptolemaic Period its representation was restricted nonetheless, and in the Roman Period it became exclusive to Isis. It seems logical that the association with Isis was inspired by the goddess-like appearance of the ensemble on images of Ptolemaic queens, other goddesses, and women elevated and honoured in funerary art and temple statuary.

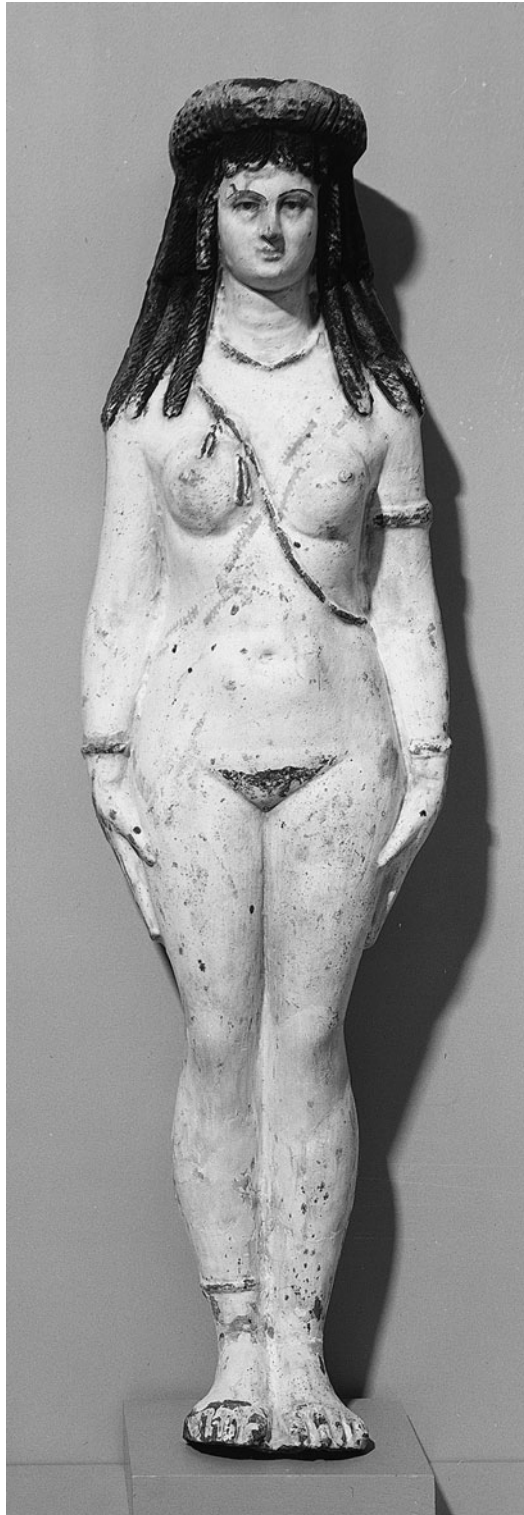
The Bodies, Clothing, and Attributes of the Female Coffins

The pose of the women and girls on the Akhmim coffins, and of Nut inside coffin base 37, reinforces the otherworldly attributes and physical attractiveness of the figures, because the same stance and body proportions were used for terracotta statuettes of a naked woman, usually identified as Isis-Aphrodite or as Hathor (Fig. 30).⁸¹ Since Aphrodite was the Greek counterpart of Hathor, the latter is a more accurate characterization of these statuettes, which were probably made as votive dedications in connection with fertility. The statuettes wear a basket of agricultural products on top of their heads, long hair dressed in layers of corkscrew curls, and jewellery consisting of a crossed chest ornament and pairs of armlets, bracelets, and anklets, like the Akhmim coffins. Their pose, with legs together and arms at the sides, fully reveals their breasts, abdomen, and pubic area, and their skin is painted white.

Clothing covers the bodies of the Akhmim coffins, but it clings to the contours and hides very little. Gilded or painted rosettes cover the breasts, both protecting and calling attention to them. The clothing is a riot of colour and pattern, with closely observed details. The right corner of the shawl is shown as an actual knot of string on coffin 7, and 15 (Fig. 25) has a twisted string fringe along the bottom edge of her shawl. Both 7 and 15 have graceful drapery folds created in the overskirt from modelling actual textile in the plaster. The folds begin at the centre of the body and extend down across the legs, suggesting how the garment would drape when gathered by the knot, and the arrangement of folds is comparable to that seen on statuary like the Naukratis statue (Fig. 27). The profusion of multicoloured stripes on the shawls, mantles, and tunics probably reflects the painted or woven

⁸¹ London, British Museum, EA 26265–6 (H: 64.0 and 64.7 cm): J. Rowlandson (ed.), *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge 1998), 258 fig. 28; Walker and Higgs, *Cleopatra of Egypt*, 108–9 (no. 133). Cf. A. M. Donadoni Roveri, *Egyptian Civilization: Religious Beliefs* (Milan 1988), 229 (no. 316); *La gloire d'Alexandrie* (Paris 1998), 263 (no. 205).

FIGURE 30 Statuettes like this example are usually identified as the goddess Hathor or her Greek counterpart Aphrodite. Her stance, jewellery, floral wreath, and attractively dressed hair mirror the features of female coffins from Akhmim. Painted terracotta. H: 64.7 cm. From Middle Egypt, second or first century BC. London, British Museum, EA 26266.



embellishment of actual textiles, but the stripes on some of the shawls and mantles converge, like drapery folds, and so may have a dual purpose. The decorative potential of the garments is further indicated by the skirt of coffin **II** (Fig. 28), which has several rectangles enclosing gilded scenes of Egyptian deities. Other decorative elements in the clothing include a jewel-like pattern of interlaced lines and dots within some of the striped bands on **7**, **9**, and **15**. Coffin **14** (Fig. 24) has meander and spiral wave patterns, well attested in Hellenistic-era decorative arts, on its tunic sleeves and overskirt hem. Spiral waves also edge the sleeves and hem of the tunic on **15** and the skirt area of **6**. Both **14** and **15** have a frieze of freely painted figures on the skirt area: on **15**, the scene includes mounted hunters, lions, bulls, a man leading a donkey, a woman with a stick and drum, and two men stirring a pot. Dancing figures wearing garlands and artificial tails are interspersed with animals and rosettes on **14**. Such motifs can be compared to contemporary decoration of faience and pottery vessels,⁸² and indicate the far-ranging influence of commercial products and fashionable designs. The patterns, though foreign in origin, were general in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt and did not affect the semantic value of the objects or articles of clothing to which they were applied.

Other contemporary elements are the coffins' footwear, consisting of either sandals (**6**, **7**, **II**, **14**, **15**) or short black boots (**8**, **10**, **12**, **13**). The sandals of **7** and **II** were attached separately and are now lost, but the other three have sandal straps painted or gilded directly on the feet. The boots are open in front and held together by lacings that pass through curved flaps paired along the opening. Both the sandals and the boots are also found on the male Akhmim coffins and represent actual footwear of the period, sandals for warm weather and boots for cooler months. The underside of each footcase represents two sandal soles woven of reed matting, regardless of whether the footcase depicts sandals or boots. A lotiform column often appears between the sandal soles. As on the Kharga coffins, the sandal soles of the Akhmim coffins follow the Egyptian tradition of providing footwear for the dead in either real or representational form.

The figures' gilded jewellery is another means of incorporating fashionable, attractive handiwork into the decoration of the coffins. Some of the jewellery, particularly the traditional Egyptian broad collars worn by **7**, **8**, and **II**, has an amuletic role with overt funerary significance. The broad collar protected the deceased and aided her mummy's regeneration; it was not a form of jewellery to be worn in daily life. Simpler beaded necklaces, rings with signets or set stones, and earrings with animal heads, however, were all typical of Hellenistic-era jewellery, and their prominence on the coffins points to the high status and wealth with which the patrons of these objects wanted to be associated.⁸³

⁸² *La gloire d'Alexandrie*, 149–51 (nos. 81, 82, 84, and 86, faience); Walker and Higgs, *Cleopatra of Egypt*, 117–20 (nos. 142–6, Hadra *hydria*).

⁸³ The animal-head earrings, variously representing lions, bovines, gazelles, and lynxes, are particularly diagnostic for the Hellenistic Period: see Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt*, 197–8 (nos. 85–8).

The hair depicted on the female Akhmim coffins is sculpted in plaster on **II**, **14**, and **15**, with straight rows of small curls which reveal the ears and end just below chin level. On the other coffins, only a patchy black surface survives, forming the same chin-length hairstyle. As Edgar suggested, curls made of plant fibre and painted black would originally have covered this surface.⁸⁴ The hair is a recognizably Egyptian style, one of several arrangements of tight curls, in varying lengths, attested for women from the Late Period onwards. Because the coffins commemorate private women and girls, the tripartite wig worn by goddesses and queens was not suitable for these images. Decorum did not permit the dead to be shown divinized to such an extent, and the hairstyles on the coffins are coiffures that could have been achieved in contemporary fashion with a wig or labour-intensive hair-dressing. A woman's abundant, curly hair, whether natural or dressed with a wig, was a sign of her beauty and sexuality, and that was communicated by the imagery of the coffins.

The ornamental wreaths that crown the heads of the women and girls, resting on top of their curly hair, are another important part of the coffins' symbolism. The wreaths convey the elevated state of the deceased, protect her, and allude to festive and ritual events. Egyptologists generally identify fillets and wreaths as the 'crown of justification' (*m3b n m3' hrw*, *Wb.* ii. 31. 5).⁸⁵ The 'crown of justification' derives from chapter 19 of the Book of the Dead, which appears in Late Period papyri and coffin decoration, where it could be inscribed on a fillet depicted around the outside of the coffin's head.⁸⁶ The same chapter compares the victory of Osiris over his enemies to the victory of the deceased over death: the crown is a physical manifestation of the wearer's triumphant, 'justified' state, and instructions call for the spell to be said over a crown placed on the deceased's head. In vignettes for the chapter, the crown is depicted as a circle with spiky lines radiating from it. In Ptolemaic and Roman temple scenes, the king offered the crown of justification to Horus and other deities, and the crown was shown as a circlet, sometimes with uraei or *wedjat*-eyes.⁸⁷ In his study of these temple scenes, Derchain suggested that wreaths of roses (or other flowers) in Roman Period funerary art were also 'crowns of

⁸⁴ Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 111, 113. Modern black over-painting obscures the original roughened surface of **6**.

⁸⁵ See, for instance, Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 145; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 120; L. Kákossy, 'Die Kronen im spätägyptischen Totenglauben', in G. Grimm, H. Heinen, and E. Winter (eds.), *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (Mainz 1983), 57–60; L. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt* (Chicago 1995), 61–4.

⁸⁶ *Urk.* v. 136–44; U. Verhoeven, *Das saïtische Totenbuch des Iathesnacht: P. Colon. Aeg. 10207* (Bonn 1993), 112–14. Text inside coffin: H. Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou*, Catalogue général du Musée de Caire (Cairo 1913), 63, pl. 5 (CG 41044); 482–3, pl. 39 (CG 41068). Text in fillet on coffin exterior: M.-L. Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi* (Copenhagen 1959), 154, with her catalogue nos. D. 1; E. a 8; E. a 16; E. a 27; F. a 19; H. 5.

⁸⁷ P. Derchain, 'La couronne de la justification: Essai d'analyse d'un rite ptolémaïque', *CdÉ* 30 (1955), 225–87.

justification', and that the floral wreaths had associations with the Isis cult, based on a passage in Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*, in which a priest of Isis carries the rose wreath that triggers the hero's return to human form.⁸⁸

Directly interpreting all the fillets and wreaths in late Ptolemaic and Roman Period funerary art as 'crowns of justification' does not account for the considerable variety of wreath forms that appear in coffins like the Akhmim group, or for the fact that several coffins show the deceased wearing more than one wreath or a combination of wreaths and fillets (6, 9). Floral wreaths were worn as crowns for religious festivities and general celebrations, in both the Egyptian and the Greek and Roman worlds. The inscription on a stone sarcophagus lid from Ptolemaic Egypt, for instance, describes a festival in honour of Hathor at which priestesses wear wreaths on their heads, are heavily perfumed, and are drunk with wine, a set of erotically charged images that was not at odds with the funerary nature of this monument.⁸⁹ In the Tuna el-Gebel tomb of Petosiris, people are shown wearing wreaths of blossoms around their heads in funeral and offering sequences.⁹⁰ Pink and red floral wreaths, like those on the female Akhmim coffins, proliferated in Ptolemaic and Roman funerary art, and dense floral wreaths frequently appear on terracottas (e.g. Fig. 30) and in wall paintings, so that they seem to have a broad link to religious and other festive celebrations.⁹¹

Although commonly identified as roses, other flowers might have been intended, such as the immortelles in a wreath excavated in a Roman burial at Hawara.⁹² On coffins 6, 11, and 14, the wreaths are banded by coloured strips, presumably of cloth. This resembles the ribbons that sometimes bind the hair of Egyptian goddesses, such as Nut inside 37 (Fig. 28) or the stylized hair-dress of the Hathor mask.⁹³ The wreath on 7 is adorned with figures of the lion-faced dwarf god Bes and several *wedjat*-eyes, which were apotropaic features. The *wedjat* may

⁸⁸ Derchain, 'La couronne de la justification', 250–1.

⁸⁹ The sarcophagus lid of Wennofer, from Saqqara (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 29310); for the inscription, see M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, iii: *The Late Period* (Berkeley 1980), 56.

⁹⁰ Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, iii, pls. 20, 35, 46–9. On lotus bud wreaths, see also the discussion in B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn 1960), 163 (no. 126).

⁹¹ Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience*, 45–8, catalogue nos. 253–71; A. Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst: Untersuchungen zur Typologie* (6.–1. Jahrh. v. Chr.) (Mainz 1968), 15–19 ('Type IV'). On Ptolemaic and Roman Period terracottas from Egypt, cf. L. Török, *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt* (Rome 1995), 109–10 (no. 145, priestess?); J. Fischer, *Griechisch-römische Terrakotten aus Ägypten* (Tübingen 1994), 147–9 (nos. 129–40, wreathed female heads); F. Dunand, *Catalogue des terres cuites gréco-romaines d'Égypte*, Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités grecques et romaines (Paris 1990), 104–5 (nos. 240, floral garland decorating niche; 242, Harpocrates), 142–4 (nos. 378–82, Isis), 324 (nos. 979–81, floral garland on vases).

⁹² *Ancient Faces* (London), 207 (no. 295).

⁹³ On the Hathor mask, see G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford 1993), 135. Cf. the painted ribbons and wigs of the Hathor capitals at Dendera: C. Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten* (Berlin 1975), figs. 110 and 111; S. Cauville, *Le temple de Dendera: Guide archéologique* (Cairo 1990), cover photograph.



FIGURE 31 Beards were an alternative to clean-shaven faces for men in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, as on this mummiform coffin. Mud-straw mixture with added plaster, painted and gilded. L: 174.0 cm. From Akhmim (Panopolis), mid-first century BC to early first century AD. London, British Museum, EA 29584 (25).

also recall depictions of the crown of justification in temple scenes, as noted above, while the association between Bes and music reinforces the festal character of wreaths and fillets. An association of these two elements is attested in other media, such as a double-sided disc of uncertain use, with a *wedjat*-eye on one side and a Bes head on the other.⁹⁴ The coffins' wreaths may have been connected with the 'crown of justification' in Egyptian thought, but they are multivalent symbols whose appearance evoked the sensual beauty and transcendence of the transfigured female subject.

The Living and the Dead: Male Coffins of the Akhmim Group

In previous studies of the Akhmim group, the male coffins have been divided into 'Egyptian' and 'Roman' types based on the fact that the cases are either mummiform, with a bead net and amuletic insignia covering the body (16–29; see Figs. 31–2 and Pl. 1), or in the 'costume of the living' (30–6; see Figs. 33–5), where the deceased wears one or two tunics and a mantle which drapes over his left

⁹⁴ E. Bresciani, *Kom Madi 1977 e 1978: Le pitture murali del cenotafio di Alessandro Magno* (Pisa 1980), 23, pl. 9c–d.

FIGURE 32 This sealed coffin encloses the body of an infant or small child. Arms and hands modelled in plaster hold the crook and flail of Osiris, and the gilded face signals the god-like state of the deceased.

Mud-straw mixture with added plaster, painted and gilded. L: 81.0 cm. From Akhmim (Panopolis), mid-first century BC to early first century AD. London, British Museum, EA 29588 (27).



shoulder and wraps around his waist. Since the difference between these coffin forms is not chronological, the question is why two options for representing the male deceased existed, and whether one option was more 'Egyptian' or 'Hellenized' than the other.

Both adults and children were buried in coffins of either type, so the age of the deceased was not a factor in choosing which coffin to use. There is no difference in how the coffin types were manufactured, either, although only one of the clothed coffins (34) seems to have been made with the more rounded, smiling facial type,



FIGURE 33 The deceased boy for whom this coffin was made is identified as Pemsais in the Demotic inscription below his left hand. He wears two richly coloured tunics, a white mantle, and sandals. Mud-straw mixture with added plaster, painted and gilded. L: 89.0 cm. From Akhmim (Panopolis), mid-first century BC to early first century AD. London, British Museum, EA 29589 (36).

and all the clothed coffins have figures of deities painted on a white background, rather than the less defined figures on a blue ground. Like the female coffins, the male coffins can have the skin of the face and neck gilded (26, Fig. 32), painted reddish-brown (35, Fig. 35), or painted white with red markings around the nose and chin (25, Fig. 31; 36, Fig. 33). Most of the male coffins lack facial hair, but one mummiform coffin (25) and one fragment from a clothed coffin (35) have painted beards, sideburns, and a moustache that leaves the philtrum bare. None of the male coffins of either type depicts hair on the head except as a schematic band of black paint. The faces of the mummiform coffins are framed by a winged sun disc, which never appears on the clothed coffins, but all the mummiform coffins and three of the clothed coffins (30, 34, 35) have a row of uraei added to the deceased's brow in gilded plaster. These rearing cobras are apotropaic and also symbolize the gleaming radiance of the dead. Moreover, rows of uraei adorned the cornices of shrines and temple gateways, demarcating a sacred space, and the uraei on the brows of the male coffins may refer to the liminal state of the deceased, as if he were gazing out, god-like, from a shrine.⁹⁵

There are some differences in the decoration of the coffins depending on whether they are mummiform or clothed. The clothed coffins wear laced-up ankle boots identical to those on female coffins 8, 10, 12, and 13, while the feet on most of the mummiform cases wear some type of sandal, like the other female coffins. On all the male coffins, as on the female ones, the bottom of the footcase depicts a

⁹⁵ The multiple uraei on these coffins do not replicate the crown of uraei sometimes worn by Egyptian queens and goddesses (cf. Fig. 27), which sat on top of the head. Confusion over this point has contributed to two male coffins being identified as female: coffin 27, in *Ancient Faces* (London), 34 (no. 7) and Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 334 (no. 228), and a coffin fragment in a private collection, in Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 336–7 (no. 230).

FIGURE 34 The subject depicted on this coffin wears a white tunic and mantle with laced boots. Curved lines painted on the surface of the mantle imitate the drape of the garment. Mud-straw mixture with added plaster, painted and gilded. L: 158.5 cm. From Akhmim (Panopolis), mid-first century BC to early first century AD. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 7068 (30).



FIGURE 35 The remnant of white at the left shoulder reveals that this bearded head is from a coffin depicting the tunic and mantle costume. Mud-straw mixture, painted.

L: 38.0 cm.

From Akhmim (Panopolis), mid-first century BC to early first century AD. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, AEIN 1383 (35).



basketry sandal sole. Several of the mummiform coffins wear a tripartite head-dress with its lappets divided into registers. Others fill the space on either side of the neck with falcon heads representing the ends of a broad collar (25, Fig. 31); this also appears on a clothed coffin, the fragmentary 35 (Pl. 35). A mummiform coffin for an infant (26, Fig. 32) wears a bag wig and has a mount for a lost attachment on top of its head.

The mummiform coffins and three-part cases (like 16, Pl. 1) recreate the ideal, embalmed body associated with Osiris, a form already familiar from the Kharga Oasis coffins. Two of the coffins (22, 26) emphasize their Osiris-like appearance

with the addition of separately modelled arms and hands holding the god's attributes of a crook and flail. Four other mummiform coffins (17, 20, 23, 25) have empty fists which rest on the chest or abdomen. The bodies of the mummiform coffins are adorned with bead nets and amuletic insignia, often imitating the separate cartonnage placards that had been attached to mummies in the early Ptolemaic Period at Akhmim.⁹⁶ A broad collar protecting the upper chest is standard, and figures of Nut and the Four Sons of Horus sometimes appear on the abdomen. Coffin 26 (Fig. 32) wears a gilded, shrine-shaped pectoral suspended around his neck. Over the lower legs of several coffins, including 25, a long *wesekh*-collar, which was associated with protection and renewal, provides a framework for additional funerary scenes.⁹⁷ The iconographic programme of the mummiform coffins empowers the process of rejuvenation by which the deceased would become Osiris-like, and the coffins themselves reflect this transformation by representing the dead man or boy in his perfected state.

The Bodies, Clothing, and Attributes of the Male Coffins

If the mummiform coffins represent the transfigured dead, then the clothed coffins appear to represent the deceased in a more lifelike manner, by combining clothing from daily life with attributes like gilded skin and radiant uraei. To appreciate what motivated the use of the clothed coffin type, it is necessary first to understand what sort of clothing was being represented. The combination of a tunic and mantle on the coffins has been characterized as a Greek *chiton* and *himation*, the standard costume for Greek men in Hellenistic and Roman art.⁹⁸ The *chiton* and *himation* were worn in two basic forms (Fig. 36): the arm-sling type, which appears on the coffin of Panakht from Kharga Oasis (2), and the 'normal', or Kos, type, so called after a diagnostic series of Hellenistic statues from that island. In the normal arrangement, the *himation* was placed over the wearer's left shoulder and wrapped around his waist or hips, with the remaining fabric draped over his left arm; this arrangement freed the right arm and shoulder and would reveal the hem of a longer *chiton* below the bottom reaches of the *himation*. The *chiton* and *himation* were worn with sandals or, more rarely, an open-toed boot worn over a sock.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ See Schweitzer, 'L'évolution stylistique et iconographique des parures de cartonnage d'Akhmim', 328–30.

⁹⁷ C. Riggs, 'Forms of the *wesekh* collar in funerary art of the Graeco-Roman Period', *CdÉ* 76 (2001), 57–68.

⁹⁸ Thus *Ancient Faces* (London), 33 (no. 6) in reference to 36.

⁹⁹ The *himation* for Greek men: R. R. R. Smith, 'Cultural choice and political identity in honorific portrait statues in the Greek East in the second century A.D.', *JRS* 88 (1998), 56–93, 65–6. Worn with sandals: e.g. E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die östgriechische Grabreliefs* (Mainz 1977), 80 (no. 110). Worn with open-toed boots over socks: C. H. Hallett, 'A group of portrait statues from the civic center of Aphrodisias', *AJA* 102 (1998), 74.

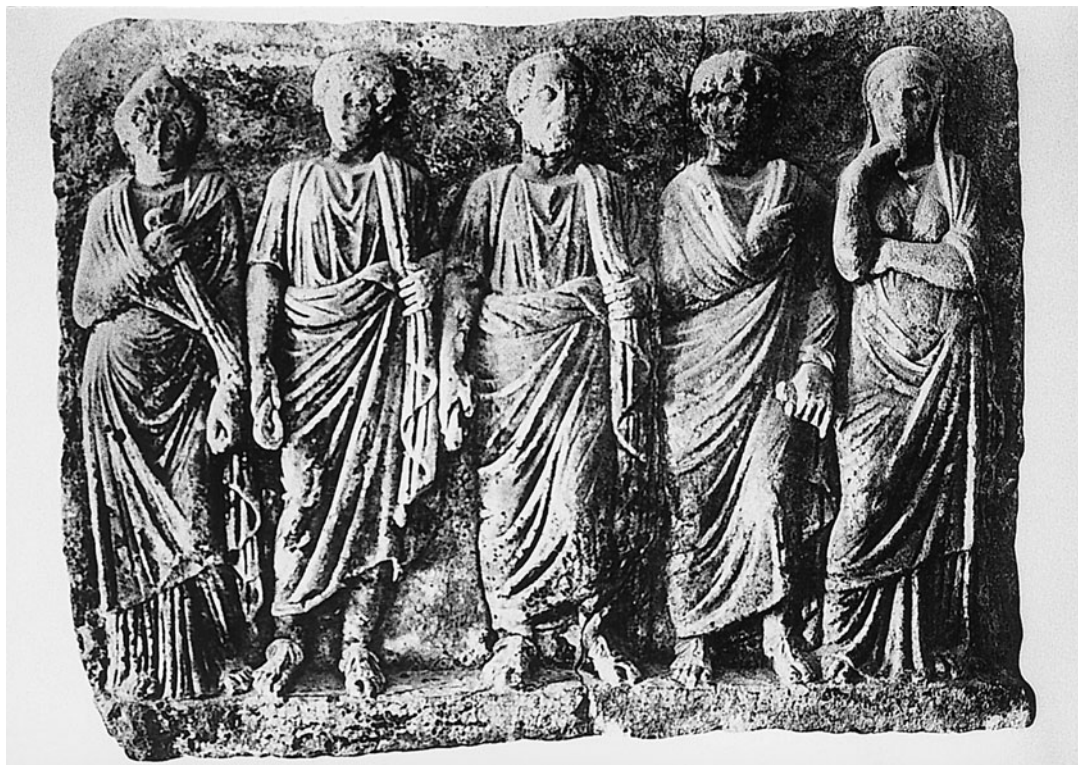


FIGURE 36 The normal, or Kos, type of *himation* draping is worn by the two men at centre left, while the man at centre right wears his mantle in the 'arm sling' arrangement. Marble grave relief. H: 85.0 cm. From Egypt, provenance unknown, mid-second century AD. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 27568.

The arrangement of the tunic and mantle on the Akhmim coffins is, at first glance, quite similar to the normal *himation* type: both consist of a short-sleeved tunic worn with a mantle draped over the left shoulder. Painted lines on the mantles of the coffin represent drapery folds like the folds in some representations of the Greek *himation*. There is also some similarity in the arm position of men wearing the normal *himation* and the men and boys on the coffins: the left arm is folded across the waist while the right extends along the right thigh.

In other respects, however, the clothing and posture of the Akhmim coffins bears no relation to the normal representation of the Greek *chiton* and *himation*. The sleeves of the coffin tunics are narrow and tubular, and in two instances (34, 36; see Fig. 33) the sleeves extend to the wrist. In contrast, the sleeves of a *chiton* tend to be short and loose because the garment was simply a rectangle of fabric folded over and sewn up the sides. Likewise, the neck opening of a *chiton* is a slash in the folded edge of the fabric which tends to drape or fall into a triangular fold at the top of the wearer's chest. The neckline of the coffin tunics is curved and lies flat on the collarbone. Draping the *himation* over the left shoulder, in the 'Kos' or normal

manner, caused its bottom edge to be pulled upwards in front of the left lower leg, but the mantle depicted on the coffins has a level hemline. The draped *himation* also tends to cover the upper or entire left arm, whereas the coffin mantles end below each figure's left shoulder. Around the waists of the figures on the coffins, regular horizontal lines demarcate the border of the mantle, while representations of the *himation* depict deep, curved folds in the garment where it crosses the mid-torso. Often, the angle of the *himation* changes near the right hip as it curves down from the wearer's back or slopes up towards the left side of his body. Additionally, the Kos-type pose which the coffins most closely approximate, with the left arm bent and the right extended, calls for the end of the *himation* to be thrown over the left forearm. On the Akhmim coffins, however, the left arm remains unencumbered and no trailing mantle ends are visible; in fact, the position of the bent arm masks any specific indication of how the draping of the lower body relates to the draping of the left shoulder. Both fists on the coffins are closed and empty (coffin 34 has a hole for an attribute), but the pose of *himation* images tends to engage the left hand in gathering the mantle folds or holding a bookroll. Finally, the figures on the coffins are represented as if they are standing with both feet together and their body weight evenly distributed, rather than in the *contrapposto* pose of Greek sculpture and relief. Although some of the variation between the appearance of the clothed coffins and the normal depiction of *himation* wearers could be attributed to the limitation of working with the coffins' mud fabric, the craftsmen who manufactured and decorated the Akhmim coffins displayed considerable flair in adapting their medium with added limbs, sculpted surfaces, and plaster fixtures.

The makers of the coffins did not look to Greek images like the 'Kos' types to model the deceased in 'everyday' clothing. Instead, they used contemporary Egyptian forms of sculpture and costume to create this alternative representation of the dead. Tight-sleeved, round-necked tunics and elaborately wrapped mantles were worn by men in Egyptian statues, reliefs, and paintings from about 600 BC to the early Roman Period (Fig. 37). Often, the edges of the mantle are trimmed with a serrated edge, which is absent from the Akhmim coffins. In the Ptolemaic Period, the typical pose adopted in Egyptian statues of men wearing a tunic and mantle closely resembles the posture of the clothed Akhmim coffins. Like the statue in Fig. 37, the coffin figures hold their right arm along the right thigh and bend the left arm at an oblique angle in front of the lower abdomen or upper thighs; the hands are empty and clenched. The tightness of this pose, with the arms held firmly against the body and the hands closed, fits the tradition of Egyptian sculpture, not the relaxed stance of Greek *contrapposto* poses. Another Egyptian parallel for the combination of a tunic, a mantle, and a beard is found on a Ptolemaic Period shroud (Fig. 38), where the dead man appears in Egyptian representational form between Isis and a large figure of Osiris. The mantle depicted on the shroud has a wraparound edge, which is suggested on the coffins by a vertical red line near the

FIGURE 37 An Egyptian version of the tunic and mantle, worn by a man who was a priest of the crocodile god Sobek, according to the hieroglyphic inscription on the back pillar of the statue. Dark grey granite. H: 47.0 cm. From Egypt, provenance unknown, first century BC or early first century AD. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 27495.



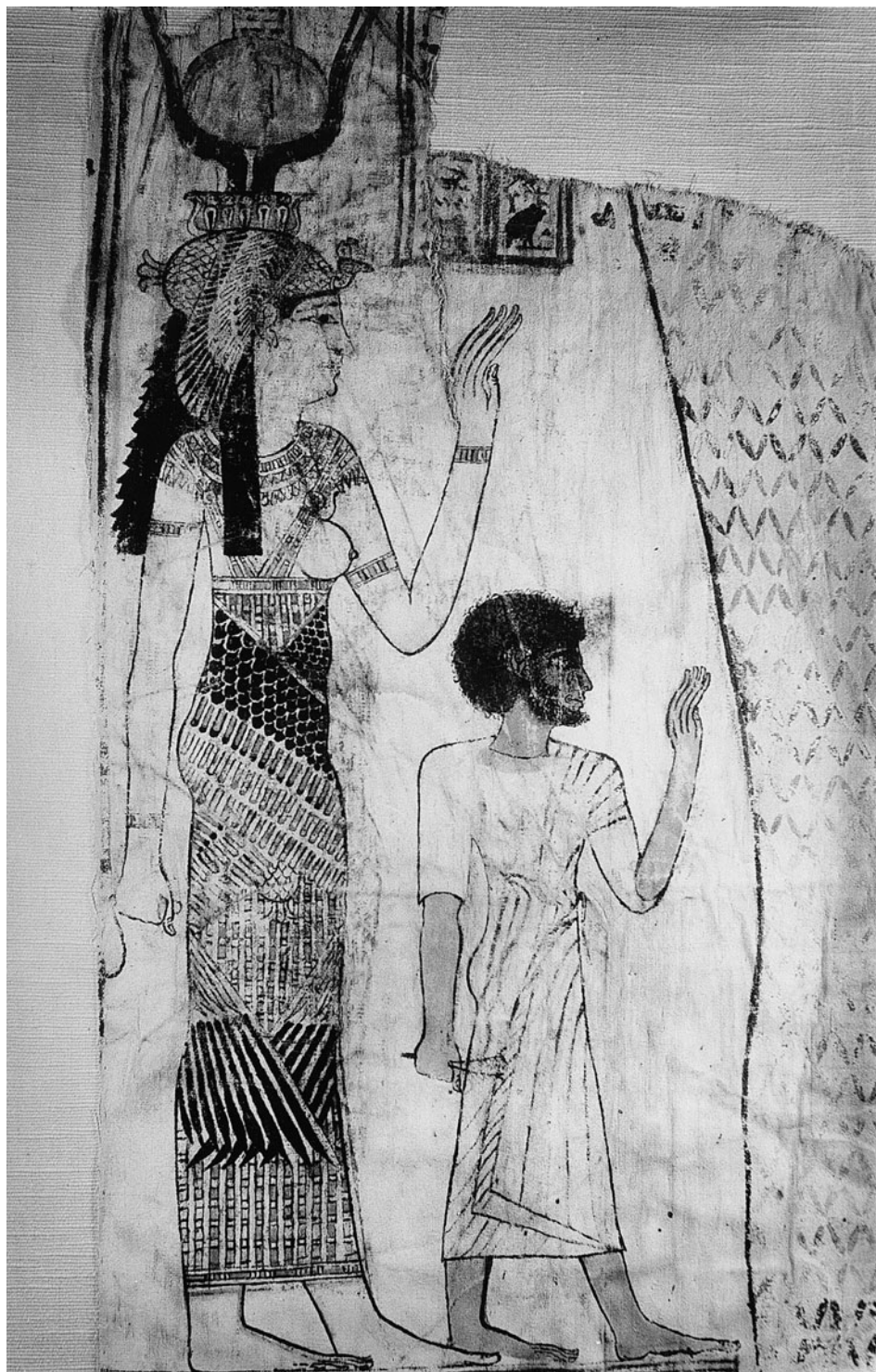
back of the subjects' left legs. The man on the shroud has a thick, twisted band of textile around his waist, apparently formed from gathering and folding down part of his mantle and securing it at the waist with a knot. This knot is missing from the Akhmim coffins, but the horizontal striping at their waists conveys the same idea of arranging and securing the textile across the midsection. On the shroud, the swath of textile across the man's chest mirrors the arrangement of the mantle on the Akhmim coffins, and his beard resembles that of fragment 35 (Fig. 35), as well as the beard on mummiform coffin 25 (Fig. 31). Beards became an option in Egyptian representations of men around the time of the Ptolemaic Period, though clean-shaven faces still predominated. Although the beard may have been inspired by contact with foreigners, especially Greeks, the presence of a beard does not in itself signal that the wearer is foreign or Greek.

The preponderance of the evidence thus points to a native Egyptian context for the clothed male coffins from Akhmim, in keeping with the mummiform and female coffins of the group. Like the knotted ensembles on the female coffins, the tunic and mantle on the clothed male coffins is shown in such detail that the artists

FIGURE 38
Between the
goddess Isis and a
figure of Osiris
stands a man with
curly black hair and
a beard, wearing
another Egyptian
version of the tunic
and mantle.

Painted linen. L of
shroud: 104.0 cm.

Provenance not
known, c.50 BC to
AD 50. Brooklyn
Museum of Art,
37.1811E.



were presumably replicating actual garments from contemporary models. The dark colour of the tunics would have been achieved with dye, and their narrow coloured sleeve and chest stripes could have been woven into the textile. The chest stripes are not *clavi* in the Roman sense, since in Roman dress, the wearing of *clavi*, their width, and their colour were controlled marks of rank and office. The stripes on the Akhmim coffin tunics are decorative elements derived from contemporary clothing fashions and techniques, the same as the short stripes or weaver's marks applied to their mantles, one on the left shoulder and the other over the legs (see Fig. 33).

The use of the tunic and mantle on the Akhmim coffins seems to be irrespective of the age of the deceased, but if the tunic and mantle were primarily adult male garb, depicting young boys in this clothing, as on 32, 33, and 36, may have conferred sexual and social maturity on the prematurely dead, like the adult female body shape used for the coffins of girls (6, 7, 12, 13).

The male Akhmim coffins wear one or two flat, decorated fillets around their heads, where their female counterparts wore floral wreaths. One type of fillet was a circlet adorned with lotus buds and blossoms. Jasmine blossoms may also have been intended,¹⁰⁰ or the small ovoid leaves of myrtle, an identification supported by the berry-like elements interspersed in each fillet. Myrtle, an evergreen plant, was a common component of wreaths, for both funerary and other purposes.¹⁰¹ The most common type of fillet on the male coffins is studded with rosettes. Rosette wreaths also appear on some Ptolemaic statues of men, such as a statue from Dendara inscribed for the *strategos* Pamenkhes in the reign of Augustus,¹⁰² and they seem to be generally festive as well as emphasizing the elevation of the wearer. Some of the coffin fillets alternate rosettes with Bes figures and *wedjat*-eyes, the same as those studding the wreaths of female coffin 7. Together, the wreaths and fillets, clothing, and Egyptian scenes on the Akhmim coffins function within the traditional Egyptian funerary repertoire with the express purpose of glorifying the deceased and equipping him or her for rejuvenation in the afterlife.

¹⁰⁰ R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz 1985), 152–3 (*Jasminum sambac*).

¹⁰¹ M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin and New York 1982), 93–4, 97; Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten*, 41–2 (*Myrtus communis*).

¹⁰² W. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Denkmäler*, iii: *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Berlin 1932), 19–20 (CG 50047); A. Rowe, 'Newly-identified monuments in the Egyptian Museum showing the deification of the dead', *ASAE* 40 (1940), 17–18, fig. 2; A. Abdallah, 'Graeco-Roman statues found in the *sebbakh* at Dendera', in C. Eyre, A. Leahy, and L. M. Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore* (London 1994), 1–24, 19. See also B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn 1960), 156–7 (no. 121) on the use of rosette diadems in Ptolemaic Period statuary. Rowe's implication that the rosettes relate to drowning victims is not plausible.

SUMMARY

By receiving a good burial and mortuary rites, with or without these types of funerary goods, the dead person was well prepared to pass through judgement and enjoy the privileges of the gods: eternal rejuvenation, freedom of movement, and a share of divine offerings. Comparing the dead to Osiris and Hathor replicated the gendered roles that were enmeshed in Egyptian social and religious structures, and both texts and art hail the transformation of the dead as if their gender would survive death and, most importantly, contribute to their rebirth. Representations of the dead incorporate some of the qualities of the transfigured state and the tools which would help achieve it: gilded skin, mummiform bodies, apotropaic symbols. The effectiveness of this imagery was accomplished within the Egyptian representational system and the traditional repertoire of religious concepts. The portraiture then current in the Greek world thus had little place.

The Akhmim coffins are the earliest material considered in this chapter, and despite the town's own importance and its proximity to the Greek city of Ptolemais, the coffins minimize Greek elements and present the dead in an Egyptian manner. The choice is in keeping with what we know about the individuals represented in these burials, with their Egyptian names, affinity for the local cults of Akhmim, and interest in native literary and religious texts.

The use of Egyptian imagery was not due to ignorance of Greek art forms but to choices about what to represent in which way, as the smaller group of coffins attributed to Kharga Oasis demonstrates. The Kharga coffins also bear Egyptian names and couch identity in local terms, but their patrons were conversant with Greek art forms and willing to include them in the otherwise Egyptian iconographic schemes. Thus the coffin of Panakht adapts the Hellenistic arm-sling pose and an ephêbic hairstyle to represent him within the mummiform shell of the coffin, and the zodiac inside the coffin lid of Senpeteuris uses the Greek version of astrological signs like Aquarius. These two instances from the oasis fringes foreshadow the widespread artistic changes that were to take place throughout Egypt in the Roman Period.

THREE

Portraying the Dead

As the preceding chapter demonstrated for sites as diverse as Thebes, Kharga Oasis, and Akhmim, Egyptian ideas about the afterlife guided the representation of the dead in funerary art. Verbal and iconographic comparisons to deities like Osiris and Hathor presaged the god-like qualities the dead would attain after their mummification, judgement, and rebirth. Further, linking the funerary image to a specific aspect of the deceased—namely, his or her sex—bridged the life and death of the individual. This concern with the survival of individual and social roles might have contributed to a trend increasingly observed in funerary art of the Ptolemaic and early Roman Periods, whereby the representation of the deceased included more ‘everyday’ details, such as jewellery, clothes, varied face and body shapes, and natural hair rather than wigs or head-dresses. These details supplanted the old-fashioned, pharaonic representation of the living to emphasize the transfiguration of the dead. Although the possibility that contact with Greek art in the Ptolemaic Period encouraged the use of ‘everyday’ details cannot be excluded, Egyptian art had a long history of contrasting archaic and contemporary norms of personal appearance. In a sense, it was the inclusion of contemporary elements in Egyptian funerary images that paved the way for the use of Greek-form images, and in the Roman Period, funerary art displayed a marked preference for naturalistically painted or sculpted images of the deceased drawn from portrait models in the Roman world. How this artistic change took hold, and to what extent it reflected social changes, is the subject of this chapter, which considers the variety of ways in which the dead were represented in Roman Egypt, especially in the first and second centuries AD.

THE HUMAN FIGURE IN GREEK AND EGYPTIAN ART

The difference between a conceptual image with some quotidian elements, like clothing and jewellery, and an illusionistic one, where the living individual seems to have been captured in plaster and paint, ultimately derived from the difference between Egyptian representational art and Greek and Roman art. The Greek artistic system equated visual observation with pictorial representation, attempting at its

extreme to efface the pictorial field so that the viewer's gaze would confront the work of art without recognizing the representational system's own semantic function.¹ Naturalistic portraiture exploited technical possibilities that were alien to the Egyptian system of representation: a human figure could easily be represented turning in space, and the head could tilt freely in relation to the rest of the body. Three-dimensional sculpture in cast metal or stone was the premier art form in which a Greek artist's virtuosity at reproducing figures in space could be displayed. At pains to create a similar illusion of reality, and to transfer three-dimensional forms like sculpture to a flat surface, Greek painting depicted light and shadow falling over the objects and figures represented. In funerary art from Roman Egypt, this technique is especially evident in encaustic mummy portraits, which tend to be dramatically 'lit' from a point above and to the side of the subject, with heavy shading around the eyes, along the neck, and on the side of the face farther from the viewer.

The conventions of the Egyptian representational system did not orient the image to the viewer, but that did not prevent Egyptian artists from reproducing 'natural' physical characteristics, such as hair unconfined by a wig or head-dress, or clothing, jewellery, and male facial hair in keeping with contemporary dress. Some of these characteristics were already attested in Egyptian sculpture during the Late Period, and in particular after the first Persian occupation (Dynasty 27, 525–404 BC). By the mid-Ptolemaic Period, Egyptian sculpture had a new set of norms for the representation of elite men, and of women like the Ptolemaic queens, which may have owed some inspiration to Greek art but would never be mistaken for it.² Whether the more 'natural' or contemporary elements in Egyptian art were an organic development or were influenced by exposure to other art forms is difficult to say and ultimately moot, since these features did not alter the overriding purpose of the image: like earlier statues, Late Period statues were erected primarily in temples, to commemorate the living or deceased donor and bring him (or her, less commonly) closer to the sacred temple areas and the offerings of the gods. The contemporary or naturalizing traits diversified the appearance of art objects and offered a contrast to archaic Egyptian features like the male kilt and female sheath dress, youthful faces, and slender body types.

¹ N. Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (London 1983), esp. at 167.

² For instance, the black granite statue of Horos, son of Thotoes (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 2271; H: 113.0 cm), published with important new discussion in K. Lembke and G. Vittmann, 'Die Standfigur des Horos, Sohn des Thotoes (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum SMPK 2271)', *MDAIK* 55 (1999), 299–313. The statue depicts Horos in two tunics and a mantle, with a lined face and short, curly hair; the inscription on its back pillar indicates that the statue is not earlier than 150 BC, and it seems to have been usurped and reworked at a later date, after 48 BC.

In two-dimensional art, the differences between Greek and Egyptian approaches to representing the body were also clear. Naturalistic Greek compositions have an internally consistent perspective, typified by a *contrapposto* stance and three-quarter turn of the head, and an assumption of continuity between the viewer's space and the represented space. Egyptian representations adhere to the canonical principles for depicting a human figure, with a profile or (less commonly) *en face* view of the head, and there is little relationship between the viewer's space and the pictorial plane. In terms of content, Greek portraiture consistently depicted 'everyday' dress and jewellery and modish hairstyles, while Egyptian images had the option of representing such elements, or clothing and hair with an Egyptian origin, or traditional garments and head-dresses, which were concerned with presenting the human subject in a pre-existing role and emphasizing continuity with an ideal past.

Did the ancient viewer recognize the differences demarcated here: native/foreign, Egyptian/Greek, naturalistic/non-naturalistic? Ancient sources are not explicit on the matter, and to an extent, these categories are tools to help the modern viewer dissect the ancient image, its use, and its meaning. Future research might discard or adapt them like any other concept. But the differences are grounded in observations gleaned from the works of art themselves. For instance, the fact that the same workshop could produce objects with varying degrees of Greek or Egyptian representations, like the coffins from Kharga Oasis, implies that differences in representational forms were tacitly acknowledged and, accordingly, governed by certain expectations within the rules of decorum. On the one hand, images created within Egyptian conventions united religious concepts and the representation of the dead, a potent combination that had helped ensure eternal life for centuries. On the other hand, portraiture in the Greek mode was highly visible and valued by the ruling elite, and in Roman Egypt, people's familiarity with the prestige accorded to naturalistic portraiture helped deem it an appropriate and desirable means of representing the dead. Since the communicative efficacy of an image rests on artist and viewer alike being able to 'read' and understand what is represented, the concurrent use of both Greek and Egyptian representations demonstrates that artists and viewers alike were conversant with both visual systems and the various messages that each conveyed. Greek-form images were promulgated under the aegis of the Roman government, for one thing, and Egyptian images echoed the sacred learning of the native temples, many of which had benefited from donations in the Ptolemaic and early Roman Periods. Preserving what was distinctive about each type of image was a choice in the creation of new art forms like the funerary material. Ultimately, the combination of the two representational systems took place when one did a better job than the other at showing what needed to be shown.

The Shrouds of Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja and Taathyr

Two Roman Period shrouds made for women illustrate some of the issues discussed above and contrast the Greek and Egyptian manners of representing a specific, identifiable person. Each shroud bears Demotic inscriptions recording the dead woman's name. The first shroud, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is inscribed for 'the Hathor Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja' (Fig. 39).³ Both her father and her husband were named Djed-Djehuty-iu-ef-anh, and her father was a priest in the cults of Serapis and Wepwawet at Asyut (Lykopolis) in Middle Egypt, a detail which indicates the provenance of the shroud. Two of the three inscriptions on her shroud identify the date of Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja's burial in year 4 of an unnamed emperor, in the third month of summer, day 14.⁴ The second shroud (Pl. 2) is in the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri at Columbia.⁵ It has a band of inscription along each side of the central image, yielding a continuous text:

May the soul of Taathyr,⁶ daughter of Thatres, live in the presence of Osiris-Sokar the Great God, Lord of the West. May her soul hasten to Heaven, her body to the Underworld. May she be near the gods who serve the Lord of the Gods. May . . . be given to her. May offerings be made to her of . . . in Abydos, in the presence of Osiris, Ruler of the West, the Great God, Lord of Abydos. May offerings be given to her in the presence of the Lord of the Gods forever.⁷

The provenance of Taathyr's shroud is not known.

The similar layout of each shroud shields much of the deceased's body from view: only her feet, head, and shoulders are depicted, and on Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja's shroud, her hands and lower arms as well. In between the shoulders and ankles of the deceased, each body field is divided into registers of Egyptian scenes relating to the rejuvenation of the dead. The face of Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja is in three-quarters view; shadows and the smaller size of her left eye accentuate the torsion of her head. The bust-length format of this naturalistic Greek portrait can be reconstructed

³ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 54.993 (L: 190.5 cm): C. Riggs and M. Stadler, 'A Roman shroud and its Demotic inscriptions in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston', *JARCE* 40 (2003), 69–87; Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 228 (no. 137); S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara, and C. H. Roehrig, *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston 1988), 204–5 (no. 154); K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, B II: *Ritratti di mummie*, ii: *Nos. 246–496* (Rome 1977), 66 (no. 392), pl. 96. 3.

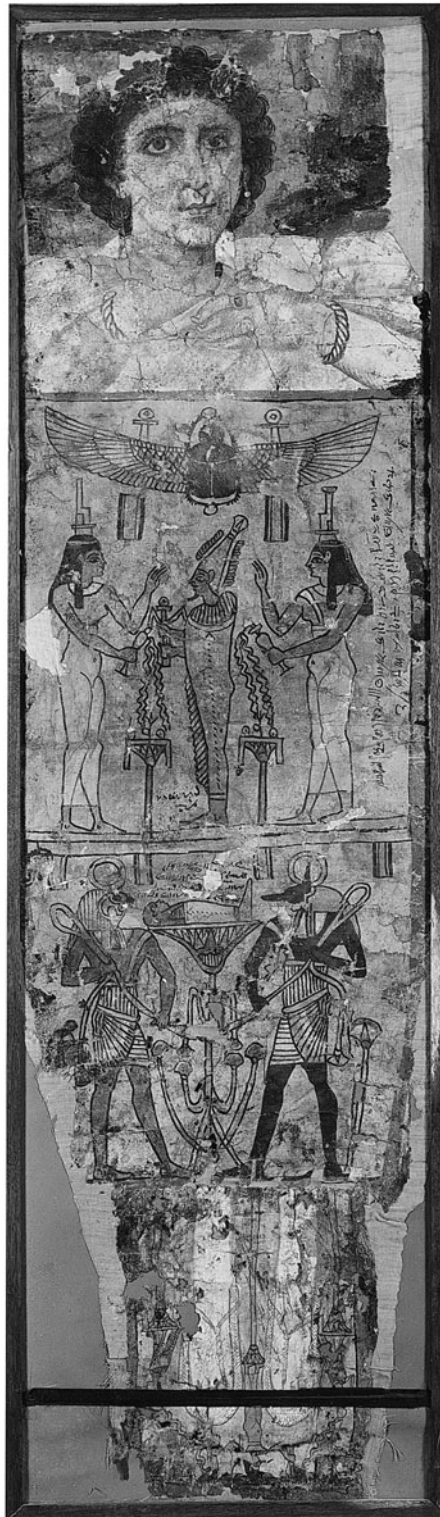
⁴ For a full edition of the inscriptions, see Riggs and Stadler, 'A Roman shroud and its Demotic inscriptions in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston'.

⁵ Columbia, Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, 61.66.3 (L: 206.0 cm): K. Parlasca, 'A painted Egyptian mummy shroud of the Roman Period', *Archaeology* 16 (1963), 264–8; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 162, pl. E.

⁶ Egyptian 'Tahathor', Greek *Taathyr* or 'Taathyr': *Dem. Nb.* 1/16. 1202.

⁷ Translation by E. Lüddeckens, as quoted in Parlasca, 'A painted Egyptian mummy shroud of the Roman Period', 268.

FIGURE 39 Demotic inscriptions give the name of the dead woman as Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja, daughter of a priest of Wepwawet at Asyut. In this early mounting, inadequate space was left between the subject's face and her remaining arm and hand; the shroud has since been conserved and remounted. Painted linen. L: 190.5 cm. From Asyut, first or second century AD. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 54.993. © 2003 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



with the missing right hand of the deceased holding a wreath of flowers to her chest. Below the bottom register, her slender white lower shins and ankles lead to her feet, extended as if viewed from above. She wears thong sandals of woven reeds. The fact that the other elements of the foot area—a goddess between the feet pouring libations to *ba*-birds on either side—are positioned ‘upside-down’, i.e. right-side up if the deceased were looking at her feet, suggests that this portion of the shroud projected at an angle from the wrapped body when in place, following the natural rise of the mummy’s feet.

On the shroud of Taathyr, the complete painted composition is preserved, nearly centred on the extant textile. A line of Demotic inscription and a band of hieroglyphic symbols frame each long side of the painted area. At the top, an outspread vulture hangs upside-down over the deceased and presumably wrapped the top of Taathyr’s head when the shroud was in place on the mummy. A painted fringe emerging from the bottom of the red-painted field, just above the deceased’s ankles, gives the impression that the pictorial field itself is a textile, draped over the represented ‘body’ of Taathyr. The viewer’s gaze is directly above the deceased as if she were lying supine. The small, bare, and oddly six-toed feet emerging from this fringed ‘cloth’ combine with the passively frontal face of the deceased to suggest that a body lies beneath the cloth, just as a mummy lay beneath the shroud. With minimal coloration or indication of depth, Taathyr’s face is essentially in the tradition of Egyptian *en face* representations, but with several differences which lend it a greater degree of individualization than, for instance, the depiction of Sennesis on coffin 1 (Fig. 16). Taathyr’s ears lie close to her head rather than projecting from the sides of the head in an almost semicircular shape. Her nose, mouth, and chin are defined by a deeper hue of the flesh tone, rather than a solid outline. Darkened nostril openings and an eyelid crease following the shape of the cosmetic-less eye likewise contribute to a sense of depth. Her eyebrows also lack a cosmetic line and are drawn instead with feathery brushstrokes imitating the texture of natural hair.

The most striking differences between these two shrouds are the content of each representation of the deceased and the relationship between the deceased’s image and the remainder of the pictorial composition. Whereas Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja is demurely draped in a white mantle, Taathyr wears no clothing except for the amuletic broad collar spread across her chest, an item of apparel associated with divine and mummified figures, not the living. The beads of the collar extend into the first register of the body field, and the shrine pendant suspended on a cord underneath the broad collar forms the central image of that register so that the ibis inside the shrine rests on the same register line as the mummiform figures and mourning women who flank it. As a result, the head and chest of Taathyr are part of an organic whole including the body field of the shroud. By contrast, the body field of the other shroud is starkly divided from the image of Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja’s

head and chest, as well as her feet. A red border around the two body field registers emphasizes the separation between the portrait of Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja and the Egyptian representations.

Jewellery and hair offer further points of comparison for the two shrouds. The pose of the Boston shroud, in which Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja holds her hands to her chest, displays the twisted gold bracelet she wears on either wrist and the two substantial rings on her left hand. A bead necklace is also visible at the base of her throat, and she wears two hoop earrings with spherical beads along the front of the earring's curve. Identical earrings are worn by Taathyr on the Missouri shroud, but no other jewellery is depicted due to the presence of the broad collar and the absence of arms and hands. Beaded hoop earrings of this type were fashionable in the first and second centuries AD,⁸ thus both shrouds wear contemporary jewellery despite the differences in other aspects of their adornment.

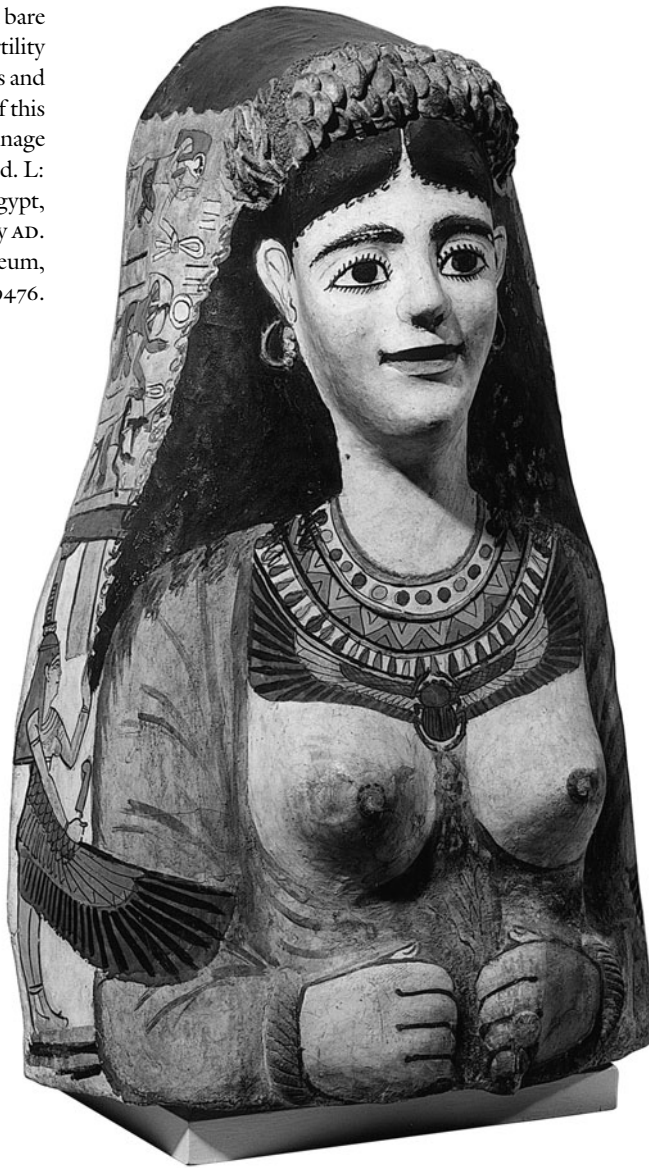
Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja wears her hair neatly coifed in wavy ribs, with wispy tendrils curling along her forehead. The hairstyle has been variously compared to imperial styles of the Julio-Claudian, Antonine, or Severan dynasties, a confusion which may reflect the artist's interpretation of what a Greek or Roman hairstyle should look like. Like her white mantle, this hairstyle marks the deceased as a decorous woman from the local elite of Asyut. Taathyr's shroud offers an alternative female image: her long hair is completely undressed and falls loosely over her shoulders from a central parting. Small, tight curls frame her forehead and fall in front of her ears, while the outer profile of the hair is augmented by wisps scrawled with a brush, conveying the tightly curled, almost frizzy, texture of the hair. In Egyptian iconography, long, curly hair and wigs had erotic connotations, and in a funerary context, a woman's undressed hair evoked her beauty, desirability, and reproductive potential.⁹ Long hair was also intimately connected with the major Egyptian goddesses, as described in Chapter 2. In P. Bremner-Rhind, a hieratic papyrus from Thebes dating to the Ptolemaic Period, a temple ritual in which Isis and Nephthys mourn for Osiris calls for the goddesses to be enacted by two virginal women wearing long-haired wigs.¹⁰ Throughout the text, the words that the women will chant are called 'the recitation by the two long-haired ones', where the 'long-haired ones' refers as much to Isis and Nephthys as to the women performing the ritual. There is also a strong connection between long, curly hair and the appearance of Hathor: Hathor's epithets in Ptolemaic temple inscriptions, which have much earlier

⁸ The earrings appear on mummy portraits as early as the Julio-Claudian era, e.g. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 7.2, for which see Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 30–1, pl. 1. 2. *Ancient Faces* (London), 167–8 (nos. 195 and 196) are actual earrings of this type, with a suggested second-century date.

⁹ On female hairstyles and eroticism in Egypt, see S.-A. Naguib, 'Hair in ancient Egypt', *Acta Orientalia* 51 (1990), esp. 10, 12–13, 17–18. G. Robins, 'Hair and the construction of identity in Ancient Egypt, c.1480–1350 BC', *JARCE* 36 (1999), 63–8, discusses New Kingdom evidence.

¹⁰ R. O. Faulkner, 'The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus — I', *JEA* 22 (1936), 121–40; see ll. 1. 3–1. 4.

FIGURE 40 Long hair and bare breasts evoked beauty and fertility in images of goddesses and women, like the subject of this mummy mask. Linen cartonnage with added plaster, painted. L: 68.0 cm. From Middle Egypt, mid- to late first century AD. London, British Museum, EA 29476.



antecedents, describe the goddess as a woman with curly hair flowing past her shoulders.¹¹ Thus portraying a dead woman with abundant hair, free from restraint, was also a means of associating her with the divine, otherworldly realm of the afterlife. The shroud of Taathyr is similar to an anonymous mummy mask in this respect (Fig. 40). Both show the deceased with long, loose hair, a broad collar,

¹¹ P. Derchain, 'Snefrou et les rameuses', *RdÉ* 21 (1969), 19–25; 'La perruque et le cristal', *SAK* 2 (1975), 55–74; G. Posener, 'La légende de la tresse d'Hathor', in L. H. Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker* (Hanover, NH, and London 1986), 111–17.

and beaded hoop earrings. The woman depicted on the mask also wears twisted gold bracelets, like Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja, and an ochre-coloured mantle knotted between her breasts, which leaves the breasts bare but covers the shoulders, arms, and lower chest. This knotted mantle, the bare breasts, the broad collar, and the winged scarab spread protectively over her chest are ‘otherworldly’ elements on the woman’s mummy mask, as is her unbound hair, which streams from a centre parting and ends in black curls painted over the mantle and broad collar, brushing the tops of her shoulders and collarbone. At the edge of her forehead and at the point where the hair borders the Egyptian representations on the sides of the mask, wisps of black curls demarcate the boundary.

The two shrouds and the mummy mask present two alternatives for portraying a dead woman: the naturalistic, Greek portrait employs an ideal drawn from contemporary life, with Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja dressed in the clothing, hair, and jewellery of the social elite, while the beautiful array of Taathyr’s hair, and the hair of the woman on the mummy mask, was part of the Egyptian scheme of these representations. Arguably, the combination of some natural elements, like eyebrows, skin tones, and contemporary jewellery, with afterlife attributes like long hair, broad collars, or partial nudity, struck a visual balance between expressing the transformation of the deceased and acknowledging her humanity and corporeality. Each object was used for the same purpose, though, and the shrouds’ inscriptions suggest an Egyptian origin for both women and their families.

Options for Representing the Dead

Although the imagery used for women in Roman Period funerary art seems to have been more flexible and wide-ranging than that for males, the variety of ways for representing the dead was not limited to female subjects. Some traits from the representation of men in late Egyptian statuary, where men had been depicted with expressively modelled faces, tightly curled hair, and contemporary clothing from the fourth century BC onwards, carried over into funerary art. Two coffins from the modern village of Maghagha, in the Oxyrhynchite nome, exemplify this (Figs. 41 and 42). The coffins, both of which are sized for a child, reportedly come from the same burial, and they were sold together on the art market. The inner anthropoid case (Fig. 42) is modelled in plaster and depicts only the hands, feet, and head of the deceased. The remainder of its surface is given over to register-ordered compartments containing protective deities and Egyptian scenes relating to mummification rituals. Two Oxyrhynchus fish (genus *Mormyrus*) in the body field refer to this local cult and support the provenance of the coffins. The case incorporates a broad collar and the lappets of a tripartite head-dress, from the iconography of a mummy, but the subject’s head and flesh-coloured hands, which lie flat against his outer thighs, also assert the lifelike form of the deceased. His feet emerge from the



FIGURE 41 Two Oxyrhynchus fish (genus *Mormyrus*) below the head-dress lappets refer to the local cult of this fish, which was venerated for its association with the Osiris cult. According to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 18), an Oxyrhynchus fish swallowed Osiris' penis after Seth had dismembered the god's corpse. Painted plaster with glass inlay. L: 140.0 cm. From Maghagha, near el-Behnasa (Oxyrhynchus), first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, V&GM 16-83.

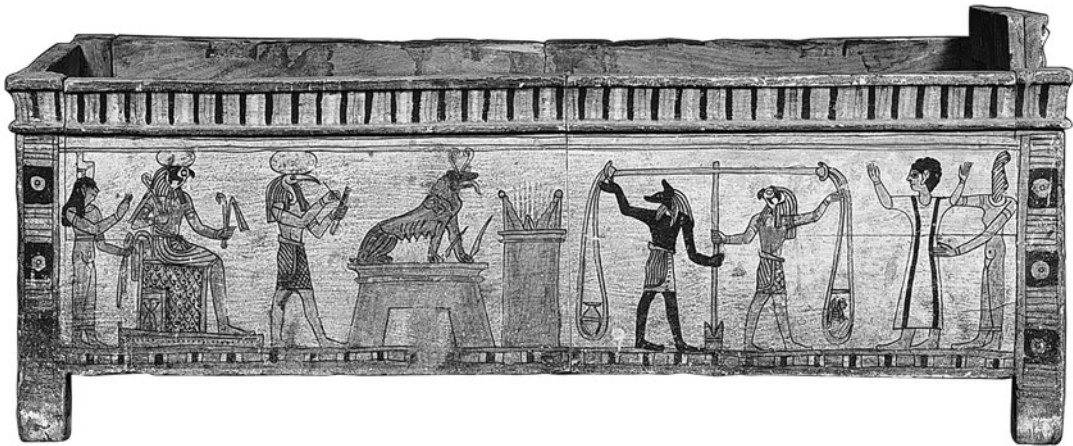


FIGURE 42 The mummiform plaster case in Fig. 41 was reportedly found in this sarcophagus, whose right side, shown here, depicts a judgement scene. Isis, a falcon-headed form of Osiris or Sokar, Thoth, and the monster Ammet are to the left of a burning altar with peaked corners. At the right, Anubis and Horus weigh the heart of the deceased against a figure of *maat*, and the goddess Maat embraces the jubilant deceased, who is represented with dark curly hair and a contemporary tunic. Painted wood. L: 152.0 cm. From Maghagha, near el-Behnasa (Oxyrhynchus), first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, V&GM 16-83.

shrouded body of the case, shod in thong sandals depicted with such detail that the tie that joins their straps is visible.

Unlike the mummiform male coffins from Kharga Oasis and Akhmim, the Maghagha case depicts the deceased's head and face entirely sculpted in the round, with inlaid eyes and added plaster for his hair and floral wreath. Circular incised curls cover the surface of his head, with thicker and longer locks of hair positioned low over the forehead. This arrangement is akin to curly male hairstyles in late

Egyptian sculpture, like the ‘Brooklyn black head’.¹² In keeping with this natural hair, the eyebrows and eyes lack a cosmetic outline. Hands, feet, and face are painted with yellow and pink flesh tones, and a narrow wreath of red petals, bordered by white and green stripes near its ends, sets off the glorified image of the deceased.

The rectangular outer case of the ensemble (Fig. 42) is made of painted wood, with a shrine-shaped door slotted into one end. One of the long sides of the coffin depicts a judgement scene, with Isis and Osiris-Sokar at one end, Thoth recording the proceedings, and the monster Ammet, devourer of souls. Anubis and Horus tend the balance and an altar with four pointed corners is alight. At the far right of the judgement scene, the dead boy is shown raising his hands triumphantly as the goddess Maat embraces him. He wears the simplest permutation of contemporary clothing, a white tunic with two black stripes running the length of its front like *clavi*. His hair is short, dark, and curly, like the plaster curls on the inner anthropoid case. The more lifelike, contemporary elements of his hair and dress could be depicted without altering the Egyptian rules of representation according to which his body is depicted, with the feet and head in profile.

These coffins, the shrouds, and the mummy mask are characteristic of how options for representing the dead multiplied in Roman Egypt, and naturalistic portraiture was one of those options. Although they employ both Greek and Egyptian visual techniques to represent the dead, they are united in their use of native religious scenes and, on the shrouds, texts. Their differences—the illusionism of Ta-sheryt-Hor-udja’s portrait versus the Egyptian sculptural inspiration of the coffins, mask, and *en face* shroud—shows the interplay of artistic forms as the local elite of the Egyptian chora defined themselves under the new Roman regime. Personal images in the Egyptian artistic tradition, as well as naturalistic portraits, were part of an ongoing development in art which multiplied the visual options for self-presentation.

MUMMIES AND MASKS FROM MEIR

The ancient town of Cusae (Greek *Χουσαί* or *Κούσαι*, Egyptian *kis*) lies under the modern village of el-Qusiya on the west bank of the Nile in Middle Egypt (Fig. 43). It was the capital of the fourteenth Upper Egyptian nome, and its main necropolis is known as Meir (Greek *Μοίραι*), after the village that stands there at the desert fringe, some 7 km west of Cusae. From earliest times, the main cult of Cusae was dedicated to Hathor, who was worshipped in the Roman Period under the Greek

¹² R. Fazzini, *Art for Eternity: Masterworks from Ancient Egypt* (London 1999), 147 (no. 93). In painting, compare the tomb of Siamun in Siwa Oasis: A. Fakhry, *The Oasis of Siwa: Its Customs, History and Monuments* (Cairo 1950), 85–93; and *Siwa Oasis: Its History and Antiquities* (Cairo 1944), figs. 19–41, pls. 26–9.

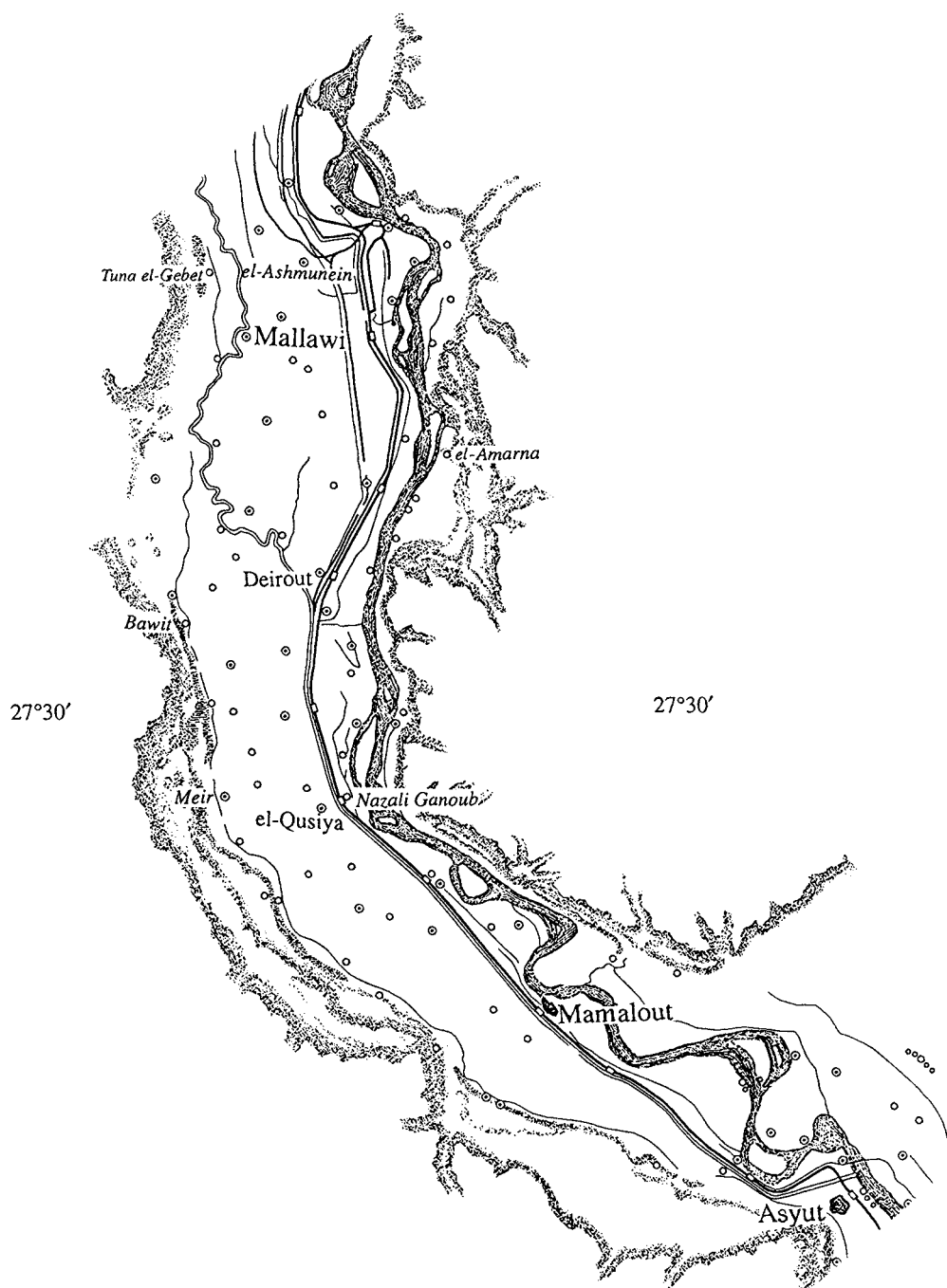


FIGURE 43 The Nile between Mallawi and Asyut, showing the position of Meir in the desert west of ancient Cusae.

FIGURE 44 A red tunic, purple mantle, gilded snake bracelets, rings, and necklaces adorn the mask of Dekeleia. Curly vegetable fibre hair, now lost, and the inlaid eyes and rosy complexion also contributed to the vibrant representation of the deceased. Linen cartonnage, painted and gilded, with added plaster, vegetable fibre, and glass inlay. L: 66.0 cm. From Meir, mid- to late first century AD. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33129 (40).



name Aphrodite Urania.¹³ Because the site of Cusae has been continuously occupied, none of its ancient remains are visible, but the cemeteries at Meir were exploited by both illicit and legitimate excavators in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁴

The site is best known to Egyptologists for the vividly decorated Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom tombs cut into the stone escarpment that rises steeply from the desert plateau.¹⁵ At least some parts of the Meir necropolis continued to be used into the Roman Period, and between 1888 and 1914, a number of masks and mummies were discovered there. In the course of 1888, ten mummy masks were sent from the nearest rail station, Nazali Ganoub, to the Egyptian Museum in

¹³ For Cusae, see H. Beinlich, 'Qusae', *LÄ* v (1984), 73–4; PM iv, 258; A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, i (London 1914), 1–2.

¹⁴ Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, i, 14–16 summarizes excavations conducted at Meir up to 1913.

¹⁵ PM iv, 247–58; see Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, i, pl. 12 for views of the desert and cliffs.

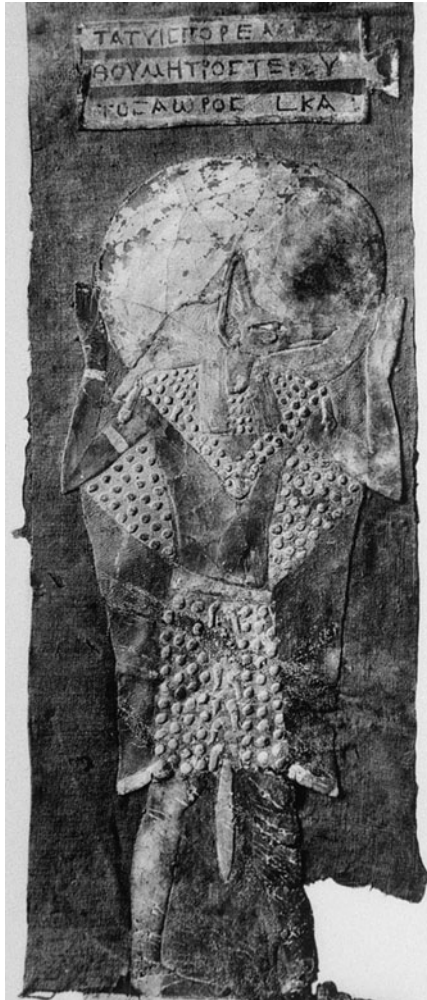


FIGURE 45 The rear projection of Dekeleia's mask is organized like the walls of a tomb or temple: a frieze of Egyptian symbols, a band of hieroglyphs, and a procession of Egyptian deities approaching the throne of Osiris, with the goddess Maat next to him. Linen cartonnage with added plaster and vegetable fibre, painted and gilded. H: 59.0 cm. From Meir, mid- to late first century AD. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33129 (40).

FIGURE 46 A typical example of the female masks from Meir, this mask wears a pink floral wreath, a red tunic with black stripes, and preserves fragments of fibre 'hair' near her right ear. Holes in her earlobes and at either side of her neck allowed jewellery to be added. See Fig. 59 for the back of this mask. Linen cartonnage with added plaster and vegetable fibre, painted and gilded. L: 55.0 cm. Mid- to late first century AD. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33133 (44).



FIGURE 47 The tall foot projections of wrapped mummies were decorated with a cartonnage figure of Anubis and a Greek inscription in the shape of a *tabula ansata*. This example is inscribed for 'Taturis, daughter of Poremonthis, (whose) mother (was) Tereutis, (died) untimely, (aged) 21'. Linen cartonnage on mummy linen, painted. H: 68.0 cm. From Meir, mid- to late first century AD. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33138.



Cairo, which was at that time located at Boulaq. These ten masks were assigned *Journal d'Entrée* (JE) numbers 28440 to 28449.¹⁶ Of these, five were eventually published in the *Catalogue général* by C. C. Edgar as CG 33129 (40, Figs. 44–5) and CG 33132 to CG 33135 (43–6; see Figs. 46, 51, 52, and 59). A sixth mask is certainly 55, and the other four masks may be represented by 58 to 61 (see Pl. 3). In 1888 the museum also received five cartonnage placards from the decoration of wrapped mummies. These were entered as JE 28566 to 28568, and catalogued by Edgar as CG 33140 to CG 33144.¹⁷ The placards depict Osiris or Anubis, or in one case (CG 33144), a Greek inscription for Horion, son of Hermaios. They were labelled

¹⁶ See the Museum inventory for 1888 published in the back of the *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 2nd series, 9 (1889), at p. xxii.

¹⁷ Edgar, *Græco-Egyptian Coffins*, 35–7.

as being from 'Meir (Monfalout)', referring to a town about 20 km south of Nazali Ganoub by rail. There is no specific indication of where either the masks or the placards were found, though perhaps they were shipped from the two different stations because they were purchased or excavated nearer to one than the other.

Roman finds from Meir entered the museum again during 1893, with the simple provenance 'Meir'. These included the masked mummy of a girl (47, CG 33137) and two pieces of stuccoed linen from similar mummies (CG 33139 and 33139*bis*).¹⁸ The intact mummy bears a Greek label reading 'Anoubias, daughter of Apion, (aged) 3, farewell', and the pieces of linen are inscribed, respectively, for Anoubias the elder, daughter of Mestos, and for Anoubas, son of Sarapion. In 1894, another piece of linen from Meir was entered as JE 30995, and became Edgar's CG 33138 (Fig. 47).¹⁹ A plastron of Anubis is adhered to it along with a Greek inscription for 'Taturis, daughter of Poremonthis, (whose) mother (was) Tereutos, (died) untimely, 21 years (old)'.

The linen cartonnage fragments acquired between 1888 and 1894 are derived from the wrappings of mummies like that of the girl Anoubias (47), whose body was voluminously wrapped in layers of linen padding and fitted with a linen cartonnage mask. The sides and foot end of the mummy were then adorned with figures of deities and inscriptions in hieroglyphs or Greek, each individually crafted from stuccoed, painted, and gilded linen. The fragments would stand in isolation, curiosities with Greek inscriptions, were it not for a startling find made by the Egyptian archaeologist Ahmed Kamal in the autumn of 1910. Kamal directed excavations around Meir for the French-run antiquities service on behalf of Sayed Khashaba, a wealthy businessman from Asyut who had obtained an archaeological permit for the area, apparently in hopes of profiting from the sale of any antiquities found there as well as creating a small collection for himself.²⁰ While exploring the Middle Kingdom tombs at Meir, Kamal found a shaft 2.5 m deep—perhaps cut into the face of the cliff, but he does not specify—in which seven mummies lay next to each other, side by side.²¹ The wrapping and decoration of the mummies is

¹⁸ Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 33–5; see also the inventory, *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 3rd series, 4 (1893), 465–6 (*Journal d'Entrée* numbers 30302 to 30304).

¹⁹ Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 34–5, pl. 18; *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 3rd series, 5 (1894), 460 (*Journal d'Entrée* number 30995).

²⁰ Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, i. 16. Baedeker's *Egypt and the Sudan*, 8th rev. edn. (Leipzig, London, and New York 1929), 227, explained how a visitor to Asyut could see Khashaba's collection: 'Close to the post office, in a side-street off the Sharia el-Mahatta, which diverges w[est] from the square, is the Egyptian Museum of Saiyid Khashaba Pasha, a wealthy resident of Asyut, who excavated ancient cemeteries at Asyut and Meir in 1910–14. Adm[ission] on application to the owner's private house in the Manshiya quarter.'

²¹ A. B. Kamal, 'Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Déirout au nord et Déir el-Ganadlah, au sud', *ASAE* 14 (1914), 62–7; earlier seasons in the area are described in A. B. Kamal, 'Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Déirout au nord et Déir el-Ganadlah, au sud', *ASAE* 12 (1912), 97–127 and A. B. Kamal, 'Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Déirout au nord et Déir el-Ganadlah, au sud', *ASAE* 11 (1911), 3–39.

identical to that of Anoubias (47), whose masked mummy had been in Cairo since 1893, and although Kamal does not describe any masks, all the mummies probably wore them. One mummy, inscribed for Artemidora, daughter of Harpokras (48, Figs. 48–9, Pl. 4), was sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Another mummy, which is uninscribed (57), went to Cairo, as did the mummy of Hierax, son of Sarapion (56). At least one mummy, that of Horiaina, daughter of Anoubias, was kept by Khashaba in Asyut.²² The whereabouts of this mummy and the other three mummies described by Kamal are unknown.²³

Like the Cairo mummy of the girl Anoubias (47), Kamal's intact mummies were voluminously wrapped in layers of linen covered over by a single linen sheet (see 48, Pl. 4). Each mummy has a foot projection up to a metre in height, also formed of linen. The projections have sloping sides and end in a curve like the top of a stela or shrine (Fig. 49). The unwieldy size and shape of the mummies, together with their decoration, indicate that they were intended to rest supine. Linen cartonnage masks were tied to each mummy, and plaster figures and inscription bands, executed in repoussé, were positioned along the sides and top of the body and on either side of the foot projection. Typically, these plaster figures and inscriptions included a line of hieroglyphs over either leg; Osiris, a falcon, and mourning goddesses on the sides of the body; sandalled feet on the top of the projection; and a figure of Anubis on the bottom, surmounted by the Greek inscription giving the deceased's name, patronymic, and age at death.

The mummies Kamal excavated exhibit two basic mask forms: those that lay on top of the mummy only, with a head-dress or hair, projecting face, and chest area depicted (56 from Kamal's find, likewise 47 and 51, in Fig. 50), and the more common type, in which a deep rear projection surrounded the head end of the mummy and provided space for Egyptian scenes, like the mask of Artemidora (48, Pl. 4). The latter type bears a close structural and decorative resemblance to the masks that had already entered the Egyptian Museum (40–6 for women, 55 and 58–61 for men) as well as a number of other masks acquired by American and European museums during the twentieth century. Among the female examples, mask 49 was accessioned at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1919, and masks 38 and 39 (Figs. 53–4) were acquired by the Egyptian Museum, Berlin, in the 1980s, around the same time as mask 50 entered the university collection at Trier. The male masks in Berlin (52, 53; see Pl. 5) and Boston (54) were also acquired in the 1980s or early 1990s, while the male masks in Baltimore (51, Fig. 50) and Moscow (62) are earlier acquisitions.

²² It is singled out in Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 227.

²³ Compare Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 133–4.

FIGURE 48 On the mask from the mummy of Artemidora, her frontage of curls in Flavian style gives way to long Egyptian ringlets.

One of her necklaces is set with real stones, and she wears gilded snake bracelets and earrings as well.

Linen cartonnage with added plaster, painted and gilded, with inlaid glass and stone. L: 78.0 cm.

From Meir, late first century AD.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 11.155.5 (48). Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1911.

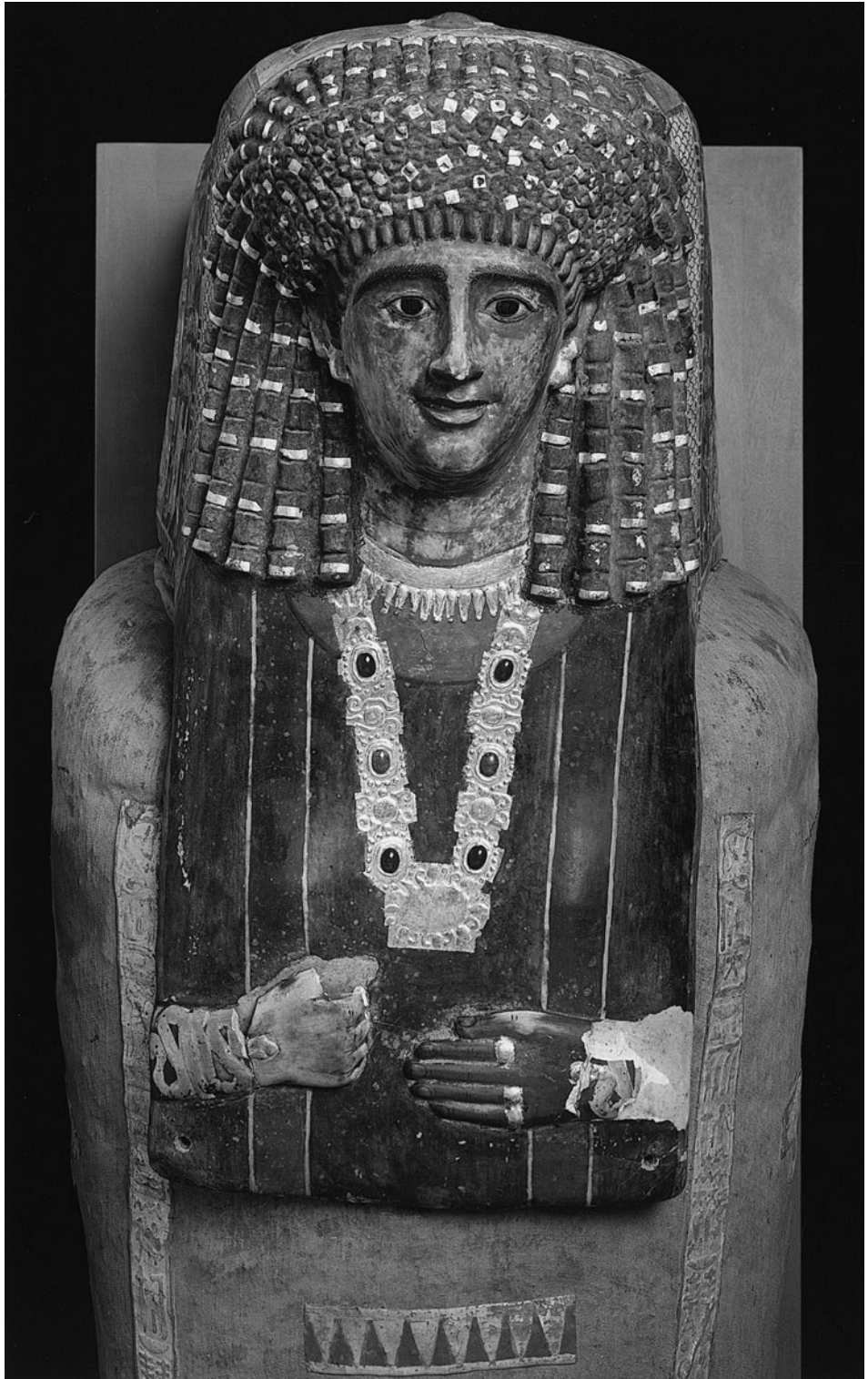




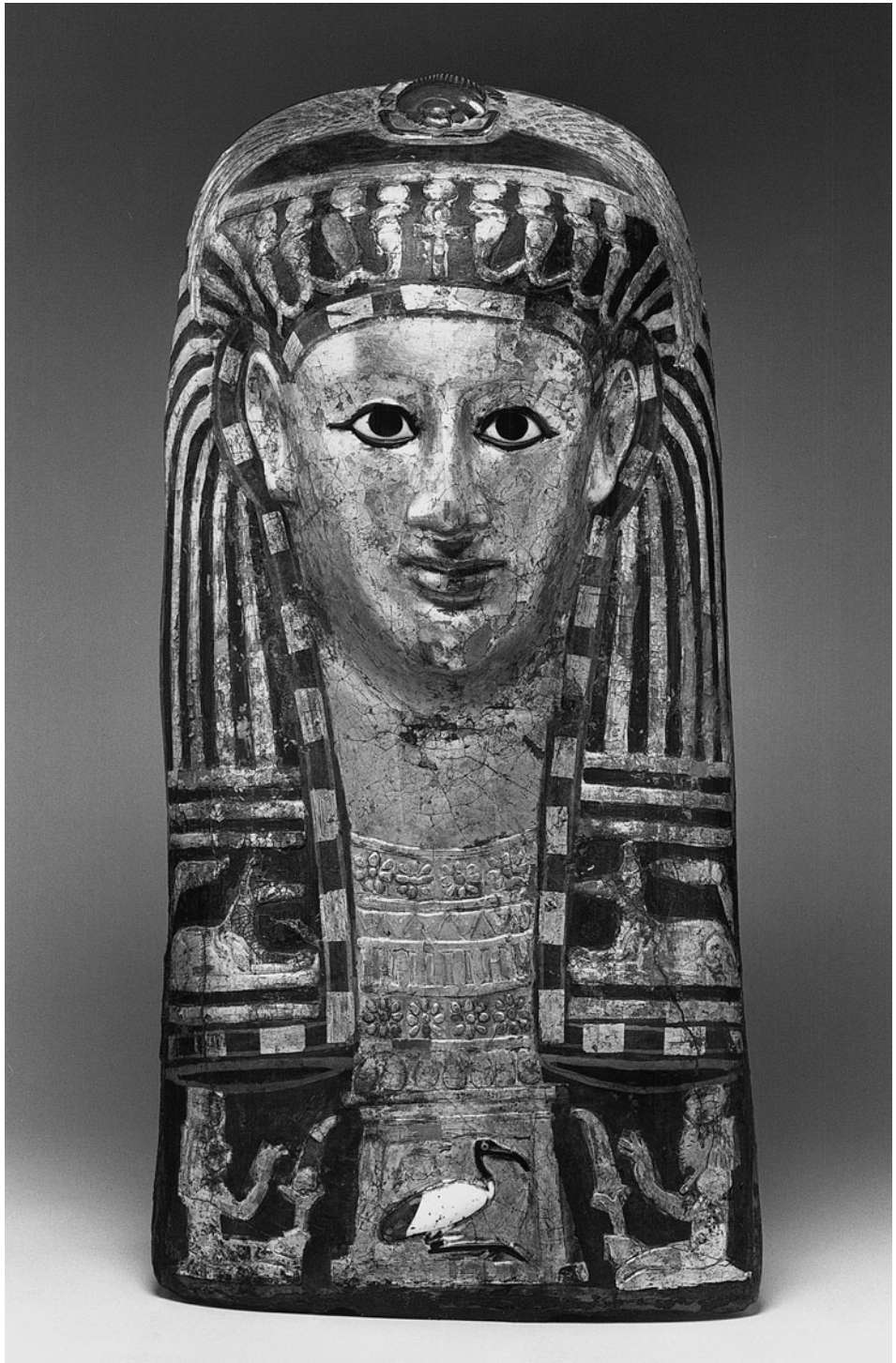
FIGURE 49 The front of the foot projection on Artemidora's mummy shows two goddesses in mourning. On the back, Anubis supports the solar disc, and a Greek inscription names Artemidora and her father. She died aged 27. Gilded and painted linen cartonnage on linen-wrapped human remains. H of foot projection: 102.5 cm. From Meir, late first century AD. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, II.155.5 (48). Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1911.

The Construction and Decoration of the Meir Mummy Masks

Because of the lack of precise information about the find-spots of the different masks and mummies, it is impossible to determine how the differences among them, such as the presence or absence of the rear projection, or their various acquisition dates, might have related to the archaeological record—whether painted masks, like 50, were found in a different part of the cemetery than gilded masks like those of Hierax (56) and Artemidora (48), for instance. Closer scrutiny of the masks' construction and decoration does suggest, however, that all the masks may be closer in date to each other than has often been thought. In the only previous consideration of the group as a whole, Grimm focused primarily on the hair and facial features of the masks to divide them into 'Egyptian' and 'Roman' categories, with dates spread across a hundred years.²⁴ In his scheme, the earliest are gilded, male 'Egyptian' masks with no depiction of hair on the forehead (56, 62), which he places in the late first century BC, followed by early first century AD male masks

²⁴ Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 59–66.

FIGURE 50 The male deceased is shown in a tripartite head-dress, broad collar, and a shrine-shaped pectoral enclosing an ibis, the symbol of Thoth. This anonymous mask (51) resembles the larger mask of Hierax (56) from Ahmed Kamal's excavation. Linen cartonnage, painted and gilded, with inlaid glass and stone. L: 50.9 cm. From Meir, mid- to late first century AD. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, 78.3.



which become less uniform in appearance by the addition of a hand on the chest (61) or a fringe emerging from the head-dress. To Grimm, none of the male masks are comparable to the 'Roman' category, which consists exclusively of female masks wearing long hair loose to their shoulders, the latest of these being the mask of Artemidora (48, Fig. 48), because the tall frontage of curls above her forehead was a popular hairstyle by the late first century AD.

With the group excavated by Kamal as a case in point, Grimm concluded that the use of the Meir masks extended from the late first century BC to the late first century AD. This is in contrast to Edgar's opinion, stated in the *Cairo Catalogue général* in 1905, before Kamal's find, that female masks like 40 to 46 were contemporary with male masks like 55 and 58 to 62. Although Edgar chose not to include the male masks in the catalogue because of what he called their 'more Egyptian' appearance, he believed that all the masks as well as the masked mummy of Anoubias (47) dated to the early or middle first century AD.²⁵

Edgar's assertion about the contemporaneity of the male and female masks is quite accurate, and the entire group of masks was probably produced in one workshop, or a similar cooperative setting. The Roman hairstyle of Artemidora (48) provides a dating anchor in the late first or beginning of the second century AD. Some of the jewellery depicted on the female masks favours a first-century date,²⁶ and if the *floruit* of the craftsmen is estimated as a working lifetime of roughly forty years, a range of approximately AD 70 to 110 for all the Meir masks is feasible.

Masks both with and without the rear projection share many characteristics of form and decorative content, in addition to the fact that both mask types were used on identically wrapped mummies. Mask 57, for example, is a gilded male mask with a rear projection, intact on a mummy of the same shape and almost the same dimensions as the mummy of Hierax (56), whose mask has no rear projection. Even the linen covering of both mummies is similarly woven and wrapped. The deep rear projections on masks whose mummies do not survive indicates that they too were fitted on voluminous mummies. By the same reasoning, since the intact mummies of Anoubias (47), Artemidora (48), Hierax (56), and the anonymous man (57) are decorated with stuccoed linen deities and inscriptions, the isolated placards from Meir in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (e.g. Fig. 47) must represent other, lost mummies or unidentified masks.

The masks were made by forming linen cartonnage over a mould, probably of wood, clay, or stone. The face thus projects beyond the other mask surfaces, and the forehead, eye sockets, cheeks, nose, mouth, and chin of each mask are distinctively modelled and smoothly finished. Most female masks and several male masks present the subject's right hand in a fist on the chest, with a hole between the thumb and forefinger where some attribute could be inserted. The hands were sculpted

²⁵ Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, iii–iv.

²⁶ Compare *Ancient Faces* (London), 131.

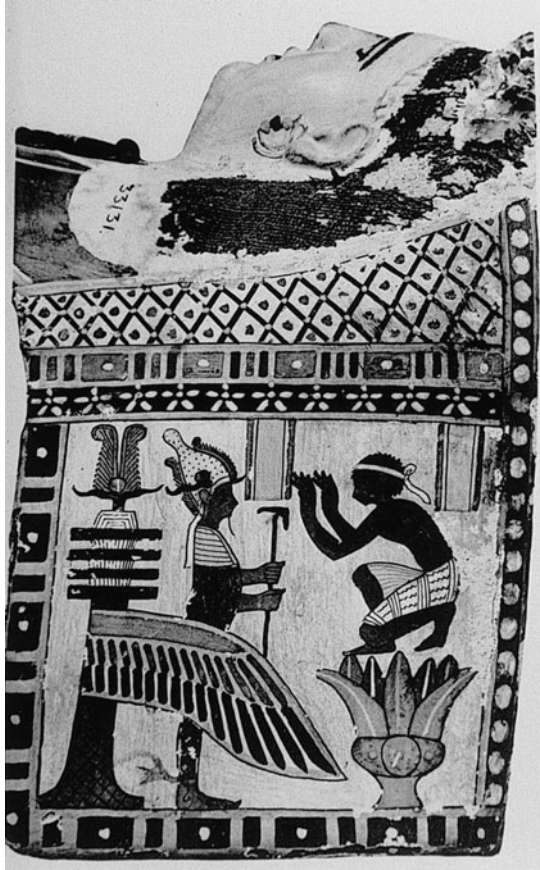
separately in plaster before being incorporated into the mask, and all are essentially identical in shape and size.

Both the male and female masks have similar facial features: a forehead wider than the jaw; a nearly straight brow ridge surmounting the eye area; straight and narrow noses which widen only at the nostrils; and well-defined lips, with a slight upward curve and indentations at the mouth corners. Masks with painted faces mark this smile with two red short lines emanating from the mouth corners as well, and several masks have a dimple or cleft in the chin (e.g. 44, Fig. 46). Further comparisons among the masks reveal specific similarities in the modelling, suggestive of nearly identical moulds. The lower face of a female mask in Berlin (38) has a protrusion above the upper lip; a wide, rounded philtrum; an indentation beneath the lower lip; and a dimple in the centre of the chin, all of which have parallels in male mask 59. Male mask 61, which is gilded and has inlaid eyes, and female mask 46 have wider faces than most other masks and especially deep impressions at the sides of their mouths. Masks 51 and 56, the two male masks without rear projections, have similar facial features and identical inlays for the eyes. Their nose, mouth, and chin shapes also resemble those of male masks that have rear projections, like 58. Among the female masks, 44 and 45 are identical in both the modelling and the painting of their faces, despite an overall difference in their sizes. Although the same mould could not have been used for both due to the size difference, their matching facial features might be the result of two moulds made by one craftsman.

The decoration of the masks provides the most convincing evidence for their roughly contemporaneous production by artisans who might have relied on a set of models or patterns for guidance. Details on the faces of the painted masks reveal several links: the eyes of male mask 59 are outlined in a thin blue line, just as the eyes of 44, 45, and 49 are, and the eyebrows of 40 (Fig. 44) are identical to those of 42 (Fig. 51). Orange or red paint on the mouth is frequently augmented by a dark red line in the parting and at the corners of the lips; 40 and 44 are identical in this respect, as are 38 and 39. All the male masks, regardless of whether they include a rear projection, wear a tripartite head-dress with a winged disc positioned over the forehead. Behind the winged disc, a frieze of uraei usually appears, either upright over the face (53, 55, 60, 63, 64) or oriented to the scenes at the back of the head (52, 58–61); it is not used on the projectionless masks 51 and 56. Painted or, for 51 and 56, gilded stripes frame the sides of each male face and border the head-dress lappets, which are raised slightly above the chest surface of each mask. A dark-coloured half-circle at the end of each lappet represents the limit of this raised surface. The lappets are divided into one, two, or three scene registers, and typically, two of the registers depict a recumbent jackal holding a *sekhem*-sceptre and a series of uraei, all of identical execution. In between the lappets, rows of broad collar beads are also similarly drawn and ordered.

With one exception (47), all the female masks from Meir incorporate a rear projection. Each subject is represented on the front of the mask in a coloured tunic

FIGURE 51 On one of the Meir masks acquired in 1888, the figure of a kneeling priest resembles kneeling figures in the upper register of Artemidora's mask (48) from the Kamal find, on Pl. 4. Here, the priest adores falcon-headed Osiris or Sokar-Osiris, who is protected by the wings of Isis. Linen cartonnage with added plaster, painted. H: 42.0 cm. Mid- to late first century AD. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33131 (42).



with *clavus*-like stripes, and each wears elaborate jewellery of contemporary design. The divergent appearance of the fronts of masks 47 and 48 arises from the darker coloration of their skin and clothing, their narrower facial shape, and their hairstyles (or lack thereof in 47, which has suffered damage in this area). But the rear projection of mask 48 has strong similarities with the projections of both male masks and the other female masks as well. For instance, identical kneeling figures of priests appear on it (see Pl. 4) and on the sides of mask 42 (Fig. 51).

The rear projections of the Meir masks consist of two, or sometimes three, zones of decoration. The area at the crown of the head, immediately behind the hair or head-dress of the mask, forms one zone, usually treated distinctly from the rest of the projection. Likewise, the area bordering the sides of the hair or head-dress is sometimes treated as a zone, although on smaller masks the space is so limited that only a border or pattern will fit there. Registers, defined at the top by a starred sky-line and at the bottom by an Egyptian border alternating stripes and rectangles of colour, occupy the expanse of the rear projection. Every mask has one major register, with a shorter register sometimes positioned above (e.g. 40, Fig. 45). The

FIGURE 52 The *ba* of the deceased takes flight. Long hair identifies the *ba* as female. Both columns of hieroglyphs read, 'Words said by the *ba* of the god'. Linen cartonnage with added plaster, painted. H: 41.0 cm. From Meir, mid- to late first century AD. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33135 (46).



major register can contain either three distinct scenes or a continuous scene, in the form of a procession of deities presenting offerings to a form of Osiris depicted at the back of the head. There are numerous repetitions and similarities in the decoration of the masks' rear projections. Female mask 49 and male mask 57 share the motif of a gilded scarab within a gilded wreath immediately behind the head, and outstretched *ba*-birds with male or female heads, as appropriate, adorn 38, 39, 46, 53, and 61 (see Fig. 52 and Pl. 5).

Moreover, the Egyptian scenes on all the Meir masks display a remarkable consistency in quality and execution. A fine brush has been used for figure outlines and details such as individual fingers and toes, facial features, and the components of crowns, clothing, wings, and thrones. Masks with gilded figures (48, 57) replicate some of these details in the gold embossing. The figures are well proportioned and evenly spaced within scenes, without any crowding to accommodate inscription bands, attributes, or furniture. Anthropomorphic figures have proportionally short legs and thick but graceful bodies, and their heads tend to be slightly large for their bodies, especially in the case of deities with animal heads like Tefnut and Horus. The scene backgrounds, borders, and figures are painted with saturated colours, including several shades of red, yellow, blue, and green.

What these comparisons demonstrate is that the masks were designed and made for a specific kind of mummy at approximately the same time and in the same place, even though their exact find-spots in the Meir necropolis are unknown. Further, the inscribed masks and mummies (especially 40, 47, 48, 52, 56) and the inscribed linen placards in Cairo yield specific information about the dead and the use of language in this funerary setting.

Inscriptions from the Meir Mummies

The hieroglyphic, Demotic, and Greek inscriptions on the masks and mummy placards are summarized in the table below.

Mask 40	<i>hy b3 n Tqliz t3[šrt] . . . (?)</i>	Hail, <i>ba</i> of Dekleia, [daughter of] . . . (?) ^a
Mummy 47	<i>Ἀνουβιάς Ἀπίωνος, L γ̄. Εὐψύχει.</i>	Anoubias, daughter of Apion, 3 years (old). Farewell. ^b
Mummy 48	<i>Ἀρτεμιδώρα Ἀρποκράτῃ, ἄωρος, L κζ̄. Εὐψύχει.</i>	Artemidora, daughter of Harpocrates, (died) untimely, 27 years (old). Farewell. ^c
Mask 52	<i>3ys-kyns s3 M3rks Wsir 'P3-rmt¹-syg s3 P3-šr-t3-ih.t</i>	Aischynes, son of Malakos (?) <i>P3-rmt-syg</i> , son of Pashertaihet (Psentaes) ^d (Demotic on mask)
Mummy 56	<i>Wsir 3h-k3 m3' hrw s3 n Hr Wsir Bik m3' hrw s3 n 'nh-lp Ἱέραξ Σαραπίωνος, L πη̄. Εὐψύχει.</i>	The Osiris Akh-ka (?), justified, son of Hor ^e (hieroglyphs on body) The Osiris Bik, justified, son of Ankh-hapi ^f (hieroglyphs on body) Hierax, son of Sarapion, 88 years (old). Farewell. ^g (Greek on foot end)
Mummy, lost	<i>Ἰσίδωρος Μέστου, L ξδ̄. Εὐψύχει.</i>	Isidoros, son of Mestos, 64 years (old). Farewell. ^h
Mummy, lost	<i>hy b3 n Hir m3' hrw Ἱερίαινα Ἀνουβιάδος, L ν̄. Εὐψύχει.</i>	Hail, <i>ba</i> of Hir, justified ⁱ (hieroglyphs on left side of body) Horiaina, daughter of Anoubias, 50 years (old). Farewell. ^j (Greek on foot end)
Mummy, lost	<i>Ἀνουβίων Ἀρποκρατίωνος, ἐτῶν μ̄η̄. Εὐψύχει.</i>	Anoubion, son of Harpokration, aged 48 years. Farewell. ^k
Mummy, lost	<i>Σκύλαξ Ἱέρακος μητρὸς Ἀνουβιάδος, L ξβ̄. Εὐψύχει.</i>	Skylax, son of Hierax, (whose) mother (was) Anoubias, 62 years (old). Farewell. ^l

Placard CG 33138	Τατύρις Πορεμόνθου μητρὸς Τερεῦτος, ἄωρος, L κα.	Taturis, daughter of Poremonthis, (whose) mother (was) Tereutos, (died) untimely, 21 years (old). ^m
Placard CG 33139	Ἀνουβάς Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς Εὐδαιμονίδος, ἐβίωσεν ἔτη νη, ἄωρος.	Anoubas, daughter of Sarapion, (whose) mother (was) Eudaimonis, died aged 55 years, untimely. ⁿ
Placard CG 33139bis	Ἀνουβιάς πρεσβυτέρα Μέστου.	Anoubias the elder, daughter of Mestos. ^o
Placard CG 33144	Ὠρίων Ἑρμαίου τοῦ καὶ Μέστου, Lvs. Εὐψύχει.	Horion, son of Hermaios, also known as Mestos, 56 years (old). Farewell. ^p

^a The hieroglyphs recorded for the left side of this mask in G. Daressy, 'Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques des masques de momie d'époques gréco-romaine', *ASAE* 11 (1911), 44, are obscured on the mask itself and in photographs (see Fig. 45), although the hieroglyphic determinative of a seated woman indicates that a name is present. Compare Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 24 (Text M), esp. notes 308 and 309; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 18–21, pls. 8 and 9 (= JE 28446).

^b Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, i. 1427 and 5983; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 32–4, pl. 17 (= JE 30202). The hieroglyphs on the mummy do not name the deceased.

^c Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, i. 5993; A. B. Kamal, 'Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Dêirout au nord et Dêir el-Ganadlah, au sud', *ASAE* 14 (1914), 18–20. The hieroglyphs on the mummy do not name the deceased.

^d Unpublished translation courtesy of K.-Th. Zauzich. See full edition in the Appendix, under the list entry for 52.

^e JE 42951. Kamal, 'Rapport sur les fouilles' (1914), 66; Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 40 (Text Ad), esp. notes 447 and 448, with no agreed reading for the name of the deceased. 'Akh-ka' is not attested in Ranke, *Personennamen*, although names formed from one or the other of these elements are common. The hieroglyphs recorded by Kamal may be a misreading or miswriting. In any case, the names in this text, from the left side of the mummy, do not correspond to the hieroglyphic text on the right side, whose Egyptian names (see f, below) corroborate the Greek names from the foot end (see g, below). Either this individual and his father each had two Egyptian names, or else the piece of cartonnage bearing the left side inscription was placed on the mummy by mistake.

^f JE 42951. Kamal, 'Rapport sur les fouilles' (1914), 66; Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 40 (Text Ad), esp. notes 462 and 463. 'Bik' is a common Egyptian name of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, literally meaning 'falcon' and thus equivalent in Greek with Hierax: see Ranke, *Personennamen*, 93. 19. Likewise, 'Ankh-hapi', literally 'the Apis lives', was equated with Greek names formed from Sarapis; see Ranke, *Personennamen*, 65. 25.

^g JE 42951. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, i. 5998.

^h Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, i. 5994. The hieroglyphs on the mummy do not name the deceased: Kamal, 'Rapport sur les fouilles' (1914), 64; Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 28–9 (Text Ab).

ⁱ Kamal, 'Rapport sur les fouilles' (1914), 20–1; Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 2930 (Text Ac), esp. note 431.

^j Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, i. 5995; Kamal, 'Rapport sur les fouilles' (1914), 65.

^k Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, i. 5996; Kamal, 'Rapport sur les fouilles' (1914), 65, with no hieroglyphic texts.

^l Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, i. 5997; Kamal, 'Rapport sur les fouilles' (1914), 65–6, with no hieroglyphic texts.

^m Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, i. 5984; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 34–5 (= JE 30995), pl. 18.

ⁿ Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, i. 1429; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 35 (= JE 30304).

^o Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, i. 1428; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 35 (= JE 30303).

^p Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, i. 5985; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 37 (= JE 28567).

Among the personal names attested for the Meir mummies, Greek versions of Egyptian names predominate, with especial reference to Anubis, Horus, Thoth (Hermes), Isis, and Serapis. Some individuals bear two names, either a Greek and Egyptian equivalent, two Greek names, or one Greek and one Egyptian name. Although the range of names is small, it is interesting that none of them refer to the cult of Hathor-Aphrodite at Cusae, inviting speculation that the individuals represented by these masks and mummies might have come from a local town or village with its own cult traditions instead. The inscription on mask 52 says that the dead man was buried to the west of his birthplace, but the statement is somewhat formulaic and does not include a toponym.

The use of Greek personal names on the Meir mummies is not surprising in the context of first-century Middle Egypt, where a metropolis like Hermopolis (Ashmunein) or, on a smaller scale, Cusae would have supported Greek cultural institutions and, in the Ptolemaic Period, experienced an influx of immigrants. The use of the *tabula ansata* form for the Greek inscriptions on the mummies (see Pl. 4 and Fig. 49) makes the label resemble a public, dedicatory inscription, displaying the name, parentage, and age of the deceased. The position of the label on the mummies' high foot projections perhaps served a practical function in addition to being an epitaph, since the inscription was especially visible when the mummy was on its back, whether during a funeral ceremony or after it had been placed in a tomb.

The masks themselves employ only Egyptian inscriptions, in both hieroglyphic and Demotic script. Hieroglyphs are also used for the inscription bands affixed to the bodies of mummies 47, 48, 56, and the lost mummy of Horiaina, while four columns of Demotic appear on the back of mask 52 (Pl. 5), and a mixture of Demotic and hieroglyphs on the back of mask 50. These Egyptian texts often supply Egyptian and Greek alternatives for the name and patronym of the deceased. Thus, the names of Hierax ('falcon') and his father Sarapion (56) are well-established Greek versions of the Egyptian names Bik ('falcon') and Ankh-hap. On mask 52, the Egyptian and Greek names might have similar meanings as well: the deceased's Greek name is Aischynes and his Egyptian name might read 'Pa-remet-syg', both with a root referring to physical weakness, while his father is probably called Malakos, meaning mild or effeminate, and was known in Egyptian as Pashertaihet (Greek version, 'Psentaes'), literally the 'son of a cow', or 'coward'.²⁷ The picture that emerges from this onomastic evidence is that the individuals in the Meir burials operated comfortably in a bilingual society, including dual Greek and Egyptian names.

²⁷ I am indebted to K.-Th. Zauzich for allowing me to quote his unpublished translation of mask 52's Demotic inscription and discussion of the personal names. Zauzich observes that the reading of 'Malakos' is not entirely certain; similarly, 'Aischynes' is interpreted from the Demotic rendering *yskyns*, which is otherwise unattested.

Both the Demotic and the hieroglyphic texts are more internally than externally oriented, in that they identify the deceased or gods within the scenes rather than identifying the mummy of the deceased to a viewer. The hieroglyphic inscriptions reflect the Egyptian iconography on the masks as well as contemporary funerary literature. On the rear projections of the masks, where the order and appearance of the scenes recalls Egyptian temple decoration, the hieroglyphs identify the deities' names and epithets with the same care shown for replicating each god's unique iconography.²⁸ The longer inscriptions on masks 40 and 59 describe the mobility of the *ba* of the deceased, who lives forever among the gods:

May you live in heaven like Re, and may you rest in the earth like Geb, while your corpse is in the underworld like Osiris.²⁹

The Demotic text of mask 52 refers to the Osiris mysteries held in the month of Khoiak, on the night of the twenty-fifth day, the culmination of the Sokar festival. The Demotic on this mask and on mask 50 is imperfect, however, as if the writers were unused to the grammar and spelling of the texts.

Nonetheless, the presence of Egyptian inscriptions on the Meir masks and mummies asserted the deceased's command of this specialist knowledge, which was valued for its exclusivity as well as its efficacy for the afterlife. At the same time, the Greek inscriptions on the foot projections followed standard formulae for such epitaphs and gave the deceased a social identity. The same dichotomy between Egyptian and Greek forms of self-presentation affected the iconography of the masks as well.

Representations of the Dead on the Meir Mummy Masks

The dual character of the Meir masks extends to the manner in which they represent the dead. This is evident in particular for the female masks, which is why Edgar chose to include them, and not the more traditional-looking male masks, in his *Catalogue général* volume. The male masks depict mummiform bodies, tripartite head-dresses, and broad collars, while the female masks wear contemporary clothing and jewellery, a division of representational forms similar to that on the male and female coffins of the earlier Akhmim group.

The Female Masks

Only one mask from the Meir group, that of Artemidora (48, Fig. 48), seems to incorporate a hairstyle based on a Roman imperial model. The hairstyle on

²⁸ Hieroglyphs: G. Daressy, 'Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques des masques de momie d'époques gréco-romaine', *ASAE* 11 (1911), 44–6. Translations: Kurth, *Sarg der Teiiris*, 24–5 (Texts M and N, mask 40), 25 (Text O, mask 43), 25–6 (Text P, mask 46).

²⁹ Hieroglyphs: Daressy, 'Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques des masques de momie', 44–5. Translation: Kurth, *Sarg der Teiiris*, 24–5 (Text N).

Artemidora's mask has two components: the multiple, randomly arranged small curls that fan out over her forehead into a high ridge, and the layers of corkscrew curls that emanate behind this ridge and fall around her head and to her shoulders. The tall front of curls is a style made popular by the Flavian dynasty (AD 69–96), although representations of it in sculpture usually depict the styled ridge as more ovoid, rather than squared-off as it is on Artemidora.³⁰ The corkscrew curls are an Egyptian style found on statues of Ptolemaic queens and images of Egyptian goddesses. The combination of the two hairstyles on Artemidora's mask is an artistic compromise between Egyptian iconography and contemporary fashion. The former was important because it imparted Egyptian beauty to the transfigured dead, while the latter was a status symbol due to the popular Roman practice of imitating imperial hair fashions in art.

The inclusion of a Roman hairstyle on Artemidora's mask, and not on the other extant female masks, probably results from the specific circumstances in which this mask was made rather than a difference in date or in the identity of the subjects. Artemidora's mask is arguably the most elaborate of the female examples in terms of both workmanship and materials, with its heavy use of gilding and the quantity of sculpted plaster required for the hair. Its fashionable coiffure may be another sign of quality and costliness, since transplanting an easily recognizable characteristic, like the hairstyle, from a Roman-style portrait to a mummy mask was a way of laying claim to the high cultural milieu that the portrait implied. Familiarity with Roman portraiture, and a recognition of its desirability, was one prerequisite for including a Roman hairstyle on Artemidora's mask, but there was a second requirement as well: the hairstyle had to be complementary, not counter, to the Egyptian ideology of the mask. The combination of the corkscrew Egyptian wig and the Roman frontage of curls ensured that the two hairstyle iconographies merged without clashing or competing.

Like the other female masks, Artemidora wears a light red or purple tunic with *clavus*-like stripes painted a darker red, purple, brown, green, or black. As on the Akhmim coffins, the presence of these stripes is not an indication of rank but a feature of clothing manufacture and design. Some of the tunics also have a striped border at the neckline, and thin stripes of yellow paint or gilding along the edges of the *clavi*. Other gilded decoration on the masks is more noteworthy for its placement. The female masks in Berlin, **38** and **39**, have gilded patches directly over the nipples and at the vulnerable base of the throat. This type of gilding, like the gilding applied to the skin of Roman Period mummies, draws attention to parts of the body which were active for sensory function (like the eyes), mobility (the feet),

³⁰ The curl arrangement was worn by Julia Titi (cf. G. Daltrop, U. Hausmann, and M. Wegner, *Die Flavii* (Berlin 1966), esp. pls. 43 and 46a–b) and Domitia (ibid., pl. 56a–b). It appears on some plaster masks from Egypt, such as Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33156, in Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 33–4, pl. 22.

breathing (the nose and mouth), or reproduction (the genitals and breasts).³¹ Like the very form of the mummy masks, partial gilding of the surface derived from Egyptian ideas, not Greek or Roman portraiture.

The clothing and jewellery of the masks does reflect contemporary Roman portraiture in the Greek East, however. Light red or purple tunics appear in first-century mummy portraits for women, sometimes in combination with a lighter pink or purple mantle.³² Of the Meir masks, only 40 (Fig. 44) wears a mantle over her tunic, executed as a purple drape that passes over her left shoulder and around her abdomen. The mantle was created by sculpting plaster to resemble the folds of a fine, thin textile, and it is one of several features of mask 40 that indicate a high level of workmanship, including its larger size, hieroglyphic inscription, and quantity of gilding. The garments and jewellery on the female masks, and on the mummy portraits, record the fashionable dress of well-to-do, well-groomed women in Roman Egypt, so that the fronts of the masks met expectations of how a woman should appear in any image that represents her as she was in life. Lifelikeness was also conveyed by the flushed skin, bright eyes, and natural eyebrows of the masks, which were painted with thin brushstrokes to indicate individual hairs rather than a cosmetic outline.

In Egyptian funerary art like the Meir masks, neither clothing and jewellery, both common to the Greek East, nor a Roman imperial hairstyle necessarily implied particular loyalty to Roman rule or laid claim to Roman status, because the use of these features was not regulated in the way that the wearing of specifically Roman clothing, footwear, and insignia was. It follows that looking Roman or looking loyal to the Roman regime was not necessarily a motivating factor behind the use of Greek clothing, jewellery, and hairstyle motifs in these masks. Instead, the value of representing these features on the masks lay in constructing a 'lifelike' image that beautified the deceased, displaying the patrons' familiarity with high-cultural forms of dress, adornment, and art, and, in their sumptuousness, implying both the financial wherewithal of the deceased's family and the glory of his or her transfigured state.

A lifelike image of the deceased was not the only goal of the masks, however, for the floral wreaths and curled Egyptian hair on most of the female masks make it clear that the subjects are dead. The masks wear floral crowns of pink, white, and green petals, or of red flowers and ribbons. The wreath forms might have differed for the sake of variety or to reflect changing seasons, but their general festive meaning was the same and marked the otherworldliness of the deceased. On masks 38 to 46, 49, and 50, strands of vegetable fibre were added to the surface of the mask

³¹ C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 139; F. Dunand, 'Les "têtes dorées" de la nécropole de Douch', *BSFE* 93 (1982), 26–46.

³² Compare *Ancient Faces* (London), 43–5 (nos. 17–19), 57–8 (no. 33); Borg, *Mumienporträts*, pls. 1. 1; 4. 1; 5. 1–2; 7. 2; 9; 12. 2; and 13, all dating to the first or early second centuries AD.

and painted black to create a shoulder-length fall of unbound hair. This type of hairstyle, which was crafted in the same way on female Akhmim coffins, has no parallel in Greek or Roman art, especially among portraits of queens, empresses, or elite women, but has ample comparanda in Egyptian funerary material like the shroud of Taathyr (Pl. 2) or an anonymous mask (Fig. 40). Female hair worn long and loose, with an emphasis on its natural dark colour and curly texture, evoked fecundity, sensuality, and the Egyptian goddesses—especially Hathor—who embodied these qualities. Accordingly, on the rear projections of the masks, the goddesses have dark hair worn in either tripartite or shoulder-length form, with a crenellated profile to indicate its tight, abundant ringlets. When represented as a *ba*-bird on the masks, as on 38 and 39 (Fig. 52), the female deceased is also shown with one of these hairstyles.

Like the female Akhmim coffins, the female masks from Meir construct a more fluid image of the deceased than their male counterparts, in that the images of women more readily incorporate contemporary features like clothing and jewellery, or relatively new versions of Egyptian iconography like long, curly hair. Like the male masks, the female masks are consistent among themselves, but it seems to have been more permissible to represent a girl or woman with a blend of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman elements than a man.

The Male Masks

The male masks of the Meir group adhere to the standardized iconography of an Osiris-like mummy, with a bead net across the abdomen, a broad collar on the chest, and a tripartite head-dress framing the face (see Pls. 3 and 5; Fig. 50). Some of the male masks have completely gilded skin (e.g. 51), but others are painted with the same attention to lifelike eye colours and skin tones as the female masks. The fringe of hair that emerges below the band of the head-dress on several of the male examples (52, 53, 55, 57, and 59; see Pl. 5) has no relation to Roman imperial hairstyles, which would be recognizable by the precise duplication of the number and direction of locks of hair over the forehead.³³ Other masks (51, in Fig. 50, 56, 58, 60 to 64) depict no hair at all, and the fact that masks which are identical in other respects could include the fringe or not indicates that this feature was not considered an especially important component of the image. The appearance of a fringe under an Egyptian head-dress seems to have begun in the second century BC, when Ptolemaic kings like Ptolemy VI added the hair formation of their Greek portraits to the royal *nemes* head-dress of their Egyptian statues.³⁴ The same device

³³ On the replication of models for imperial portraits, see R. R. Smith, 'Typology and diversity in the portraits of Augustus', *JRA* 9 (1996), 30–47.

³⁴ S.-A. Ashton, 'The Ptolemaic influence on Egyptian royal sculpture', in A. McDonald and C. Riggs (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2000* (Oxford 2000), 1–2; cf. her fig. 2 for a portrait of Ptolemy VI with a fringe under the *nemes*.

was widely adopted for the Egyptian portraits of later Ptolemies as well as the Roman emperors,³⁵ but hair under the *nemes* appears only in sculpture rather than two-dimensional art, unless it was added in paint which has not survived. The fringe depicted on the Meir masks varies from straight incised lines of hair (57) to claw-formed locks emanating outwards from a central division (55). On 52 and 53 (Pl. 5), the modelled locks curve out from a point above the subject's right inner eye, and additional hair is visible above the fringe itself.

The male masks from Meir emphasize the mummiform aspects of funerary iconography alongside the worldly, lifelike appearance of the subject, which is relegated to an optional fringe of hair or, for non-gilded masks, the flushed complexion of the skin. When the fringe does appear, it has a well-groomed appearance, requiring the hair to be cut short and trained to the desired shape and direction. This is a tidy, youthful style akin to Hellenistic Greek representations of private individuals.³⁶ On the masks, it corresponds to the subjects' clean-shaven and young-looking faces, which conform to an ideal of youthful attractiveness unmarked by age. Neither the male nor the female masks make any attempt to represent the subject at the age of his or her death, although the ages of the dead range from 3-year-old Anoubias (47) to 88-year-old Hierax (56). The agelessness of these images is one more sign that despite their debts to hair, clothing, and jewellery fashions of the first century AD, the Meir masks are not naturalistic portraits of the living, but formalistic evocations of the transfigured dead.

Transfiguration and the Egyptian Representational System

The process of transfiguration, of passing from death to rebirth, was a foremost concern of Egyptian cosmology. In funerary iconography, it was expressed by the different forms of the deceased, such as the *ka*, *ba*, shadow (*šwt*), and mummy, and scenes of judgement and libation, where the deceased might be shown in contemporary appearance as he or she crossed the threshold between life and death. After justification, the deceased's transfigured state could be signalled by the presence of incense cones, fillets or wreaths, more archaic dress, and cosmetic lines around the eyes. Over time, what constituted 'contemporary appearance' in Egyptian art changed as artistic and clothing styles changed, to continue to mark the liminal state of the deceased.

³⁵ e.g. Z. Kiss, 'Notes sur le portrait impérial romain en Égypte', *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 295, pls. 84 and 88d (Nero), 86a–b (Ptolemy VI), 86c (Ptolemy VI), 87a (Caracalla), 88a–b (Ptolemy XII?), 89c (Augustus?), 90a–b (Tiberius?), 91a–b (Caracalla), 92c (Septimius Severus), and 92d (Caracalla).

³⁶ Such as the styles worn by seven young men commemorated on a stela now in Paris (Louvre, 756): S. Schmidt, *Hellenistische Grabreliefs: Typologische und chronologische Beobachtungen* (Cologne and Vienna 1991), pl. 80a–b.



FIGURE 53 Anubis takes the hands of the deceased in a procession, next to Shu and Isis. The woman wears a blue tunic and white mantle that covers her shoulders and is knotted between her breasts. Linen cartonnage with added plaster and vegetable fibre, painted. H: 34.0 cm. From Meir, mid- to late first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 34434 (38).

Mask 38 in Berlin (Figs. 53–4) is unique among the female Meir masks in depicting the deceased herself among the procession of deities on the rear projection. The procession on this mask combines the presentation of offerings to Osiris, as seen on several other Meir masks, with a stock composition in which a deity, usually Anubis, ushers the deceased into the presence of Osiris. On the left side of the mask (Fig. 53), Anubis grasps the left hand and right wrist of the dead woman in his own two hands and turns to face her as he leads her forward. On the right side (Fig. 54), the same function is performed by a cow-headed representation of Hathor, who leads the deceased with one hand and holds the key to the afterlife in the other. Anubis is the more customary choice for leading the dead into the afterlife, but Hathor is also well attested, especially in funerary art created for women.³⁷ In the Roman Period, Anubis and Hathor often hold a key when they perform this role,

³⁷ A. Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt* (Liverpool 1992), 112, and catalogue nos. 5, 62, 89, 117 (pl. 45), 166, and 181.



FIGURE 54 The other side of the mask in Fig. 53 has a parallel scene: cow-headed Hathor holds a key and leads the deceased, next to Geb and Nephthys. Linen cartonnage with added plaster and vegetable fibre, painted. H: 34.0 cm. From Meir, mid- to late first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 34434 (38).

symbolizing the unlocking and opening of the doors that separate this world from the next.³⁸

For her passage from life to death in both scenes, the deceased wears a short-sleeved, ankle-length blue garment with a white overskirt and a white shawl or mantle knotted between her breasts. Drapery folds emanate from the knot on her chest, and the overlapped edge of the overskirt is fringed. The deceased has black hair that ends just above her shoulders and reveals her ears, and the artist has taken care to create curly undulations in the profile outline of the hair to indicate its curly texture. The woman wears a plain white fillet or *seshed*-band knotted at the back of her head, as do Isis and Nephthys elsewhere on the mask.

The clothing worn by the deceased on the rear projection of mask 38 is essentially identical to the knotted ensemble depicted on the female Akhmim coffins, the

³⁸ See S. Morenz, 'Anubis mit dem Schlüssel', in E. Blumenthal and S. Herrmann (eds.), *Religion und Geschichte des Alten Ägypten: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Weimar 1972), 510–21 (reprinted from *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* 3 (1953/4), 79–83); Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 11–12, with pls. B; 2. I; and 6. I.

difference being that 38 does not depict any colourful patterning on the garments and has both shawl ends knotted between the breasts, rather than leaving one to hang freely, which was more typical in the Ptolemaic Period.³⁹ If, as postulated in the previous chapter, the knotted ensemble for women was a form of native dress that came to be associated particularly with the posthumous representation of women, its appearance on the rear projection of the Berlin mask is a further, later instance of this iconography, which also appeared on the mummy mask in Fig. 40. On the Berlin mask, the knotted ensemble is distinct both from the 'everyday' dress on the front of the mask and from the archaic sheath dresses that the goddesses wear, suggesting that it was specifically suited to the Egyptian representation of the dead woman on the threshold of her rebirth.

'House 21' at Tuna el-Gebel

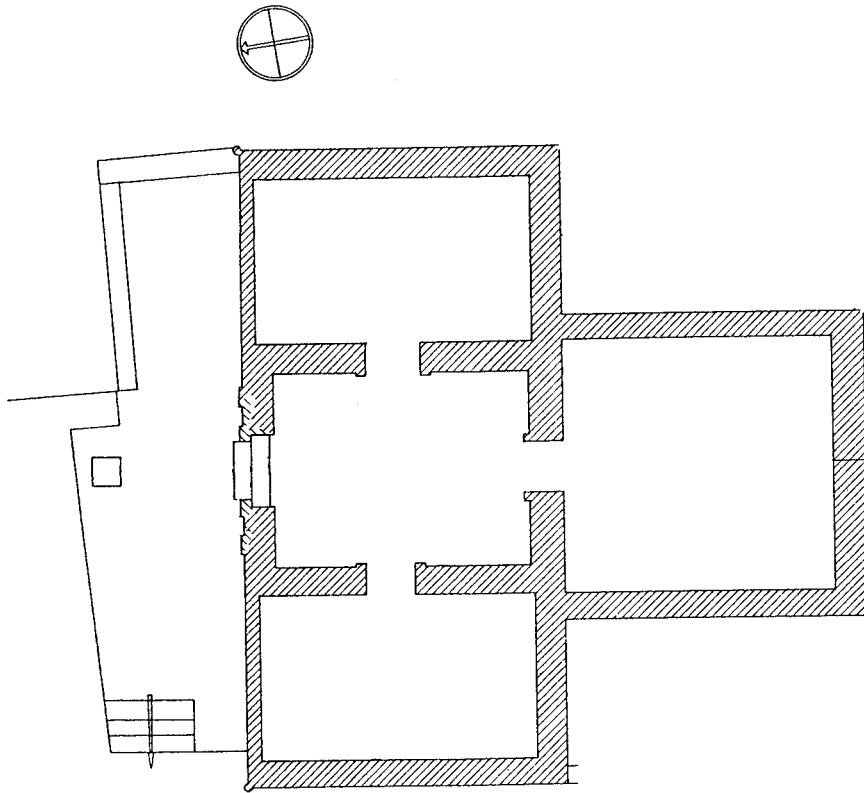
The variety of ways for representing the deceased, and especially women, in Egyptian-form images of the Roman Period is illuminated by another example of funerary art from Middle Egypt, in this instance on a monumental scale. 'House 21' in the Tuna el-Gebel necropolis is a five-room tomb for a woman or girl.⁴⁰ The tomb's excavator, Sami Gabra, called the tombs 'houses' because they were arrayed along streets and had multiple rooms, doors, and windows. Tuna el-Gebel was the necropolis of Hermopolis (Ashmunein), which was a major religious centre in pharaonic Egypt and continued in importance as a metropolis in Roman times.⁴¹ The city was the cult centre of Thoth and of the Ogdoad, a group of eight primeval gods. Hermopolis lies approximately 40 km north of Meir, and Tuna el-Gebel is a further 7 km west, where it stretches for some 3 km along the edge of the desert. Tombs of Ptolemaic and Roman date cluster to the south of the extensive animal cemeteries at the site, and many of the later tombs are oriented around the early

³⁹ In the Roman Period, the centred breast knot was adopted for the iconography of Isis.

⁴⁰ S. Gabra, *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermopolis Ouest (Touna el-Gebel)* (Cairo 1941), 39–50, pls. 8–18; S. Gabra and E. Drioton, *Peintures à fresques et scènes peintes à Hermopolis-Ouest (Touna el-Gebel)* (Cairo 1954), pls. 25–9; G. Grimm, 'Tuna el-Gebel 1913–1973', *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 231–2, pl. 75a–b; I. Kaplan, *Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit: Wechselwirkung zwischen der ägyptischen und griechisch-alexandrinischen Kunst* (Vienna 1999), 162–5, pls. 80–5.

⁴¹ D. Kessler, 'Hermopolis magna', *LÄ* ii. 1137–47; PM iv. 165–74. For Hermopolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, see G. Meautis, *Hermopolis-la-Grande: une métropole égyptienne sous l'empire romain* (Lausanne 1918); A. J. Spencer and D. Bailey, *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt: El-Ashmunein* (1981) (London 1982); A. J. Spencer, D. Bailey, and A. Burnett, *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt: El-Ashmunein* (1982) (London 1983); A. J. Spencer, D. Bailey, and W. V. Davies, *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt: El-Ashmunein* (1983) (London 1984); A. J. Spencer and D. Bailey, *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt: El-Ashmunein* (1984) (London 1985); A. J. Spencer and D. Bailey, *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt: El-Ashmunein* (1985) (London 1986); A. J. Spencer, *The Temple Area* (London 1989); A. J. Spencer, *The Town* (London 1993).

FIGURE 55 Plan of the tomb called House 21 at Tuna el-Gebel, the necropolis of Hermopolis (el-Ashmunein). The two rooms on the central, north-south axis were decorated. In the rear chamber, which is vaulted, a shaft in the floor led to subterranean burials. L of both rooms, combined: 4.4 m. First century AD.



fourth-century BC tomb of Petosiris, a *lesonis* (Egyptian *mr sn*) priest of the great temple of Thoth at Hermopolis.⁴²

After Petosiris' own structure, House 21 is one of the largest and most elaborately decorated of the tombs (Fig. 55). Its façade is adorned with a triangular pediment over the entranceway (Fig. 56), an architectural feature ultimately derived from Greek temple construction, but the entrance is also framed by a cavetto cornice, which featured in Egyptian temple gateways. Two of the tomb's five rooms are covered with wall paintings. The paintings depict the woman or girl for whom the tomb was made, and her name is partially preserved in a Demotic inscription in one

⁴² Animal cemeteries: J. Boessneck (ed.), *Tuna el-Gebel*, i: *Die Tiergalerien* (Hildesheim 1987); D. Kessler, *Tuna el-Gebel*, ii: *Die Paviankultkammer G-C-C-2* (Hildesheim 1998). Tomb of Petosiris: G. Lefebvre, 'Le tombeau de Petosiris', *ASAE* 20 (1920), 41-121; and *Le tombeau de Petosiris* (Paris 1924); S. Nakaten, 'Petosiris', *LÄ* iii. 995-8. On the site generally, in addition to the references in n. 40: S. Gabra, 'Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de l'Université égyptienne à Touna (Hermopolis Ouest)', *ASAE* 32 (1932), 56-77; S. Gabra, 'Fouilles de l'Université "Fouad el Awal" à Touna el-Gebel (Hermopolis Ouest)', *ASAE* 39 (1939), 483-527; S. Gabra, 'Les recherches archéologiques de l'Université égyptienne à Tounah-el-Gebel, nécropole d'Hermopolis', *BSFE* 30 (1959), 41-52; B. Menu, 'Le tombeau de Petosiris (1)', *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 311-27; 'Le tombeau de Petosiris (2)', *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 281-95; 'Le tombeau de Petosiris (3)', *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 343-57; and 'Le tombeau de Petosiris (4)', *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 247-62.



FIGURE 56 The stone façade of House 2I combines an Egyptian cavetto cornice and a triangular Greek pediment. W: 4.6 m. Tuna el-Gebel, first century AD.

scene: Ta-sheryt- . . . , following the common Egyptian naming pattern.⁴³ The tomb gives no indication of her age at death. Another Roman tomb at Tuna el-Gebel was dedicated to an unmarried girl, Isidora, by her father,⁴⁴ and it may be that a young woman who died before marriage was considered especially worthy of a fine burial. Richer burials for the prematurely dead compensated for what they missed in life, and a girl's family might have supported an independent burial for her more readily than a husband would have.

Inside House 2I, the two vaulted rooms on the central axis of the entranceway are decorated with register-ordered paintings from floor to ceiling (Fig. 57). Scenes in the first room, through which one enters the tomb, depict processions of deities, priests, standard-bearers, and the deceased. The figure series are oriented towards the entrance to the second decorated chamber, and the socle of each wall is painted to resemble luxurious stone panelling. In the second room, the decoration consists of one register above a palace façade socle; if an upper register existed, it has not been preserved. The scenes in the second room concern the embalming and

⁴³ Gabra, *Hermoupolis Ouest (Touna el-Gebel)*, 47.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 67–72, pls. 31–4. Epitaph: É. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine: Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte* (Paris 1969), 342–57 (nos. 86 and 87).

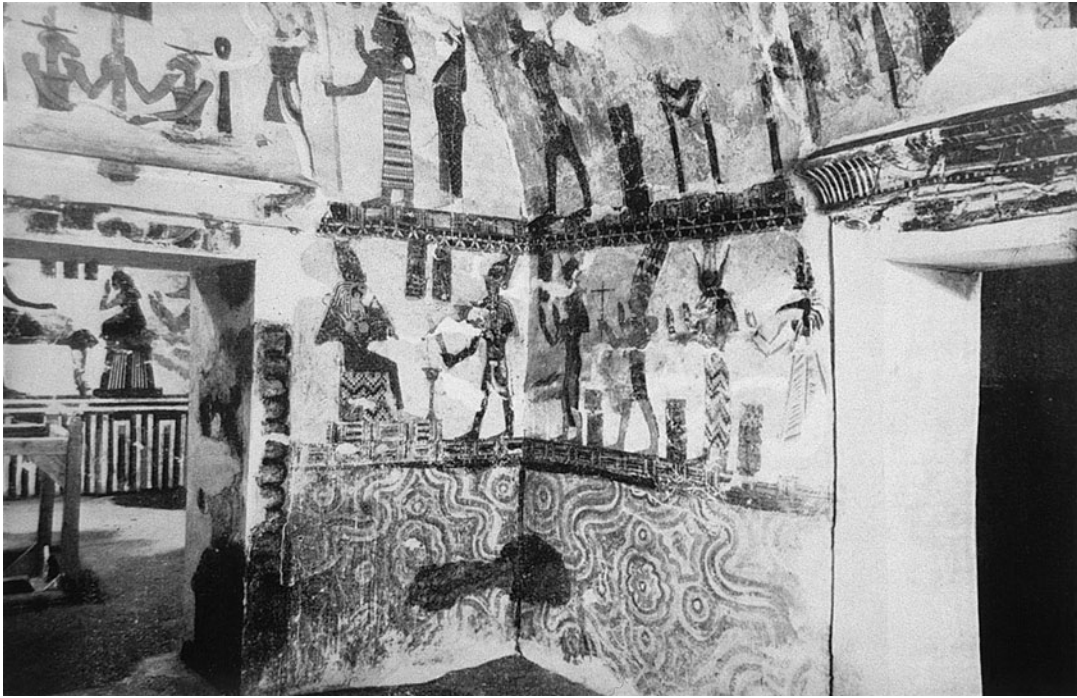


FIGURE 57 The first room of House 21, looking into the rear chamber. Although the upper registers of both rooms are Egyptian, the dado of the first room is painted to resemble stonemasonry, like Hellenistic wall painting. The dado of the second room is an Egyptian 'palace façade' motif. Tuna el-Gebel, first century AD.

resurrection of the dead and the journey of the solar barque, but the deceased herself is not explicitly named or represented in this room (see Fig. 62).

As it happens, the figure proportions, layout, and content of the scenes in House 21 have close parallels with the rear projections of the Meir masks. Body shapes and details like facial features, hand positions, and garment patterns are similar, each register is bordered above by a starred band and below by a band of coloured rectangles, and both the masks and the tomb focus on processions of deities bearing offerings or raising their hands in adoration. The tomb and one of the masks (61) show the Abydos reliquary flanked by ram standards and supported by ram-headed gods (see Fig. 57); offerings of *mnpt*-signs, loops of cloth, and the 'breath' sign; and the motif of a *djed*-pillar flanked by *tyet*-symbols, on the north wall of Room 1 (Fig. 58) and on the rear projection of 44 (Fig. 59). These similarities indicate that the artists who painted House 21 and the Meir masks had access to the same source material, like a pattern book, or underwent the same training, resulting in similar drawing styles. Some may even have travelled between the sites. The relationship between the masks and House 21 supports the first-century AD date that has generally been accepted for the tomb.

FIGURE 38 In the second room of House 21, the *djed*-pillar connected to two *tyet*-symbols appears on the wall near the doorway to the first room.

Tuna el-Gebel,
first century AD.

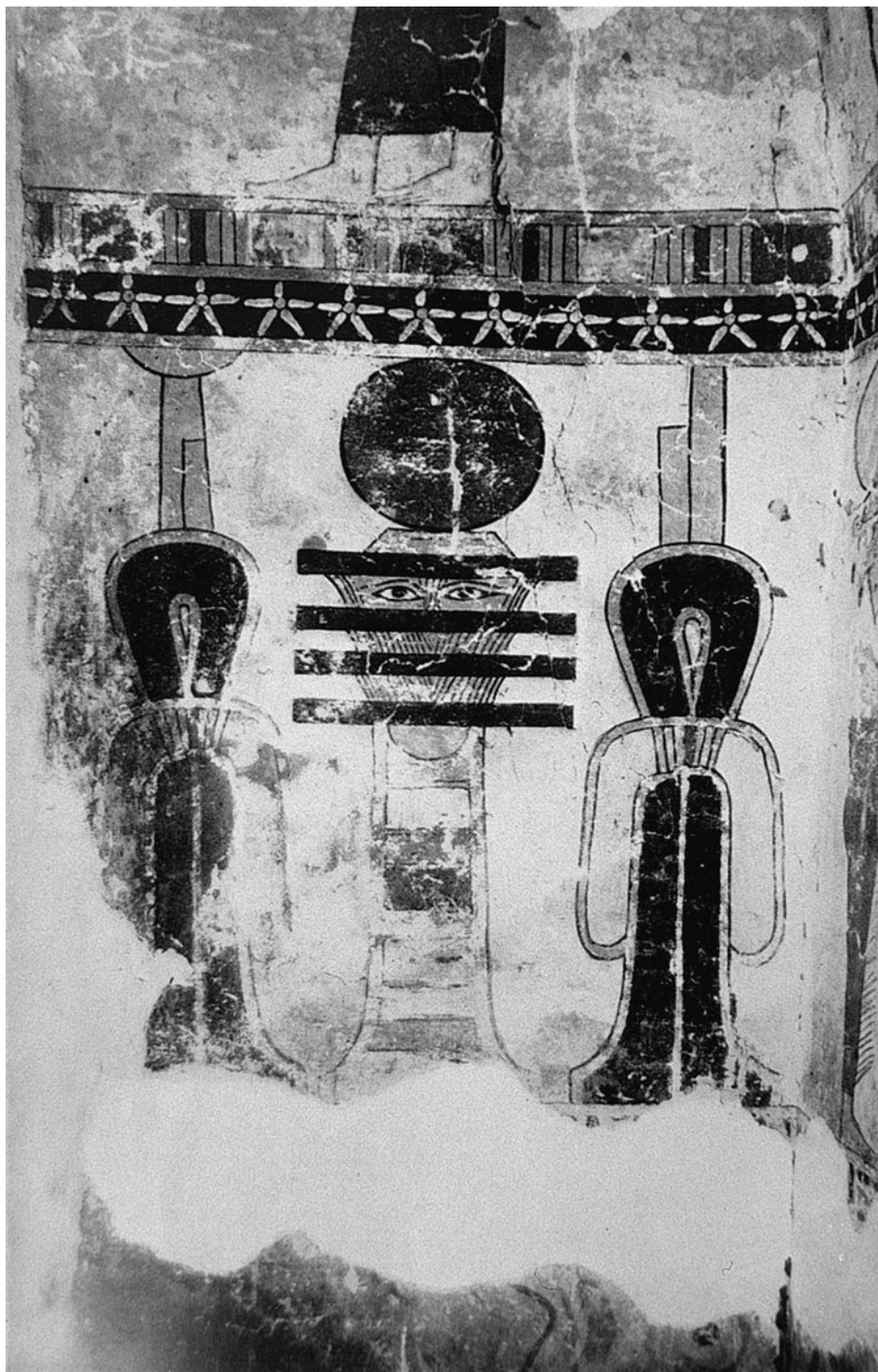
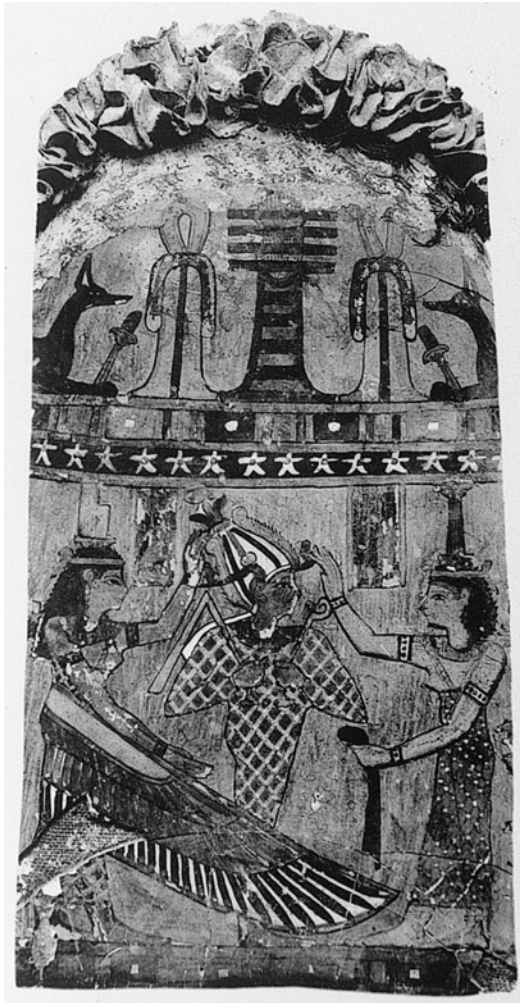


FIGURE 59 The back of a female mask from Meir includes joined *djed*- and *tyet*-symbols, like the House 21 scene in Fig. 58. Linen cartonnage with added plaster, painted. H: 45.0 cm. Meir, mid- to late first century AD. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33133 (44).



The Representation of the Deceased in House 21

House 21 is best known for the libation scene in the upper register of the west wall of the first room, where Horus and Thoth pour two streams of water over the deceased (Fig. 60).⁴⁵ She wears a short-sleeved green tunic with narrow stripes positioned like *clavi* and a pair of stripes near the end of either sleeve. A red overskirt wraps her lower body, falling in folds from the centre of her chest, and a narrow band of the same garment, or a separate shawl, passes over her right shoulder. Commentators have characterized this ensemble as ‘Greek’,⁴⁶ but it appears to be

⁴⁵ Also illustrated in J. Baines and J. Malek, *Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, 2nd rev. edn. (New York 2000), 128.

⁴⁶ Greek origin of the costume: Gabra, *Hermoupolis Ouest (Touna el-Gebel)*, 44; Gabra and Drioton, *Peintures à fresques*, pl. 25 caption.



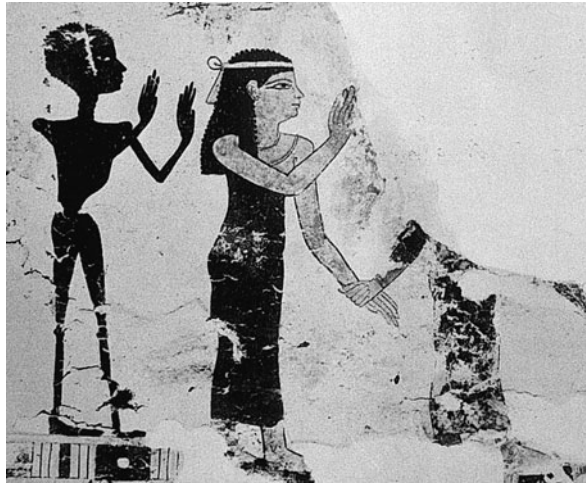
FIGURE 60 On the west wall of the first room, near the tomb entrance, Thoth and Horus pour a libation over the deceased. Her physical body is represented as a shrivelled corpse to the right, and on the adjoining wall, the figure of a mourning woman appears to the left of the entranceway. House 21, Tuna el-Gebel, first century AD.

another version of the Egyptian tunic-and-mantle ensemble. Although it lacks the knot that typically fixes the overskirt and shawl, the scantiness of the mantle in relation to the tunic has more in common with Egyptian clothing, like Figs. 53–4 (mask 38), than with Greek or Roman methods of representing a mantle on the female body. The colour and striping of the House 21 tunic likewise recall the native clothing styles of the Akhmim coffin group.

The representation of the deceased in the libation scene differs from other representations of her in the tomb, where she is portrayed either as a wrapped mummy, shrouded in a bead net and with oversized feet like those of the Meir mummies (see Fig. 57, top right), or wearing an archaic sheath dress and broad collar (Fig. 61). Each of the forms in which she appears can be related to her separately conceived roles in the scheme of the tomb, which celebrates her rebirth. The west wall scene in which she is libated by Horus and Thoth (Fig. 60) is the liminal stage at which she enters the afterlife: purification was a rite of passage between life and death, and between profane and sacred space.⁴⁷ The scene is near the tomb entrance, and it precedes the series of striding deities oriented towards the inner room. Like the dead woman on the rear projection of mask 38, the

⁴⁷ L. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt* (Chicago 1995), 59–60, discusses the libation, or ‘baptism of pharaoh’, motif and its significance for the rejuvenation of the deceased.

FIGURE 61 On the east wall, opposite the scene in Fig. 60, the deceased wears a sheath dress, broad collar, and fillet as a goddess grasps her wrist. Her corpse is to the left, and in the lower right corner, the doorway to an undecorated tomb chamber is just visible.
House 21, Tuna el-Gebel, first century AD.



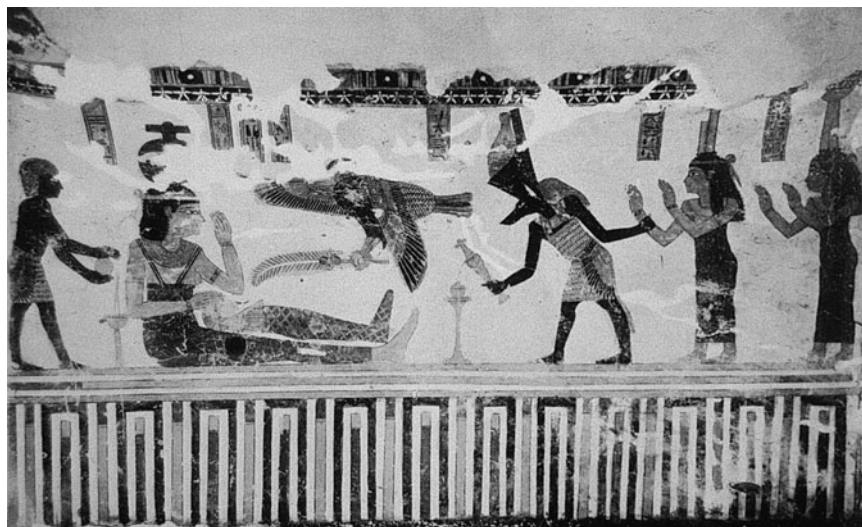
deceased is still connected to the world of the living in this scene and therefore has a more human appearance, although her native dress, unbound hair, and fillet declare that she has left behind more profane concerns, like fashionable hair and jewellery, and is approaching a new state conceived in Egyptian terms. At this liminal stage she is accompanied by her shadow, depicted as a black and shrivelled corpse. The shadow was one component of the Egyptian self.⁴⁸

Opposite the libation scene, on the east wall (Fig. 61), the shadow appears again, this time alongside a representation of the deceased wearing a sheath dress, broad collar, fillet, and long curly hair. This scene places the deceased among the gods as their near-equal, and she is indistinguishable from them in both personal appearance and artistic execution. The processions on the east and west walls culminate at the south end of the room, where a door in the south wall leads into the second room. Depicted at the south end of the east wall is a lector priest reading from a roll of papyrus. In the same position on the west wall, a *sem*-priest in a leopard skin censens the procession of deities. These priests are executing ritual actions that conjure the presence of the gods and enact the transformation of the deceased.

Above the doorway in the south wall (see Fig. 57), gods adore the Abydos reliquary of Osiris, and at either end of this register stands the mummiform figure of the deceased, her sex made evident by her long, curly hair. The shadow does not appear here, and the mummy form in some sense unites or supersedes all the other forms of the deceased. Like the ‘body’ embodied by the male masks from Meir, she

⁴⁸ On corpse-like or skeletal figures in funerary art, see also Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 66–7; R. S. Bianchi, ‘Skelett’, *LÄ* v. 981–2; K. M. D. Dunbabin, ‘*Sic erimus cuncti* . . . : The skeleton in Graeco-Roman art’, *JDAI* 101 (1986), 209–10; W. Schenkel, ‘Schatten’, *LÄ* v. 535–6; and B. George, *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele* (Bonn 1970), esp. 233–4. See L. Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life* (Oxford 1999), 111–23 on Egyptian concepts of the self and body.

FIGURE 62 The goddess Nut cradles a mummy in a scene from the more general funerary decoration in the second room of House 21. The dado of the room is decorated with the Egyptian palace façade motif, rather than Hellenistic stonemasonry. Tuna el-Gebel, first century AD.



has become timeless and whole within the confines of her shroud, bead net, and broad collar.

The first room of House 21 combines Greek and Egyptian techniques of wall decoration in the painting of the dado, which replicates stone panelling. ‘Stone’ orthostats were a common feature of Hellenistic-era wall painting in both secular and religious contexts. In Roman Egypt, such masonry patterns appear in other tombs at Tuna el-Gebel and elsewhere.⁴⁹ In the second room of House 21, however, the painted ‘stone’ is replaced by an Egyptian palace façade motif (Fig. 62). As the innermost room of the tomb, this was the most sacred space and therefore required closer adherence to the Egyptian canon, in the same way that the earlier Tuna el-Gebel tomb of Petosiris employed Greek motifs in its antechamber but retained traditional Egyptian forms in the relief decoration of its main chamber.

In the first room of House 21, it has also been suggested that Greek or Roman painting techniques influenced the depiction of the deceased in the libation scene (Fig. 60) and of the mourning women who appear on the north wall, above the tomb entrance (Fig. 63).⁵⁰ Only in these three figures were the pictorial standards of Greek representation employed, and the Greek component was limited to the heads of the figures. Their bodies follow the Egyptian norm exemplified by every other figure in the tomb. In the libation scene, the deceased turns her head in three-quarters view, so that the outline of her far cheek is visible against the loose waves

⁴⁹ Tuna el-Gebel tombs: Grimm, ‘Tuna el-Gebel 1913–1973’, 229–30, pls. 68–9; Gabra and Drioton, *Peintures à fresques*, pls. 3, 4, 8, 9, 21, 22. Tombs at Amarna and Qaw el-Kebir: L. Borchardt, ‘Ausgrabungen in Tell el-Amarna 1912/13’, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft* 52 (1913), 52–3; H. Steckeweh, G. Steindorff, E. Kühn, and W. Wolf, *Die Fürstengräber von Qaw* (Leipzig 1936), pls. 21–2.

⁵⁰ Thus Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 122.

FIGURE 63 One of two mourners in the lunette of the north wall in the first room, over the tomb entrance. Her hand gesture, disordered hair, and breast-baring garment were standard for images of mourning women in Egyptian art. House 21, Tuna el-Gebel, first century AD.



of her long hair. Her torso is frontal to the viewer, but so is that of her shadow in the same scene, which has an Egyptian profile head. The mourning women over the entranceway also have their heads in three-quarters view, while their upper bodies and raised arms are in the same position as the arms and torsos of the Egyptian deities throughout the room. These two women have been identified as additional representations of the deceased,⁵¹ but their bare-breasted attire, dishevelled hair, and the position of their arms and hands signify a mourner in Egyptian iconography. Since there is no precedent for showing the deceased as a mourner in his or her own funerary monument, the women must be mourning the dead girl. The similarity between these mourning women and the deceased in the nearby libation scene is due to how the figures were drawn, not to who or what they represent. The deceased also resembles the mourning women because the iconographic trope of loose hair—disordered and ‘other’—was appropriate for both. Because all three figures wear long, unbound hair, a three-quarters turn to the head helped display the hairstyle to best advantage and distinguish the disarrayed hair from other hair arrangements. Moreover, each of the figures with a three-quarters

⁵¹ Kaplan, *Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit*, 163, pl. 80b; Grimm, ‘Tuna el-Gebel 1913–1973’, 231, pl. 75a–b.

head occupies a distinct space rather than appearing as part of a series or procession: the mourning women stand alone in their respective registers, and the deceased in the libation scene stands between Horus and Thoth in an area delimited by the sacred water poured over her. In Classical Greek vase painting, a three-quarters or frontal face was employed for the dead, the sleeping, and other liminal figures. A head turned at an angle or *en face* among profile faces interrupted the visual relationship between figures, drawing attention to a subject whose state of being or role in the narrative needed to be set apart.⁵² In the same way, in House 21 the three-quarters faces suited the liminal qualities of the deceased, who was poised between life and death, and the mourning women, who had always stretched the boundaries of Egyptian representational decorum, reflecting the chaotic nature of their ritual grief.⁵³

The inclusion of the three female figures with their Greek-form heads and flowing Egyptian hair, as well as the painted stone dado, demonstrates that the artisans and patrons of House 21 were familiar with both Egyptian and Greek visual forms and were prepared to adopt the latter in appropriate contexts. A desire for a more realistic image was not the drive behind representations like the libated deceased or the mourning women in the tomb, or the male and female subjects of the Meir mummy masks. Rather, Greek or Roman elements of iconography and execution were included in these objects as part of the narrative of transfiguration in Egyptian funerary religion. Roman or ephebic hairstyles, *trompe-l'oeil* orthostats, and the torsion of a head in space were selective nods to the dominant Hellenic culture of Roman Egypt, updating parts of the Egyptian artistic repertoire and adding to the variety of ways in which people might represent themselves. The significance of any image, Greek or Egyptian, depended on the context in which it was used, a theme which is the focus of the second half of this chapter.

NATURALISTIC PORTRAITURE AND THE EGYPTIAN FUNERARY TRADITION

One of the pre-eminent markers of status in the Greek world was the conferring of civic honours, often accompanied by the erection of the honorand's portrait in a public place. Patronage funded the *polis*, and wealthy residents donated baths, funded entertainments, or held offices without pay. By way of thanks, a town

⁵² F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Du masque au visage: Aspects de l'identité en Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1995), 81–5.

⁵³ M. Werbroueck, *Les pleureuses dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Brussels 1938); W. Guglielmi, 'Lachen und Weinen in Ethik, Kult, und Mythos der Ägypter', *CdÉ* 55 (1980), 69–86. In pharaonic evidence, the low social status of hired mourners also contributed to artistic licence in representing their postures, hair, and clothing.

council could vote to erect a statue or otherwise pay respects to the local benefactor.⁵⁴ Such sculpture formed a highly visible part of the urban settings of the Greek East, as did publicly erected images of rulers and gods. In Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, sculptures of rulers, leading citizens, and gods would likewise have contributed to the streetscape of the towns and cities, alongside other types of images in different media. Little of this statuary has survived, and almost none *in situ*. Works executed in native limestone were long ago burned for lime, but the remnants of column capitals and *himation* statues dot the recesses of sites like Luxor Temple. Monuments like the Serapeum hemicycle of philosopher portraits at Saqqara and the honorary columns at Hermopolis and Antinoopolis are another indication of how the ruling elite used portraits and how urban residents experienced sculptural forms.⁵⁵

Such art established the importance not only of the individuals represented but also of the portrait form itself. In the Greek and Roman Mediterranean, naturalistic portraiture was widespread and valued, employed for everything from colossal statues to small-scale images on coins, cameos, and glass. Proceeding down the social scale, portrait statues, busts, and reliefs were commissioned for private domestic use and for funerary monuments, such as tombs, altars, sarcophagi, and stelae.⁵⁶ Underpinning these varied forms and uses of portrait sculpture was a uniform visual language of poses, bodily appearance, personal adornment, and attributes which could be adapted to suit a patron's specific requirements.

Portraiture in stone has survived the centuries much better than portraiture in recyclable or ephemeral materials, such as bronze or painting on any medium. The mummy portraits of Roman Egypt are a rare survival of a type of portraiture which must have been widely used, and the Egyptian climate together with their exceptional use in burials has preserved more than a thousand examples. Borg's astute analysis of the mummy portraits emphasized their relationship to Greek and Roman art and, in particular, to the construction of Hellenic identity in Roman-era portraiture.⁵⁷ Like all Greek-form portrait images from Roman Egypt, the

⁵⁴ See overview in A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Roman arches and Greek honours: The language of power at Rome', *PCPS* 216 (1990), 143–81. On the erection of statues: R. R. R. Smith, 'Cultural choice and political identity in honorific portrait statues in the Greek East in the second century AD', *JRS* 88 (1998), 56–93.

⁵⁵ Serapeum hemicycle: J.-P. Lauer and C. Picard, *Les statues ptolémaïques du Sarapéeion de Memphis* (Paris 1955). Honorary columns, which supported portrait statues: D. M. Bailey, 'Classical architecture in Roman Egypt', in M. Henig (ed.), *Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1990), 121–37, 129–33, citing examples at Hermopolis, Antinoe, Alexandria, and possibly Oxyrhynchus.

⁵⁶ Some examples: tombs, R. R. R. Smith, *The Monument of C. Julius Zoilos* (Mainz 1993); altars, D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits* (Rome 1987); sarcophagi, G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (Munich 1982); stelae, E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechische Grabreliefs* (Mainz 1977), and S. Schmidt, *Hellenistische Grabreliefs: Typologische und chronologische Beobachtungen* (Cologne and Vienna 1991).

⁵⁷ Borg, *Mumienporträts*.

mummy portraits assert the norms and values cultivated in the urban centres of the Greek East: education, decorous self-presentation, civic and familial duty. Hairstyles for women followed the fashions set by the imperial house, whereas men could wear their hair and beards in either Greek or Roman style. The clothing depicted in portraits from Egypt is always the Greek tunic (*chiton*) and mantle (*himation*), not the Roman toga for men; military attire could be depicted as well. Jewellery worn by women and girls also copies contemporary fashions, replete with gold, pearls, and semi-precious stones.

Many portraits on wood or linen have been removed not only from a poorly recorded archaeological context but also from the context of the mummified body itself. The format of the portrait means that only the subject's head and shoulders, and sometimes hands, were depicted. Extant mummies with portraits still in place demonstrate that the panel or bust-length shroud was sometimes only one component of the decorated mummy, which could be further adorned by a painted lower-body shroud or plaster-coated linen casing with registers of Egyptian scenes.⁵⁸ These intact mummies underscore the fact that the mummification and burial of the dead continued according to Egyptian tenets. Was a portrait, then, simply an innovation in the decoration of mummies, essentially no different from using a mummy mask or coffin, or was the adoption of naturalistic Greek portraiture a significant reflection of the deceased's cultural identity?

Building on recent discussions of these issues, such as those of Borg and Walker,⁵⁹ it is advantageous to look beyond the mummy portraits themselves and consider works of Egyptian funerary art which depict the deceased as a full, portrait-like figure in a more complex visual setting. This approach has several benefits. One advantage is that the full-figure representation of the deceased will, by default, tend to include more information about the figure's appearance and pose, permitting better comparisons to the Greek sculptural prototypes from which these representations ultimately derived. Secondly, many of the full-figure Greek images in Egyptian funerary art occur on larger objects or in tombs, with the result that the image of the deceased is only one part of a decorative whole. This leads to a third advantage from the viewpoint of analysing the roles of the Egyptian and Greek systems of representation, because the naturalistic portrait figure often appears in tandem with Egyptian scenes to a greater extent, or with a sharper contrast, than on the portrait mummies. The remainder of this chapter uses a selection of objects and monuments to explore both the mechanics of combining the two representational systems and the facets of personal identity that such artistic choices might illuminate.

⁵⁸ L. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt* (Chicago 1995); Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 129–49.

⁵⁹ Borg, *Mumienporträts*; B. Borg, 'Der zierlichste Anblick der Welt': *Ägyptische Porträtmumien* (Mainz 1998); S. Walker, 'Mummy portraits in their Roman context', in M. L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks* (London 1997), 1–6.

As the first half of this chapter has demonstrated, the manner in which the deceased was represented, from his or her posture to various details of personal appearance, could be altered as part of a narrative concerning transfiguration after death. In the first-century wall paintings from House 21, for example, a three-quarters head, unbound hair, and clothing with both traditional and quotidian overtones characterized the female deceased as she was purified by Horus and Thoth on the threshold of the afterlife, whereas archaic or mummiform features were used to represent her acceptance among the gods and her perfected state as a participant in (and recipient of) the Osiris cult. What transpired after death was conceived, at least on one level, as a process by which the chief components of the individual—the shadow, the *ba*, and the *ka*—were introduced to the next world and made worthy of an eternal existence. Successfully transformed, the deceased could then be presented to Osiris and could partake of the nourishment that rituals provided for the gods and the dead.

The narrative of transfiguration began at a point just after death or burial, since it was the rites of mummification and burial which enabled rejuvenation. At this point, the dead person was visualized as being closer to life and lifelikeness. Increasingly during the Roman Period, representing this ‘deceased-as-in-life’ could be accomplished by using a figure derived from Greek art forms like the portrait statue. Images based on Egyptian pictorial forms, like House 21 or the Meir masks, strove for the same thing but in a different way. It was not so much that the make-up of the local elites and the identity of their dead had changed, but that the standard for personal representation had itself been transformed, in recognition of the artistic and physical forms used by the elite of contemporary society and made paramount by the widespread distribution of such images.

The Journey from Death to Rebirth

A remarkable wooden funerary bier made for a woman (Figs. 64–6) depicts the deceased in both Egyptian and Greek forms, and their respective attire, in sequential scenes on its right side.⁶⁰ The bier is probably from Thebes, and the Roman hairstyle of the dead woman consists of a centre parting with the hair drawn partially over the ears to the back of the head in full waves, which parallels the hair of empress Faustina Minor and thus points to a date between the 150s and 180s.⁶¹ The bier takes the shape of a leonine funerary bed. Its extensive Egyptian iconography and inscriptions reveal a considerable knowledge of religious texts and of

⁶⁰ Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 12442 (L: 183.0 cm; W: 56.0 cm): Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 20–3 (Texts C–K), 41 fig. 5; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 117–18, pl. 137. 2; Morenz, ‘Anubis mit dem Schlüssel’, 510–15.

⁶¹ Cf. Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 51–61, esp. her pl. 30.

FIGURE 64 Lions at the head end of this bier offered symbolic protection to the body that would rest inside.

A small figure of Osiris stands inside the innermost of three nested Egyptian doorways. Painted wood. H: 118.0 cm.

From Thebes, c. AD 150–75. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 12442.



the compositional rules governing the decoration of funerary material. At the head end is a triple-recessed Egyptian gateway enclosing a small image of Osiris, and the left side of the bier is devoted to Osiris and Sokar imagery, including a depiction of the antelope-prowed *henu*-barque of Sokar (Fig. 65). Texts written in a cramped but competent hieroglyphic hand fill most of the many inscription bands on each side of the bier and on its lion legs. The texts concern the judgement of the deceased, the integrity of her physical senses and abilities after death, the offerings she will receive, and prayers to Osiris and Sokar.⁶²

On the right side of the bier, the dead woman appears in scenes relaying her initial entry into the netherworld, her judgement, her nourishment under the sycamore fig tree, and her presentation to Osiris, in an implicit narrative order progressing from the foot of the bier to its head end (Fig. 66). In the first scene, nearest the foot end, the deceased stands *contrapposto*, with her weight on her right leg and her left bent. The toes of her left foot are pointed to rest delicately on the

⁶² See Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 20–3 (Texts C–K) for translations of texts from the right and left sides of the bier, with commentary. Inscriptions are present on the head end of the bier but difficult to decipher because of their small size and lack of contrast between the paint and the preserved surface of the bier.

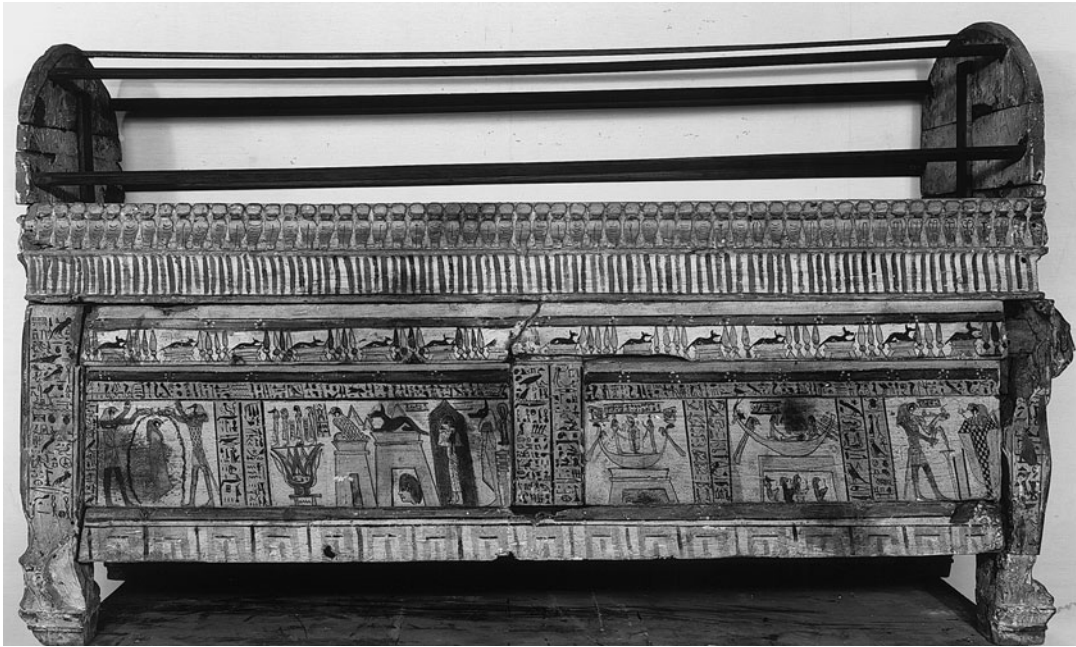


FIGURE 65 The left side of the bier depicts a series of divine scenes, including Osiris in the *nesmet*-barque and Sokar in the antelope-prowed *hemu*-barque. Painted wood. H of scene: c.20.0 cm. From Thebes, c. AD 150–75. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 12442.

groundline. Anubis holds her right hand. He is drawn according to Egyptian conventions and turns his head to look at the deceased. In his other hand, he holds the key to the afterlife, which he will have just used to open the ‘door’ between life and death.⁶³ In this scene, the deceased wears an enveloping mantle over a tunic with a trapezoidal neck opening. The sides and bottom of the mantle are shown as fringed, presumably to suggest that this is a length of textile, probably fringed at its short ends, that has been wrapped fully around her. Rudimentary fold lines emanating from the chest to the corners of the mantle also indicate how the mantle draped across the body. Around the shoulders of the deceased is a narrow stole which passes from her left shoulder across her chest, over her right upper arm, and then around her back so that a length of it, fringed at the short end, can go underneath the cross-swath and hang down the left front side of her body. Despite the small size of the scene (around 16 cm high), the artist has taken care to show the basic shapes of the deceased’s posture, clothing, and hair.

The next scene on the right side of the bier depicts the weighing of the heart. The devouring monster Ammet, seated on a shrine, observes the proceedings from a separate panel to the viewer’s left, next to the midpoint of this side of the bier.

⁶³ Morenz, ‘Anubis mit dem Schlüssel’.



FIGURE 66 The right side of the bier shows the deceased in the underworld. Near the foot end, she appears in Greek form with Anubis, next to a scene of the judgement. Hieroglyphs to the left and right of her head pray for her *ba* to live forever, like Osiris. At the other end, the dead woman appears in Egyptian form, with Anubis, the goddess of the sycamore fig tree, and Osiris. Painted wood. H of scene: c.20.0 cm. From Thebes, c. AD 150–75. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 12442.

After the midpoint, the deceased appears three times. In the first instance (still proceeding from foot to head), Anubis grasps one of her hands to lead the deceased forward. She next appears in a kneeling position, to receive water poured out by the goddess in the sycamore fig tree. The final scene on this side of the bier portrays the deceased standing before Osiris and Sokar, with her hands held in front of her chest. This is the last stage in her transfiguration, the completion of her ‘journey’ through the afterlife to join the company of the gods. The transformation of the deceased is invoked in the hieroglyphic inscription that runs along the top of the scene: ‘Arise! Receive your form from your mother Nut.’

In each of her three appearances at this end of the bier, the deceased is drawn according to Egyptian conventions. Her head and feet are in profile while her shoulders and arms face the viewer. She no longer wears the fashionable hairstyle, tunic, and mantle of the bier’s first scene, but a version of the Egyptian knotted ensemble instead. A length of textile is wrapped around her lower body so that one edge of it hangs straight from her chest down the centre of her legs. This textile seems to have a striped border, and the number and spacing of its drapery lines convey its thin weight. A shawl made of a similar textile covers the woman’s shoulders and upper arms and seems to be knotted to the lower body wrap. Flecked lines



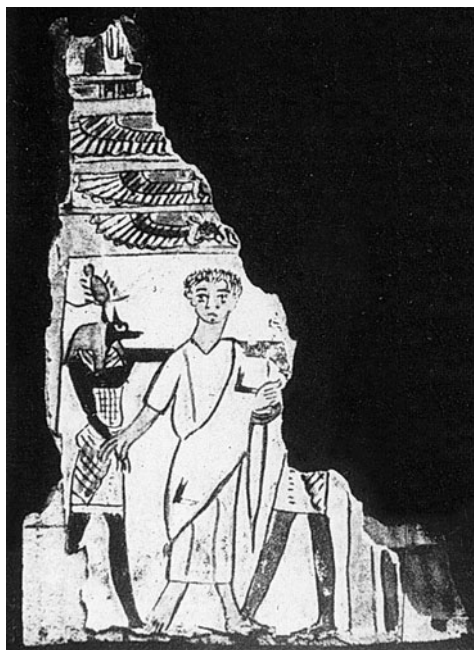
FIGURE 67 In a judgement scene, the lifelike Greek form of the deceased and his skeletal corpse flank the central post of the balance. Fragment of a painted cartonnage mummy case. H: c.20.0 cm. From Bahria Oasis, perhaps first century AD. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, number unknown.

across her chest, or under her raised arm when she kneels beside the sycamore fig, may indicate the fringe along the edges of the shawl. Her hair is rounded, like a bag-shaped wig, and ends at chin level. Both this hairstyle and the knotted ensemble she wears are emblematic of her otherworldly status, achieved after she has been justified in the preceding sequence of scenes. In the late second century AD, this ensemble and short wig or hair act like the sheath dress and tripartite hairstyle in House 21 (see Fig. 61), as the appropriate ‘archaic’ costume to herald the near-divine standing of the transfigured dead woman. As they are used on the bier, the Greek and Egyptian systems of representation express the same change, and the *contrapposto* form of naturalistic Greek portraiture does not pass beyond the boundary of this world and the next.

Picturing the transfiguration of the deceased was not limited to female subjects. Fragments from mummy cases found in Bahria Oasis also insert Greek images of the deceased into Egyptian scenes at liminal points. On the fragment in Fig. 67, the deceased man appears twice in a judgement scene under the scales where his heart is being weighed. At one side of the balance pivot, he is a black, near-skeletal figure with a lifelike frontal face, which recalls the shadow who accompanies the deceased on the east and west walls of House 21. Next to it, on the other side of the pivot, the deceased appears in Hellenic garb, raising his arms in an Egyptian gesture of supplication or praise that is associated with the successful outcome of a judgement.⁶⁴ His face is identical to that on his shadow, with short, black curly hair, and his fashionable clothing consists of a white tunic with *clavi* and a coloured mantle that is wrapped around his body from his left shoulder and under his right arm. At the far (viewer’s) right side of the fragment, a figure holding keys presumably represents Anubis, who has opened the door into the afterlife, another pairing of this action and the judgement scene as on the right side of the Theban bier.

⁶⁴ E. Breccia, *La Musée gréco-romain 1925–31* (Bergamo 1932), 59. See C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten* (Munich and Berlin 1976), 98–101, with figs. 23 and 26 for Ptolemaic examples. F. Dunand, ‘Gestes symboliques’, *CRIPEL* 9 (1987), 81–7, traces evidence for the raised-arm posture in Egyptian sources and relates it to the *orans* pose of Roman and Byzantine art.

FIGURE 68 Anubis and Horus (just seen) flank the dead man, who appears in Greek form in a mantle adorned with *gammadia*. The figures stand within the frames of three Egyptian doors. Fragment of a painted cartonnage mummy case. H: c.25.0 cm. From Bahria Oasis, perhaps first century AD. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, number unknown.



A similar fragment (Fig. 68) shows the deceased inside a triple-recessed doorway topped by winged sun discs, an Egyptian portal that can be understood as the door leading to the afterlife. Therefore, as in the judgement that presages transfiguration, the deceased is shown in Greek form. He is embraced by Anubis and another god, who is either Wepwawet or another figure of Anubis.⁶⁵ All three figures in this scene were executed by the same artist, but the dead man's short hair, *contrapposto* stance, and white tunic and mantle help draw particular attention to him. His tunic has *clavi*, and the mantle has two *gamma*-shaped woven marks prominently positioned in front. One mantle end falls beside the man's left leg to end in a weighted point. This is a telling detail copied from sculpture in relief or in the round. Artists were able to replicate figures like the ones on these fragments in part because such figures were familiar 'types' or adaptations of types inherent to Greek art in various media and in two or three dimensions. Their inclusion in an Egyptian scene like the judgement of the dead was a choice driven by the context of the scene and of the burial within the broader social and artistic milieu of Roman Egypt.

⁶⁵ E. Breccia, *La Musée gréco-romaine 1925-31* (Bergamo 1932), 59. The head of the second figure is lost but both have dark flesh. Double representations of Anubis, or one figure of Anubis and one of Wepwawet, occur on some stelae, for which see Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt*, III, and his pl. 30 (no. 75).

The Coffin as Cult: Burials at Abusir el-Meleq

The small and rather sketchy Greek images of the deceased on the bier from Thebes or the cartonnage fragments from Bahria Oasis are embedded in Egyptian scenes according to a meaningful sequence of ideas about death. In these compositions, or in a tomb like House 21, no single image dominated the rest. Other funerary art in Roman Egypt, however, was designed so that a large-scale image of the deceased was the primary visual focus. For such large-scale images on coffin lids, shrouds, or in tomb paintings, Greek naturalism was the norm, and the precursors of the resultant funerary portraits are sculptural and pictorial types transmitted through Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman art. The use of these widely disseminated types established a repertoire of familiar and meaningful poses, clothing, expressions, and attributes from which patrons could draw. A skilled artist with access to a high quality model and materials could produce a more exact version of the type than could an artist working from memory, or from a less detailed model, or with more limited skills and materials. Thus small-scale images like the woman on the bier captured the general appearance of the desired figure type, which was enough to suit the purpose of including a Greek figure in the context of the Egyptian scenes. Some details seem to have been considered especially important to reproduce—body pose, clothing shape and textiles, hairstyle—whereas other details, like drapery folds and footwear, were ignored or simplified for these small images.

In larger formats, however, the transference of Greek sculptural types to the Egyptian funerary milieu could carefully replicate models based on the portrait monuments of private individuals in the Greek and Roman worlds. Rather than being fitted into an Egyptian narrative, the large-scale Hellenic figure of the deceased was like a solitary statue or memorial, displaying the individual in a lifelike manner to all who saw it—an audience which might have included the deceased's family, members of the community, and visitors or officiants performing cult for the image at a funeral or in the tomb.

A trio of wooden coffin parts (65–7) excavated at Abusir el-Meleq, near the entrance of the Fayum, make the relationship between Greek prototypes and Egyptian funerary versions especially clear. Abusir el-Meleq lies in the strip of cultivation between the Nile and the Bahr Yusuf, a branch of the river that feeds into the Fayum basin. It was known in Egyptian as the 'Abydos of the North' because of its active Osiris cult, which made it an attractive burial site.⁶⁶ Like many sites, Abusir el-Meleq has been inadequately recorded and subject to plundering.⁶⁷ The site was excavated at the beginning of the twentieth century by Otto Rubensohn on behalf of the papyrus collection of the Egyptian Museum, Berlin, with the aim of securing more papyri. Published references to the excavation

⁶⁶ J. von Beckerath, 'Abusir el-Meleq', *LÄ* i. 28; and 'Abydos, U.äg.', *LÄ* i. 42.

⁶⁷ G. Vittmann, 'Zu den Raubgrabungen in Abusir el-Meleq', *Göttinger Miszellen* 42 (1981), 81–6.

diaries along with Rubensohn's preliminary reports permit a basic reconstruction of the Ptolemaic and Roman burials that Rubensohn found in several shafts and chambers cut into the soft bedrock of the site.⁶⁸ These shafts contained burials dating back to the Late Period, and some chambers were reused over the ensuing centuries, with coffins, mummies, grave goods, and floral tributes piled into the available space. The largest tomb that Rubensohn found was the so-called 'mass grave of the Harsaphes priests' (Fig. 69).⁶⁹ This extensive underground structure consisted of twenty-one chambers opening off a corridor more than 30 m long. The tomb contained its original Late Period burials of several members of the priesthood based at Herakleopolis Magna (Ihnasya el-Medina), a town more than 20 km south along the Bahr Yusuf. The priests served the cult of Harsaphes, a Herakleopolitan ram god associated with fertility and with Osiris.⁷⁰ The Late Period burials were largely intact alongside many intrusive Ptolemaic and Roman burials, including several Roman portrait mummies found lying on the floor.⁷¹

One of the intrusive burials in the tomb, from inside or near chamber 12, was a coffin which stood upright inside a 'shrine sarcophagus' (65, Figs. 70–1), a neologism for the upright wooden cabinet with doors on its front that could be opened to reveal the coffin inside. Less is known about the context in which the mask or upper part of another coffin (66) was found, but it is described in Rubensohn's excavation diaries for the 1903–4 season among other Roman remains that entered the Berlin collection.⁷² Its carving, construction, and appearance are identical to that of a complete coffin (67, Fig. 72) that was purchased on the art market in 1921 for the British Museum.

The coffin inside the 'shrine sarcophagus' (66) represents a boy, while the Berlin coffin fragment (65) and British Museum coffin (67) both represent clean-shaven adult males. All three adopt the arm-sling posture used for Greek images of men and adolescent boys, which appeared in a more abbreviated form on the cartonnage coffin of Panakht from Kharga Oasis (2). This sculptural type associated the male subject with decorous public bearing and the oratorical tradition of Greek education.⁷³ A mantle envelops the body and the right arm is caught up in its folds

⁶⁸ Preliminary reports: O. Rubensohn and F. Knatz, 'Bericht über die Ausgrabungen bei Abusir el Mäläq im Jahre 1903', *ZÄS* 41 (1904), 1–21; O. Rubensohn, 'Ausgrabungen in Abusir-el-Mäläq', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie* 8 (1905), 20–4; F. Zucker, 'Archäologische Funde im Jahre 1908: Ägypten', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 24 (1909), 176–89. Excavation diaries: Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 55, 56 fig. 5 (plan of the tomb), 118–20; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 54–7, 129.

⁶⁹ Rubensohn, 'Ausgrabungen in Abusir-el-Mäläq', 22–4.

⁷⁰ B. Altenmüller, 'Harsaphes', *LÄ* ii. 1015–18.

⁷¹ Rubensohn, 'Ausgrabungen in Abusir-el-Mäläq', 23.

⁷² Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 129 II 4.

⁷³ Smith, 'Cultural choice and political identity'; A. Lewerentz, *Stehende männliche Gewandstatuen im Hellenismus: Ein Beitrag zur Stilgeschichte und Ikonologie hellenistischer Plastik* (Hamburg 1993), 185–203. On the arm-sling type, see K. Polaschek, *Untersuchungen zu griechischen Mantelstatuen* (Berlin 1969); Lewerentz, *Stehende männliche Gewandstatuen*, 241–52, catalogue type I.

FIGURE 69 The 'tomb of the Harsaphes priests' at Abusir el-Meleq, a rock-cut structure of the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period which was reused for Roman burials.

This plan shows twenty-one chambers leading off a long corridor, which was reached by a shaft. The shrine sarcophagus (66, see Figs. 70 and 71) was found in or near chamber 12.

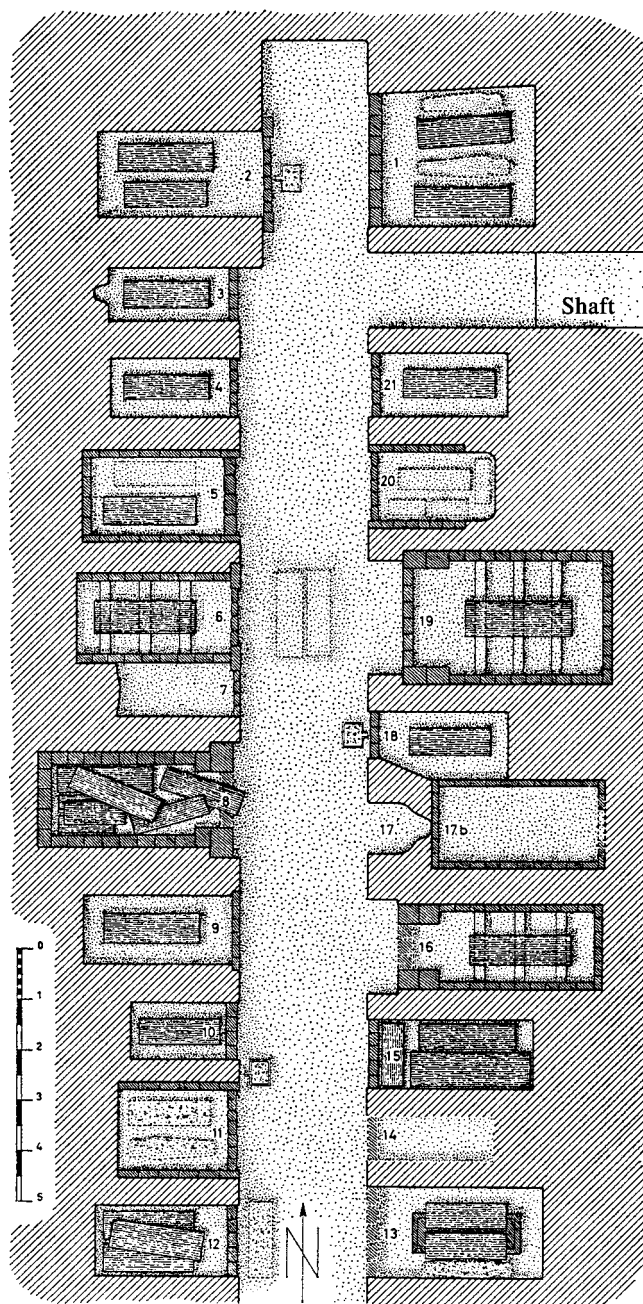


FIGURE 70 Inside the tomb in Fig. 69, excavators discovered the statue-like coffin of a boy standing upright within a cabinet they termed a 'shrine sarcophagus' (66).

The inner coffin represents the boy wearing a youthful

Horus lock and a mantle wrapped in the arm-sling style. Wood with traces of plaster and gilding; inlaid glass eyes. L of inner coffin:

114.0 cm. From Abusir el-Meleq, first half of the first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 17126 (inner coffin), 17127 (shrine sarcophagus).



and held bent against the subject's chest. The left arm hangs at the side of the body and was also usually wrapped in the mantle folds so that only an outline of the fist could be seen straining against the cloth.⁷⁴ The arm-sling statue type had forerunners in late Classical and early Hellenistic art and became especially popular from the late second century BC. Under the Roman Empire, it continued to be used for portraits, both for honorific statues and on funerary monuments and sarcophagus

⁷⁴ Lewerentz, *Stehende männliche Gewandstatuen*, 241–52, catalogue type I, nos. 1 to 10, 13, 14, 16, and 18.

FIGURE 71 The shrine sarcophagus from Fig. 70 with its doors closed. The cornice of the sarcophagus is an Egyptian architectural feature. H: c.140.0 cm. From Abusir el-Meleq, first half of the first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 17127 (66).



reliefs. Examples from Roman times tend to show the hand of the hanging arm as being free of the mantle rather than wrapped in it, and with this hand the subject can hold a book-roll attribute. Coffins 65 and 67 include the book-roll, a symbolic reference to the literacy of the subject and sometimes to his official position as well.

The hairstyles of the three pieces—worn short and brushed forward—suggest that they date to the first half of the first century AD. This style does not reproduce a specific imperial model, but its general appearance seems to be inspired by

FIGURE 72 This coffin for a man (67) is of identical workmanship to a coffin fragment (65) and the boy's coffin (66 in Fig. 70) excavated at Abusir el-Meleq. The man's stance, short hair, and clothing derive from Greek sculpture, while the front of the plinth is painted with a *ba*-bird and mock hieroglyphs. Wood covered with plaster, gilded and painted. L: 176.0 cm. From Abusir el-Meleq, first half of the first century AD. London, British Museum, EA 55022.



Julio-Claudian emperors or by the neatly trimmed hair or curls seen in private portraits of a late Hellenistic date. The style is generally reminiscent of the fringes found on some of the male mummy masks from Meir.⁷⁵ The boy represented on coffin 65 (Fig. 70) also has a long lock of hair that trails from the nape of his neck

⁷⁵ *Ancient Faces* (London), 36, cites the protrusion of the ears on coffin 67 as a possible parallel with Roman portraits from the reign of Claudius (AD 41–54).

over his shoulders.⁷⁶ This is the so-called Horus lock for boys, which can be traced to pharaonic practice and which became prominent in Roman times as the popularity of child-god cults increased. The Horus lock spread throughout the empire along with the cult of Isis, and it appears on portraits of boys to associate them with the young Horus and garner his protection. Some of the subjects might have been dedicated to the Isis cult as well. There is some evidence that a lock of hair worn by boys among Greek families in Egypt was cut off when they reached puberty and dedicated in a ceremony called *mallokeurion*.⁷⁷ On coffin 66, the presence of the Horus lock indicates the youth of the deceased.

The coffins are virtuoso examples of woodcarving. The two complete coffins (66 and 67) are carved from tree trunks with deep, confident undulations for the drapery and careful incisions for the hair, facial features, fingernails, and even the book-roll. The surface of the wood was coated with plaster ground to support paint and gilding, though only traces of the plaster and gilding remain. Coffins 65 and 66 retain their inlaid glass eyes, which have been gouged out of coffin 67 (Fig. 72).

Unlike most of their counterparts in stone statuary, the Abusir el-Meleq coffins were not destined for permanent display in a public space or a visible funerary monument. They were receptacles for a mummified body and were deposited in an underground tomb, to which only a few people had restricted access. More people might have seen the coffins in conjunction with the burial rites, and the use of the shrine sarcophagus to encase coffin 66 is highly suggestive in this respect. The 'shrine' of the sarcophagus functions like an actual temple or shrine would, to house and conceal the cult image of the god and, just as importantly, to reveal the cult image on appropriate occasions. Terracotta figurines of the priests who were responsible for such shrines suggest that the shrine was a familiar presence in religious rituals and celebrations. The priests, called *pastophoroi* in Greek, were members of the lower clergy. The terracottas depict them bearing shrines on their shoulders, sometimes with an image of the god inside, sometimes with the doors of the shrine closed.⁷⁸ By analogy, a coffin inside a shrine was a cult image, carved

⁷⁶ Compare a Julio-Claudian marble stela from the Kerameikos cemetery, Athens (P 194. 1 141), inscribed for a boy named Diodotos: D. W. Von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit: Studien zur Verbreitung, Chronologie, Typologie und Ikonographie* (Mainz 1998), 108 (no. 122), pl. 13 b–d; E. J. Walters, *Attic Grave Reliefs that Represent Women in the Dress of Isis* (Princeton 1988), 25, 69 pl. 7.

⁷⁷ Horus lock: H. Goette, 'Römische Kinderbildnisse mit Jugend-Locken', *AM* 104 (1989), 203–17; V. von Gonzenbach, *Untersuchungen zu den Knabenweihen* (Bonn 1957). *Mallokeurion*: D. Montserrat, 'Mallokeurion and therapeuteria: Rituals of transition in a mixed society?', *BASP* 28 (1991), 43–9.

⁷⁸ For example: F. Dunand, *Catalogue des terres cuites gréco-romaines d'Égypte*, Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités grecques et romaines (Paris 1990), 186–7 (nos. 502–5), with a *hydria* inside the shrine on no. 503, a god on no. 504, and closed doors on no. 505; L. Török, *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt* (Rome 1995), 107–8 (no. 142), pl. 74, with Harpocrates inside the shrine.

in the form of a statue of the deceased. Like coffin 65, coffin 67 also stands on a plinth and may have been used in conjunction with a shrine sarcophagus. Both present the deceased to the audience—actual or ideological—like a statue and, like a statue, are ready to receive cult offerings.

On the Abusir el-Meleq coffins, native Egyptian iconography may seem secondary to the Greek portrait image, but it is not absent. The shrine sarcophagus for coffin 65 adopts the sloping sides and cavetto cornice of Egyptian sacred architecture, and the plinth of coffin 67 is painted on the front with an outspread *ba*-bird, flanked by columns filled with meaningless hieroglyphic ‘signs’. According to the unpublished excavation diaries, the coffin fragment 66 was found together with an Osiris-figured shroud, fragments of cartonnage, and a wooden sarcophagus, although it is not clear how these objects relate to each other; they seem to represent more than one burial.⁷⁹ Another Egyptian element of the wooden coffins is their gilding, which in addition to adding to the material value of these objects, and their dazzling appearance, echoed the gleaming skin of the Egyptian gods and the precious metal of cult statues.

The faithfully reproduced Greek image was thus adapted to suit Egyptian burial practices and to express an Egyptian concept of death. The context of the burials, in a large old tomb in the burial ground of the ‘Abydos of the North’, points to a connection between the patrons and the Egyptian past, regardless of their social standing. From the viewpoint of artistic change and influence, using the arm-sling statue type for the coffins presupposes that the type was recognized as a desirable artistic form, but in the context of the burial, the type did not necessarily communicate the same things that it did in its more usual setting, like the public statues of civic benefactors. Part of the appeal of the arm-sling type in the funerary milieu of Roman Egypt may have been its novelty value and its association with the ruling elite. An Egyptian burial was not subject to the same rules of procedure and decorum that would have governed the erection of public images, however, and the funerary sphere thus provided an opening for a wider stratum of society to use the elite language of such images in a more flexible way.

Like a temple, tomb, or cult statue, the Abusir el-Meleq coffins reveal the transfigured deceased as if he were a god and could receive the cult necessary for the eternal survival of the dead. Egyptian funerary religion was the underlying motivation for these objects and their associated burials, and the Greek manner in which the deceased was portrayed seems to have complemented Egyptian practice, rather than the other way around.

⁷⁹ Cited by Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 129 II 4: a cartonnage fragment from the knee area of a mummy case (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 17017), footcase (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 17018), shroud (lost), and wooden sarcophagus (lost).

Naturalistic Painting and Portraits of the Dead

In the Greek and Roman worlds, painting was widely used in a variety of contexts—for sacred and secular wall paintings, framed panels, and illustrated papyri, to name a few. Painting was a versatile medium and could be executed in either tempera or encaustic, on surfaces ranging from wood, textile, and papyrus to the prepared stone or mudbrick walls of buildings. Given the importance of naturalistic human images in Greek and Roman culture, portraits were frequent subjects for paintings. On wooden panels, the portrait image was usually limited to the head and chest of the deceased, a bust-like form with sculptural parallels in funerary stelae.⁸⁰ Depicting just the head and chest captured the most recognizable and personal aspects of the individual on a portable, easily handled object. The best-known examples of funerary commemoration from Roman Egypt are the mummy portraits which, even if they were made solely for use in the burial, take the form of panel images that could be framed for hanging on a wall or inserting in a sort of portable shrine.⁸¹ The question of whether the mummy portraits had been used elsewhere before being wrapped into the mummy is less important than the observation that there are affinities between the different kinds of panel portraits and their functions. At Hawara, Petrie found a portrait framed as if for hanging but of much smaller dimensions than the panels wrapped into the mummies. The framed panel had been left with a burial like a memorial, an offering, or both.⁸²

Like statuary, painted portraits place the human subject on display, fix the subject's physical appearance, and could, by virtue of the setting or frame, elicit the veneration of the subject through the portrait image. After mummy portraits on wood and moulded mummy masks, the most common type of funerary art from Roman Egypt is a naturalistic portrait painted on a shroud or on the wall of a tomb, often as a full-length figure. These examples use a naturalistic portrait head in combination with a suitably positioned body attired in Greek clothing, footwear, and contemporary jewellery. Three-dimensional sculptural prototypes were reproduced in two dimensions by using light and shadow to create a feeling of depth and of the pictorial body existing in space.

Unlike the smaller-scale images on the bier and cartonnage fragments considered above, full-length Greek figures on shrouds and tomb walls tend to dominate the composition. This reflects not only the importance of representing the deceased in the Greek manner but also such technical considerations as how a Greek figure

⁸⁰ e.g. H. Pflug, *Römische Porträtstelen in Oberitalien: Untersuchungen zur Chronologie, Typologie und Ikonographie* (Mainz 1989).

⁸¹ See W. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen im Altertum: Die Geschichte des Bilderrahmens* (Leipzig 1953), 71, 80–90, and also 175–9 on shrines with folding doors to cover a panel.

⁸² London, British Museum, GRA 1889.10-18.1 (H of portrait: 25.9 cm): W. M. F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* (London 1889), 10, pl. 12; *Ancient Faces* (London), 121–2 (no. 117).

can interact pictorially with Egyptian figures, or how it was appropriate to display a statue-like Greek image in any context. Still, when naturalistic figures dominate the design of the object or monument, they fill the same roles as smaller-scale figures or the Abusir el-Meleq coffins, by appearing at a liminal stage and being presented like a cult image, ready to be honoured by funerary rites. The Greek figure of the deceased could be set within a frame so that he or she was displayed to the viewer as an object of veneration, with an implicit parallel between the image of the deceased and cult images of gods. Frames were also like portals, as if the dead could peer out from the point of entry to the afterlife.

Shrouds: Framing the Dead

In the British Museum, the shroud of a young woman (Pl. 6) employs such a framing device, consisting of a gold-coloured arch set with jewels.⁸³ A similar device framed some portrait panels in place on mummies, such as Fig. 73, a girl's mummy from Hawara.⁸⁴ The British Museum shroud, which is unprovenanced, shows the deceased wearing a white undertunic, a pink tunic with black *clavi*, and a mantle dyed the same shade of pink. This mantle drapes across the woman's body and over her left arm, with a large *gamma* woven into it and positioned, perhaps protectively, over her lower abdomen and genitals. Her hair is drawn tightly back from a centre parting into a knot at the nape of her neck, a Roman hairstyle of the late second century AD.⁸⁵ She holds a transparent glass of wine in her right hand and a looped wreath of flowers in her left. These attributes appear in the same combination on many funerary objects from Roman Egypt, and although specific symbolic values—such as wine associated with Dionysus—have been suggested for them, they are generic, festive attributes indicating that the deceased has received the proffered funerary offerings.⁸⁶

⁸³ London, British Museum, EA 68509 (L: 138.0 cm, W: 56.0 cm): *Ancient Faces* (London), 118–19 (no. 114). This shroud is quite similar to another shroud with a bust-format female portrait; both appeared on the art market in 1974. For the bust-format shroud, whose present location is unknown, see: Münzen und Medaillen, 'Auktion 49: Werke Ägyptischer Kunst', 27 June 1974, 61 (no. 112), pl. 24 and frontispiece (L: 53.0 cm, W: 33.0 cm); K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, B III: *Ritratti di mummie*, iii: Nos. 497–674 (Rome 1980), 45 (no. 588), pl. 141. 1; Drouot-Richelieu sale, 'Archéologie: Collection Emile Brugsch Pacha et à divers amateurs', 30 September and 1 October 1996, 48 (no. 292; cut down to L: 41.0 cm, W: 33.0 cm).

⁸⁴ Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33216 (L of mummy: 1.07 m): Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 70–3, pl. 21; K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, B I: *Ritratti di mummie*, i: Nos. 1–246 (Rome 1969), 48–9, pl. 20. 2; L. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt* (Chicago 1995), 171–80 ('stucco mummy no. 19'), pl. 19 and front cover.

⁸⁵ Cf. Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 51–61, esp. at 57–8, and her pls. 35 and 78. 1.

⁸⁶ Cf. Borg, *Mumienporträts*, pls. 52. 1 and 52. 2; M.-F. Aubert, R. Cortopassi, F. Calament-Demerger, D. Bénazeth, and M.-H. Rutschowskaya, *Les antiquités égyptiennes*, ii: *Égypte romaine, art funéraire, antiquités coptes* (Paris 1997), 128–9 (no. 78); and the third-century mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri (122–50), in Chapter 4.

FIGURE 73 Mummy portraits could be surrounded by a frame indicative of the veneration of the dead, as on this stone-encrusted, gilded mummy of a girl. Painted wood, and gilded cartonnage with glass inlays, over linen-wrapped human remains.
L: 107.0 cm. From Hawara, early second century AD. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33216.



On the shroud, the jewelled arch is supported by narrow columns painted in dark and light bands of colour. The columns imply that the arch is part of an architectural structure behind the deceased. The 'façade' of this structure is divided into registers in which Egyptian figures appear, positioned in relation to the deceased's body: winged goddesses at her head, Thoth and Anubis at her shoulders, one of the Four Sons of Horus at her midsection, and a ram standing over a mummy at the point where the textile is torn away.⁸⁷ These otherworldly figures are confined to the architectural framework with which two-dimensional Egyptian representations were so closely linked, like relief figures on a temple gateway. Against and within this portal-like framework, the dead woman is displayed to the viewer in the fashionable, elite attire of the Greek East, as she partakes of her funerary rites. Although the wear pattern and staining of the shroud indicate that it was used to wrap a mummified corpse, it is possible that the shroud was on view at some point prior to the final wrapping and interment of the body, much like the wooden coffins from Abusir el-Meleq. Such a display, perhaps during the mourning period or as part of a ceremony, would help account for the design of this and other shrouds, which makes no concessions to the shape of the mummy, and for the high-quality execution and near life-size dimensions of the subject.

⁸⁷ Parlasca, 'A painted Egyptian mummy shroud', 266–8, identifies this as the 'ram of Mendes', and the mummy can be understood as the deceased; the same motif appears on the shroud of Taathyr in Missouri (Pl. 2).

FIGURE 74 This shroud for a young man refers to Osiris' triumphant journey to Abydos by depicting the deceased inside the kiosk of a papyrus skiff. He wears Greek clothing and is flanked by Isis and Nephthys, although his feet remain in profile on top of the boat. Painted linen. L: 225.0 cm. From Saqqara, perhaps second century AD. Paris, Louvre, N 3391.



A shroud in the Louvre demonstrates another type of framing device, and the rather fine line between shrouds used for wall hangings and for burials (Fig. 74).⁸⁸ The shroud is attributable to Saqqara, the ancient necropolis of Memphis, by comparison with two examples excavated there in the Late Period tomb of

⁸⁸ Paris, Louvre, N 3391 (L: 225.0 cm): W. de Gruneisen, *Les caractéristiques de l'art copte* (Florence 1922), pl. 13. 1; B. Stricker, 'ΑΥΤΟΕΙΔΕΣ ΣΩΜΑ', *OMRO* 42 (1962), 4, pl. 6a; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 181 n. 183; K. Parlasca, 'Osiris und Osirisglaube in der Kaiserzeit', in *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine: Colloque de Strasbourg 9–11 juin 1971* (Paris 1973), 99, pl. 5. 1; E. Bresciani, *Il volto di Osiri: Tele funerarie dipinte nell'Egitto romano* (Lucca 1996), 62–4; Aubert et al., *Les antiquités égyptiennes*, ii: 52–4.

Bakenrenef.⁸⁹ On the Louvre shroud, the full-length portrait of the deceased stands on a papyrus skiff that skims over a river or marsh where lotuses are blossoming. The iconography refers to the journey of Osiris on the *neshmet*-barque, when the god's embalmed corpse was enshrined in a kiosk so that he and his retinue could sail to Abydos for his triumphant burial and rejuvenation.⁹⁰ The shroud depicts the magnificent kiosk as a many-layered Egyptian shrine viewed from the front, its embedded cornices adorned with winged discs and supported by slender columns. The façade of the kiosk bears registers of Egyptian scenes, and at the far sides of the excavated examples, the tallest columns seem to support a tent-like overhang festooned with wreaths.

Using a naturalistic Greek image did not impede the identification of the deceased with Osiris, which is accomplished on the Louvre shroud both by the motif of the boat journey and by the presence of Isis and Nephthys, who extend their arms around the deceased. The dead man or youth wears a white tunic and mantle and holds a bouquet of myrtle and a book-roll; he has close-cropped hair and a clean-shaven face that denotes his young age. Although his body is turned to approximate a *contrapposto* stance, the preserved feet of the deceased on the Louvre shroud are in profile.⁹¹ On his head is a foliage wreath and the two-plumed Egyptian *šw.ty*-crown with horns, a sun disc, and uraei, associated with Osiris and, in the past, with posthumous representations of kings.

Tombs: The Threshold of the Underworld

The flat surface of a shroud offered the artist and viewer only a limited space for decoration. For those whose resources extended to erecting or cutting a new tomb, however, the tomb walls and burial niches provided ample space for paintings drawn from the extensive repertoire of Egyptian funerary iconography as well as Greek imagery. Only a handful of decorated tombs have been adequately cleared and recorded,⁹² and some areas seem to have forgone new tomb construction in

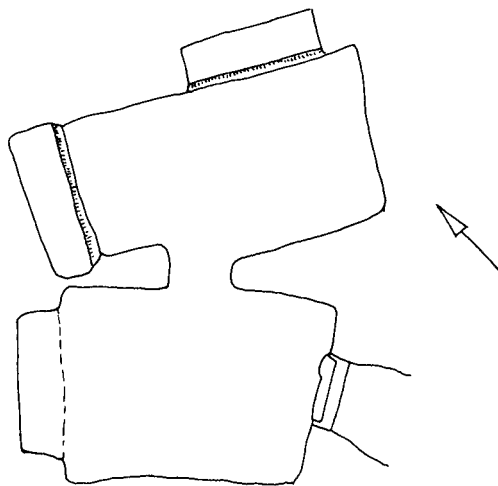
⁸⁹ Especially excavation registration number 605/649, but also Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 9/12/95/1 (L: 250.0 cm): Bresciani, *Il volto di Osiri, passim* on the Cairo shroud and 62–6 on 605/649; E. Bresciani, 'À propos de la toile funéraire peinte trouvée récemment à Saqqara', *BSFE* 76 (1976), 5–24, on the Cairo shroud.

⁹⁰ H. Altenmüller, 'Abydosfahrt', *LÄ i.* 42–7; J. Yoyotte, *Les pèlerinages dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris 1960), 30–40.

⁹¹ Profile feet combined with *contrapposto* bodies appear on funerary stelae from Terenuthis (Kom abu Billou) in the Delta: e.g. Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 253 (no. 157).

⁹² Kaplan, *Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit*, collects most examples of Roman Period tombs in the Nile Valley as well as Alexandria. To her catalogue, add: a tomb at Asyut, in F. W. F. von Bissing, 'Altchristliche Wandmalereien', in W. Worringer, H. Reiners, and L. Seligmann (eds.), *Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen, 31 Oktober 1926* (Dusseldorf 1926), 187 fig. 5; traces of tombs at Amarna, in Borchardt, 'Ausgrabungen in Tell el-Amarna 1912/13'; tombs at Qaw el-Kebir, in Steckeweh *et al.*, *Die Fürstengräber von Qaw*, 56–8, pls. 21–2; and further tombs in Dakhla Oasis, e.g. S. Yamani, 'Roman monumental tombs in Ezbet Bashendi', *BIFAO* 101 (2001), 393–414.

FIGURE 75 The tomb of Petosiris, cut into the hillside at Qaret el-Muzawaqqa, Dakhla Oasis, first century AD. Dimensions of first room: 3.3×2.5 m. Dimensions of second room: 4.0×2.0 m.



favour of reusing older structures or burying bodies in pits and shafts. Although tomb-robbing and the shortcomings of early excavation techniques make it difficult to characterize what type of burials and funerary goods the tombs would have contained, or how many bodies they were intended to hold, the extant decoration broadens our understanding of how Greek portraits were used in Egyptian funerary art. Specifically, the portrait figures in Roman Period tombs support a link between the liminal character of the naturalistic Greek image and the physical liminality of the tomb itself.

The tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhla Oasis is one of the best preserved decorated tombs from Roman Egypt.⁹³ It is cut into the rock face of a ridge called Qaret el-Muzawaqqa and probably dates to the first century AD, judging by the approximate date of Demotic graffiti left in the neighbouring, similarly aligned tomb inscribed for a priest of Thoth named Petubastis.⁹⁴ The tomb of Petosiris consists of two rectangular rooms with three body-length niches, one in the first room and two in the second, as the plan in Fig. 75 shows.

Although the presence of three niches suggests that the rooms were intended for multiple burials, only Petosiris is named and depicted in the tomb. His full-length figure dominates the east wall of Room 1, on the left (north) side of the doorway leading to Room 2 (Fig. 76). This large-scale Greek image represents the deceased

⁹³ H. Whitehouse, 'Roman in life, Egyptian in death: The painted tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhleh Oasis', in O. E. Kaper (ed.), *Life on the Fringe: Living in the Southern Egyptian Deserts During the Roman and Early-Byzantine Periods* (Leiden 1998), 253–70; J. Osing, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhr* (Mainz 1982), 71, 81–94, 96–100, pls. 25–30; 32–4; 38–9; 41; 42. 1; 43–4; 63b (plan); 71 (inscriptions); Kaplan, *Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit*, 182–5, pls. 105–11 (after Osing, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla*).

⁹⁴ Osing, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla*, 102.

FIGURE 76 On the left side of the doorway leading from the first to the second room in his tomb, Petosiris is represented in a Greek manner. The Egyptian priest next to him is the only other Greek-form figure on the walls of the tomb, which are otherwise executed in Egyptian form, like the offering bearer to the right. H of wall: 1.7 m. Qaret el-Muzawaqqa, Dakhla Oasis, first century AD.



in *contrapposto* stance, wearing a coloured tunic and an ‘arm-sling’ mantle. Petosiris stands with his weight on his left leg and holds a book-roll in his left hand, which emerges from the mantle folds. His clothing is dyed in purple tones and his sandals are thongs with *lingulae* at the junction of the straps. A column of hieroglyphic inscription beside him continues in horizontal lines at the side of his head. This inscription addresses Petosiris as an Osiris, expressing wishes for him to be ‘great, strong, and powerful’, to follow Osiris and Sokar, to enter and leave his tomb freely, and to receive a crown during the Sokar festival in the Osiris mysteries of Khoiak, on the night of the twenty-fifth day—the same event referred to on Meir mask 52.⁹⁵ The *ba* of Petosiris appears over his head in the form of a bird with its body in profile but its outspread wings and human face turned in three-quarters view to suggest spatial depth. Although the face of the *ba*-bird is damaged, its three-quarters turn implies that it, like the figure of Petosiris, was being treated as a naturalistic image, helping to identify it as the *ba* of the tomb-owner.

Next to Petosiris on this wall, two contrasting offering bearers carry out his funerary cult. A third offering bearer, a female Egyptian personification of an agricultural field, appears in the bottom register of the flanking north wall, out of view in Fig. 76. The figure farther from the deceased is an Egyptian fecundity figure holding a tray with loaves, a *hes*-vase, and a bouquet of lotus flowers. The second offering bearer, with a shaved head and a white garment which wraps his body from the chest down, represents a priest officiating in the ritual. The priest is depicted according to the Greek representational system, with his head tilted in three-quarters view and his body weight shifted to his right leg. Another Greek element of this scene is the grape-laden vine that separates Petosiris and the priest from the Egyptian fecundity figure, its symbolism appropriate both as an offering and perhaps as a symbol of the wine-producing oasis region, like the grape vines on the coffin of Sennesis from Kharga (I). The position of the grape vine also reveals that it, the priest, and Petosiris were painted on the wall first, before the fecundity figure and the hieroglyphic inscription were added: the loaves and lotus bouquet on the fecundity figure’s offering table have been fitted around one bunch of grapes, and the column of hieroglyphs is truncated at an angle to accommodate Petosiris’ right foot.

The wall in Room I on which the Greek figure of Petosiris appears is the only wall in the tomb which is not divided into registers. This layout was necessary in order to have adequate space for his full-length image, but it also gives this scene greater visual impact. The portrait of Petosiris suits the less sacred, first room of his monument, and its position at the doorway that leads into the second room lets Petosiris stand, literally and figuratively, at the threshold of more secular and more sacred realms, like a dead person passing between life and death. Further, the image

⁹⁵ See Osing, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla*, 92–3 for transliteration, translation, and commentary.

of Petosiris, like the coffins from Abusir el-Meleq, refers to a sculptural prototype and, in this guise, is particularly suited to the cult enacted by the offering bearers in front of him.

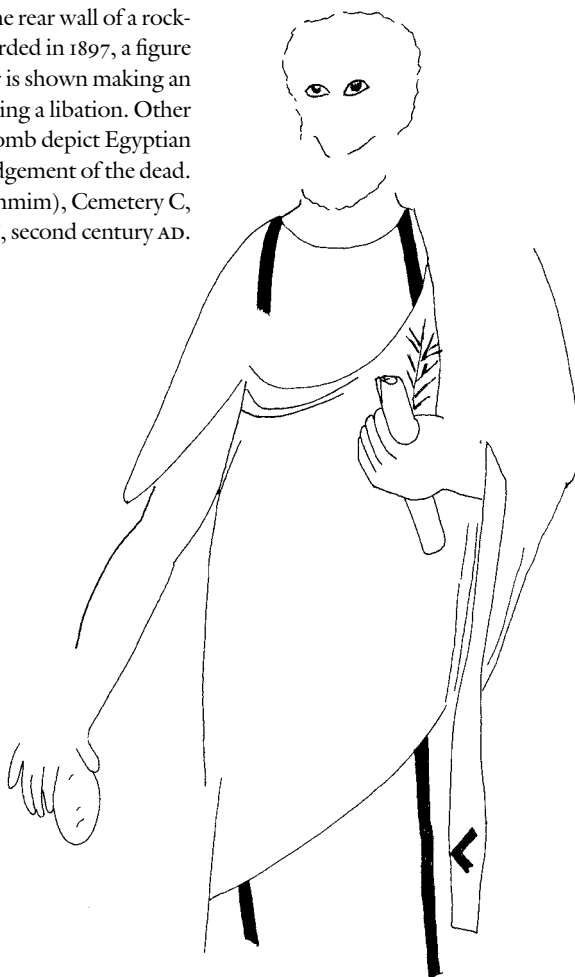
Rock-cut tombs in the Nile Valley also incorporated a dominant Greek figure of the deceased and traditional Egyptian funerary scenes within a single structure, the best recorded of which are in the el-Salamuni necropolis north-east of Akhmim (Panopolis). Although badly damaged from graffiti, smoke, and rock falls, two of the el-Salamuni tombs have been adequately published so that their basic structure and wall decoration is clear. The so-called 'Tomb of 1897' in el-Salamuni Cemetery C was first documented by von Bissing in that year. On a subsequent visit in 1948 he could not locate it again, but Kuhlmann has since identified and photographed the tomb (Fig. 77).⁹⁶ It has two decorated rooms, with a zodiac ceiling in the first and burial niches in the second. On the viewer's right (southern) side of the east wall in the first room, a full-length Greek figure of the male deceased appears, flanking the doorway that opens in this east wall and leads from the first room to the second. With his right hand, the dead man either holds a floral garland or makes an offering (the scene is damaged) over a large, two-handled crater. He stands *contrapposto* and wears a tunic and mantle, the latter wrapped around his right hip and thrown over his left arm. Two woven *gamma*-shaped emblems are depicted on the trailing end of the mantle along his left leg, but both emblems are shown entire rather than in relation to the actual folds of the garment, which would partly obscure them. The man holds a book-roll and a sprig of myrtle in his left hand, and his beard and curly hair suggest a date from the late first to the mid-second century AD. The position of his image at the entrance from the first to second tomb chamber is identical to that of Petosiris in his tomb, and both men are engaged in parallel activities—receiving and offering a ritual act. A second tomb in the el-Salamuni cemetery (Cemetery C, tomb 5) also represents the deceased male tomb-owner as a Greek figure in a doorway (Fig. 78).⁹⁷ Although the tomb is badly damaged, this figure can be seen to wear a white tunic and mantle, with a *gamma*-shaped woven mark over the front of the thighs. He holds a book-roll between both his hands and is also positioned to the viewer's left of the doorway leading from the first chamber of the tomb into a room beyond.

Full-length portraits commemorating the dead on shrouds or tomb walls let us stand back, as it were, from the close focus that mummy portraits required and see more clearly how naturalistic images were used to represent the dead in a funerary

⁹⁶ Kaplan, *Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit*, 166–9, pls. 86–8; K. P. Kuhlmann, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim* (Mainz 1983), 73, pls. 35c–d, 36; F. W. F. von Bissing, 'Tombeaux d'époque romain à Akhmim', *ASAE* 50 (1950), 555–60, figs. 1–6, pl. 1; and 'Aus römischen Gräbern zu Achmim (Panopolis) in Oberägypten', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 61–2 (1946–7), 1–6.

⁹⁷ Kaplan, *Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit*, 5, pls. 94, 95a; Kuhlmann, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim*, 73 n. 373, pl. 33b.

FIGURE 77 On the rear wall of a rock-cut tomb first recorded in 1897, a figure of the tomb owner is shown making an offering or pouring a libation. Other paintings in the tomb depict Egyptian scenes like the judgement of the dead. El-Salamuni (Akhmim), Cemetery C, 'Tomb of 1897', second century AD.



context. The full-length portraits make it clear that Greek, not Roman, identity was their reference point: Egypt belonged to the Greek East, and men like Petosiris wore Greek clothing, not the restricted Roman toga. Women also followed Greek fashions of dress. Only aspects of contemporary fashion that were not subject to Roman rules of decorum—namely, jewellery and hairstyles—were replicated in either male or female portraits, creating new ideals of beauty and Hellenism in Roman Egypt.

Anubis the Psychopomp

The end of this chapter returns to the representations of Hathor and Anubis leading the dead woman to the afterlife on the rear projection of Meir mask 38 (Figs. 53–4), which introduced the idea that the concept of a threshold between this

FIGURE 78 In the first room of this tomb, a man in a coloured tunic and white *himation* appears to the left of the doorway leading to other chambers. El-Salamuni (Akhmim), Cemetery C, Tomb 5, second century AD.



world and the next affected how lifelike images of the dead were used in funerary art, whether or not that lifelikeness was achieved by reference to Egyptian or Greek representational modes.

The motif of Anubis, or less frequently Hathor, leading the deceased to the afterlife was well-established in Egyptian art and thought by the end of the pharaonic era. In the Roman Period, Greek authors drew a parallel between Anubis and the Greek god Hermes because both conducted the dead to the afterlife, thus Anubis, like Hermes, came to be known as a psychopomp and took on the attribute of a key to the next world. The first scene on the right side of the Theban bier (Fig. 65) used the Anubis 'psychopomp' motif in conjunction with a Greek figure of the deceased, as do a number of funerary stelae from Upper Egypt that show Anubis presenting

FIGURE 79 Curly hair, a tunic, and a mantle lend a contemporary, lifelike appearance to the deceased man as Anubis leads him into the presence of Osiris. All the figures are executed as Egyptian representations in fine sunk relief, and hieroglyphic inscriptions identify the deities. Limestone. H: 34.0 cm. From Abydos, first century AD. University of Liverpool, School of Archaeology, Classics, and Egyptology, E. 89.



or leading the deceased before Osiris, such as Fig. 79.⁹⁸ The format of the stela combines in a single composition what the bier separated between its first scene, with the Greek form of the deceased, and its last scene, in which Anubis presents the transfigured, Egyptian-form deceased to Osiris. The stela elides the stages

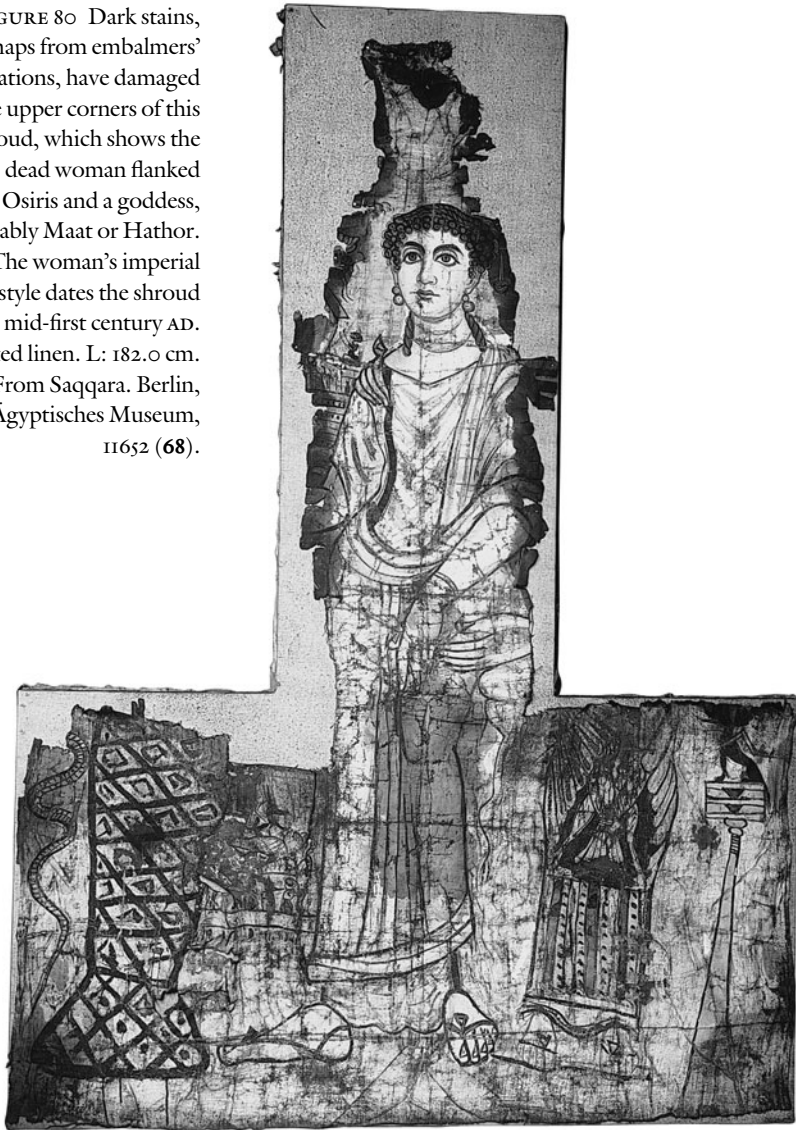
⁹⁸ University of Liverpool, School of Archaeology, Classics, and Oriental Studies, E. 89 (limestone, H: 34.0 cm): Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt*, 101–2, esp. his pls. 21, 24b, 26c–d, 28a–b, 30, 31, 35a, 37d, 47c, 50, 53b, 58; *Ancient Faces* (London), 153–4 (no. 171).

FIGURE 80 Dark stains, perhaps from embalmers' libations, have damaged the upper corners of this shroud, which shows the dead woman flanked by Osiris and a goddess, probably Maat or Hathor.

The woman's imperial hairstyle dates the shroud to mid-first century AD.

Painted linen. L: 182.0 cm.

From Saqqara. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 11652 (68).



in between, such as the judgement and nourishment of the deceased, so that the individual appears before Osiris as if in the same moment as he or she passes from life to death.

In the same way, several shrouds acquired from Saqqara in the late nineteenth century offer vivid expressions of Anubis as a psychopomp (68–73, Figs. 80–2 and Pls. 7–9).⁹⁹ The Saqqara shrouds might have been hangings of some sort instead

⁹⁹ The shrouds have also been interpreted as representing the deceased in both living and dead forms, the so-called 'Werden zu Osiris' ('becoming Osiris'): S. Morenz, 'Das Werden zu Osiris: Die Darstellungen auf einem Leichentuch der römischen Kaiserzeit (Berlin 11651) und verwandten Stücken', *Forschungen und*

FIGURE 81 Between

Osiris and the deceased woman, Anubis attends to a mummy on a lion bier. On the other side of the woman's head are the balance scales used for judgement. Painted linen. L: 90.0 cm. From Saqqara, mid-first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 11653 (69).



of, or in addition to, shrouding the corpse, since the best-preserved examples (71, Fig. 82; 72, Pl. 8) show no wear or staining like that usually found on textiles that were wrapped in place around the mummy. Shrouds 68 (Fig. 80) and 69 (Fig. 81) are exceptions. Both are missing large portions of the original textile and have dark stains around their broken edges. Regardless of their original deposition, the shrouds' mortuary function is not in doubt. Each represents a central, Greek figure of the deceased flanked on the viewer's left by Osiris and on the viewer's right by Anubis or, for 68, by a winged goddess who is probably Hathor. Painted decoration fills almost the entire surface of the textile, and the main figures are nearly life-size. Around and between them, small Egyptian representations are inserted: Anubis tending a mummy on a bier (69 and 71); the balance pans from the judgement scene, held by a god or servant figure (68–71); a servant in Egyptian peasant clothing working a *shaduf* to lift water (70, 71, 73);¹⁰⁰ and skeletal figures that seem to represent the souls of the damned (68, 70–3).¹⁰¹

Although past studies have presented them together as a group,¹⁰² the shrouds have been assigned a wide range of dates to suggest that they were sequentially produced over the course of several decades.¹⁰³ It has also been proposed that on some of the shrouds (70, 72, and 73), the portrait head of the deceased, which is painted on a separate small rectangle of textile inserted into the main textile, represents a later reuse of an earlier shroud.¹⁰⁴ Looking at the workmanship, painting style, and design of these six shrouds together, however, similarities emerge which suggest that all of them date to around the middle of the first century AD and were produced by the same or similar workshops. Shroud 68 has a distinct style of painting and figure proportions, and is the only one to depict a goddess in place of Anubis, but these are relatively minor differences in light of its overall affinities with the group.

One basis on which comparisons can be drawn among this group of shrouds, and within individual shrouds, is the painted appearance of the faces of Osiris and the deceased. On shrouds 69, 71, and 73, and to some extent on 70, the face of the

Berichte 1 (1957), 52–70, revisited with a consideration of Greek sources in C. Römer, 'Das Werden zu Osiris im römischen Ägypten', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 2/2 (2000), 141–61.

¹⁰⁰ Depictions of agricultural labourers wearing short tunics and conical, basketwork hats appear in the Tuna el-Gebel tomb of Petosiris and in Roman 'nilotica' such as the Palestrina mosaic, as observed in H. Whitehouse, *The Dal Pozzo Copies of the Palestrina Mosaic* (Oxford 1976), 82 n. 27.

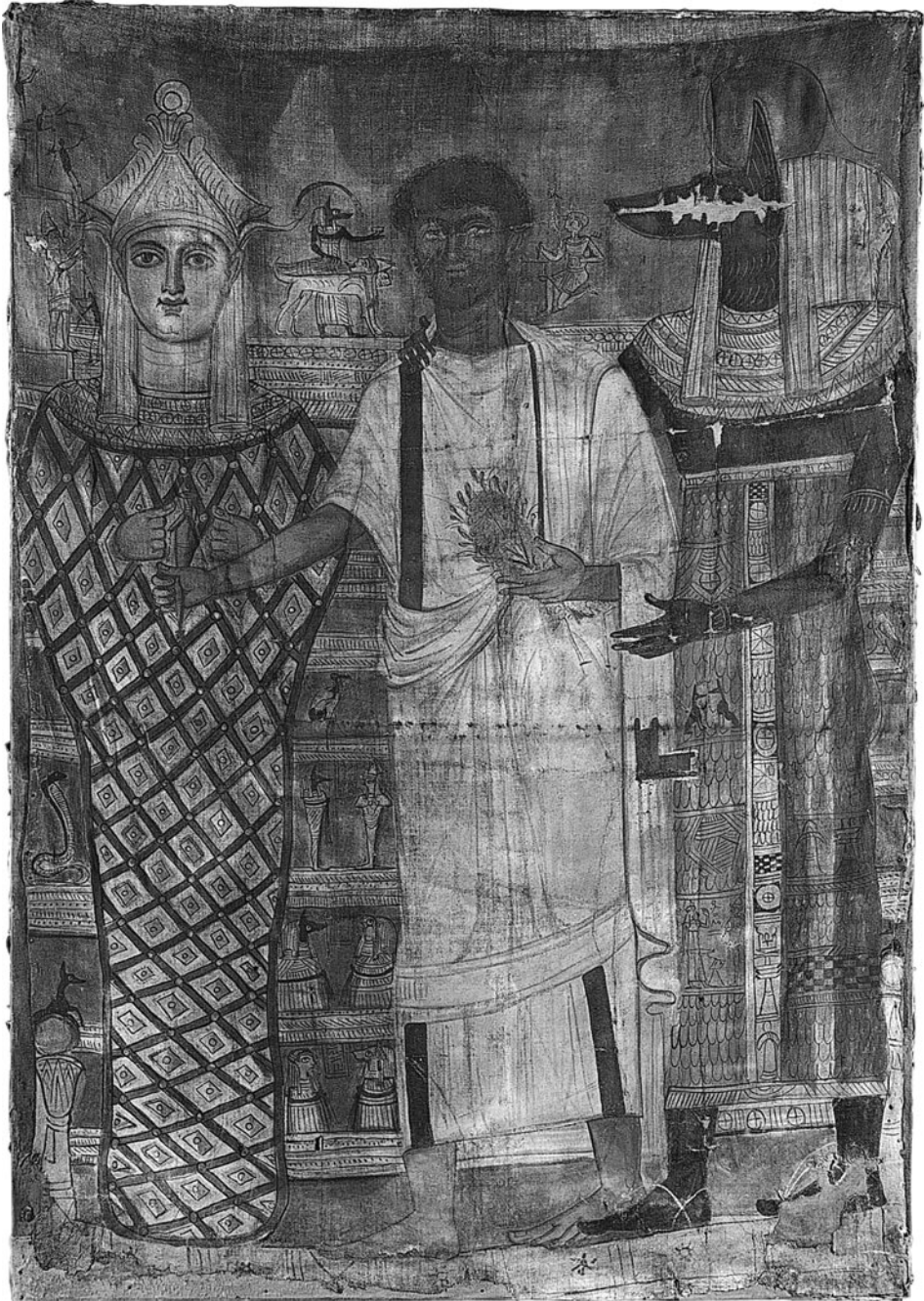
¹⁰¹ L. Kákosy, 'Selige und Verdammte in der spätägyptischen Religion', *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 95–106.

¹⁰² S. Morenz, 'Das Werden zu Osiris: Die Darstellungen auf einem Leichentuch der römischen Kaiserzeit (Berlin 11651) und verwandten Stücken', *Forschungen und Berichte* 1 (1957), 52–70; Stricker, 'ΑΥΤΟΕΙΔΕΣ ΣΩΜΑ', 4–25; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 168–77; Kákosy, 'Selige und Verdammte', 95–106.

¹⁰³ For instance, Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, dates 71 to AD 170–80 and 70 to AD 120–30.

¹⁰⁴ Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 246 implies that the portrait face of 70 comes from an older shroud; *Ancient Faces* (London), 110–11, states that the face of 73 is a mid- or late-second-century AD portrait while the shroud itself is earlier, perhaps first-century BC. See also Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 179–81.

FIGURE 82 Osiris, the dead man, and Anubis stand on a Nile skiff. The smaller figures on either side of the man's head are comparable to those on shroud 69, in Fig. 81. The deceased holds a *hes*-vase out to Osiris, as if pouring a libation, and next to Osiris' head, an Egyptian peasant lifts a *shaduf* from which skeletal 'souls' try to drink. Painted linen. L: 185.0 cm. From Saqqara, mid-first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 11651 (71).



deceased is painted with features similar to the face of Osiris, with identical colouring and technique. This negates the suggestion that the portraits are substantially later insertions; rather, they were executed on a separate piece of textile, perhaps because of the artist's working method or to replace a less satisfactory version. The faces of the Osiris figures on shrouds 69 to 71 are very like each other, although the god wears a different crown in each instance, and there are also similarities between the face of Osiris on 72 and on 73. On these last two shrouds, the costume of Anubis is identical in its details, with small overlapping feathers on the front face of the skirt and a lozenge pattern on its back. Osiris wears identical crowns on shrouds 70 and 73, and his crook and flail are drawn the same way on both 70 and 72, with a distinctive curled end on the head of the crook. The small Egyptian representations provide further comparisons: the *shaduf* operation and the judgement scales are identical on 70 and 71, and the scene of Anubis at the bier on 71 is exactly replicated on 69.

These interrelations in the design and craftsmanship of the psychopomp shrouds are complemented by the close dates suggested by each of their portraits. The women on shrouds 68 and 69 have centre-parted hairstyles with snail curls along the forehead and sides of the head, and longer curls along the neck. This style is modelled on Roman imperial styles of the early and middle first century. On shroud 69, the long strands of hair falling over the subject's chest are not part of the imperial style; perhaps they relate to the Egyptian idea of long, disordered hair for women in a funerary context. On the shrouds for adult males, 71 and 72, the subjects' loose curls and sparse, straight beards also fit a first-century date, and the beardless youth on shroud 73 parallels first-century mummy portraits of boys or adolescents.¹⁰⁵ The female subject of shroud 70 wears another mid-first-century hairstyle for women, and the little boy accompanying her wears a Horus lock. It is unclear whether the woman and child died at the same time, or one has predeceased the other, or if only the woman has died and the boy is included to show her in a maternal role. A stela from Terenuthis in the Delta also depicts a woman and child together in the presence of Osiris, and a third-century funerary relief from Oxyrhynchus (el-Behnasa) combines an adult woman and a child in the guise of Harpocrates.¹⁰⁶

Some of the psychopomp shrouds place the presentation of the deceased to Osiris in an imagined physical setting. On 68, an uncoiled snake and a jackal seated on a *djed*-shaped stand delimit the sides of the psychopomp scene and protect the

¹⁰⁵ e.g. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, II.139, in Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 70, pl. 2, as early first century AD.

¹⁰⁶ Stela: S. A. A. el-Nassery and G. Wagner, 'Nouvelles stèles de Kom Abu Bellou', *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 258 (no. 58, inv. 1065), pl. 86. Funerary relief: Mellawi, Antiquities Museum, 592 (limestone, H: c.1.5 m), in M. V. Falck, 'Vorüberlegungen zur Datierung einer spätkaiserzeitlichen Denkmalgruppe aus Ägypten: Die Grabreliefs von Behnasa', *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte* 35 (1996), 29–35, pl. IVa.

participants, like guardian figures at a doorway. Shrouds 70 to 73 show Osiris, Anubis, and the deceased on the *nesmet*-barque, like other shrouds from Saqqara (see Fig. 74). Shroud 72 further augments this setting with a representation of an Egyptian temple pylon behind and around the head of the deceased (Pl. 8). The massive gateway signifies the threshold between life and death, over which the deceased has passed.¹⁰⁷

Each of the embedded themes in this group of shrouds—the psychopomp motif, the *nesmet*-barque, and the doorway to the afterlife—enables the use of a naturalistic image of the deceased, perhaps the more so where the themes are combined. The hair, clothing, and posture of the portrait subjects communicate an intimate familiarity with fashionable styles of dress and art, and some specific details may refer to prototypes in Greek and Roman art, such as the book-roll held between both hands on 72 and the arm-sling pose on 73. The close association that the arm-sling pose had with statuary is emphasized on shroud 73 by the fact that the dead youth stands on a plinth, rather than directly on top of the boat. It is his hallowed, lifelike image, rather than his living self, that is presented to Osiris and the viewer alike, to admire, remember, and revere—the consummate use of a naturalistic Greek portrait in the funerary art of Roman Egypt.

SUMMARY

The Egyptian and Greek visual systems offered two different modes of representing the human figure. Naturalistic portraiture in the Greek vein, which allowed viewer and subject to confront one another, was alien to conceptual Egyptian art, where the internal unity of a composition was paramount. Each artistic format had a unique contribution to make, however, whether used on its own or alongside the other. Egyptian art evoked the country's vibrant religion, and Greek art was affiliated with both elite patronage and a variety of humbler objects in daily use.

In funerary art, essentially Egyptian images like the Meir mummy masks could be augmented with quotidian elements from the Greek and Roman spheres (jewelry, hairstyles, and dress) to fulfil an evident interest in presenting the deceased as she or he appeared in life. For this purpose, fashionable Greek appearance sat comfortably next to Egyptian ritual texts, symbols, and scenes. Images that were essentially Greek—the mummy portraits and full-length figures on shrouds and tomb walls—accomplished the same thing in a different way, by using naturalistic painting to idealize and commemorate the dead in lifelike form.

¹⁰⁷ Thus also Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 174–7, and see L. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt* (Chicago 1995), 52–3.

Naturalistic representations of the dead were ultimately the product of the Eastern Mediterranean's portrait-oriented culture, which brought Greek forms of self-presentation into contemporary artistic discourse. Like their sculptural counterparts, painted portraits could function as cult objects and were thus well-suited to funerary ritual use. Both the statue-like coffins from Abusir el-Meleq and the 'psychopomp' shrouds from Saqqara hint at such a role. But naturalistic portraits rarely stood alone. They were incorporated into a physical Egyptian context, like the 'frame' of a shroud or the doorway of a tomb, and into an established Egyptian way of thinking about death and the dead. The portraits capture the liminality of dying by showing the 'deceased as in life' in contrast to the traditional Egyptian forms that were retained for the gods and, often, for the deceased as transfigured in the afterlife. When the dead person was shown exclusively in a naturalistic portrait, the portrait could take on the added meaning of sacred transfiguration from the way it was used and by the addition of attributes like a crown or gilding. The versatility of Greek figural representation was no doubt part of its appeal, making the portrait a natural development in the funerary art of Roman Egypt but not, as the next chapter will demonstrate, an inevitable one.

FOUR

Art and Archaism in Western Thebes

From the start of the Middle Kingdom through the Late Period, the site of Thebes (Egyptian *W3s.t*, modern Luxor) in Upper Egypt held sway as a political and religious centre devoted to the state cult of the god Amun and the mortuary cults of the Egyptian kings. Temples clustered on both banks of the river, and the cliffs of the west bank hid the tombs of New Kingdom pharaohs and generations of elite officials, especially those attached to the Theban temples. Sacked by Cambyses in 525 BC and overshadowed by the more northern concerns of the last native kings, Thebes saw its political power dissipate, but its temples continued to receive patronage from the Ptolemaic rulers and, to a lesser extent, the Roman emperors.

Because of the long history of Thebes and its vast archaeological remains, the area has been intensively excavated and comparatively well recorded over the past two hundred years. Although interest has primarily focused on New Kingdom monuments, the accounts of travellers, collectors, and excavators also help reconstruct the funerary archaeology of the West Bank in the Roman Period. The cliffs, cemeteries, and temple areas have yielded finds which permit a more detailed, diachronic study of mortuary practices at Thebes than is possible for other Egyptian sites. This chapter considers a selection of Theban burials dating from the reign of Augustus to around the time of Diocletian. The picture that emerges from these burials suggests that funerary art at this somewhat remote site tended to be conservative, using forms and motifs that were legacies of its pharaonic past.

PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN THEBES: HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY

Thebes in the Roman Period has been characterized with some justification as a city in decline.¹ Already under Ptolemy I Soter, the establishment of Ptolemais as a

¹ K. Vandorpe, 'City of many a gate, harbour for many a rebel: Historical and topographical outline of Greco-Roman Thebes', in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1995), 203–39; A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia* (Cairo 1952); and 'Thèbes gréco-romaine', *CdÉ* 26 (1951), 325–53.

Greek *polis* more than 120 km to the north shifted the administrative focus of the Thebaid downstream from Thebes itself.² Ptolemaic Thebes had few Greek residents,³ and the rebellions of 205–186 BC and 88 BC, which were organized at Thebes, may have garnered some support based on native resentment of Hellenistic rule. The result of the failed rebellions was the destruction of large parts of the city and the temporary imposition of armed forces to control the area, which was repeated in the 20s BC to ward off any unrest following Roman annexation.⁴ Not only had Thebes lost its political role, but also its economic priority: just 30 km up-river, Koptos lay on the lucrative trade and military routes to the Red Sea and surpassed Thebes in size and wealth.

In strict terms, there was no ‘Thebes’ in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, although the toponym is maintained here for convenience. The East Bank settlement, including the large town and the major temple precincts of Montu, Amun, Mut, and the Luxor Temple, was called Diospolis Magna in Greek and was part of the Peritheban nome from the late Ptolemaic Period onwards. On the West Bank, the largest settlement was Djeme, a village built within the walls of the Medinet Habu mortuary temple built by Ramesses III (c.1150 BC). The temple of Djeme was a Dynasty 18 structure dedicated to Amun, which supported a priesthood and was added to well into the second century AD. Smaller settlements dotted the area, and in the Roman Period, the whole of the West Bank was administered by the Hermonthite nome, based at Armant (Hermonthis) some 10 km down-river.⁵

In Greek, much of the West Bank was referred to as *Tà Μερνόνεια*, the Memnonia, after the ‘singing’ colossus of Amenhotep III—one of a pair at the site of his mortuary temple. Both the colossus and the tomb of Ramesses VI in the Valley of the Kings (KV 9) were linked by Greeks to the mythical hero Memnon, while Ramesses II’s ruined mortuary temple, the Ramesseum, was admired as the ‘tomb of Ozymandias’.⁶ Tourists from abroad and from elsewhere in Egypt visited Thebes to see these sites and other royal tombs in the Valley, which were called the Syringes, with the result that the area effectively became a ‘ville-musée’.⁷ The

² G. Plaumann, *Ptolemais in Oberägypten: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hellenismus in Ägypten* (Leipzig 1910).

³ W. Clarysse, ‘Greeks in Ptolemaic Thebes’, in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1995), 1–19.

⁴ Vidorpe, ‘City of many a gate’, 232–5.

⁵ See n. 1.

⁶ Tourism at Thebes: V. A. Foertmeyer, ‘Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt’, unpublished doctoral dissertation (Princeton University 1989), 23–31. For visitors to the Memnon colossi: A. Bernand and É. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecque et latine du Colosse de Memnon* (Cairo 1960). For KV 9 as the tomb of Memnon: J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou syringes* (Cairo 1926), pp. ix, 221–543 (nos. 1022 to 2105). For the identification of the Ramesseum as the ‘tomb of Ozymandias’ in Diodorus: C. Leblanc, ‘Diodore, le tombeau d’Osymandyas et la statuaire du Ramesseum’, in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, ii (Cairo 1985), 69–82.

⁷ Bataille, ‘Thèbes gréco-romaine’, 346.

most famous visit was that of the imperial couple Hadrian and Sabina, with their entourage, in AD 130.

To the residents of Diospolis Magna, Djeme, Hermonthis, and other local towns and villages, however, the landscape and monuments that surrounded them were not static relics but sacred spaces still in use for residential, religious, and mortuary purposes. Many tombs were reused for Roman Period burials, as were some actual funerary goods like coffins and shrouds. Artists and craftsmen were inspired by the past as well, borrowing or adapting motifs from earlier coffins or from local tombs and temples. Coffins, shrouds, and masks from the Theban cemeteries exhibit less Greek influence than funerary art from elsewhere in Egypt. This was not due to an inability to replicate Greek artistic forms but from a conscious choice not to do so. Skilled examples of naturalistic painting, on wooden panels and shrouds, are attested in the Theban area from the later second century AD, but they are outnumbered by more conservative, Egyptian representations of the dead.

The introduction of Roman rule to Egypt coincided with alterations in the administration of the Theban funerary industry, but the effect of such changes on mortuary practices is poorly understood. For the Roman Period, there is no source comparable to the 'Archive of the Choachytes', which documents the activity of the choachyte priests who looked after burials throughout the Ptolemaic Period. At Roman Thebes, the choachytes and embalming-priests (*paraschistes*) were no longer responsible for mummification, burial, and the upkeep of tombs, which instead fell to the *taricheutes*, a lector priest (Egyptian *hry-hb*). The exact roles of any of these officials are uncertain, though, and the change might have been internally driven rather than imposed by the Roman administration.⁸ The primary impact of Roman government on Theban funerary practices was perhaps a social one. With political and economic power devolved to other cities in the Thebaid, Greek language given legal primacy over Egyptian, and Greek cultural institutions offering an accepted means of self-definition and display for the elite, the residents of Thebes continued to maintain and develop native forms of religious and artistic expression within their own community. The funerary art and archaeology of the West Bank in the Roman Period illustrates a confluence of landscape, language, iconography, and ritual which bound the people of this area to their traditions and provided another, or an alternative, locus for constructing self and social identities.

Virtually every available part of the West Bank was exploited for mortuary uses excepting the Valley of the Kings (Fig. 83).⁹ Administrative restrictions, or the restrictions of decorum, presumably kept the populace from using the royal wadis

⁸ D. Devauchelle, 'Notes sur l'administration funéraire égyptienne à l'époque gréco-romaine', *BIFAO* 87 (1987), 152–4.

⁹ C. Riggs, 'The Egyptian funerary tradition at Thebes in the Roman Period', in N. Strudwick and J. H. Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present, Future* (London 2003), 189–201, surveys Roman Period mortuary evidence from the West Bank.

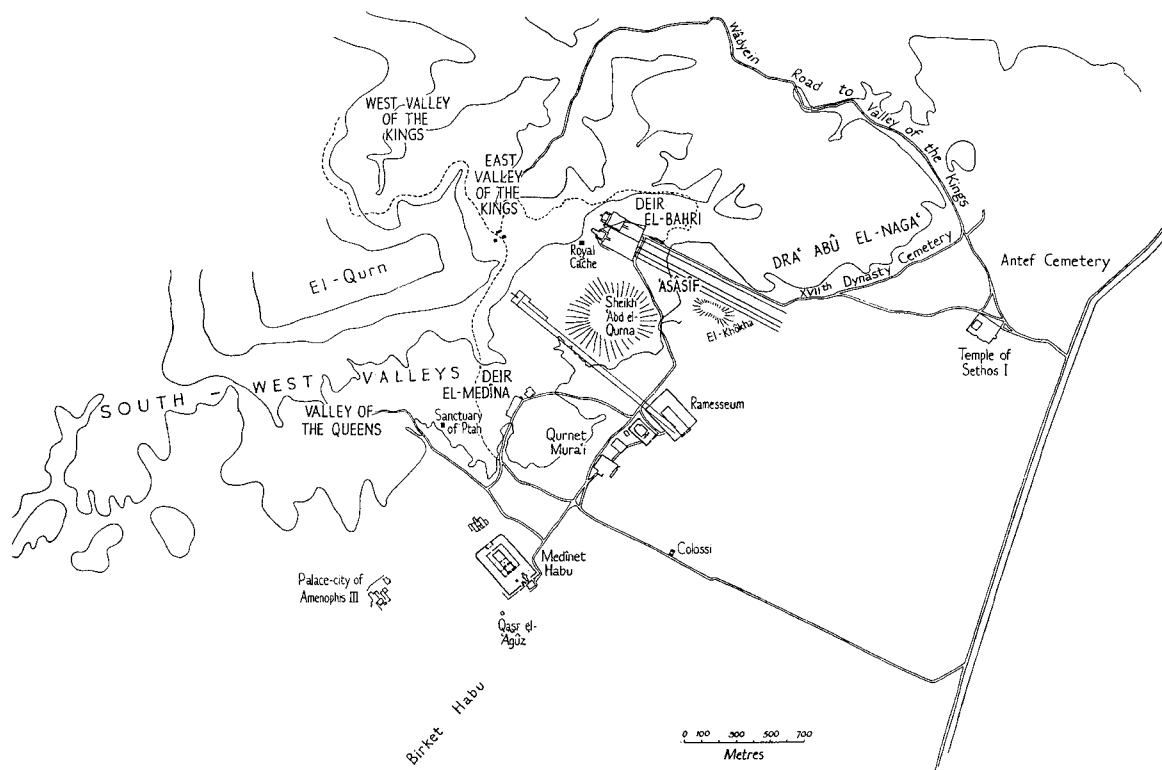


FIGURE 83 The West Bank of the Nile at Thebes, with (from south to north) the sites of Medinet Habu and Djeme, Deir el-Medina and the Qurnet Murai, the Ramesseum, Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, and Deir el-Bahri. The Valley of the Kings lies behind the Deir el-Bahri cliffs.

as burial grounds. In other areas of the West Bank, however, available space around sacred sites like Deir el-Bahri had been given over to private interments from at least the Late Period onwards. Several of the New Kingdom 'nobles' tombs' of el-Khokha and Sheikh Abd el-Gurna were opened and reused for burials, as were tombs in the Valley of the Queens.¹⁰ The practicalities of gaining physical access no doubt affected some of the patterns of mortuary use, thus most of the intrusive burials in rock-cut tombs are found in the above-ground chambers. The presence of settlements and large pharaonic buildings (or ruins) throughout the area limited the amount of space available for new cemetery structures as well, although a large Roman Period cemetery was laid out at the site of Djeme, outside the walls of

¹⁰ Valley of the Queens: C. Leblanc, 'Le dégagement de la tombe de Ta-Nedjmy: Une contribution à l'histoire de la Vallée des reines', *BSFE* 89 (1980), 32–49; and 'Les tombes no 58 (Anonyme) et no 60 (Nebet-Taouy) de la Vallée des reines (rapport préliminaire)', *ASAE* 69 (1983), 29–52; G. Lecuyot, 'Découverte dans la Vallée des reines', *Archeologia* 227 (1987), 28–33; and 'Ta set neferu: A brief history of the excavations in the Valley of the Queens', *KMT* 11 (2000), 42–55.

Medinet Habu,¹¹ and Roman burials were interspersed among Third Intermediate Period and Late Period burials at the Ramesseum.¹² Legal considerations may also have influenced mortuary decisions, since Ptolemaic documentation shows that there was a tax payable to the chief of the necropolis for each interment and that a tomb (*s.t.*, perhaps also ‘emplacement’) was considered immovable property and, as such, could be sold or inherited and subjected to relevant taxes.¹³

How the cemeteries were used, and by whom, is exemplified by a group of burials dating to the reign of Augustus. In 1857, the Scottish antiquarian Alexander Rhind opened and explored a rock-cut tomb at Sheikh Abd el-Gurna which, although no longer certainly identifiable, was probably a New Kingdom structure (Fig. 84).¹⁴ In the four chambers opening off the bottom of the tomb’s inner shaft, Rhind found several burials which seem to have been roughly contemporaneous with each other in the early Roman Period. One burial, inside a reused stone sarcophagus, included P. Rhind I (see Figs. 8, 10, 29), which identified the dead man as Montsuef, son of the *strategos* Menkare and Senpamon.¹⁵ Montsuef held the titles of *syngenes* and cavalry leader, indicating that he, like other men in his family, was an Egyptian who had attained a high rank in the Ptolemaic government; he died in 9 BC.¹⁶ His name and titles also adorned a wooden canopy discovered at the tomb entrance.¹⁷ Montsuef’s wife Tanuat was buried in a neighbouring chamber, inside a vaulted wooden coffin together with her papyrus P. Rhind II (see Figs. 11, 12). In another chamber, a similar vaulted wooden coffin was inscribed in Demotic for a *hekatontarch* (‘3 *n* 100, ‘great one of the hundred’) named Kalasiris, son of Peteosorbuchis and Senchonsis (Fig. 85).¹⁸ Like Montsuef, Kalasiris must have been an Egyptian who reached a high military office in late Ptolemaic or early Roman times.

¹¹ U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu, V. Post-Ramessid Remains* (Chicago 1954), 42–4; T. G. Wilfong, ‘Mummy labels from the Oriental Institute’s excavations at Medinet Habu’, *BASP* 32 (1995), 157–82.

¹² PM i². 683; R. Anthes, ‘Die Deutschen Grabungen auf der Westseite von Theben in den Jahren 1911 und 1913’, *MDAIK* 12 (1943), 25–6.

¹³ M. Depauw, *The Archive of Teos and Thabis from Early Ptolemaic Thebes* (Brussels 2000), 65–70.

¹⁴ A. H. Rhind, *Thebes, Its Tombs and Their Tenants* (London 1862), 77–123.

¹⁵ For the family of Menkare (Monkores) and their roles as *strategoi* of the Pathyrite and Ombite nomes, see H. J. Thissen, ‘Zur Familie des Strategen Monkores’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 27 (1977), 181–91.

¹⁶ G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburgh* (Leipzig 1913); Rhind, *Thebes, Its Tombs and Their Tenants*, 118–23; S. Birch and A. Rhind, *Facsimiles of Two Papyri Found in a Tomb at Thebes* (London 1863); W. Spiegelberg, ‘Varia’, *Rec Trav* 26 (1904), 41–52, on the name and titles.

¹⁷ Rhind, *Thebes, Its Tombs and Their Tenants*, 89 and colour frontispiece; M. A. Murray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1900), 38–9 (no. 559).

¹⁸ Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, L 224/3003; M. A. Stadler, ‘The funerary texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766: A Demotic Book of Breathing (Part II)’, *Enchoria* 26 (2000), 116–17, re-editing the Demotic inscription; J. Barns, ‘A Demotic coffin inscription in Edinburgh’, *Archiv Orientalní* 20 (1952), 69–71; Murray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh*, 36 (no. 545).

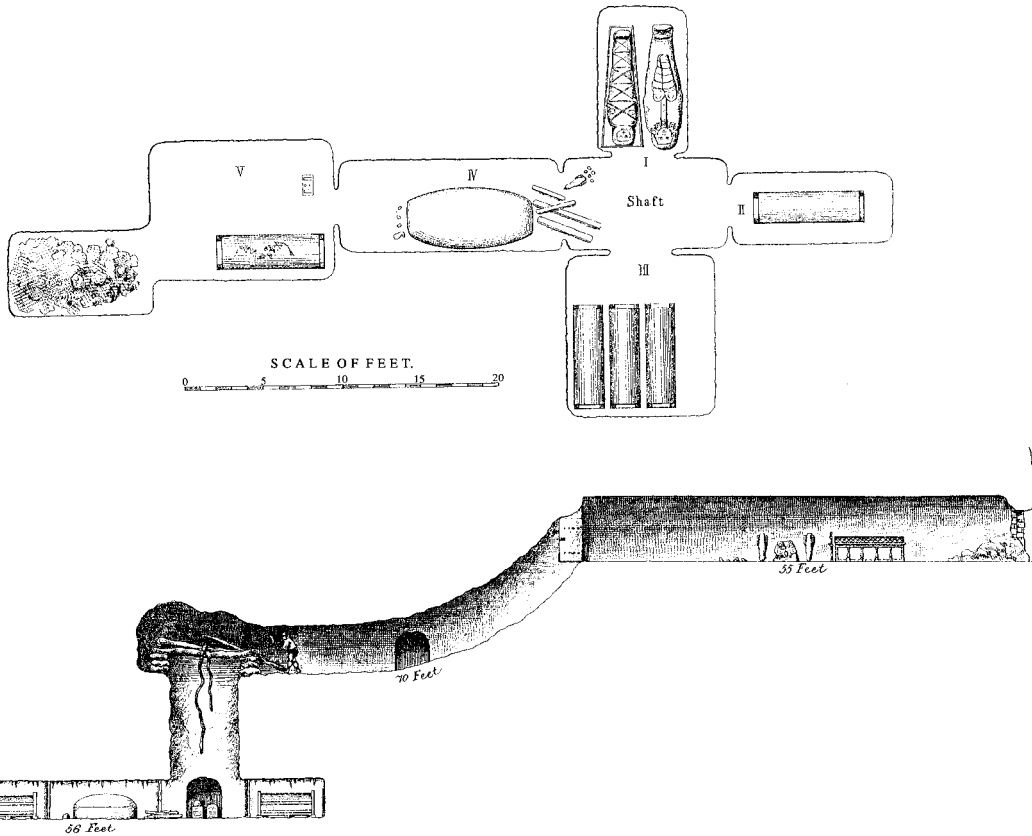


FIGURE 84 The 'Rhind tomb', a New Kingdom tomb discovered in the 1850s in the vicinity of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna. The chambers at the bottom of the burial shaft were reused for the burials of Kalasiris, Montsuef, Tanuat, and other individuals in the late first century BC.

Montsuef had a brother named Pamontu who also fulfilled several high-ranking posts, possibly including service as the *strategos*. For his burial, Pamontu usurped the Dynasty 26 coffin of the Divine Adoratrice Ankhnesneferibre, daughter of king Psamtik I (664–610 BC), which at some point had been removed from her original burial place at Medinet Habu.¹⁹ Pamontu added an inscription naming himself around the rim of the sarcophagus and altered the personal pronouns throughout

¹⁹ London, British Museum, EA 32 (black granite; L: 2.6 m, W: 1.6 m): T. G. H. James and W. V. Davies, *Egyptian Sculpture* (London 1983), 54, fig. 60; E. A. W. Budge (ed.), *Egyptian Sculpture in the British Museum* (London 1914), pls. 45–6. Texts: C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre* (Copenhagen 1937). G. Nagel, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh (Nord)* (1928) (Cairo 1929), 15–22. PM i², 685 erroneously attributes the burial of Ankhnesneferibre to Deir el-Medina, where her reused sarcophagus was found in 1832. For the tomb chapel of Ankhnesneferibre at Medinet Habu, see Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, v. 28.

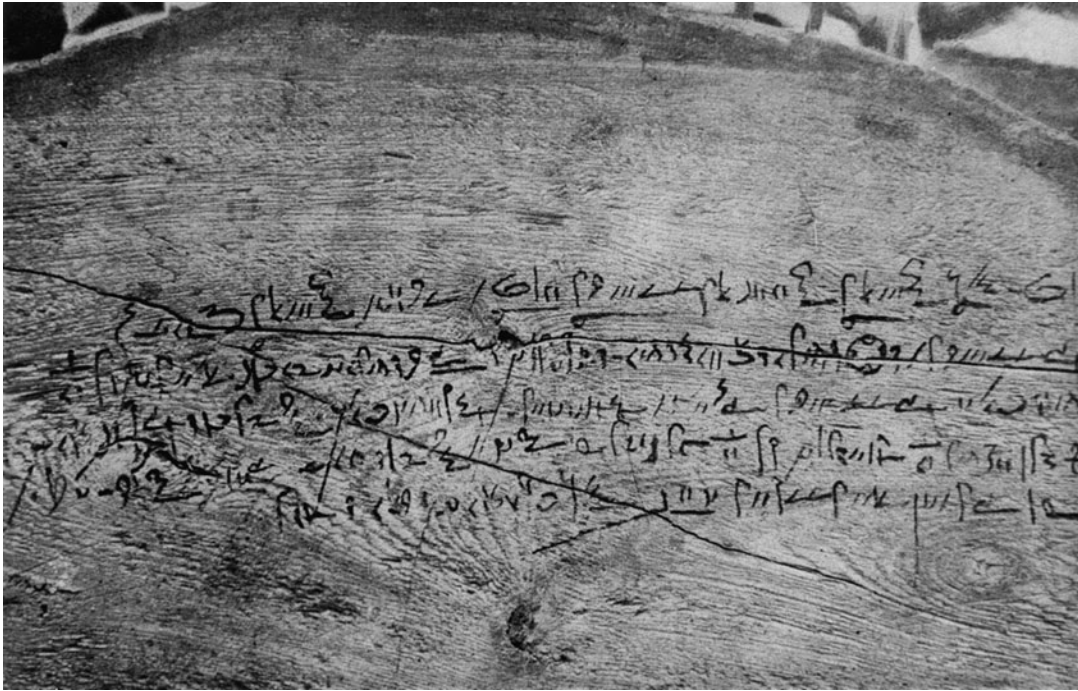


FIGURE 85 The Demotic inscription on this wooden coffin from the Rhind tomb commemorates the military official Kalasiris, whose name is an Egyptian compound of Osiris. H of inscription: c.13.0 cm. From Thebes, late first century BC or early first century AD. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, L. 224/3002.

the original sarcophagus inscriptions, so that the text written for Ankhnesneferibre referred to him instead.²⁰ His titles on the sarcophagus are similar to but more numerous than those given for Montsuef in P. Rhind I: Pamontu was a *m'b*-priest of Amenhotep son of Hapu, a Dynasty 18 royal scribe who was worshipped at Thebes; a priest of Montu-Re at Hermonthis; a prince (*rp't*), *syngenes*, and cavalry leader; and 'a great official (*sr'3*) who fills the heart of the king in the cities of Upper Egypt'. No date of death is recorded for Pamontu, but since Montsuef's mummy shows that he was already old at his death in 9 BC, Pamontu presumably died soon after or had already passed away.

Dating not long after Egypt came under Roman control, the burials of Pamontu, Montsuef, Tanuat, and Kalasiris exemplify several of the trends that would characterize Theban mortuary practices and the role of funerary art throughout the Roman Period, including the reuse of extant tomb space or sacred areas, and the combination of new funerary goods, like the canopy and vaulted coffins, with older material like the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre. The burial

²⁰ Spiegelberg, 'Varia', 41–52; as Spiegelberg points out (pp. 51–2), a less likely explanation is that Pamontu and Montsuef are the same man.

assemblages in the Rhind tomb are centred on the mummified body and its care and display, and this became increasingly the case for burials throughout the Roman Period. The inscriptions from the Rhind tomb and Pamontu burials are exclusively in Egyptian, whether the hieroglyphic, hieratic, or Demotic scripts, and demonstrate the continuing development of funerary literature as well as the knowledge necessary to alter older texts in the classical language. The individuals and their parents have Egyptian names that often make reference to local cults, like that of Montu, and, where titles are given, they hold priestly and administrative offices specific to the region. The high offices that the men attained suggests that they could and did operate in a Greek milieu, but this facet of their lives did not make their burials ‘Greek’. Rather, the burials are almost ostentatiously Egyptian, suggesting that the Theban elite preferred to use old modes and models in constructing this aspect of their identity. Taken as a whole, these burials, their associated texts, and the funerary art and furnishings they employed can be seen both to preserve and to build on many long-established traditions, as would many of the later burials made at Roman Thebes.

‘A GREAT MAN IN HIS CITY’: THE FAMILY OF SOTER

The largest group of funerary art from Roman Thebes can be broadly termed the ‘Soter group’ after the family of a man named Soter (77) whose burial assemblages are the best preserved of the group and were among the first to reach European collectors.²¹ The full details and implications of the Soter-group finds are beyond the scope of the discussion here, which focuses on how the coffins and shrouds of the group represented the dead pictorially and communicated a local Theban identity.

In January 1820, the British traveller Sir Robert Henniker watched while a tomb in the Theban necropolis was opened by local workmen, whom he termed ‘the resurrection men’ after the grave robbers who supplied corpses to medical schools in England. Henniker’s travel memoirs recorded his impression of the tomb:

It proves to be Grecian Egyptian, the first of its kind hitherto discovered; three chambers, fourteen coffins, on each of which was placed a bunch of sycamore branches; these branches fell to atoms at the touch.²²

²¹ F. R. Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter: Histoire d’une famille dans l’Égypte romaine* (Paris 2002) summarizes the evidence relating to members of the family, with a list of relevant objects and papyri as well as a family tree; see also K. Van Landuyt, ‘The Soter family: Genealogy and onomastics’, in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1995), 69–82.

²² F. Henniker, *Notes During a Visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis Boeris, Mount Sinai, and Jerusalem* (London 1824), 139.

FIGURE 86 Tphous (the Greek version of the Egyptian name Tahefat) was born in the fifth year of Hadrian's reign and died in the twelfth, according to the Greek epitaph on her coffin. Her father Herakleios was a son of Soter. The inscription also records that almost a year passed between her death and her burial. Painted wood. W: 47.8 cm. From Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Thebes, AD 127. London, British Museum, EA 6708 (79).



From other contemporary accounts, it is unclear whether the tomb was opened and cleared on this one occasion, as Henniker implies, or whether material was removed from this and perhaps some other tomb over a short period of time, which seems more likely. In either case, Henniker and other Europeans in Luxor—which already had a brisk antiquities trade—quickly set about purchasing items from the find. Henniker bought the coffin of Soter and its contents, two papyri and Soter's shrouded mummy, which he unwrapped and disposed of. The British Vice-Consul Henry Salt bought Soter's coffin and shroud (77) from Henniker and the coffin and mummy of Soter's granddaughter Tphous (79) from the Englishman William Grey. Salt also obtained the coffins of Soter's daughter Kleopatra (78) and his father Kornelios Pollios (80), while Salt's agent, Giovanni d'Athanasī, acquired the assemblage of another daughter, Sensaos (76). The Italian adventurer Antonio Lebolo shipped several coffins to Italy for distribution, of which the coffin and mummy of a boy named Petamenophis (82), perhaps Soter's grandson, survives in Turin.²³ The French botanist and traveller Frédéric Cailliaud acquired the

²³ G. di San Quintino, *Lezione archeologiche intorno ad alcuni monumenti del Regio Museo Egiziano di Torino* (Turin 1824), 3–73; G. di San Quintino, *Lezioni intorno a diversi argomenti d'archeologia scritte negli anni 1824 e 1825* (Turin 1827), 105–40. PM i², 674–6 replicates San Quintino's account of the Soter tomb contents, which was based on information from Lebolo.

assemblage of Soter's son Petamenophis, known as Ammonios (81), and was instrumental in bringing the group to the attention of Champollion, who translated the hieratic funerary papyrus of Petamenophis.²⁴ Finally, the Prussian Baron von Minutoli brought back to Berlin two coffins for children, one for two small daughters of Soter (75) and the other for a grandson (74); another coffin bought by von Minutoli perished at sea.²⁵

The 'Soter tomb' discovered in 1820 has been identified as Theban Tomb (TT) 32 at el-Khokha through the ongoing work of Hungarian archaeologists.²⁶ TT 32 was built for an official named Djehutymose in Dynasty 19, and its first chamber, a transverse hall supported by pillars, has yielded more burials of the Roman Period. Since the 1820 discovery of this tomb, many other coffins and shrouds resembling those of the Soter family have entered public and private collections, which suggests that similar group burials have periodically been discovered on the West Bank. A handful of excavated Soter-type material supports this assertion: in TT 317 at Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, a fragmentary female mummy was found wrapped in a Soter-type shroud,²⁷ and a remote New Kingdom tomb in the cliffs west of Deir el-Medina also contained a fragment from at least one Soter-type shroud.²⁸ At Deir el-Bahri, coffins, coffin fragments, and a shroud (105-8) with Soter-like decoration were reused in third-century AD burials, which are discussed at the end of this chapter.²⁹

Thus, material from the 'Soter group' of coffins and shrouds does not come from a single tomb, nor are all the individuals represented by this material related to the Soter family. Many people were buried with funerary art and papyri of the same type, produced in the same workshop(s) around the same time period. The Soter family items, which were the first to reach the attention of scholars and bear several dated Greek inscriptions, provide a reference point for the larger group. The most complete burial assemblages surviving from the family also seem to be

²⁴ F. Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé, au Fleuve Blanc, au-delà de Fazoql dans le midi du royaume de Sennâr, à Syouah et dans cinq autres oasis; fait dans les années 1819, 1820, 1821 et 1822* (Paris 1827), 1–54.

²⁵ H. von Minutoli, *Nachträge zu meinem Werke, betitelt: Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon in der libyschen Wüste und nach Ober-Ägypten* (Berlin 1827), 218–20.

²⁶ L. Kákósy, 'The Soter tomb in Thebes', in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1995), 61–8; L. Kákósy and E. Gaal, 'First preliminary report on the Hungarian excavations in Thebes-West, Tomb 32', *AAASH* 37 (1985), 13–22.

²⁷ I. Morimoto, *The Human Mummies from the 1983 Excavation at Qurna, Egypt* (Tokyo 1985), 5 (skeleton ABD-VI), figs. 25–9, esp. fig. 27 for the shroud decoration.

²⁸ L. Gabolde, H. I. Amer, P. Ballet, and M. Chauveau, 'Le "tombeau suspendu" de la "Vallée de l'aigle"', *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 190 (no. 21), pl. XVI, and drawings on 194–5.

²⁹ C. Riggs and M. Depauw, '"Soternalia" from Deir el-Bahri, including two coffins with Demotic inscriptions', *RdÉ* 53 (2003), 75–90; C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 136–9, pl. 18.

the best and most extensively decorated objects in the group. The assemblage of Soter's daughter Kleopatra (78) includes her coffin; her shrouded mummy, with the body encased in layers of plaster beneath the shroud; two hieratic funerary papyri; a thick linen wreath found beneath the head of the mummy; a cartonnage falcon placard; and a wooden comb, beads, and floral remains found in the coffin. Her brother Petamenophis, called Ammonios (81), had a coffin of almost identical decoration; a shrouded mummy with plaster casing; a bead net placed over the mummy; a crown of gilt leaves that was attached to the head end of his mummy when wrapped; and a hieratic funerary papyrus. Two small boys unrelated to the Soter family were buried in a single coffin (89), without shrouds, and each had his own hieratic papyrus, a bead necklace with a faience Bes pendant, and an amuletic metal plaque.³⁰ Other funerary ensembles may have been as extensive as these but have since been damaged, as is the case with the burial of Soter (77), consisting of a coffin, hieratic papyrus, and the fragmentary shroud remaining from Henniker's unwrapping of the mummy at Luxor, after which the body itself was discarded. Some of the individual shrouds and coffins now in museum collections might have been separated from each other before being sold, but it is impossible to re-establish any connections in the absence of corroborating evidence like inscriptions. In any event, it is not necessary to assume that each coffin was used in conjunction with a shroud, or *vice versa*, since a shrouded mummy could probably be interred without further enclosure and a mummy in unshrouded wrappings could be buried in a coffin. Whether employed independently or in conjunction with each other, however, the coffin and shroud were the core elements of Soter-type funerary assemblages, and the following discussion rests on the examples of Soter group coffins and shrouds.

Taken together, the coffins and shrouds display similarities of technique, iconography, and draughtsmanship that would feasibly result from the efforts of at least a half dozen artisans working in the span of one or two generations. Exact dates are known for the deaths of Sensaos (76) in AD 109, Petamenophis called Ammonios (81) in AD 116, and Tphous (79) in AD 127. The latest attested date is from the Greek inscription of the vaulted coffin that was lost at sea after von Minutoli bought it from the original Soter cache. This coffin was for 'Senchonsis also (known as) Sapaulis, eldest (daughter) of Pikos', who died aged 44 in the ninth regnal year of Antoninus Pius, AD 146.³¹ No drawing or detailed description of this coffin survives, but if it is assumed to have been of the same craftsmanship as other coffins from the original TT 32 find, then the group as a whole can be dated from the early to mid-second century AD.

³⁰ W. R. Dawson, 'On two Egyptian mummies preserved in the Museums of Edinburgh', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 1/6 (1926–7), 290–6.

³¹ Herbin, *Padiumenipet fils de Sôter*, 26; Van Landuyt, 'Soter family', 79.

The Coffins

The Soter group coffins are constructed of wooden planks joined with wooden pegs,³² and they take one of two general forms, vaulted or anthropoid. It is unclear whether the two forms reflect a chronological development or are two alternatives that were in use at the same time. Although decorated coffins of both forms have similar traits in terms of draughtsmanship and decorative content, the only firmly dated coffins (76, 79, 81, 82, and the lost coffin of Senchonsis) take the vaulted form.

The vaulted coffins consist of a lid with four corner posts which was slotted into a flat base with roller-shaped struts underneath it (Fig. 86). Several of these vaulted, corner-post coffins are decorated on the floor of the base and on all the interior and exterior surfaces of the lid. The head ends can be further augmented by carved wooden elements recreating an elaborate portal, with a frieze of uraei over a single or double cavetto cornice supported by tent-pole columns (74, 76–8, 81, 90, 101). Other examples of the vaulted coffin type (e.g. 75 and 82) have minimal decoration, with a painted base and simple scenes on the lid exterior. The vaulted, corner-post coffin form was in use throughout the Roman Period at Thebes, since burials in the ‘Rhind tomb’ and in the Pebos group (discussed below) also used coffins of this shape. The vault and posts symbolize the curve of the sky supported at the four corners of the earth, and the zodiacs painted inside some of the coffin lids (76, 77, 78, 80, 81) reinforce an additional link between the coffin and a tomb, with the coffin lid equated to the ceiling of a tomb. Vaulted, corner-post coffins were also used at Thebes during the Late Period, when they are especially well-attested at Deir el-Bahri.³³ The revival of this form in the Roman Period is an archaism, perhaps inspired by the plentiful Late Period material in West Bank tombs and shafts, which would have been uncovered as Ptolemaic and Roman burials were inserted among earlier burials. The coffin of Soter (77) is particularly significant in this respect: it was found with a falcon statuette that had originally been placed in the centre of the lid, which mimics the Late Period practice of adorning coffins and stelae with wooden statuettes of falcons, jackals, and *ba*-birds.³⁴

The vaulted coffins do not explicitly represent the deceased except as a generic Egyptian figure in scenes on the lid exteriors, which are adorned with scenes such as the sun god being pulled in his barque (Fig. 87), or the judgement followed by Anubis presenting the deceased to Osiris (Fig. 88). In these presentation scenes, the

³² Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter*, 27 fig. 25 for a plan of how the coffin of Petamenophis, called Ammonios, was assembled.

³³ e.g. A. Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite à l'époque saïte*, Catalogue général du Musée du Caire (Cairo 1913).

³⁴ For example, the outer coffin of Djed-Djehuty-iw-f-ankh (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1895.153), with a jackal statuette and five falcon statuettes: Riggs, ‘The Egyptian funerary tradition at Thebes’, pl. 5.



FIGURE 87 The right side of Soter's coffin shows the solar barque travelling by day. In the vault are two more images of the ram-headed sun god, which correspond to the pair on the other side of the vault, to be identified with the winds from the four cardinal points. Painted wood. L: 213.0 cm. From Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Thebes, late first or early second century AD. London, British Museum, EA 6705 (77).



FIGURE 88 Manifestations of the sun god flank a judgement scene in the vault of the coffin lid of Soter. Below, the night-time sun, represented by a *wedjat*-eye in a disc, is towed on its barque. Painted wood. L: 213.0 cm. From Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Thebes, late first or early second century AD. London, British Museum, EA 6705 (77).

dead person is shown in his or her transfigured state, often as a mummy or a *ba*-bird. On the coffin of Kleopatra (78), she appears before Osiris wearing an archaic sheath dress. Elsewhere, on the foot end of her coffin, Kleopatra is depicted as a supine mummy with full breasts, erect nipples, and long curly hair to mark her gender, while the head end of Soter's coffin (Fig. 89) shows a typical mummy on a lion bier flanked by mourning figures of Isis and Nephthys, with three swags of floral

FIGURE 89 On the head end of Soter's coffin, his Greek epitaph is written on the edge of the cavetto cornice above a scene of Isis and Nephthys mourning a mummy. Swags of flowers and greenery at the top of the scene are derived from classical art. Painted wood. W: 77.0 cm. From Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Thebes, late first or early second century AD. London, British Museum, EA 6705 (77).



garlands at the top of the scene as if this were the wall of a shrine framed by a doorway. The coffin of Sensaos (76) uses the head end to represent Sensaos in the Egyptian knotted ensemble (Fig. 90). Two figures of the dead girl kneel back-to-back as she bends to drink the water libation poured out to her by Horus and Thoth. Sensaos wears a knotted mantle that billows out behind her, and her hair is worn in a shoulder-length curled style. This iconography recalls the liminal Egyptian-form image of the deceased in other libation scenes, like House 21.

The second coffin form used in the Soter group is anthropoid. Both lid and base have a narrow rectangular head end that juts out to wide shoulders, from which the body of the coffin tapers to end in a plinth-like base approximately as wide as the head end (see Fig. 91). As with the vaulted coffins, the floor of this second form is flat and fitted with slots to receive the tenons of the lid. In profile, the body of the lid is slightly curved. A separate piece of wood was carved into a simple human face incorporated into the facial area of the head end, and human feet could be either painted on top of the foot end or carved separately and added to the top of the boxy foot end, as on 93 (Pl. 10). The different shape and construction of the anthropoid coffins called for a slightly different decorative scheme than that of the vaulted coffins. Both forms have identically painted bases, but anthropoid lids only received



FIGURE 90 Sensaos, daughter of Soter, kneels to receive libations from Thoth and Horus in this scene at the head of her coffin. Back-to-back figures depict her in an archaic sheath dress with a patterned mantle hanging from her shoulders and billowing behind her. Egyptian cornices and a frieze of uraei create an architectural setting for the scene. Painted wood. W: c.70.0 cm. From Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Thebes, AD 109. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, M 75 (76).

exterior decoration, sometimes limited to the sculpted head, the foot box, and a column of inscription in the centre.

On the anthropoid coffins, the surface of the lid is given over to a representation of the transfigured deceased. Males are represented as mummiform, with the crook and flail of Osiris added on **89** and **92**. The sole anthropoid coffin for a female (**93**, Pl. 10) represents the deceased as a goddess in a tight, feather-patterned dress and a tripartite wig carved with echelon curls. Only on this female coffin is the actual wood of the lid modelled. On the male coffins, the face and tripartite head-dress are carved from individual pieces of wood and inserted into the head end. The body

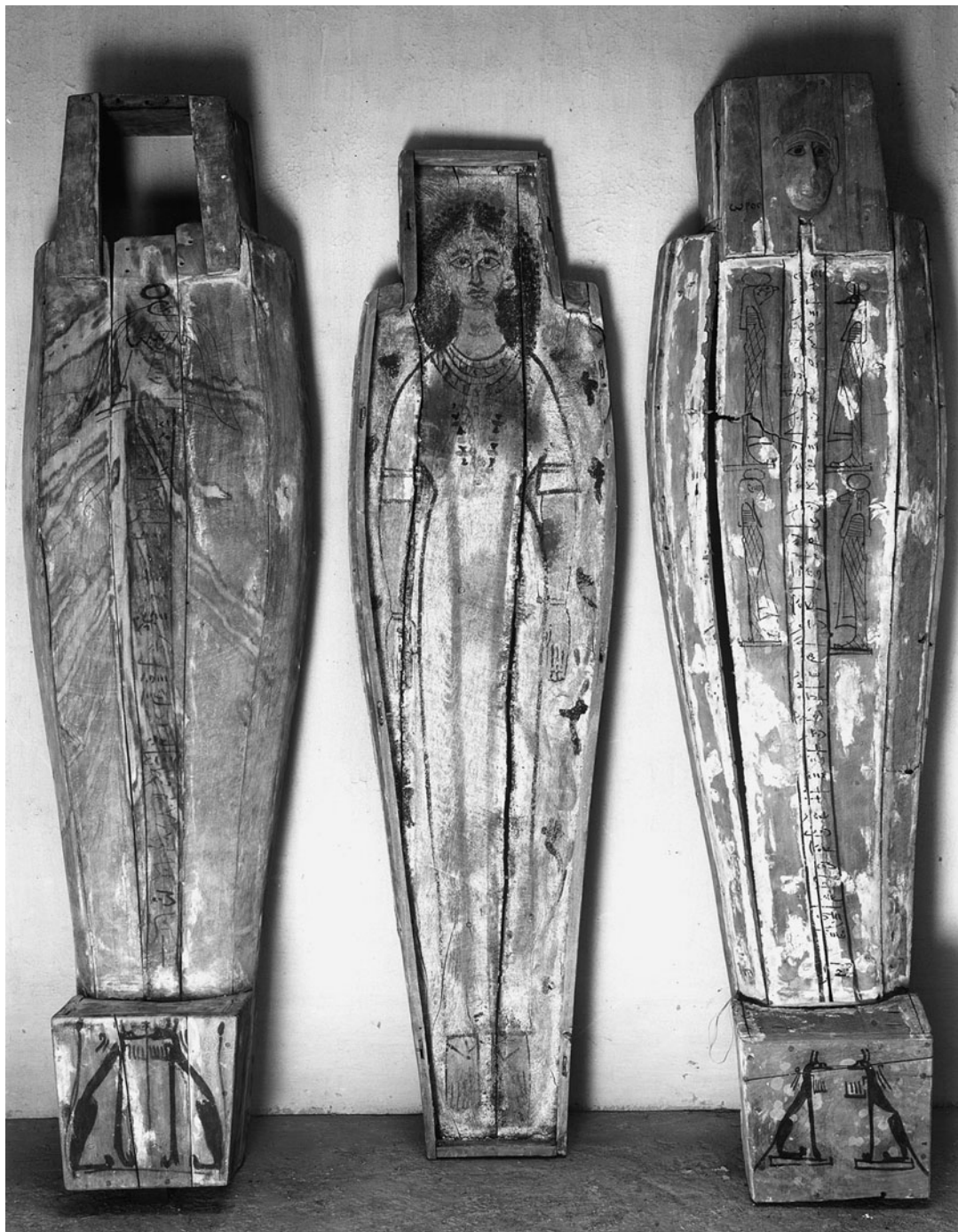


FIGURE 91 Two anthropoid coffin lids and one base, which matches the lid at the left, were reused in late third-century burials at Deir el-Bahri (see Fig. 118). On the footbox of each lid is a pair of seated jackals with the keys to the afterlife tied around their necks, like the jackals on other coffins and shrouds from Soter-type material. Painted wood. L of base: c.175.0 cm. From Deir el-Bahri, Thebes, second century AD. Present location unknown (107, 108).

may not be represented at all (91, 103, 107, 108) or can be painted on the surface of the lid, as it is for the two mummiform figures on 89. On coffin 92, which is a bow-shaped variant of the anthropoid coffin form, both the head and the body are painted on the lid.

The Goddess Nut on the Coffin Floors

When the Soter-group coffins were first discovered, it was thought that the decorated floors of their bases were 'portraits' of the deceased (see Figs. 92, 96).³⁵ In fact, every extant coffin base depicts a woman identified as the goddess Nut by the presence of the phonetic *nm*-jar hieroglyph over her head on coffins 76, 81, 82, and 89. From the Late Period onwards, representations of Nut on coffin floors supplanted earlier motifs found in this position, like the *djed*-pillar or the Goddess of the West. Nut lay inside the coffin, symbolically ready to enfold and embrace the deceased in a sexually charged union that contributed to the process of rejuvenation.³⁶ This interaction between mummy and goddess was both vital and highly personal: the anthropoid coffin made for two small boys (89) has two figures of Nut side by side on its base, one for each child.

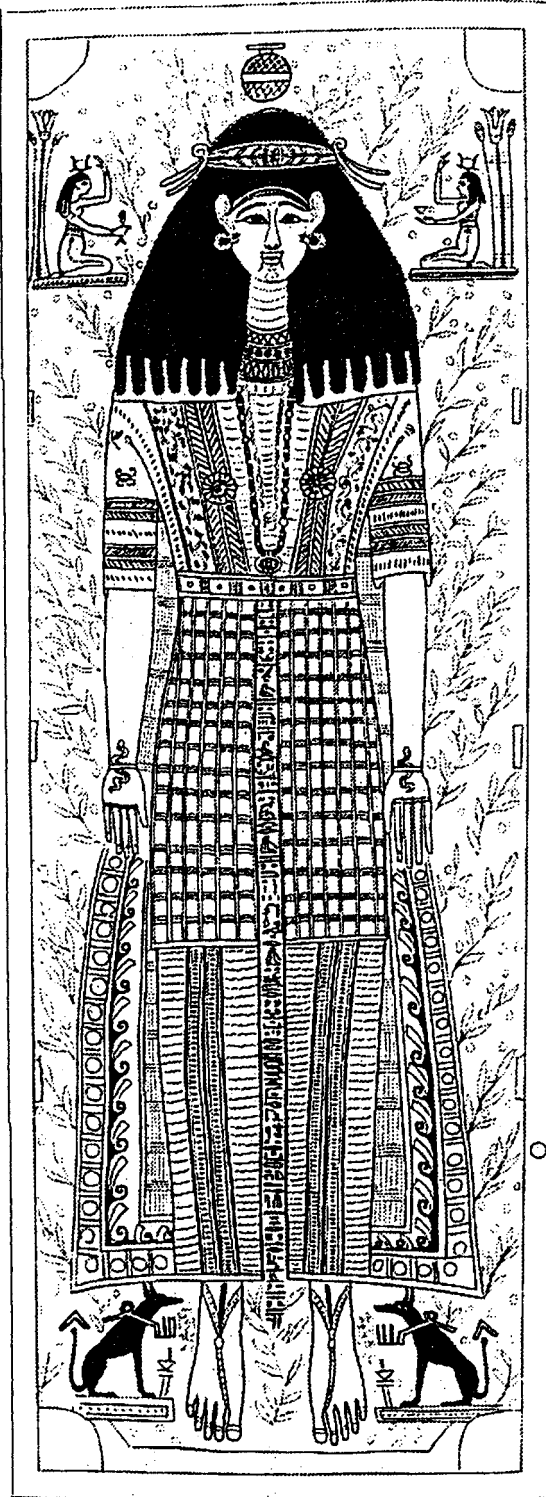
The various costumes and hairstyles in which Nut is shown on the Soter coffin bases seem to be the result of artistic preference. She is depicted frontally, sometimes with attenuated body proportions. Her arms hang at her sides, thumbs inward, and her feet are extended as if viewed from above, with no foreshortening. Her body is generally slender, but can also have plump proportions, and she is fully clothed. In the best preserved examples, soft pink and rosy red tones define Nut's face, with the darker hues used to shadow her eyes and indicate the contours of her nose, cheeks, and chin. The eyes themselves are over-large, the nose slightly long, and the face either plump and rounded (77, 78) or long and narrow (89, 91), depending on the artist. On most of the bases, painted foliage surrounds the goddess, representing vines, papyrus (80) or sycamore fig branches (77, 81), a reference to Nut as the goddess in the sycamore tree, who offers shade and sustenance to the deceased in the afterlife.

The clothing that Nut wears on Soter-group bases 74, 79, 89, 91, 92, 93 (Pl. 10), and 107 (Fig. 91) consists of a tunic with *clavus*-like stripes from its neck to its hem, sometimes with a feather-patterned 'overskirt' between the waist and knees. On the remaining coffin bases, Nut wears a tunic underneath a long overskirt, and the corners of a shawl or mantle taper from her shoulders to the top of the skirt; alternatively, these might be the wide straps of an archaic sheath dress (Fig. 92).

³⁵ For instance, G. di San Quintino, *Lezioni archeologiche intorno ad alcuni monumenti del Regio Museo Egiziano di Torino* (Turin 1824), 13, on the coffin of the boy Petamenophis (82). He described the floor of the case as a painted portrait done in a 'barbaro' (crude) manner akin to medieval painting.

³⁶ L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala 1986), 46.

FIGURE 92 On the floor of the coffin of Petamenophis, known as Ammonios, the goddess Nut appears among the branches of a sycamore fig tree. The hieroglyphic inscription between her legs records the speech of the goddess, who is said to nourish the deceased in the coffin like a pregnant woman nourishes the child in her body. Painted wood. L: 200.0 cm. From Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Thebes, AD 116. Paris, Louvre, E 13016 (81).



Several coffins depict *clavi* on the tunic under the overskirt (80, 82, 90, 101, and 103), but others do not (75–8, 81). The long overskirts also have a feather pattern, like the skirts that can cover the upper legs of Nut figures wearing the tunic with *clavi*. The pattern replicates the feathered garments and wings of goddesses with overlapping, curved segments of colour. Another element of Nut's clothing on the coffin bases is a separate piece of textile which flares out from the sides of her legs, indicating a mantle that hangs down her back but is not otherwise depicted. This mantle can be ornamented with coloured dots and a spiral wave pattern, as on 81 (Fig. 92). It is part of the attire of Egyptian goddesses in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, and was depicted in three-dimensional art as well.³⁷

Since the tunic with *clavi* was a basic element of everyday dress in the Roman Period, the representation of Nut wearing the tunic conflates divine and quotidian images of women. Nut also wears 'everyday' jewellery: a *lumula*-pendant on a long beaded necklace, beaded hoop earrings (on 77), or large hoops with animal heads at one end (on 80), as well as cursorily depicted snake bracelets. The beaded hoop earrings are a fashion from the first and early second centuries AD and thus roughly contemporary with the Soter coffins, whereas the animal-headed earrings were an earlier style, also found on the female coffins from Akhmim. Depicting the goddess Nut with these features was in some measure a result of the reverse case, in which a deceased female was shown with some of the attributes of a goddess. This god-like transformation of the dead led artists to create models that combined human and divine traits and could be used for either type of image.

The abundant, curly hair associated with Egyptian goddesses and images of dead women was also a feature of the representations of Nut on the Soter coffin bases. On a large number of the bases (74, 75, 78–80, 82, 89, 90, 93, 101, 106, 107), Nut has curly, centre-parted hair which reveals her ears and swells out along the sides of her face to end either at the nape of the neck or just behind the shoulders (Pl. 10, Fig. 96). On all the other bases (Fig. 92), her hair resembles the hair on Soter-group female shrouds, worn long with a centre parting and ending in four or more fat curls over her shoulders. These 'corkscrew' curls resemble the distinctive hairstyle used in representations of Isis from the Roman Period, especially in Greek art forms. Given that long curls were used in depictions of queens, women, and goddesses at least as early as the Ptolemaic Period, it is most likely that the corkscrew curls on the Soter material are in keeping with this Egyptian imagery and also that the 'Isis locks' typical of Roman depictions of Isis were derived from representations of native goddesses.

³⁷ e.g. F. Dunand, *Catalogue des terres cuites gréco-romaines d'Égypte*, Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités grecques et romaines (Paris 1990), 152–3 (no. 407), a terracotta of Isis with the long, fringed shawl visible along both sides of her legs.

Like the hairstyles, jewellery, and tunics, other iconographic elements on the coffin bases are also more commonly used to represent the deceased, rather than a goddess, in funerary art. Some of the Nut figures wear a pink floral wreath on the top of the head (e.g. 77) or a striped or floral fillet around it (Fig. 92), symbols of the elevation of the deceased. Other Nut figures (e.g. 79) have no wreath or fillet, which suggests that it was not essential for a coffin base. All the vaulted coffin bases depict standing or kneeling mourning women flanking the head of Nut, but on the anthropoid coffin bases, space does not permit these mourning goddesses to be included. Similarly, the vaulted coffin bases have seated jackals, with keys around their necks, located at either side of Nut's feet, but the anthropoid coffin bases depict them on the lid instead. This convergence of the iconography for goddesses and the dead supports the idea that the artists used similar models for each type of object, with few concessions for whether the goddess figure was painted on a coffin base or a textile. For the same reason, the decoration of the coffin bases is closely related to the design of the female Soter-group shrouds, where the same schema was used to a different effect.

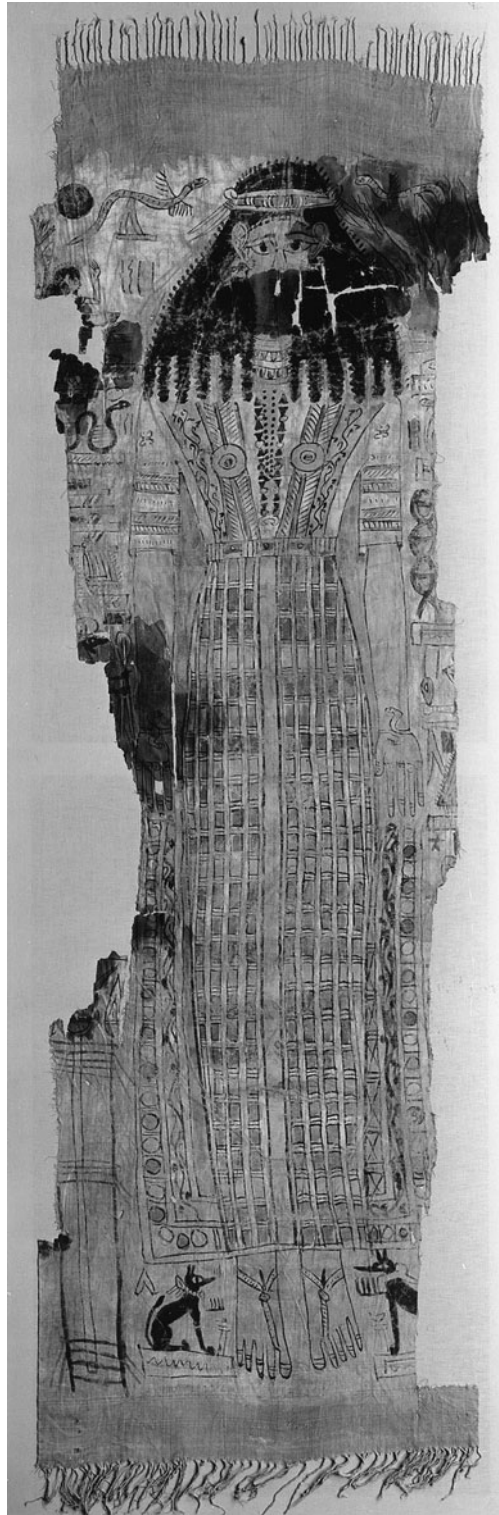
Shrouds from the Soter Group

In the Soter group, mummies interred both with and without coffins were wrapped in vividly painted shrouds, and complete shrouds and shroud fragments are the most numerous articles among the surviving evidence for these burials. Only two shrouded mummies are intact (78, 97), one is intact but with the shroud removed (76), and the original appearance of another (81) is known from drawings made prior to its unwrapping in the nineteenth century. Judging by the size of extant shrouds, both adults and children could be buried with these painted linen wrappings. The shrouds are strikingly uniform both among themselves and in comparison with the decoration of the Soter coffins, especially the coffin bases.

The female shrouds of the Soter group depict a goddess-like figure who is often identical to Nut as she appears on the floors of coffins like 81 (compare Figs. 92 and 93). Although the goddess on coffin bases is identified by the *mw*-pot hieroglyph over her head, the goddess on the shrouds is never identified in this way. By analogy with the male Soter shrouds, which represent the deceased as Osiris, and with other funerary art from Roman Egypt, the central figure on the female shrouds represents the dead woman or girl transfigured in the image of Hathor. The Hathor and Nut figures resemble each other so closely because of the qualities that Egyptian goddesses share and because the artists relied on similar patterns for their work.

On the majority of the female shrouds, like Fig. 93, the Hathor figure has long hair that ends in several thick curls over each shoulder and wears an embellished tunic under a feather-patterned sheath with wide straps. The shroud of Kleopatra,

FIGURE 93 Most Soter-type shrouds for females replicate the appearance of the goddess on some of the coffin floors, as in Fig. 92. On a shroud, the goddess can be identified with Hathor, in whose guise the deceased girl or woman was commemorated. Painted linen. L: 225.0 cm. From Thebes, second century AD. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1872.4723 (84). © 2003 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



like her coffin base (Fig. 96) uses the shorter-haired goddess type instead. For both types, the abundant, curly hair connotes beauty and fecundity, and the artists emphasized its texture by painting small wisps and ringlets around its outlines and along the forehead. Around the forehead of each Hathor figure is a red, green, and white striped fillet whose position and colour recalls the wreaths of some of the female Meir masks or Akhmim coffins. The clothing worn by the Hathor figures on the Soter-group shrouds is even more elaborate than that worn by Nut on the coffin bases. The tunics have decorated sleeves, the shawl ends (or dress straps) are patterned with vines, and rosettes cover each breast. The flared ends of a mantle frame the Hathor figures' legs and are usually adorned with a spiral wave border and circles, and several shrouds depict a feathered overskirt as well. The attire is completed with thong sandals, snake bracelets, *lunula*-pendants hanging from long beaded necklaces, and either beaded hoop earrings (76) or large hoop earrings with animal heads (88), like the Nut figures from the coffin bases.

On male shrouds, the deceased appears in the guise of Osiris, with an *atef*-crown, crook and flail, bead net, and a patterned mantle whose lower corners flare out at the figure's ankles. Sometimes the figure's feet, wearing thong sandals, emerge from the bottom edge of his bead net (e.g. 99, Fig. 94). Inscribed shrouds have a column of hieroglyphs centred over the figure's legs, as on 99. Register-ordered scenes flank the sides, head, and feet of the central Osiris figure, although figures and amuletic symbols can also be positioned without register divisions, as on 104.

Shrouds 83 (Fig. 95), 85, and 99 are bordered by a rectangular frame of lozenges with central dots with a winged disk at the top, which defines the space like a gateway or a shrine. On the shroud of Soter (77), Horus and Thoth are depicted above the head of the Osiris figure, pouring libations of water over him. A libation scene often incorporates a more lifelike, liminal image of the deceased, as on the coffin of Sensaos (Fig. 90), which raises the question of who or what the central Osiris figure on the male shroud represents—the god, or the deceased. The effectiveness of the image lies in the fact that it is both, because it encapsulates the deceased's transformation into an Osiris, when he metaphorically takes the ideal form of that god. It was possible to infuse a more natural appearance into the Osiris figure, too, as a shroud in Berlin (83, Fig. 95) and a coffin in Florence (92) do. The shroud replaces the *atef*-crowned head and hieroglyph-like face of Osiris with a head whose appearance is more human, with short, curly dark hair and rosy red colour on the lips, the edges of the nose, and around the eyes. The use of colour on the face of shroud 83 might be the technique of a particular artist, since it is paralleled on the shroud and coffin base of Kleopatra (78, Fig. 96), but the added red paint also helps convey facial contours, in contrast to the red or black lines of uniform width used on other shrouds. Shroud 83 was probably for an adolescent, since the subject has no facial hair. A pink floral wreath perches on top of his head, marking his elevated state. The rest of his body seems to have been identical to the Osiris figures on other

FIGURE 94 Inscribed
for a boy named
Nespawtytawy, this
shroud is typical of male
Soter-type shrouds in
representing the deceased
as Osiris. In the hiero-
glyphic inscription, the
shroud 'speaks' about
its sacred origins and the
protection it offers the
deceased. Painted linen.
L: 131.0 cm. From Thebes,
second century AD.
Oxford, Ashmolean
Museum, 1913.924 (99).

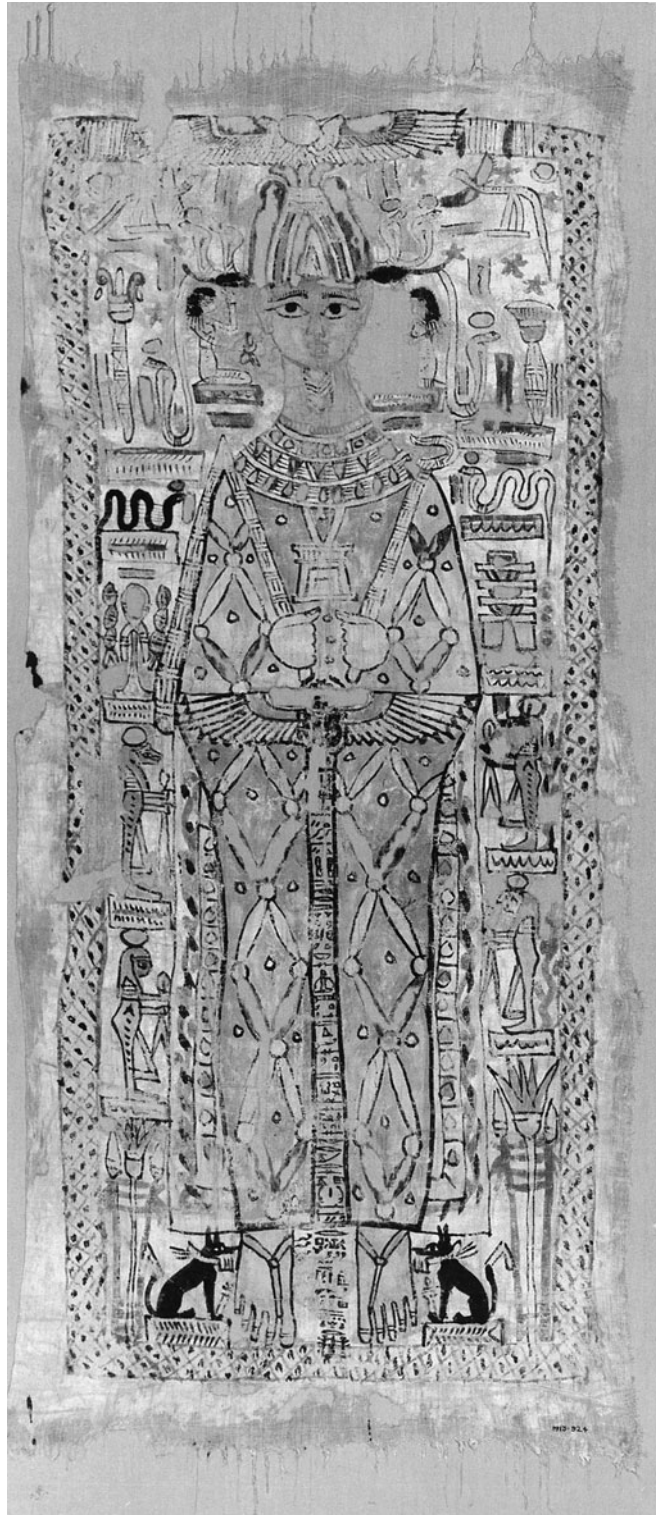




FIGURE 95 Unlike other Soter-type shrouds, this shroud depicts the natural face and hair of the deceased, rather than the head of Osiris. The youth has cropped hair, large eyes, and an expression line on his forehead. He wears a floral wreath and had an Osiris-like body, to judge by the crook preserved near his shoulder. Painted linen. W: 86.0 cm. From Thebes, second century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 12427 (83).

Soter-group shrouds, since parts of the bead net and the crook are preserved. Why this shroud, and coffin 92, use natural heads for the deceased is unknown, but these faces and the libation iconography on Soter's shroud make it clear that all the Osiris figures were, first and foremost, representations of the dead man or boy in his transformed, god-like state, rather than images of the god himself. The same holds true for the women and girls represented in the guise of Hathor on the female shrouds and evoked as such in the inscriptions commemorating their death and rebirth.

The Soter Group: Interpreting Identity

The coffins and shrouds of the Soter group adapted traditional forms and iconographic motifs, which lends the group a conservative appearance in contrast with contemporaneous funerary art from other Egyptian sites. Some of the iconography seems to have been inspired by older material from the West Bank cemeteries. For instance, the towing of the solar barque, the judgement scenes, and the rows of

guardian deities on the vaulted coffins are attested on Late Period coffins from Thebes.³⁸ The form of the vaulted coffins was inspired by the Late Period coffins as well, while the anthropoid coffins and the mummies of Sensaos (76), Kleopatra (78), and Petamenophis (81)—which were coated in plaster to create heft and bulk—imitate the anthropoid coffins used in the New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period, and Late Period. Other aspects of the Soter burials are specific to the Roman Period, like the zodiacs and portal-shaped head ends on some of the coffins, the gilded skin of the mummies, and the representation of the dead in the guise of Osiris and Hathor on the shrouds. The creators of the Soter-group coffins and shrouds did not slavishly copy earlier funerary art but were selecting certain themes or features to recreate. They looked both to the distant past and to more recent sources, like the relief decoration in the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina: the temple's depiction of the four winds, as the *bas* of the sun god, were copied on the coffin of Soter (Figs. 88, 89), and the coffins of Kleopatra and Petamenophis, called Ammonios, copied the temple's images of Imhotep and Amenhotep son of Hapu. Imhotep and Amenhotep were deified mortals with healing cults in western Thebes, though they seem to have been ineffective in preventing the early deaths of Soter's children.³⁹

Egyptian iconography was also the basis for representing the deceased in the Soter group, rather than Greek naturalism. That this was due to choice, and not to a lack of familiarity with or inability to replicate Greek art, is demonstrated by the presence of Roman victory figures on the shroud and coffin base of Kleopatra (Fig. 96). The same artist who executed the victory figures was responsible for the remainder of Kleopatra's shroud and coffin base.

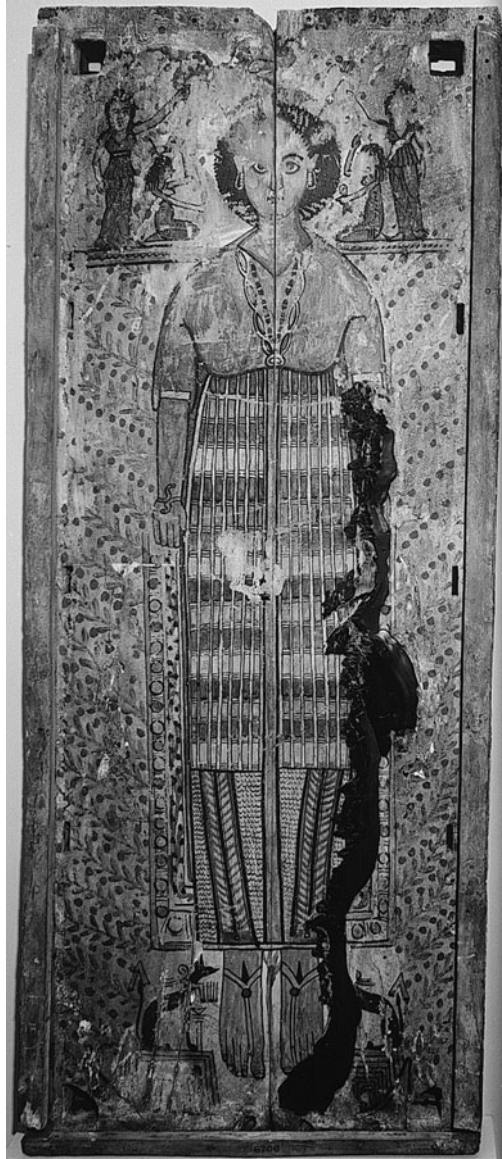
The victory figures flank the head of the Hathor and Nut figures, standing next to, or behind, the mourning Isis and Nephthys. Each victory is identical: a woman in *contrapposto* stance, with long, curly hair, a peplum belted at the waist, and a floral crown held up in whichever hand is nearer the main figure. In Hellenistic and Roman iconography, *Victoria* was in the first instance a goddess associated with military triumph, but in the Roman empire, she became a personification with more widespread connotations. She was invariably linked with emperors,⁴⁰ and in this role commonly appeared on the reverse of imperial coins, but she could also be pictured crowning the deceased in Roman funerary art, to symbolize triumph over

³⁸ Cf. Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite*, pls. 9, 18, 19, 34, 35 (towing solar barque); pls. 11, 36 (judgement); pls. 6, 34, 35 (guardian deities).

³⁹ P. du Bourguet and L. Gabolde, *Le temple de Deir al-Médina* (Cairo 2002). For the cults of Imhotep and Amenhotep son of Hapu at Thebes in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods: D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints* (New York 1977), 83–107; and *Imhotep und Amenhotep: Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten* (Munich and Berlin 1977), 188–276; J. G. Milne, 'The sanatorium of Der-el-Bahri', *JEA* 1 (1914), 96–8.

⁴⁰ T. Hölscher, *Victoria romana: Archäologische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Wesensart der römischen Siegesgöttin von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 3. Jhs. n. Chr.* (Mainz 1967), esp. 48–50 (the imperial *adventus*) and 81–91 (military triumphs).

FIGURE 96 The floor of the coffin of Kleopatra depicts Nut in the sycamore fig tree, but the contemporary jewellery and floral wreath worn by the figure suggest that the goddess and Kleopatra could be represented the same way. The shroud on Kleopatra's mummy is quite similar to this coffin base. Painted wood. L: 183.0 cm. From Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Thebes, c. AD 110–20. London, British Museum, EA 6706 (78).



death, good fortune for the dead, and sometimes the deification or apotheosis of the dead as well.⁴¹ The extent to which victory figures were used in imperial and private contexts alike is evident not only from numismatic finds but also from terracotta lamps and bread moulds that use victory iconography (Fig. 97). On the Soter shrouds and coffin base, the Roman victory figures communicate an Egyptian idea—the crowning of the deceased to signal her triumphal elevation in the

⁴¹ R. Vollkommer, 'Victoria', in *LIMC* viii/1. 262–5, 268–9.

FIGURE 97 *Victoria* crowns emperor Marcus Aurelius on this detail from a ceramic bread mould. Figures of Victory also appear on the shroud and coffin base of Kleopatra (78), where they offer a floral wreath to the goddess-like deceased. H of image: c.15.0 cm. From Acquincum, c. AD 170–80.



afterlife. Since *Victoria* was so often used in conjunction with Roman emperors, the Soter-group victory figures might also reflect the royal privileges and qualities that were assigned to the dead in later Egyptian periods. The presence of the victory figures implies that Greek and Roman artistic models were available and familiar to the artists and patrons of the Soter group, but that only this motif was deemed appropriate for these burials, perhaps because it was given an Egyptian interpretation.

The Soter group favoured Egyptian over Greek iconography for the zodiacs that appear in five of the vaulted coffins, too (76–8, 80, 81; see Fig. 98). The coffin zodiacs depict the astrological signs and personifications of the twelve hours of the day and night, ordered around a large central figure of Nut. Like the zodiac ceilings found in the temples of Dendera and Esna,⁴² the Soter-group zodiacs adopt exclusively Egyptian forms for the individual signs, as opposed to the Greek forms used for other funerary zodiacs in Egypt, like coffin 5 in Chapter 2. Instead, the Soter-group signs look to the more traditional temple zodiacs (Fig. 99),⁴³ or adapt

⁴² S. Cauville, *Le zodiaque d'Osiris* (Leuven 1997); O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, iii: *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs* (Providence 1969), 62–4 (no. 47) for Esna ceiling A, 72–4 (no. 54) for Dendera ceiling B, the circular zodiac, and 79–81 for Dendera ceiling E, as designated by Neugebauer and Parker.

⁴³ See Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, iii. 207–12 for a list of sign variations in temple and funerary zodiacs. Using their designations for the temple zodiacs, Aries on 77 and 78 = Dendera E and on 76 and 81 = Esna A. Virgo on all Soter zodiacs = Esna A and Dendera B and E. Sagittarius on 133

FIGURE 98 The sky goddess Nut extended over the deceased inside the coffin of Soter. On either side of her body are the twelve signs of the zodiac, depicted in Egyptian form and arranged in counterclockwise order, with Leo to Capricorn on the left and Aquarius to Cancer on the right. Painted wood. L: 213.0 cm. From Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Thebes, late first or early second century AD. London, British Museum, EA 6705 (77).



Egyptian sign forms to the funerary context. Thus the Libra sign on the coffins of Kleopatra and Soter (see Fig. 98) is unique in representing the balance as the scales of a judgement scene, with a baboon on top and the heart and *maat* symbols in

shows the forelegs over a boat = Esna A and Dendera B. Aquarius on 76, 78, and 81 = Esna A, Dendera E. Pisces on 80 = Esna A and Dendera E. Capricorn and Taurus on the Soter zodiacs do not parallel temple zodiac signs, and the Gemini signs on the Soter zodiacs have no exact parallels in Neugebauer and Parker's corpus of monuments. Cauville, *Le zodiaque d'Ostis*, 26–7, provides a comparative diagram illustrating zodiac signs in the Esna and Dendera zodiacs.

FIGURE 99 Zodiac ceilings in temples used Egyptian pictorial forms for the astrological signs. Zodiacs inside the coffins of the Soter family followed suit, rejecting the Greek forms of Virgo, Sagittarius, and Aquarius.



the pan. Like other zodiacs in private contexts in Roman Egypt, the Soter-group zodiacs reflect popular interest in astrology, but the zodiacs on the Soter coffins couch this interest specifically in native terms, like the temple zodiacs from which they might have been drawn.

There is ample textual evidence from the Soter burials in the form of several Greek epitaphs and a number of hieroglyphic, hieratic, and Demotic inscriptions on the coffins, papyri, and shrouds, which have been inadequately studied. The texts of the papyri are the latest securely dated funerary compositions from Egypt and are in keeping with other funerary literature of the Roman Period. Their secure archaeological provenance sets the Soter papyri apart from most other papyri, however, and creates the impression—perhaps accurate—that burials at Thebes were more likely to include funerary papyri than were other burials in Roman Egypt. A few of the coffins (90, 91, 101, 107, and 108) bear Demotic texts, while other coffins and several shrouds have hieroglyphic texts. The hieroglyphic inscriptions on coffins like Soter's (see Figs. 88, 89) are elegantly rendered by an experienced hand, and the hieratic papyrus of Kleopatra Kandake, the mother of Soter's children, incorporates two vignettes drawn in the same style as the coffins of Soter himself and their daughter Kleopatra.⁴⁴ Preparing the papyri and composing and copying the inscriptions was an integral part of the production of the coffins and shrouds.

The names recorded for the Soter family and the other individuals buried in this way are predominantly Egyptian but also include Greek and Roman names. Some individuals, like Soter's son Petamenophis, known as Ammonios, have both an Egyptian and a Greek or Roman name, or in the case of Kleopatra Kandake, the wife of Soter, one Greek–Egyptian and one Nubian name, respectively. The fathers of Soter and Kleopatra Kandake have the Roman-sounding names Kornelios Pollios and Ammonios, which raises the possibility that the family descended from Greeks or even Romans who had settled in the region by the early first century AD. The mothers of Soter and Kleopatra Kandake have Egyptian names, Philous and Sapaulis, and the mother of Kornelios Pollios might also have had an Egyptian

⁴⁴ P. British Museum 9977–8: Herbin, *Padiūmenipet fils de Sôter*, 52 κ.

name, Esoeris.⁴⁵ Soter's own name and that of his wife and daughter, Kleopatra, refer to the cults of the Ptolemaic rulers, which were active at nearby Koptos as well as the *polis* of Ptolemais. Soter's other sons were named Apollonides, Petronios, and Heracleios, with Greek and Roman roots that might have been appropriate for the male heirs, while his daughters other than Kleopatra were given the Egyptian names Sensaos and Tkauthi. The Egyptian name of Soter's son Petamenophis (81) and the names of several people outside the Soter family who were buried in a similar manner favour indigenous names, often with a Theban slant—Petamenophis, also attested for Soter's grandson on coffin 82, refers to a cult at Djeme,⁴⁶ while Asklas, on coffin 107, is well-attested in the Theban area as a short form of Asklepios, who was identified with Amenhotep son of Hapu.⁴⁷ Another Roman-sounding Kornelios is commemorated on shroud 104, but the father of this man bore a prosaic Egyptian name, Thoth.

Two coffin inscriptions from the group point to specific offices that the deceased held in life. Soter is called an '*archon* of Thebes' in his Greek epitaph and a *sr wr* (great official), *wr* (great man), and *sr '3* (great official) of *W3s.t* in the hieroglyphic texts of his coffin and shroud. Both the Egyptian and the Greek use old-fashioned, even poetic, names for the Theban conurbation, rather than a specific toponym like Djeme or Diospolis Magna. The Egyptian phrases *sr wr* and *sr '3* are honorific formulae rather than actual titles, similar to the expression used on the Ankhnesneferibre sarcophagus reinscribed for Pamontu. The Greek term *archon* refers to the magistrate offices held in Greek towns and cities, although it was more usual for the office holder to be referred to by his specific title, like the gymnasiarch.⁴⁸ Holders of *archai* were also supposed to be members of the gymnasial class. One other attestation of the title *archon* in isolation occurs on a bilingual Egyptian-form stela from Koptos with the Greek inscription 'Pebos, son of Petearpokrates, *archon* of Koptos' and the Demotic inscription 'May the soul of Pebos, son of Petearpokrates, live.'⁴⁹ The idiosyncratic way in which this Koptos stela and Soter's coffin epitaph refer to the *archon* title might reflect differences in how positions of responsibility functioned and were allocated in cities and metropolises as opposed to smaller towns. Exactly what position Soter held,

⁴⁵ See Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter*, 24–6, discussing the family relationships of the Soter family, which are presented in a family tree inside the back cover of the book.

⁴⁶ Vadorpe, 'City of many a gate', 225 for the cult of Amenophis at Djeme; 228–30 on Theban personal names.

⁴⁷ G. Wagner, C. Leblanc, G. Lecuyot, and A.-M. Loyrette, 'Documents grecs découverts dans la Vallée des reines', *BIFAO* 90 (1990), in reference to a mummy label for 'Apollonia, wife of Asklas' from QV 15.

⁴⁸ As Van Landuyt, 'Soter family', 71, also observes. P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 1911), 175, says that *archon* is a general title applied to all holders of *archai*.

⁴⁹ London, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, 14776 (limestone, H: 47.0 cm): A. Abdalla, *Græco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt* (Liverpool 1992), 86 (no. 210), pl. 65A; *Ancient Faces* (London), 154–5 (no. 173).

and where he held it, remains uncertain, but his burial assemblage modelled his identity with reference not to Greek culture but to specialized, local Egyptian knowledge.

The second example of identity explicitly stated in the Soter group is the side panel from the coffin of Imhotep (98), which can be associated with the owner's funerary papyrus in the Louvre.⁵⁰ Together, the coffin and papyrus texts reveal that Imhotep was a priest in several cults, including Amun-Re, Mut, and Khonsu on the East Bank of Thebes, and Isis in Koptos, among others.⁵¹ Imhotep also has a local name, since Imhotep was honoured alongside Amenhotep son of Hapu in Theban cults, and his parents bore the Egyptian names Ankh-hesat and Tent-iru. The list of priesthoods held by Imhotep was an especially apt way to identify him in the context of a religious ritual, but it also ensured that his personal identity and social role were recorded in traditional Egyptian terms. Imhotep's coffin and papyrus fit the overall character of the material from the Soter group, whose artistic forms, iconographic content, texts, and physical context in the ancient tombs of western Thebes embraced a conservative and archaic approach to burying the dead. Considered in the broader context of second-century AD art at Thebes and elsewhere, the group's almost total exclusion of Greek visual elements was a purposeful step, calling on an ideal Egyptian past as an alternative—or a counterpart—to a present that was culturally dominated by Hellenism and politically dominated by Rome.

THE PEBOS FAMILY BURIALS

The New Kingdom village of Deir el-Medina, which had housed the workmen for the great royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, had long since been abandoned. By the late Ptolemaic Period, the site had been transformed into a sacred landscape dominated by the temple of Hathor, which had been rebuilt by Ptolemy IV (221–205 BC) and added to by his successors and Augustus, who decorated the exterior rear wall of the structure. The temple supported a small residential area related to its administration and was active at least into the third century AD.⁵² The

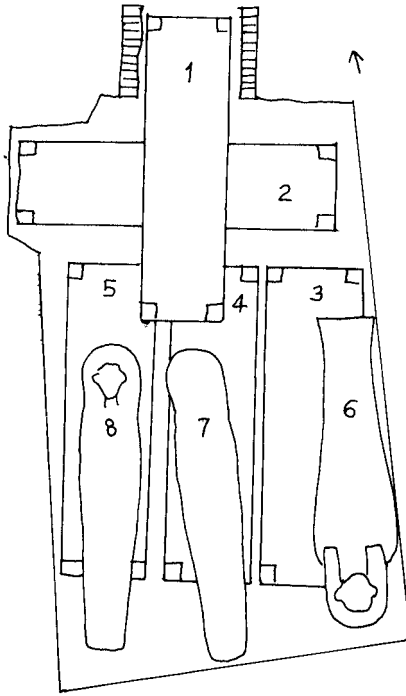
⁵⁰ The subject of an exemplary study by C. Beinlich-Seeber, 'Ein römerzeitlichen Sargfragment in Marseille', in A. Brodbeck (ed.), *Ein ägyptischen Glasperlenspiel: Ägyptologische Beiträge für Erik Hornung aus seinem Schülerkreis* (Berlin 1998), 9–40.

⁵¹ The coffin inscription mentions only that he is a god's father of Osiris, which is not specified in his papyrus, and a great stolist, which the papyrus specifies was in the cult of Isis: Beinlich-Seeber, 'Ein römerzeitlichen Sargfragment in Marseille', 12–13, 36–7.

⁵² Deir el-Medina in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods: D. Montserrat and L. Mesckell, 'Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina', *JEA* 83 (1997), 179–97, with discussion of the Pebos burials at 188–93.

FIGURE 100 The basement of House C 3 at Deir el-Medina, designated Tomb 1407, held five vaulted coffins (1–5 on the plan), one reused Third Intermediate Period coffin (6), and two mummies (7 and 8). Pebos was buried in coffin 2 and his son Krates in coffin 5.

The last coffin placed in the tomb, coffin 1, was inscribed for its occupant, 11-year-old Sarapias, as well as the boy Psenmont, whose mummy is number 8.



sacral character of Deir el-Medina, coupled with its ready supply of abandoned structures and shafts in the cliff faces, made it well suited for re-employment as a cemetery, which began in the Third Intermediate Period and was concentrated in the western part of the necropolis. Three houses in the original village also accommodated later burials in their basement substructures.⁵³ The rarity of this specific type of reuse suggests that there were physical or legal impediments affecting access to the village houses, at least for funerary purposes, and makes the burials of the Pebos group even more unusual.

The Pebos group was found undisturbed in a single basement chamber beneath House C3, which the excavator Bruyère numbered Tomb 1407 (Fig. 100). The bottom of the staircase descending to the chamber was blocked by one end of a wooden coffin, constructed of a deep vaulted lid with four corner posts fitted over a flat base on three rollers, similar to the construction of the vaulted coffins from the Soter group. The coffin blocking the entrance (Bruyère's coffin number 1 = masks 109 and, from the coffin inscription, 113) rested perpendicular to coffin number 2 (= 111, Pl. 11). Behind were three further coffins placed end-first into the chamber, side-by-side, and numbered 3 to 5 (= 114, 110 plus child without mask (Fig. 102), and 112 (Fig. 101), respectively). On top of coffins 3 to 5 were a Third Intermediate

⁵³ Montserrat and Meskell, 'Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina', 192.

FIGURE 101 The mask of Pebos' adolescent son Krates is similar to his own (Pl. 12) but more heavily gilded on the face, neck, and wreath. Linen cartonnage, painted and gilded. L: 75.0 cm. From Tomb 1407, Deir el-Medina, Thebes, mid- to late second century BC. Paris, Louvre, E 14542ter (II2).



Period coffin containing skeletal remains;⁵⁴ a wrapped mummy with no external decoration, which proved to be the mummy of a bearded adult male;⁵⁵ and the wrapped, masked mummy of a young boy (II3), which Bruyère and Bataille reasonably hypothesize is an individual mentioned in the inscription to coffin I.⁵⁶ Also present were bouquets of vine leaves, garlands of willow leaves, and a two-handed

⁵⁴ B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, I-II', *BIFAO* 36 (1936-7), 149 and pl. 6; the Third Intermediate Period coffin is numbered 6 there. It contained two mummies in very poor condition, which were not further discussed by the excavator.

⁵⁵ Bruyère and Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine I-II', 160-2 and pl. 7, for the unwrapping of the mummy, which is numbered 7 on their plan.

⁵⁶ The body is Bruyère's number 8 on the plan of the burial, but the mask is referred to as number 6. The body was unwrapped, for which see Bruyère and Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine I-II', 156-8 and pl. 7, right.

vessel strung on a hanging rope, with traces of burning on its bottom. Bruyère suggested that the vessel had been used to heat the mixture which impregnated the mummy bandages once the bodies were placed in their coffins, but it might also have been used at another point in the funeral ritual for ointments, food, or light.⁵⁷ Bruyère observed that the mummies were stuck to the bottoms of the coffins with a resin-like substance. The wooden coffins seem to have been constructed with the size of their respective mummies in mind, since the bodies fit tightly inside (see Fig. 102). The five coffins from the Pebos group apparently had elaborated portals at the head ends, but Bruyère did not illustrate them and the coffins have been lost.⁵⁸ There is no wash or painted finish on the coffins, only the inked or incised inscriptions, discussed further below.

Coffins 3 to 5, which were aligned in the rear of the chamber, were placed in the tomb first and perhaps all at the same time, and the inscriptions on coffins 3 and 4 are inscribed in an identical hand.⁵⁹ Coffins 1, 2, and the mummy of the masked boy (marked 8 in Fig. 100) must have been deposited later, and likewise the Third Intermediate Period coffin and the undecorated mummy. The arrangement of the burials in Tomb 1407 suggests that they were made within several years of each other, and after coffin 1 was in place, nothing else could fit into the chamber and it was sealed off. It is unclear why this particular house was used for the interments and what factors governed who was buried there. Even if all the individuals in the tomb are related by blood and marriage, an entire family is not represented—the bodies are an assortment of individuals, some from two generations of a single family, and others perhaps with no link to each other at all. Since only the masked mummies, which are associated with the inscribed coffins, can be identified and their family relationships construed, the following discussion focuses on the six masks, their respective mummies, and the texts, which reveal the names of the deceased: Sarapias (109), the daughter of Hereis (110), Pebos (111), Krates (112), Psenmont (113), and Senamphiomis (114).

The excavators unwrapped each mummy in the field and apparently disposed of the red, net-patterned shrouds which covered most of the bodies. Both the body wearing mask 113 (Fig. 103) and the unmasked child found in the coffin with 110 (Fig. 102) had no shrouds, just wide, interlaced linen wrappings.⁶⁰ All the individuals appeared to be healthy and have good teeth, suggestive of a steady and nutritious

⁵⁷ Vessel: Bruyère and Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine I-II', 150 and 151 fig. 4.

⁵⁸ Bruyère and Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine I-II', pls. 3–4 illustrate the coffins with the masked mummies inside, and pls. 1–2 show some side views of the coffins. In the photographs looking down into the coffins (pls. 3–4), the coffins seem to have been opened by prising off planks from the vault rather than lifting the lid off its base, but Bruyère gives no specific explanation or description of this.

⁵⁹ Montserrat and Meskell, 'Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina', 190.

⁶⁰ For the unwrapping of the mummies, see Bruyère and Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine I-II', 155–61 and B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, III-IV', *BIFAO* 38 (1939), 73–89.

FIGURE 102 In coffin 4 of Tomb 1407 (see Fig. 100) lay a masked female mummy and the mummified body of a small boy. The boy is wrapped in interwoven strips of linen, and the woman wears a net-patterned shroud as well as a mask. Wooden coffin; human remains wrapped in linen; linen cartonnage mask, painted and gilded. L of child's mummy: 98.0 cm. Deir el-Medina, Thebes, mid- to late second century BC. Both mummies are lost; the mask is Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 68803 (110).

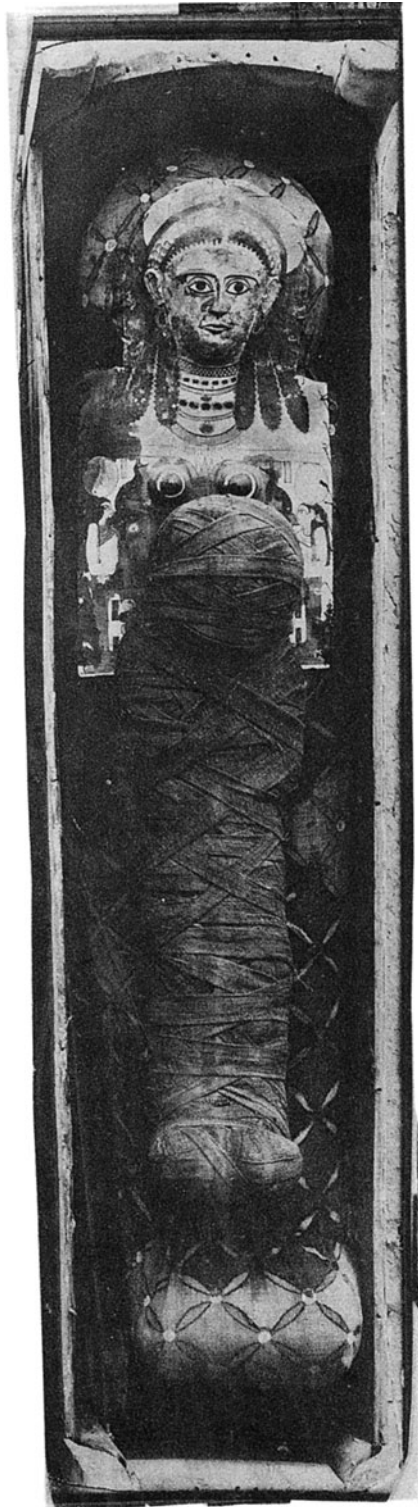


FIGURE 103 The mummy of Psenmont is criss-crossed by strips of linen. His mask (113) resembles that of Sarapias (109), the girl with whom he is commemorated in the inscriptions of coffin 1. Both died at age 11 in the seventeenth year of an unnamed emperor. Linen cartonnage, painted and gilded, over human remains wrapped in linen. L of mask: 50.0 cm. From Tomb 1407, Deir el-Medina, Thebes, mid- to late second century BC. Present location unknown.



diet. The bodies had been carefully mummified and were well preserved as a result. The internal organs had been eviscerated through the left side of the abdomen, some of the skin was gilded, and a few mummies (Krates, the daughter of Hereis and the small child, and Senamphiomis) were adorned with gilded wax amulets.⁶¹

The Mummy Masks

Extant mummy masks from Roman Thebes are outnumbered by surviving shrouds and coffins like those of the Soter group. Although less raw material, and thus probably less cost and effort, was necessary to make a mask, the masks were often used in conjunction with shrouds so that expenditure was not necessarily a decisive factor for or against the use of masks. The Pebos group masks are modelled in linen cartonnage and are made in one plane, without side panels or rear projections to extend around or behind the mummy. The face of each mask projects, having been pushed out from the back of the mask while the linen-and-plaster mixture was wet. The mask surface is finished with white ground, painted, and often gilded, as on the faces of Pebos (Pl. 11) and Krates (Fig. 101), and the daughter of Hereis (Fig. 102), whose breasts are gilded as well.

The masks of Pebos, Krates, the daughter of Hereis, and Senamphiomis display the same hand in the modelling and decoration of their faces and in the draughtsmanship of the scenes on their chests. The masks of Psenmont (113, Fig. 103) and Sarapias (109) closely resemble each other in drawing style, content, and modelling, and as the children seem to have died at the same time, their masks may have been prepared together. In general, these masks are more cluttered with internal patterning than the other Pebos masks.

Since the net-patterned shrouds and the coffins found with the Pebos group did not bear any representations, all the figural decoration in the burials was concentrated on the mummy masks. On all six masks, the sides of the chest region are flanked by mummiform deities derived from the Four Sons of Horus. On the masks of Pebos and Krates (Pl. 12, Fig. 101), these figures have over-long bodies to fill the entire space. The content of the scene registers is similar for all the Pebos-group masks, focusing on the process of mummification, protection, and the adoration of Osiris. Anubis tending a mummy on the bier occurs on each mask, usually in the bottom register but also in the second register from the bottom (113). Guardian deities or judges are present alongside the Four Sons of Horus, as are Isis and Nephthys in attendance on Osiris. Anubis and Horus are depicted adoring Osiris (109, 111), but the presentation of the deceased to the god is not part of the repertoire of scenes on these masks. Jackals can appear either in the top register (110 and 114, without keys) or in the bottom register (109 and 113, with keys).

⁶¹ Bruyère and Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine III-IV', 75-6, 88, 89.

The mask format placed the figural content of the chest registers in direct juxtaposition to the face of the mask, representing the deceased. Perhaps for this reason, it was neither necessary nor desirable to include the deceased as a participant in the scenes, which were in any case understood to refer to the dead person. The faces of the masks are based on Egyptian iconography, producing a non-naturalistic image which was tailored to the gender of the deceased and further emphasized by the frontality that the masks' construction required. The masks of Pebos and Krates wear wreaths of leaves alternating with inlaid plaster 'stones' and have short, curly dark hair worn in conjunction with the vestigial lappets of a tripartite head-dress. The adult women (II0 and II4) both have long, curly hair ending in fat curls over the shoulders, a version of 'corkscrew' locks comparable to the figures of Nut and Hathor on Soter-group shrouds and coffin bases. On the mask of the girl Sarapias (109), the long hair hangs in multiple strands painted as black squiggles. The female masks wear pink floral wreaths and contemporary jewellery consisting of beaded hoop earrings (a second-century AD style) and multiple strands of generic necklaces. Cosmetic lines ring the eyes of both males and females, and the facial features are youthful and idealized, with wide-open eyes, a straight nose, and a small, thin-lipped mouth.

Although cartonnage mummy masks were not as common at Thebes as elsewhere in Egypt, the Pebos group masks are not the only examples to have survived. A handful of other Theban masks also use native iconography like tripartite head-dresses for men and unbound hair for women (Fig. 104).⁶² Other Theban masks are very similar to the Pebos group, such as a male mask in Turin⁶³ and a female mask in Klagenfurt,⁶⁴ which is intact on its mummy and is adorned with mourning women drawn in a style similar to the Soter material, suggesting some continuity or crossover of artisans between the two groups. Excavations in the Valley of the Queens have also found mummy masks in Roman Period burials, including a male example inscribed in Greek for 'Horos, son of Psenmonthes'.⁶⁵

⁶² Paris, Louvre, N 2878a (linen cartonnage, L: 45.0 cm): Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 25 n. 16, 95 n. 33. Paris, Louvre, N 2878b (L: c.40.0 cm) is a similar mask for a man, with a floral wreath and tripartite head-dress on his head, a broad collar, and recumbent jackals with keys around their necks at the bottom of the mask.

⁶³ Turin, Museo Egizio, 2259 (linen cartonnage, L: 64.0 cm): Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 24, 96 n. 34.

⁶⁴ Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum, AE II (linen cartonnage with gilding, L: 53.0 cm): U. Horak and H. Harrauer, *Mumie-Schau'n: Totenkult im hellenistisch-römerzeitlichen Ägypten* (Linz 1999), 15–16, 60–1 (no. 43). The masked mummy, together with a hieratic funerary papyrus (Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum, AE III/1), was purchased in the 1850s inside coffin 93, but the mummy is not original to the coffin.

⁶⁵ Leblanc, 'Le dégageement de la tombe de Ta-Nedjemy', 41, 44 fig. 8, and 46 figs. 9–10, and cf. a female mask from the Valley of the Queens, in Lecuyot, 'Ta set neferu: A brief history of the excavations', 54.

FIGURE 104 Theban mummy masks depicted women with long, curly hair and prominent breasts, here covered by patterned discs. On this example, the eyes are outlined in kohl and the deceased wears a broad collar as well as a fashionable necklace and earrings. A pair of seated jackals appears in the lower corners of the mask. Linen cartonnage with added plaster, painted. L: 45.0 cm. From Thebes, first or second century AD. Paris, Louvre, N 2878A.



The Pebos group of masks are thus part of a broader trend for mummy masks in Theban funerary art, but their undisturbed find-spot, quality of manufacture, and informative inscriptions make them unique.

Family Relationships and the ‘Neokoroi of the Great God Serapis’

The Pebos group of burials elicited particular attention because the Greek inscriptions from the coffins of Pebos and Krates (Bruyère’s coffins 2 and 5) refer to the title ‘*neokoros* of the great Serapis’, which the excavators assumed was held by both 73-year-old Pebos (III) and 17-year-old Krates (II2). Since the question of the *neokoros* title hinges in part on the relationship between Pebos and Krates, all the coffin inscriptions from the group are summarized in the table below.

Coffin 2, mask III	<i>Πεβώτος Κράτητος νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος ὡς (ἐτῶν) ̅σγ̅.</i>	[Coffin of] Pebos, son of Krates, <i>neokoros</i> of the great god Serapis, aged around 73 years.
Coffin 5, mask II2	<i>Κράτητος Ψενμώνθου τοῦ καὶ Πεβώτος Κράτητος, νεωκόρους τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος (ἐτῶν) ̅ιζ̅ μηνῶν ἢ ἡμερῶν ̅ιζ̅.</i>	[Coffin of] Krates, son of Psenmonthes also called Pebos, son of Krates, <i>neokoros</i> of the great god Serapis, aged 17 years, 8 months, and 17 days.
Coffin 1, text 1, masks IO9 and II3	1) <i>Σαραπιάς Πλήνιος Παμώνθου Ἀμφιώνιος, μητρὸς Θυγατρὸς Πλήνιος Σαραπίωνος· ἐβίωσεν ἔτη ἔνδεκα·</i> 2) <i>καὶ Ψενμόντ Παπασήμις υἱοῦ Σαβείνου, ἔτη ὁμοίως βεβιωκῶς ἔνδεκα ἔτυχαν ταφῆς τῷ ̅ιζ̅ (ἔτει) ἀθὺρ ̅λ̅.</i>	Sarapias, daughter of Plenis, son of Pamonthes, son of Amphiomis, her mother being the daughter of Plenis, son of Sarapion; she lived 11 years; and Psenmont, son of Papasemis, son of Sabinos, who also lived 11 years; they were buried in year 17, the 30th of Hathyr.
Coffin 1, text 2, masks IO9 and II3	1) <i>Σαραπιάς Πλήνιος Παμώνθου Ἀμφιώνιος· ἐβίωσεν ἔτη ̅ια̅·</i> 2) <i>καὶ Ψενμόντ Παπασήμις υἱοῦ Σαβείνου, τὰ αὐτὰ ἔτη βεβιωκῶς·</i> 3) <i>ἔτους ̅ιζ̅ ἀθὺρ ̅λ̅.</i>	Sarapias (172), daughter of Plenis, son of Pamonthes, son of Amphiomis; she lived 11 years; and Psenmont, son of Papasemis, son of Sabinos, who lived the same number of years; year 17, the 30th of Hathyr.
Coffin 4, mask IO and child without mask	<i>Θυγάτηρ Ἑριέως Παμώνθου. Κράτης Πεβώτος.</i>	The daughter of Herieus, son of Pamonthes. Krates, son of Pebos.
Coffin 3, mask II4	<i>Σεναμφιώμις Καλασίριος Ἑριέως ἐτῶν να μηνῶν α̅ ἡμερῶν κα.</i>	[Coffin of] Senamphiomis, daughter of Kalasiris, son of Herieus, aged 51 years, 1 month, and 21 days.

Based on these inscriptions, André Bataille constructed a family tree which linked all the individuals mentioned in the inscriptions except for the boy Psenmont. Bataille surmised that the ‘daughter of Hereis’ was the wife of Pebos, son of Krates and the mother, by him, of the child Krates found with her in the coffin, but there is no reason to assume that the woman and child are related. Bataille also suggested that the daughter of Hereis and Senamphiomis might have been distant cousins, but again, the evidence is quite circumstantial. Finally, the relationship between the two children Sarapias and Psenmont, to each other and to anyone in the tomb, is open to question. No cause of death was apparent from their mummified remains, but the inscriptions on coffin 1 relay the anomalous

children and youths could be affiliated with cults in other ways. If the genitive of *neokoros* refers instead to the other genitives in the sequence—‘Psenmonthes, also known as Pebos, son of Krates’—then there is only *one* neokore among the Pebos burials, namely the Pebos of coffin 2 and mask III himself. The importance of the neokore title perhaps made it desirable to reiterate it after the name and patronym of Pebos, to emphasize and clarify his identity.

A neokore was a minor cult official or temple warden, responsible for such tasks as opening and closing a temple and purifying it before rites were carried out.⁶⁷ From the late first century AD, the Roman Senate conferred the title on Greek cities in Asia Minor that supported an imperial cult, and individuals could also be granted honorific neokorates.⁶⁸ In Roman Egypt, papyri use the term *neokoros* for temple officers in the cults of Serapis and, in one case, Tyche (P. Oxy. III 507. 5). The town council (*boule*) of Ptolemais—the *polis* which was the capital of the Thebaid—was responsible for appointing *neokoroi* to the temple of Ptolemy Soter at Koptos.⁶⁹ But most of the *neokoroi* attested in Roman Egypt are, as in the Pebos inscriptions, called *neokoroi* ‘of the great god Serapis’. These men typically hold several high-ranking offices, have Roman equestrian rank, and bear the *tria nomina* associated with Roman citizenship. Since several are also specified as being Alexandrian citizens, their neokorate has reasonably been assumed to refer to the chief cult of Serapis at Alexandria.⁷⁰ It might be an oversimplification, however, to assume that every ‘*neokoros* of the great Serapis’ belonged to the Alexandrian Serapieion, especially if, like Pebos, other indications of rank and citizenship are lacking.

In fact, Pebos, also known as Psenmonthes, is the only ‘*neokoros* of the great god Serapis’ whose names are Egyptian. His names, and those of several other individuals in Tomb 1407, derive from Egyptian cults at Thebes and Hermonthis, underscoring his local origin. For this reason and because of the place and manner in which he was buried, Bataille assumed that Pebos was attached to a local Serapieion, mistakenly thought to have been located at the site of the Colossi of Memnon and Amenhotep III’s mortuary temple.⁷¹ Other neokores of Serapis are recorded at Thebes, including three (Julius Didymos, Julius Besarion, and Julius Sarapammon) who made dedications in front of the Amun temple at Karnak⁷² and

⁶⁷ P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* (Munich 1920), 51–2.

⁶⁸ S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984), 64–7; *Real-Encyclopädie*, xvi. 2423–5.

⁶⁹ A. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971), 14.

⁷⁰ H. R. Goette, ‘Kaiserzeitliche Bildnisse von Serapis-Priestern’, *MDAIK* 45 (1989), 182–6.

⁷¹ Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, 111–12. Elsewhere it has been argued that the Serapieion in question was the god’s main temple in Alexandria, and that Pebos (and Krates) had come home to Thebes to be buried after active careers in Egypt’s most important city: Montserrat and Meskell, ‘Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina’, 189–90.

⁷² G. Wagner, ‘Inscriptions grecques du temple de Karnak (I)’, *BIFAO* 70 (1971), 1–38.

an ex-decurion, Gaius Julius Antoninus, who rededicated the small Serapieion in front of the Luxor Temple on the birthday of Emperor Hadrian, 24 January 126.⁷³ If these men who were neokores of Serapis were active in a Theban cult, perhaps at the Luxor site in Diospolis Magna, then Pebos probably also served in the god's cult locally, which would be more in keeping with his names, his family ties, and his mortuary assemblage. Lesser cults of Serapis might have modelled the titles of offices on the titles used in major Serapis temples. In addition to the Luxor shrine, there was a small Serapieion at Mons Porphyrites⁷⁴ and there might have been Serapis cults in conjunction with Theban centres of Isis worship, such as Deir el-Shelwit, Deir el-Bahri, and the Deir el-Medina temple of Hathor in whose shadow Pebos was buried.⁷⁵

The location and character of his burial suggest that Pebos was attached to a local Serapis cult and that his neokore title was an important aspect of his self-definition, since it is mentioned on his coffin as well as on that of his son Krates. By Theban standards, the interments of the Pebos group were of good quality, with well-mummified bodies, plentiful linen, gilding applied to both bodies and masks, and ample trappings in the form of the masks, shrouds, coffins, and the secure burial place itself. These assemblages are strongly Egyptian in character and execution, reflecting the mortuary concerns of the Theban elite in the second century AD. Like the Soter-group burials, the masked mummies from Deir el-Medina combined native art forms, iconography, and rituals to secure an Egyptian way of death.

NATURALISTIC PORTRAITURE AT THEBES

The extent of archaeological exploration at Thebes means that what has survived from documented excavations and in museum and private collections provides a fairly accurate picture of the forms of funerary art that were in use in the West Bank cemeteries during the Roman Period. Much of this material differs from contemporary finds elsewhere in Egypt, such as the Hawara and Antinoopolis cemeteries with their panel and shroud portraits, or the sculpted portrait masks of Middle Egypt. Instead, funerary art from Roman Thebes tends towards conservative, tradition-bound modes of visual expression, exemplified in the Soter and Pebos

⁷³ J. Leclant, 'Fouilles et travaux en Égypte, 1950–1951', *Orientalia* 20 (1951), 453–65; J.-C. Golvin, S. A. el-Hamid, G. Wagner, and F. Dunand, 'Le petit Serapieion romain de Louqsor', *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 115–48, including G. Wagner's discussion of the dedicatory inscription on the lintel, at pp. 129–34.

⁷⁴ T. Kraus, J. Röder, and W. Müller-Wiener, 'Mons Claudianus–Mons Porphyrites: Bericht über die zweite Forschungsreise 1964', *MDAIK* 22 (1967), 172–81.

⁷⁵ Both the Deir el-Bahri and Deir el-Medina temples, dedicated to Hathor, were termed Aphrodisia in Greek documents (Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, 1–7; Vandorpe, 'City of many a gate', 227–8), but Dunand suggests that the Deir el-Medina temple supported an Isis cult: see Golvin *et al.*, 'Le petit Serapieion romain de Louqsor', 135–48.

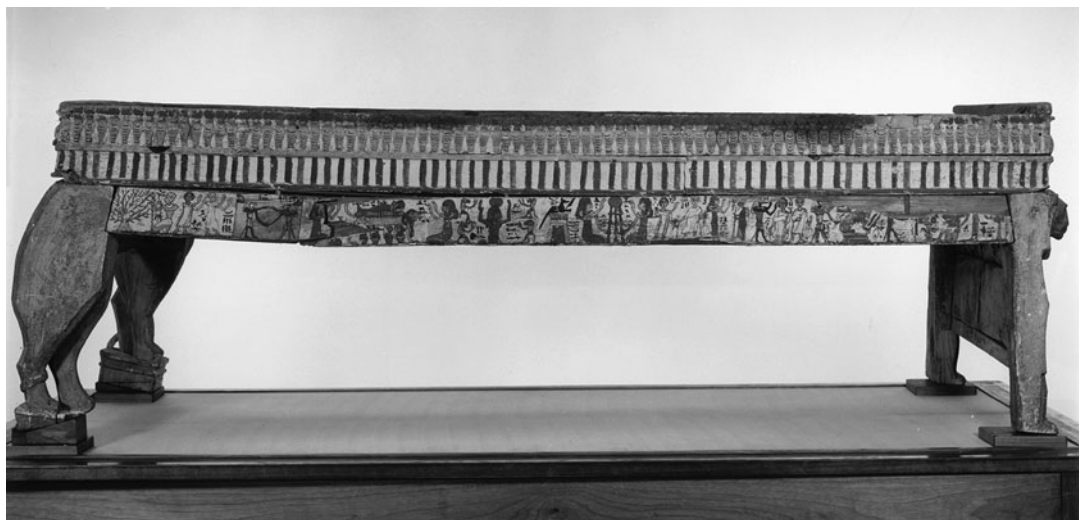


FIGURE 106 Two lions support the platform of this funerary bed, and a frieze of uraei above a cavetto cornice forms the top of each side. The scenes below derive from ancient sources like the Book of the Dead. Painted wood. L: 200.0 cm. From Thebes, mid-second century AD. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 910.27.

groups discussed above. Although such traditional funerary art, with its Egyptian, non-naturalistic representation of the dead, was predominant among the decorated burials of Roman Thebes, it was not the only option. Naturalistic mummy portraits painted on wood have been found in the Late Period Asasif tomb of Harwa (TT 37) and in tombs in the Valley of the Queens.⁷⁶

In funerary art from Thebes, Greek representations of the dead can occur both as figures on the same scale as Egyptian figures, and as bust- or full-length portraits much like those on shrouds found elsewhere in Egypt. The former was the case for the Berlin funerary bier from Thebes discussed in Chapter 3, and it occurs on another funerary bed, now in the Royal Ontario Museum of Toronto (Figs. 106–8), which was purchased at Luxor in the early twentieth century.⁷⁷ The draughtsmanship and hieroglyphic script of the Toronto bed invites comparison with several fragments in Swansea that originally formed the side panels of a full-length shroud (Fig. 109); the central portion of the shroud is lost.⁷⁸ The same artist or scribe might have decorated both the bed and the shroud.

⁷⁶ F. Tiradritti, pers. comm.; Lecuyot, 'Ta set neferu: A brief history of the excavations', 53. See also Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 43–8; E. Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt* (London 1995), 219–20 (nos. 98–100).

⁷⁷ Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 910.27 (painted wood, L: 200.0 cm, W: 102.0 cm): W. Needler, *An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto 1963).

⁷⁸ Swansea, the Egypt Centre, w 649–656 (painted linen, average L: c.25.0 cm): J. G. Griffiths, 'Eight funerary paintings with judgment scenes in the Swansea Wellcome Museum', *JEA* 68 (1982), 228–52. There is no evidence for the Hermopolitan provenance that Griffiths proposes.



FIGURE 107 In a detail from the right side of the bed, Herty and Senenteris are led separately by Anubis. Hathor stands next to Senenteris, and at the far right, an *en face* figure of Herty receives water from the sycamore fig tree. Painted wood. H of scene: c.9.0 cm. From Thebes, mid-second century AD. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 910.27.

Inscriptions identify the owner of the shroud as Tashay, and she is depicted in five of the eight preserved shroud fragments: a judgement scene, two scenes of Anubis leading her by the hand towards a falcon-headed god labelled Osiris-Sokar (see Fig. 109), and two scenes depicting her adoring Osiris-Sokar, Isis, and Nephthys. In each scene, Tashay wears the same garment, which is schematically rendered due to the image's small size: a white, mid-calf length tunic with two coloured *clavi* from shoulder to hem. Dashes on the sleeves suggest the bunching of the garment in folds as the deceased raises her arm or extends an arm outward with the elbow slightly bent. The tunic hem is consistently drawn as a curve that dips down in front of the bent leg to create a very simple depth relationship between the legs—the garment is farther away from the viewer when it crosses the rear, weight-bearing leg, therefore the artist depicts it as slightly raised. On her feet, Tashay wears thong sandals, which are visible on her pointed, non-supporting foot. A broad collar covers the upper part of Tashay's neck in each representation, like the collars traditionally worn by deities and mummies. Here, its addition to the Greek costume marks Tashay's image as other-worldly, despite her lifelike appearance.

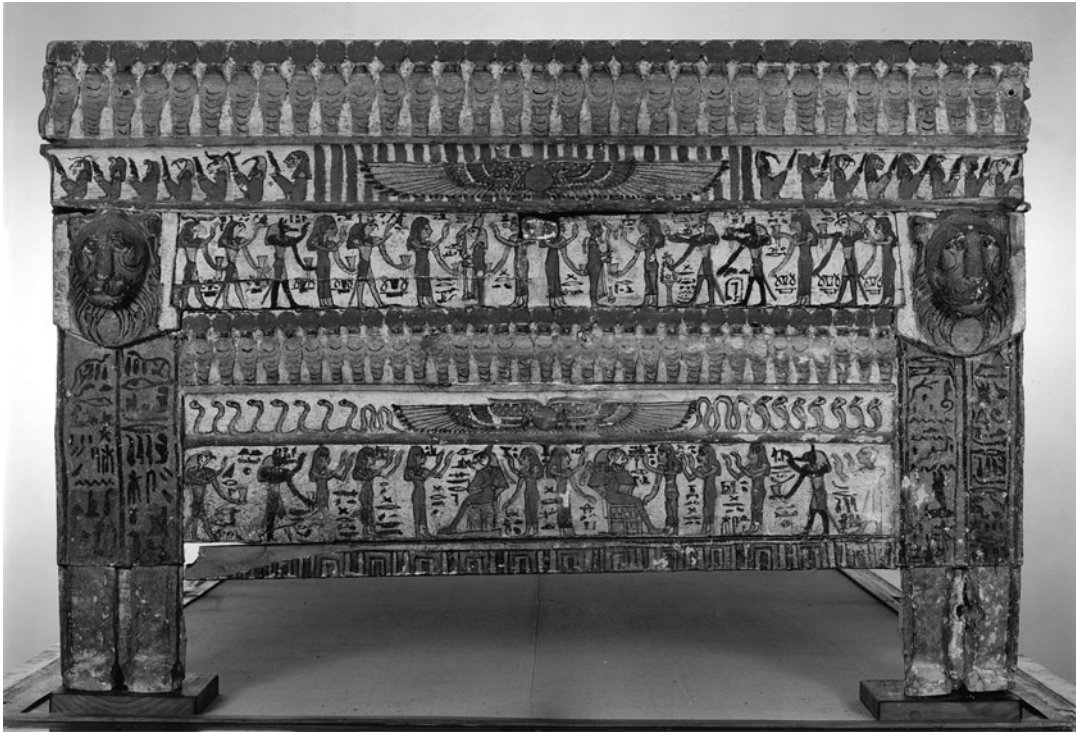


FIGURE 108 At the head end of the funerary bed, the procession of deities before Osiris and Osiris-Sokar includes, at the bottom right, a figure of Herty. Both Herty and his sister Senenteris are identified in the inscriptions on the front of the lion legs. Painted wood. W: 102.0 cm. From Thebes, mid-second century AD. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 910.27.

Her face is turned frontally, and the features—large eyes, nose delineated by a single line, and small mouth—are minimally detailed due to the scale. The artist has taken some effort, however, to represent her Roman hairstyle, with the hair centre-parted and swept back at the sides into a topknot. This coiffure is an early Antonine style and dates the shroud fragments to between *c.* AD 140 and 160.⁷⁹

The representation of Tashay according to the Greek representational system, and wearing Greek dress, is consistent with the use of naturalistic images in psychopomp scenes like Fig. 109. The same thing occurs on the Toronto funerary bed, where images of the deceased are repeated as part of a continuous sequence on either long side of the bier (Figs. 106, 107). The bed was made for two individuals, who are identified within the scenes and in two opposing columns of hieroglyphic inscription on the front legs of the bed (Fig. 108). They are called ‘Ta-sheryt-neteru (Senenteris), born of Ta-Isis’, and ‘the Osiris Herty, born of Ta-Isis’, and the identical

⁷⁹ Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 48–51, esp. her pls. 46. 1 and 47.

FIGURE 109 In one of the fragments from her shroud, Tashay is led by Anubis into the presence of falcon-headed Osiris-Sokar.

Painted linen.

H: c. 25.0 cm. From Thebes, mid-second century AD. Swansea, The Egypt Centre, w 652.



name of their mother suggests that Herty and Senenteris were brother and sister. Brother-sister marriage is not attested at Thebes, so it is very unlikely that the two were husband and wife.⁸⁰ Perhaps they died before either reached marriageable age.

The friezes of scenes on the bed do not form a sequential narrative sequence. Instead, they present a series of episodes arranged in some relation to their position on the bed—thus the Abydos reliquary and the enthroned figure of Osiris appear at the head end of the bed, and Herty receives water from a sycamore fig tree at the foot end, on both sides. In between are scenes of mourning goddesses flanking a mummy on a bier, Anubis tending a mummy on a bier, solar rejuvenation, a judgment scene (on the left side), a procession of offerings (on the right side), and Anubis leading and accompanying the two deceased. On the right side of the bed (Fig. 107), both Herty and Senenteris are accompanied by a figure of Anubis who

⁸⁰ Needler, *Egyptian Funerary Bed*, assumed that they were.

grasps each of them by the hand. The depictions of Senenteris closely resemble those of Ta-shay on the Swansea shroud, although Senenteris does not wear a broad collar. The women's hairstyles are especially similar, providing further evidence for the mid-second-century date. The scenes on the bed are on an even smaller scale than those on Ta-shay's shroud, and thus even less detailed, but the calf-length tunic with *clavi*, thong sandals, and schematic drapery marks are nonetheless identical. In one scene on the bed (see Fig. 106, far right), Senenteris wears a narrow stole around the shoulders of her tunic.

The representations of Herty on the bed are more varied and, unlike Senenteris, he can appear in archaic Egyptian dress and posture. On the left side of the bed (Fig. 106), where he receives water from the sycamore fig tree, Herty wears a short kilt, and in the scene next to this he proceeds in a striding posture with his hands raised, wearing a long kilt over an Egyptian shirt or tunic. His hair in the Egyptian-form images is shaved off or closely cropped, in imitation of some Late Period styles. In other scenes on the bed, Herty adopts a Greek pose and wears a tunic with *clavi*, shorter than Senenteris' tunic, or else a tunic covered by a wrapped mantle, with its square end hanging down his left side. This is not a contabulated toga, as Needler thought it might be,⁸¹ but the normal version of the *himation*. That the artist bothered to differentiate these small images of the deceased, and to delineate them by form and costume from the Egyptian content, implies that the naturalistic portraiture from which these simple sketches derive was a visible, familiar, and meaningful model for self-representation in the Theban region, a model whose usefulness extended into the native mortuary sphere.

Portrait Shrouds

In the second and third centuries AD, naturalistic portraiture on a larger scale is also attested at Thebes, and its quality is comparable to that of the more familiar corpus of portrait panels and shrouds in the Fayum and Middle Egypt. Theban examples of portraiture tend to occur on shrouds which wrapped the full length of the body, but a few examples might have ended at the bust, rather like a mummy mask. Portrait shrouds with Roman hairstyles date from about the late second century AD and might have overlapped with the use of more traditional material, like the coffins, shrouds, and masks of the Soter and Pebos groups. It would be imprecise to characterize portraiture as a later development that supplanted more conservative art forms, but it is nevertheless striking that Greek portraiture appeared at Thebes long after similarly naturalistic imagery had been adopted for burials in other parts of Egypt.

⁸¹ Needler, *Egyptian Funerary Bed*, 20.

FIGURE 110 In Tomb 1447 in the cliffs near Deir el-Medina, Bruyère found several shroud fragments, of which only this one survives (115). A circle frames the boy's head against the dark red background, and a figure of Osiris, on a plinth, appears at the right. Painted linen. L: 65.0 cm. From Deir el-Medina, Thebes, late second to early third century AD. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, F 1968/2.1.

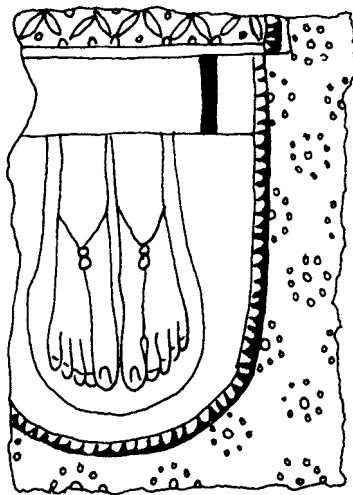


The remainder of this section considers seven examples of shroud portraits from Thebes (115–21), which can usefully be compared to each other.⁸² Only two of the shrouds have an archaeological provenance—shroud 115, now in Leiden (Figs. 110, 111) and shroud 121, whose whereabouts are unknown (Fig. 112). The shrouds were excavated by Bruyère at Deir el-Medina in Tomb 1447, a deep shaft cut into the north side of Qurnet Murai.⁸³ The tomb was reached by a sloping ramp which

⁸² Another shroud reported to be from Thebes, but not discussed here, is London, British Museum, EA 6709, intact on the mummy of a youth (L of mummy: 1.52 m): S. Walker and D. Montserrat, 'A journey to the next world: The shroud of a youth from Roman Egypt', *Apollo* 148, no. 437 (July 1998), 15–19; *Ancient Faces* (London), 114–15 (no. 110); W. R. Dawson and P. H. K. Gray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, i: Mummies and Human Remains* (London 1968), 32–3 (no. 62), pls. 16d, 25a–b; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 19 no. 8, 183–4.

⁸³ B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh (années 1948 à 1951)* (Cairo 1953), pl. 21 for view, pl. 20 for plan.

FIGURE III The foot area of shroud II5 (Fig. 110) depicted the hem of the boy's tunic and his feet, shod in sandals with a *lingula* fastening. Painted linen. L: c.30.0 cm. From Deir el-Medina, Thebes, late second to early third century AD. Present location unknown.



descended via rough, graduated stairs. At the bottom of the ramp, the walls were lined with stones plundered from the Ramesseum. Inside the tomb were three main chambers and two side rooms leading off either side of the third, innermost chamber, which itself was only accessible through an opening in the floor of the second chamber. The two main inner chambers were, in Bruyère's words, a 'veritable catacomb' of Roman Period mummies.⁸⁴ To give some idea of the quantity of human remains, Bruyère estimated that he found sixty skulls, a third of which showed signs of mummification; apparently no bodies were found intact. The decorated fragments of shrouds and cartonnage found in these chambers amounted to seven cartonnage masks and nine painted shrouds, including II5 and 121. Most of these finds have been lost, and except for II5 and 121, they were only published as line drawings in the excavation reports (see Fig. 111).⁸⁵

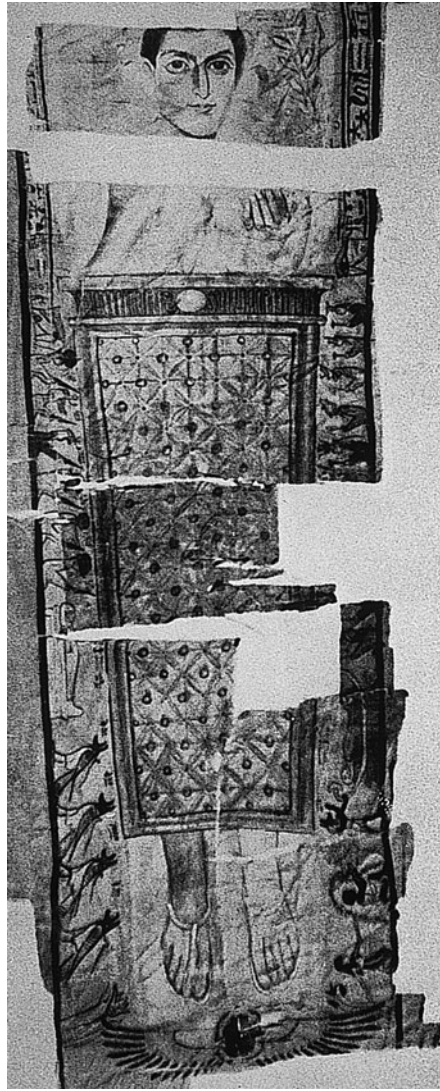
The best-preserved of the Bruyère finds was a full-length shroud representing a clean-shaven adolescent or young man (121, Fig. 112). The shroud has two bands of hieroglyphic inscription flanking the portrait, the better preserved of which seems to refer to the deceased as 'the Osiris Hery-tawy'.⁸⁶ The portrait is not fully preserved, but Hery-tawy is shown with short dark hair, a long nose and oval face, and heavy-lidded eyes. His left hand is cupped in front of his chest and probably held an attribute like fruit or wine. Around his head are branches of laurel or myrtle, like the embossed wreaths on the back of Meir masks 49 and 57, and over his head is an upside-down winged scarab pushing the solar disc. Another winged scarab appears below his sandalled feet, and small Egyptian figures border the

⁸⁴ Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir el Medineh (années 1948 à 1951)*, 107.

⁸⁵ Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir el Medineh (années 1948 à 1951)*, pl. 25 no. 10.

⁸⁶ Ranke, *Personennamen*, i: 253. 13. Cf. Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir el Medineh (années 1948 à 1951)*, 108, 110, which interprets Hery-tawy as a title and Neferhotep as the name of the deceased. A title would normally precede the 'Osiris' expression or follow the deceased's name, however, and the shroud's inscriptions are difficult to read in any case.

FIGURE 112 Hieroglyphic inscriptions on either side of the shroud may name the deceased, but the reading is unclear. In his portrait, the boy ('Hery-tawy?') has strong facial features and short hair. His left hand was cupped around an attribute, and a crown of leaves framed his face. Painted linen. L: 160.0 cm. From Deir el-Medina, Thebes, late second to early third century AD. Present location unknown (121).



shrine-like 'apron' that covers his lower body. To his right side are crouching guardians, a supine mummy, four jackal-headed birds, and a bouquet of lotus buds and flowers. To his left, a goddess offers libations to a kneeling man (the deceased), Anubis accompanies a mummy lying on a skiff, and several gods, including Hathor, Osiris, Horus, Isis, and Nephthys, are shown in a crouched position. The Egyptian shrine over his legs, which is filled with a bead-net pattern, defines the shroud of Hery-tawy as a sacred space.

The portrait of Hery-tawy resembles the portrait on a half-length shroud inscribed in Greek for a soldier named Tyras (117, Pl. 12). Although close comparison is not possible because the former is known only from the black-and-white excavation photograph and the latter has reportedly sustained water damage, both

portraits have a similar manner of delineating the face, mouth, and eye shapes of their subjects. Tyras has close-cropped dark hair and a clean-shaven face; his clothing indicates that he was a soldier and helps date the shroud to the end of the second or first half of the third century AD. Over a long-sleeved white tunic with purple stripes at the shoulders and wrists, Tyras wears a dark red or purple military cloak, fastened on his right shoulder. His waist is encircled by a studded sword belt, and the hilt of the sword is depicted above his left wrist. A Roman cohort was stationed at Thebes in the second and third centuries AD, perhaps based at the East Bank village of Ouphis,⁸⁷ and from c. AD 301–2, emperor Diocletian stationed a Roman legion at a camp built amidst the ruins of Luxor Temple, to help counter unsettled conditions and peasant insurrections in the Thebaid.⁸⁸ If Tyras served the earlier Theban cohort, he was probably not a Roman citizen; alternatively, he might have been a native of the area who served in the military elsewhere in Egypt but was buried back at Thebes. On his shroud, Tyras is associated with the cult images of Anubis and Osiris, who are represented like statuettes on plinths on either side of his head. Osiris is shown frontally, recalling the large figures of Osiris on the Saqqara ‘psychopomp’ shrouds (68–73), and he and Anubis occupy the shrine-like space behind Tyras. Papyriform columns support a cavetto cornice over the top of which a *velum*, or cloth blind, is depicted as rolled up and festooned with bands of flowers and greenery. Blinds like this, which could be pulled down to hide sacred images from view, were used in Greek and Roman cult practices, and Egyptian cults also concealed the statues of the gods. The portrait of Tyras venerates him by placing him in this cultic space and comparing him visually to Osiris. The god’s frontal pose corresponds to the posture of Tyras, and Tyras holds his arms bent and his hands level in front of his chest, grasping a wreath and a bunch of leafy stems, which echoes the position of Osiris’ hands holding the crook and flail.

This bent-armed, frontal posture was preferred for naturalistic portraits at Thebes. The other shroud discovered by Bruyère in Deir el-Medina Tomb 1447 (115, Figs. 110, 111) combines the pose with a covered lower body, like the Deir el-Medina shroud of Hery-tawy. This shroud, whose upper portion is in Leiden, shows the head of the deceased against a light-coloured circle. He wears two layered tunics with narrow *clavi*, and the lost foot fragment (Fig. 111) shows the bottom of the tunic and his feet, shod in thong sandals. The layering of the tunics and their long, narrow sleeves supports a date between the late second and early third centuries AD.⁸⁹ The boy grasps a floral wreath in his right hand and green

⁸⁷ J. Lesquier, *L’armée romaine d’Égypte* (Cairo 1918), 409–10.

⁸⁸ M. el-Saghir, J.-Cl. Golvin, M. Redde, H. el-Sayed, and G. Wagner, *Le camp romain de Louqsor* (Cairo 1986).

⁸⁹ Thus also D. Montserrat, ‘Burial practices at third century AD Deir el-Medina as evidenced from a Roman painted shroud in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden’, in R. J. Demarée and A. Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD: A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen* (Leiden 2000), 279–80.

stems in his left, like Tyras, and his body was flanked by a key-bearing figure of Anubis, to the viewer's left, and a frontal figure of Osiris, to the viewer's right. The divine images and the net-patterned, rosette-filled background are further points of similarity between shroud 115 and shroud 117, for Tyras.

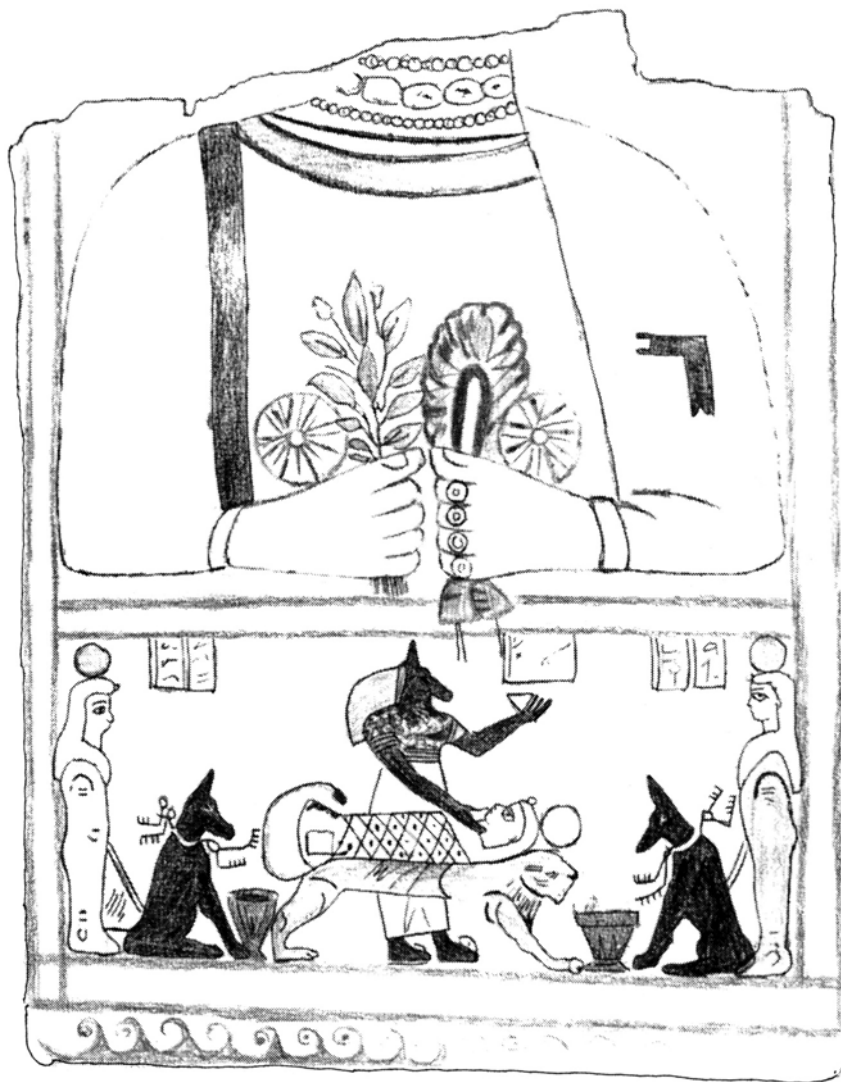
On shroud 115, the boy's lower body is covered with an 'apron' of register-ordered scenes alternating with patterned decoration. This was perhaps meant to imitate the large, u-shaped *wesekh*-collars that appear on some funerary art, like Akhmim coffin 25 (Fig. 31), or a textile spread over the supine body of the deceased, like the shroud of Taathyr (Pl. 2). The covering protected the deceased and afforded a surface area for the Egyptian scenes. The register preserved on shroud 115 (Fig. 110) depicts part of a solar barque and an upright mummiform figure, standing for the deceased. The scene is executed in an identical manner on three other Theban shrouds—119 (Fig. 113), 118 (Fig. 114), and 120 (Fig. 115)—pointing to a shared workshop origin for all four objects.

Shrouds 119 and 118 are the two female examples of this small group. Both have lost their faces, leaving only the neck, chest, and one register of scenes. Shroud 119 (Fig. 113), in Turin, presents a portrait bust of the deceased, who seems to have worn a Roman hairstyle. The absence of any hair on her shoulders or around the base of her neck suggests a coiffure that drew the hair to the back and top of the head, like some Antonine arrangements in the late second century AD.⁹⁰ She wears three beaded necklaces around her throat and four round rings on the fingers of her left hand. A reddish line below the necklaces might represent the border of an undertunic, and her main tunic is white with a green neckline and one dark *clavus* visible. Over her left shoulder and arm is draped a white mantle adorned with a dark *gamma*. Small, conical breasts are modelled in plaster or mud on the chest surface of the shroud and ornamented with painted decoration, like the caps or rosettes on the breasts of some Soter-group female figures (e.g. 81, Fig. 92) or the female masks of the Pebos group (e.g. 110, Fig. 102). In her hands, the girl holds the familiar leafy green stems and floral wreath, but their positions are reversed, with the wreath in her left hand and the greenery in her right. The preserved register scene has a standing mummiform figure at either end and Anubis tending a mummy on a lion bier in the centre. Flanking the bier are seated jackals with keys around their necks, next to conical vessels that refer to the oils used in the embalm-ing ritual.

On shroud 118 (Fig. 114), the girl's head was represented in the Egyptian form familiar from the Soter-group shrouds and Pebos-group masks for women. Her long, black hair falls over her shoulders in corkscrew curls, linking the deceased to the iconography of Egyptian goddesses like Hathor and empowering her with the fertility that she did not live long enough to realize. Her clothing, unlike her hair,

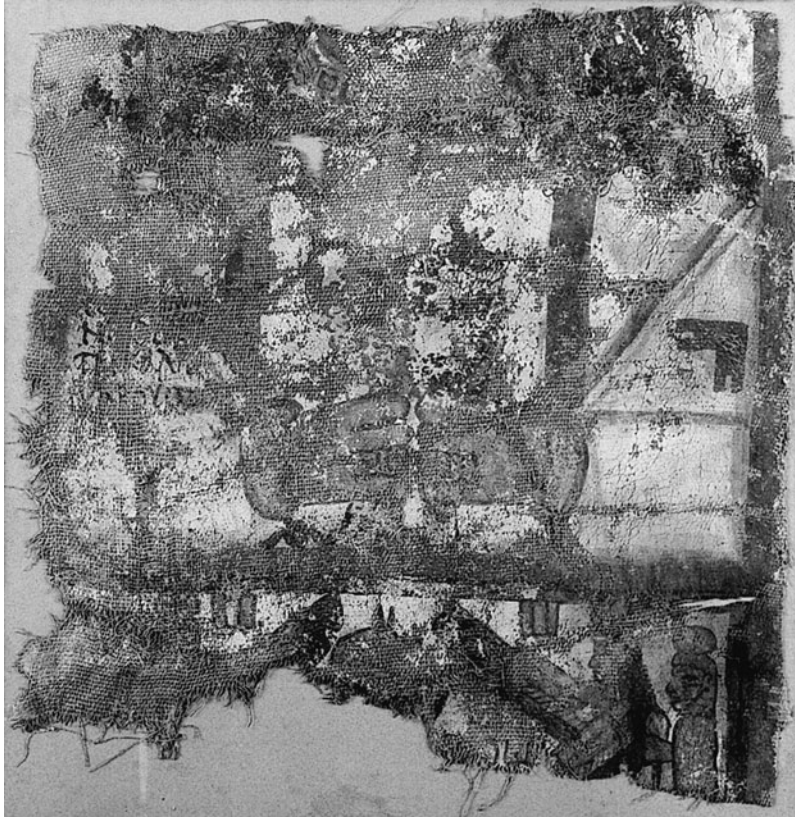
⁹⁰ Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 51–61, esp. her pl. 79. 1.

FIGURE 113
 Another shroud like the examples in Figs. 114 and 115 is this fragment for a woman or girl, whose hair was probably worn off the neck in an imperial style. The Egyptian register depicts jackals with keys around their necks, and Anubis anointing a mummy. Painted linen. L: 57.0 cm. From Thebes, late second century AD. Turin, Museo Egizio, 2265 (119).



follows contemporary fashion and consists of a white tunic with narrow purple *clavi*, topped by a shawl pulled around her body from behind, which covers her upper arms. Over her left arm, a purple *gamma* ornaments the shawl. The same place on her right arm is filled by four lines of Greek, but they are too damaged to read clearly. Like the Tyras on shroud 117 and the boy on 115, this girl holds a pink garland in her right hand and a bouquet or myrtle or other leaves in her left. The partly preserved register below her arms depicts Anubis at the centre, flanked by goddesses extending their wings towards him. Anubis would have been embalming a mummy, as on shroud 119, and an upright mummy stands at the far right of the scene.

FIGURE 114 Executed in the same format as the shroud in Fig. 115, this fragment depicts a girl with curly hair falling past her shoulders. She wears a mantle around her shoulders and holds garlands of flowers and leaves. Four lines of Greek, written on her right arm, are no longer legible. Painted linen. L: 36.0 cm. From Thebes, late second to early third century AD. Paris, Louvre, N 3398 (118).



The same composition appears in the top register of the only fully preserved shroud of this type, shroud 120 (Fig. 115). Against the linen textile of the shroud, the artist defined a rectangular area of dark red and filled it with a bead net and rosettes. The body of the deceased boy or youth lies in the centre of the space, surrounded by a white area and bordered by a thick black line. His lower body is covered by three registers, each framed by bands of delicately painted jewels or foliage. The top register contains the Anubis scene with the winged goddesses, and the middle register shows Osiris enthroned, surrounded by Horus, Anubis, and Isis. In the bottom register is the *hemu*-barque of Sokar, which had often been represented on Theban tombs and coffins, including the coffin of Soter (77). The divine barque is flanked by jackals with keys around their necks, sitting on top of small-scale Egyptian shrines. Behind each jackal is a bouquet of lotus buds and blossoms.

The deceased on shroud 120 has short, curly hair and wears a wreath of flowers on his head.⁹¹ In his hands he holds a second, pink wreath and a bunch of greenery.

⁹¹ Some details of the facial area are perhaps not ancient; the sharply outlined lips, nose, and eyelashes, for instance, do not conform to the painting style of this shroud or its parallels.

FIGURE 115 This shroud represents a youth wearing a white mantle with contabulated folds, associated with the cult of Serapis. In the bottom register of the Egyptian scenes masking his legs, seated jackals and lotus bouquets flank the sacred barque of Sokar. This composition also appears on the group of mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri (Figs. 117–21). Painted linen. L: 230.0 cm. From Thebes, late second to early third century AD. Private collection (120).

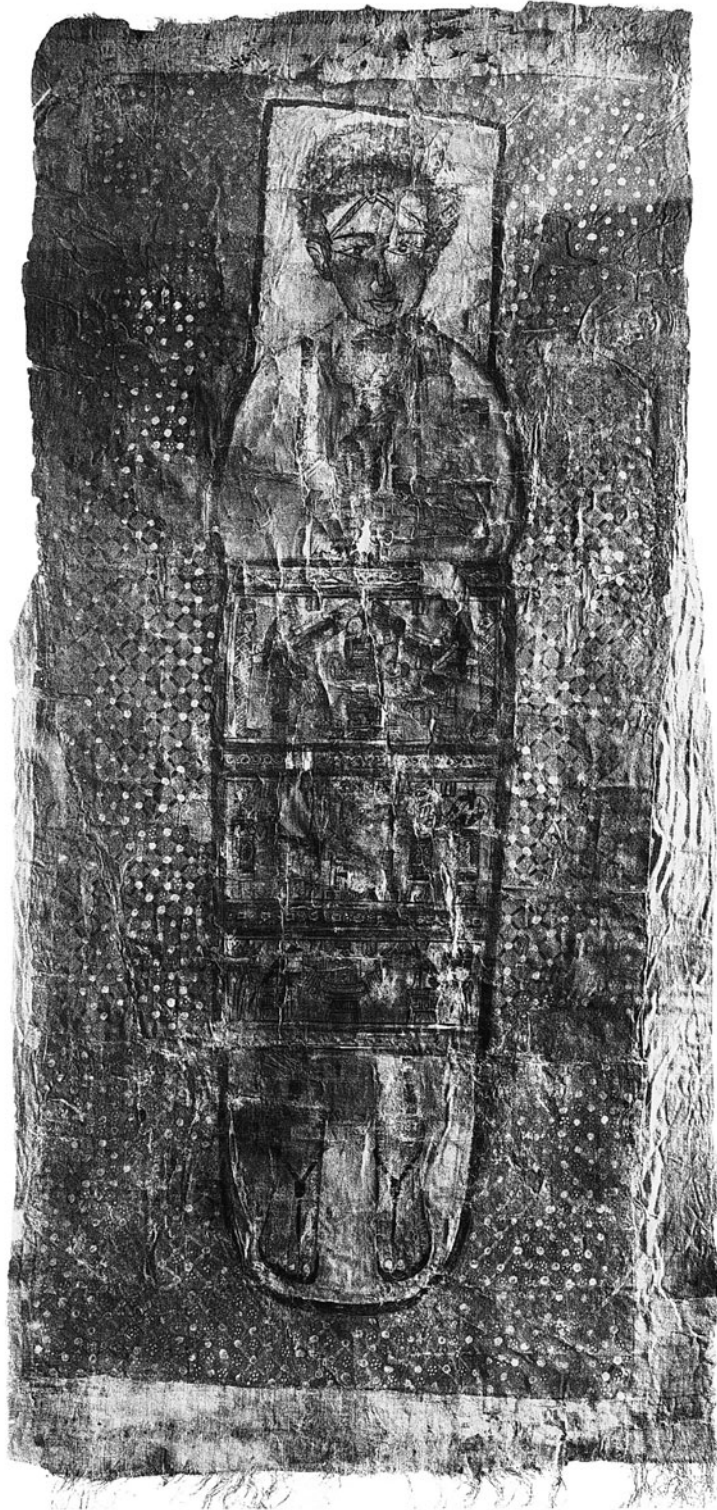




FIGURE 116 The shroud in place on this mummy represents the dead boy in a contabulated mantle associated with the Serapis cult. His hairstyle, which is shaved except for small patches on the forehead, might identify him with the child-god Harpokrates. The associated wooden coffin is painted with an image of the goddess Nut on the floor and, on the lid, an apotropaic snake. Painted linen on human remains, and painted wood. L of mummy: 85.0 cm; L of coffin: 95.5 cm. From Thebes, late second century AD. London, British Museum, EA 6715 (116).

His feet and the hem of his tunic are shown at the bottom of the shroud, and he wears black thong sandals. On the right side of his torso, one long sleeve and narrow purple *clavus* appear, while his left arm and chest are covered by the white mantle that he wears. The mantle has a purple *gamma* positioned near the left shoulder, and it is folded and wrapped twice in a diagonal line around his chest. These folds, known as contabulations, were a distinguishing mark for the dress of men and boys affiliated with the cult of Serapis.⁹² The subject of shroud 120 had probably been dedicated to the god in boyhood, offering further evidence for the activity of Serapis priesthoods at Thebes.

Another boy had been dedicated to Serapis in late second- or early third-century Thebes, and his shrouded mummy is preserved in its wooden coffin in the collections of the British Museum (116, Fig. 116). The shroud on this mummy is the only full-length representation of the contabulated Serapis mantle, making it clear that

⁹² H. R. Goette, 'Kaiserzeitliche Bildnisse von Serapis-Priestern', *MDAIK* 45 (1989), 173–86; and *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (Mainz 1990), 71–4; Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 164–6.

the garment is a rectangular Greek mantle rather than a Roman toga.⁹³ The portrait of the small boy is as long as his mummy and was painted with a grey background surrounded by a double, foliate-patterned border. The subject stands *contrapposto* with his weight on his left foot. His left arm is bent against his abdomen, like most of the other shrouds discussed here, and the left hand holds sprigs of myrtle. His right hand is empty and is turned palm outward towards the viewer, in a gesture of greeting or prayer.⁹⁴ He wears white thong sandals and a red floral wreath on top of his head. The boy's hair has been shaved off except for four patches that remain over his forehead. It is possible that this style functioned like a Horus lock, to associate a young boy with the god and invite the protection of that god. At least one mummy portrait shows a boy with his head almost completely shaved,⁹⁵ and a wall painting from a house in Karanis (Kom Aushim) shows Isis nursing Harpokrates, whose head is shaved except for forehead patches.⁹⁶ The coffin in which the boy was buried replicates some Theban traits: its shape, with a bowed lid over a shallow base, is like that of coffin 92 from the Soter-type group, and the floor of the coffin depicts Nut *en face*, in Egyptian garb and with long, corkscrew locks of hair. On the lid of the coffin (see Fig. 116), a protective snake is painted on the vault and red floral wreaths festoon each end.

The use of naturalistic portraits for burials was a late development in Western Thebes, although it might well have overlapped the production of more traditional funerary art like the masks of the Pebos group. For whatever reasons, Greek artistic forms were not as desirable in a funerary context at Thebes as they were in other parts of Egypt. Nevertheless, the Toronto funerary bed, the shroud of Tashay, and the portraits on shrouds 115 to 121 demonstrate that the local elites could and did transfer naturalistic imagery and Greek dress to the mortuary sphere as another way of commemorating and glorifying their dead.

THE DEIR EL-BAHRI MUMMY MASKS

The final group of objects considered in this chapter is an assortment of twenty-eight mummy masks made of plaster-coated linen (122–50).⁹⁷ The clothing,

⁹³ Thus also Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 165, corrects Goette, 'Kaiserzeitliche Bildnisse von Serapis-Priestern', 176.

⁹⁴ Some terracottas of Harpokrates use this gesture: J. Fischer, *Griechisch-römische Terrakotten aus Ägypten* (Tübingen 1994), 260–1 (nos. 560–2), pl. 56.

⁹⁵ Compare the mummy portrait of a boy with shaved head, two forehead locks, and a youth-lock: Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 114, 119, pl. 19. 2.

⁹⁶ Karanis, House B50: A. E. R. Boak and E. E. Peterson, *Karanis: Topographical and Architectural Survey of Excavations During the Seasons 1924–28* (Ann Arbor 1931), 34, pl. 25 fig. 49, reproduced in J. Rowlandson (ed.), *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge 1998), 51 fig. 11.

⁹⁷ See also Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', 121–44.

jewellery, and hairstyles depicted on the masks suggest a date in the mid- or late third century AD, and the masks are among the latest datable burials in Egypt to employ indigenous art forms and iconography. Several of the masks derive from burials at Deir el-Bahri, a bay of cliffs that was the site of the mortuary temples of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep (c.2025 BC) and Hatshepsut, as well as a temple of Amun built by Thutmose III (both c.1450–1425 BC). In the Roman Period, parts of the Hatshepsut temple served as a sanctuary of Hathor and for the healing cults of Imhotep and Amenhotep son of Hapu.⁹⁸

The history of the masks' discovery at Deir el-Bahri begins with nineteenth-century explorers and collectors. Like much of the Theban necropolis, the site had been continuously employed as a cemetery, even into Byzantine times, with countless mummies inserted into earlier tombs or buried in new pits and shafts.⁹⁹ In the 1850s, a French antiquities dealer based at Luxor, V. Galli Maunier, dug pits around Deir el-Bahri and the nearby Asasif, in search of antiquities to sell to travellers like Alexander Rhind, Revd William Frankland Hood, Sir Charles Nicholson, and Antoine Clot Bey, all of whom purchased masks which are now in British, American, Australian, and French collections (respectively, **128** and **145**; **138** and **149**; **136** and **150**; **131**). At least three other masks, in fragmentary condition, entered the Cairo Museum by 1883 (**123**, **124**, **143**).

The first archaeological evidence for the masks came during the 1893–4 and 1895–6 seasons of work by the London-based Egypt Exploration Fund (now Society), led by the Swiss Egyptologist Edouard Naville (Fig. 117). At Deir el-Bahri, Naville's aim was to clear the temple of Hatshepsut, whose middle platform and Second Court had been filled in with rubble from pharaonic buildings in order to bring it level with the Upper Court and support the Byzantine monastery of Phoibammon later built there.¹⁰⁰ The mounds of rubble and ruins were 13 m high, topped by refuse from Maunier's earlier digging. Below the layers of monastery rubble and fallen rock, Naville found burials dating back to the Late Period. Among them were mummies wearing painted linen coverings with plaster faces, which Naville characterized as 'Coptic', based on his mistaken belief that they were the bodies of Christians:

The bodies were wrapped in linen, with thick exterior bandages, but without amulets or ornaments. Several wooden labels inscribed in Coptic or Greek proved the late date of these burials. A few were of a richer class. On the outer wrapping in front was sewn a painted cloth, reaching to below the waist, with a mask for the head. On the mask was moulded a

⁹⁸ See nn. 38 and 75.

⁹⁹ Useful summary of exploration and excavation at Deir el-Bahri, with an emphasis on the Byzantine remains: W. Godlewski, *Deir el-Bahri*, v: *Le monastère de St. Phoibammon* (Warsaw 1986), 13–20.

¹⁰⁰ E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahri*, ii (London 1896), 4–5; 'The excavations at Deir el-Bahri during the winter, 1894–5', *Archaeological Reports* (1894–5), 33–7; and 'Excavations: Work at the temple of Deir el-Bahri', *Archaeological Reports* (1893–4), 1–7.

FIGURE 117 While clearing around the Hatshepsut temple, excavations led by Edouard Naville found late Roman mummies like these two adults and child. The linen-and-plaster masks and the wooden mummy label, tied to the male mummy on the left, are in London, British Museum, EA 26273 (male mask 147), EA 26273a (label), and EA 26272 (female mask 130).

L of male mask: 86.5 cm;

L of female mask: 92.5 cm.

From Deir el-Bahri, mid- to late third century AD.



wreath of flowers. These mummies are doubtless Christian. To one of them a Coptic label was attached by a piece of string. The hands, also painted, hold an ear of corn and a glass containing red liquid, i.e. wine. These two symbols I take to be those of the Eucharist; but here, as in the paintings in the catacombs at Rome, there is a mixture of Pagan symbols with the Christian. Below the waist is painted the boat of Sokaris, with a figure of Anubis on either side.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahri*, 5.

The Coptic label was actually a Greek mummy ticket, found on the left-hand mummy (147) in Fig. 117. Its inscription identifies a *tesserarius* (non-commissioned officer) named Pachons from the village of Terkythis, an unidentified settlement probably located on the West Bank in the vicinity of Deir el-Bahri.¹⁰² The Egypt Exploration Fund distributed masks from the find to the British Museum (130, 147), the Louvre (134, 148), and the United States (126, 140).

The context in which the masks were found was revealed in more detail by the work of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Egyptian Expedition, which excavated at Deir el-Bahri in the 1920s under the direction of H. E. Winlock. Winlock took a more scientific approach to archaeology, leaving detailed records and photographic archives which are housed in the Museum.¹⁰³ In the 1923–4 and 1928–9 seasons, Winlock discovered a total of four mummies wearing the painted linen and plaster masks, along with several other burials of roughly contemporaneous date. Three female mummies with masks (125, 133, and 137) were discovered in pits dug into the remains of a grove of tamarisk trees in front of the Middle Kingdom temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep. In his published report, Winlock described the trio in melodramatic terms:

The mummies were atrocities of hideousness and are only mentioned here to draw forth an invidious comparison between the charming lady Hent-towy [a rich burial of c. 900 BC] and her bedizened granddaughters of the last days of paganism at Deir el Bahri.¹⁰⁴

Mummy 125 (Fig. 118) and two male mummies without masks were each covered by the lids and base of two anthropoid coffins from the Soter-type group (107 and 108, Fig. 91). Since the coffins date from the second century AD, they are at least a century older than the mummies they covered. An even older coffin, from the Third Intermediate Period, was used to cover mummy 137. In the 1928–9 season, Winlock found a fourth, male masked mummy (141) near the cliffs at the Northern Colonnade of the Hatshepsut temple, not far from where Naville had been working. The pit in which this mummy, together with two female mummies, was buried had been lined with boards taken from earlier Roman coffins. The pit was covered by the base of a large vaulted coffin from the Soter group (106), painted with an image of Nut. Nearby, a child's mummy was wrapped in half of a female Soter-type shroud (105). These Soter-group coffins and fragments were, in all likelihood, from previously plundered burials in the Deir el-Bahri area. By reusing them, the

¹⁰² Wagner *et al.*, 'Documents grecs découverts dans la Vallée des Reines', 377, suggesting that Terkythis might have been located near Deir el-Bahri. The label (London, British Museum, EA 26763a) was first edited by P. D. Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* (Cambridge 1913), 127 n. 2, whose translation is quoted in Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 351 and *Ancient Faces* (London), 156. Scott-Moncrieff read 'Ternouthé', i.e. Terenouthis (Kom Abu Billou) in the Delta, rather than Terkythis.

¹⁰³ See Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', 135–9.

¹⁰⁴ H. Winlock, 'The Museum's excavations at Thebes', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pt. ii: *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924* (December 1924), 32–3; H. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931* (New York 1942), 99.

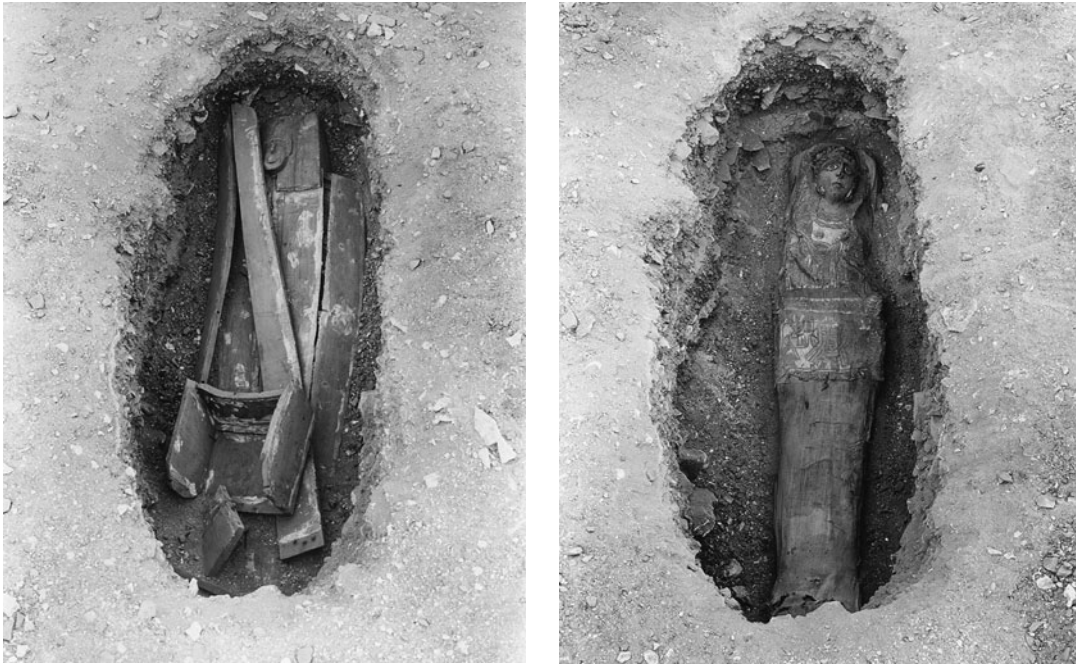


FIGURE 118 More late Roman burials were discovered in the 1920s by the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Egyptian Expedition, directed by H. E. Winlock. In this burial, a second-century coffin lid (see Fig. 91) covered a masked female mummy, now in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 49099 (125). Painted linen-and-plaster mask on linen-wrapped human remains. L of mummy: c.160.0 cm. From Deir el-Bahri, mid- to late third century AD.

funeral workers of the third century AD were invoking the past and augmenting the simple graves in which the later mummies lay.

Archaism on the Mummy Masks

The decoration of the reused material, and of other funerary art from Roman Thebes, influenced the decoration of the linen-and-plaster mummy masks. The register at the bottom of each intact mask depicts the *hemu*-barque of Sokar flanked by seated jackals with keys around their necks. A bundle of lotus buds and flowers rises behind each jackal, and the composition is an exact parallel for the bottom register of scenes on shroud 120 (Fig. 115), for a boy in a Serapis mantle.¹⁰⁵ Either the Deir el-Bahri mummy masks were made around the same time as the boy's shroud, or else the decoration of the masks was based on the same model as the shroud. The exact combination of the scene's elements—barque, jackals, and lotuses—cannot have been coincidental.

¹⁰⁵ Excepting 133, which depicted a large lotus flower instead of the *hemu*-barque in this register: Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', 137.

FIGURE 119 Stretching the linen over an ovoid mould created a projecting face for the masks, and plaster was used to sculpt the facial features, jewellery, hair, and crown. On some masks, the fragile plaster has fallen away from its linen support. Mask for a woman, L: 102.6 cm. From Deir el-Bahri, mid- to late third century AD. Dublin, National Museum of Ireland, 1901:79 (127).



The scene on the masks incorporates iconography from earlier Theban material in several respects. The seated jackals with keys around their necks appeared on the Soter-group shrouds and coffins as well as the Pebos-group mummy masks, and jackals in the same form are found on Roman Period stelae from the sanctuary of the Buchis bull cult at Hermonthis.¹⁰⁶ Depictions of Anubis or jackals with keys occurred throughout Egypt, but this particular arrangement, with the seated canines facing each other and the keys tied around their necks, seems to have been specific to the Theban region. The *henu*-barque of Sokar also featured on Theban funerary art in the Roman Period, such as the coffin of Soter (77, Fig. 87) and the Berlin bier (Fig. 65), and can be traced to the New Kingdom Theban tombs, Third Intermediate Period and Late Period coffins, and local temples like the Ptolemaic Hathor sanctuary at Deir el-Medina.¹⁰⁷ Earlier tomb decoration might also have inspired the bundles of lotus buds and blossoms, since large bouquets of flowers were prominent in New Kingdom offering scenes.¹⁰⁸ One detail of the Deir el-Bahri masks reveals that the iconography adopted for the masks had been thoughtfully chosen and re-figured: the jackal to the viewer's left of the Sokar barque grasps a cord in its mouth which is connected to the solar disc above the barque (see Figs. 120, 121). The jackal is 'towing' the sun through the sky like the four striding jackals who towed the solar barque on the coffins of the Soter group (see Figs. 87, 88), a motif which itself had been derived from such sources as Late Period Theban coffins and the New Kingdom 'Underworld Books' that decorated Ramesside royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings.¹⁰⁹

Portraying the Dead

The upper portion of the Deir el-Bahri masks represents the head and torso of the deceased, in the same frontal, bent-armed pose as the Theban portrait shrouds. The linen was stretched over a smooth, ovoid mould to make a projecting face (Fig. 119), and plaster was applied to build up the facial contours and add the hair and wreaths. On well-preserved examples like 135 and 149 (Figs. 120, 121), the painted detail of the masks is evident, with highlights applied to areas representing gold or

¹⁰⁶ R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *The Bucheum*, ii: *The Inscriptions* (London 1934), 33–4 (nos. 17–19, for Antoninus Pius, Valerian, and Diocletian); and *The Bucheum*, iii: *The Plates* (London 1934), pls. 45 and 46.

¹⁰⁷ TT 45: N. de G. Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah* (London 1948), pls. 6–7. Coffins: M. Jørgensen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek: Egypt III* (Copenhagen 2001), 184–5, 192–3 (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, AIN 298; Dyn. 23, provenance unknown); S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara, and C. H. Roehrig, *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston 1988), 174 (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1895.14.07c; Dyn. 25, Deir el-Bahri). Deir el-Medina temple: P. du Bourguet and L. Gabolde, *Le temple de Deir al-Médina* (Cairo 2002), 304 fig. 60.

¹⁰⁸ J. Dittmar, *Blumen und Blumensträuße als Opfergabe im alten Ägypten* (Munich and Berlin 1986).

¹⁰⁹ E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher* (Darmstadt 1997), 175 fig. 59; and *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife* (Ithaca 1999), 134 fig. 83.

FIGURE 120 Female masks represent the deceased in identical clothing and jewellery: white tunic with wide tapestry *clavi*, white mantle with tapestry *orbiculi*, and heavy gold earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and rings painted as if set with precious stones. Ripples of hair over the forehead reflect styles of the Severan dynasty. Linen with added plaster, painted. L: 86.4 cm. From Deir el-Bahri, mid- to late third century AD. Swansea, The Egypt Centre, w 923 (135).



glass, deeper red hues used to shadow the eyes, cheeks, and chins of the subjects, and the purple tapestry decoration of the subjects' clothing picked out in fine white lines.

The women depicted on the masks wear identical clothing, consisting of a long-sleeved undyed linen tunic emblazoned with wide purple *clavi*, topped by an

FIGURE 121 On male masks, the deceased wears layered tunics with wrist-length sleeves, a mantle over one shoulder, adorned with a swastika, gold rings, and on most examples, a pectoral in the form of an Egyptian shrine.

All but two of the extant male masks have a clipped beard and moustache, like this example; the others are clean-shaven. Linen with added plaster, painted.
L: 86.7 cm. From Deir el-Bahri, mid- to late third century AD.
Swansea, The Egypt Centre, w 922 (149).



orbiculi-ornamented shawl gathered around the shoulders and drawn across the upper arms, leaving the sleeves of the tunic free (Fig. 120). Tunics with tapestry-woven *clavi*, extending to the waist, knees, or hem of the garment, were a standard Roman costume in the later empire, and the dry climate of Egypt has preserved

many intact tunics.¹¹⁰ The shawl depicted on the masks might have been one of the large rectangles of cloth, fringed at the short ends, known from extant examples.¹¹¹ Tapestry decorations, such as *orbiculi* or *gammulae*, appear in each corner of these shawls, so that when the shawl was wrapped around the body the tapestry elements in two of the corners would be visible from the front, much as the artists of the Deir el-Bahri masks have shown. The same manner of wrapping the shawl is depicted for the girl on shroud 118 (Fig. 114).

The women on the masks wear beaded earrings, multiple necklaces, and thick bracelets painted to represent gold and gemstones, which did not necessarily resemble anything the deceased had owned and worn, but instead conveyed the status to which the deceased laid claim in death. The women also wear gold rings with round or oval stone bezels on the second and fourth fingers of their left hand. Heavy gold settings with large stones were typical of the best quality Roman jewellery from the late second century into the Byzantine era, and examples are known both from artistic representations and from actual finds of jewellery.¹¹² Less precious jewellery in the same style was made from silver, bronze, iron, lead, bone, and glass, and it is not necessary to assume that the gold, stone, and pearl jewellery depicted in funerary portraits from Roman Egypt was what the individuals themselves possessed. A simplistic correlation between represented jewellery and jewellery the subject actually owned and wore would result in the awkward supposition that each female represented by a Deir el-Bahri mask 'owned' an essentially identical *parure*.

The representation of the women's hairstyle is identical on each mask but was executed with minimal detail because it had to be painted both on the linen backing and on the plaster framing the face. Its primary characteristics are the rippled curls visible between the forehead and the jewelled floral wreath, the fact that the ears are revealed, and the swelling of the hair on either side of the neck, tapering in around the head. These traits indicate that the hairstyle is a version of the *Scheitelzopf* worn throughout the third century and into the early fourth, in which the hair was looped up from the nape of the neck and wound in braids either at the back or on top of the head.¹¹³ Since the Deir el-Bahri images lack the sort

¹¹⁰ For example, *Ancient Faces* (London), 178–9 (no. 227). M. Rutschowskaya, *Coptic Fabrics* (Paris 1990), 151, summarizes different tunic decoration schemes.

¹¹¹ Compare M.-C. Bruwier *et al.*, *Égyptiennes: Étoffes coptes du Nil* (Mariemont 1997), 154–5 (no. 28); J. Trilling, *The Roman Heritage: Textiles from Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean, 300 to 600 AD* (Washington, DC, 1982), 90 (no. 99).

¹¹² Such as a treasure found at Lyons, dating to c. AD 200, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts there: A. Böhme, 'Frauensmuck der römischen Kaiserzeit', *Antike Welt* 9/3 (1978), 3–16, esp. figs. 7–10, 16, 17, and 20. Other examples: Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 164 (no. 63), 208 (no. 115).

¹¹³ Especially imperial hairstyles between c. AD 220 and 270, such as Julia Aquilia, Julia Mamaea, and Otacilia Severa: K. Wessel, 'Römische Frauenfrisuren von der severischen bis zur konstantinischen Zeit', *Archäologische Anzeiger* 61–2 (1946–7), 62–75; M. Bergmann, *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Bonn 1977); M. Wegner, *Gordianus III bis Carinus* (Berlin 1979).

of *Scheitelzopf* braids that appeared prominently above the forehead on imperial portraits after c. AD 270, the masks may date prior to that time.

The male masks from Deir el-Bahri also have a consistent costume type, consisting of a long-sleeved tunic with narrow purple *clavi* (Fig. 121). The trapezoidal neck opening of the men's tunics reveals a second, identical tunic below the first. Both the narrowness of the *clavi* and the layering of two tunics appear in other funerary representations of men in the first half of the third century, like shroud 115 (Fig. 110). With one exception, the men wear a mantle with a swastika tapestry element, draped over the subject's left shoulder. Like *gamma* ornaments or notched stripes, the swastika appeared regularly on textiles and has been characterized as either a weaver's mark or a protective emblem.¹¹⁴ Self-bands, formed by passing multiple weft threads at once through the warp, border the tunic *clavi* and are depicted in yellow paint, ending in a tassel of loose thread. Such bands served a practical as well as decorative purpose by reinforcing the textile.¹¹⁵ The tunic of mask 142 also has a tapestry band at the end of each sleeve.

Only one mask (140) shows the subject without a mantle, revealing both *clavi* of his outer tunic. This mask is also one of only two (along with 150) on which the deceased is clean-shaven, probably signalling the young age of the deceased. All the other masks have close-cropped facial hair with the moustaches separated from the beard. This, together with their curly but short hairstyles, bears some resemblance to imperial fashions in the first half of the third century. The bearded masks are also in keeping with the appearance of the unwrapped mummy found with mask 141, who wore short hair, a trimmed beard, and sparse, detached moustaches. Like the female masks, the male masks depict rings and necklaces. The rings worn by the men are nearly identical to those worn by women in form and placement on the fingers, while the men's necklaces and pendants have a more clearly amuletic role than those of their female counterparts. On 140, only a gold choker with three sets of striations is depicted, a unique feature of this particular mask. Most masks, like 149 in Fig. 121, wear a gold-coloured cord from which a gold, shrine-shaped pectoral is suspended; a coloured stone is sometimes set in the centre. A mask in Cairo (142) wears a large winged scarab instead of the shrine pectoral, which supports the observation that the jewellery represented on these masks is concerned more with protecting and exalting the deceased than with recording the jewellery worn in daily life.

¹¹⁴ Swastikas: E. Guimet, 'Symboles asiatiques trouvés à Antinoë', *Annales du Musée Guimet* 30/3 (1903), 145–52, using mask 148 to illustrate his remarks. Notched stripes and *gamma* ornaments: Y. Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (Jerusalem 1963), 227–32, who interpreted them as weavers' marks with little or no symbolic value; Kurth, *Sarg der Teiiris*, 51–2.

¹¹⁵ For the technique of creating a self-band, see A. Baginski and A. Tidhar, *Textiles from Egypt, 4th–13th Centuries CE* (Tel Aviv 1980), 29. Preserved tunics with self-bands: Bruwier *et al.*, *Égyptiennes*, 197–8 (no. 83); M. Martiniani-Reber, *Tissus coptes* (Geneva 1991), pl. 16 (no. 42); J. LaFontaine-Dosogne, *Textiles coptes* (Brussels 1988), pls. 25–6 (inv. 2482).

The wreaths on the subjects' heads, the glass cup of wine in their right hands, and the floral garlands or leafy stems that they hold are also fitting attributes for the dead. The wreaths have red and green petals alternating with jewel-like stones, and like other wreaths in Roman Period funerary art, they convey the elevated status of the transfigured deceased. Hand-held garlands and bouquets were ubiquitous not only in Theban funerary art of the period, such as the portrait shrouds, but also on countless shrouds, masks, coffins, and sculptures throughout Egypt. The glass of wine is not a Christian emblem, as Naville thought, but a general evocation of offerings and cultic ritual which appeared on other shrouds (e.g. Pl. 6) and mummy portraits.¹¹⁶

The Deir el-Bahri mummy masks thus incorporate several iconographic and representational developments characteristic of the funerary art of Roman Egypt. They combine traditional, native imagery with the naturalism of Greek portraits which represented the deceased in lifelike, fashionable clothing, hairstyles, and jewellery. The archaeological context of the masks underscores the interrelationship between their Egyptian iconography and the older funerary material that was reused in the burials. The skilful mummification of the bodies associated with the masks is significant: the corpses were eviscerated, embalmed, gilded, and carefully wrapped in layers of sheets and padding, attesting that this treatment was still valued and practised for the dead. An almost self-conscious evocation of the past also informed the location of the burials in the hallowed ground of Deir el-Bahri, on the eve of its transformation into a Christian refuge, and the mummy label found with mask 147 confirms the Theban character of the interments. 'Pachons' is an old name referring to the local cult of Khonsu, and the village of Terkythis, named as the home of the deceased, could well have been visible from the Deir el-Bahri cliffs. By combining Greek and Egyptian visuality in the simple medium of linen, plaster, and paint, the Deir el-Bahri mummy masks bridged the past and present of Thebes to secure a future for the dead.

SUMMARY

With political power devolved down-river to Ptolemais, Thebes in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods was most prominent as a sacred city with a number of active native shrines and cults. The ancient West Bank cemeteries attracted burials from the immediate area, like the village of Djeme, as well as neighbouring towns like Hermonthis. In these burials, the funerary art tended to have a more traditional character than contemporary art from elsewhere in Egypt, perhaps due in part to the example set by older remains throughout the Theban necropolis, which offered

¹¹⁶ Compare *Ancient Faces* (London), 103 (no. 95); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 144, pl. 47. 4.

plentiful models for archaizing art forms. But the desire to model identity in native Egyptian terms was also influential, even among individuals who operated in the elite environment of the region and may have been recent immigrants or the descendants of Greek and Roman settlers. The expressive forms of the past cemented identity and status in the present. The conservatism of the coffins, shrouds, masks, and papyri from burials like the Rhind tomb or the Soter and Pebos families suggests that the use of traditional art and texts was based on conscious choice, not on lack of artistic ability or ignorance of Greek art forms.

Naturalistic portraiture in the Greek manner did, however, become a representational option in Theban funerary art produced from the mid-second century AD onwards. Portraits on shrouds, and sometimes on wooden panels, provided an alternative means of representing the deceased. The portraits can reveal aspects of identity that were not explicit in Egyptian art forms, such as the military status of Tyras (117, Pl. 12) or the Serapis-cult affiliation of boys wearing contabulated mantles (116, Fig. 116; 120, Fig. 115), but the use of naturalistic portraiture in itself is not a sign of social rank or ethnicity. Nor did naturalism supplant more conceptual means of portraying the dead: on two portrait shrouds for young women or girls, one girl wore a Roman hairstyle (119, Fig. 113) while the other had long, goddess locks of hair in the Egyptian manner (118, Fig. 114).

Into the late third or early fourth century, funerary art combining naturalistic Greek images with traditional Egyptian forms continued to be produced at Thebes. Personal and place names with local connections sometimes identify the dead, and the archaeological context of finds like the Deir el-Bahri mummy masks shows how the remains of earlier burials inspired archaism in new works of art. The artists and patrons of these objects looked to the past for the rites and iconography that would help ensure a beautiful and efficacious burial for the dead.

Conclusions

The 'Beautiful Burial' in Roman Egypt

Every epoch or evolutionary phase requires different criteria of value; and what may appear to be incapacity to do a given thing is really the impulse or the will to do something different, or to do the same thing in a different way.

Otto Pächt¹

This study has tried to imagine the funerary art of Roman Egypt in the eyes of the people for whom it was made, in order to understand how and why so many works of art combined Greek forms of self-presentation with Egyptian modes of representation. Impossible though it is to replicate the experience of the ancient past, it is nonetheless possible, and desirable, to approach a work of art with reference to the time, place, and manner of its creation. To do so is to recognize that forms, iconographies, and styles can signify differently in different settings, or capture varied responses to the same stimuli.

In Egyptian funerary art, an image of the deceased was integral to the design of a mummy mask, shroud, coffin, or tomb. This reflects eschatological concerns for preserving the corpse, commemorating the person who had died, and centring as much protection, power, and ritual as possible on the real or represented body. In traditional Egyptian art and thought, the transfiguration of the dead into perfected beings was conveyed by different forms of the physical self, whether an ideal youthful body or a mummy or a part-bird, part-human *ba*. Transfiguration also allowed the dead to be assimilated to Osiris or to Hathor, a trait epitomized by texts like the Rhind papyri and the inscriptions and art of the Kharga coffin group. Pictorial representations of the dead thus had recourse to an array of iconography which was added to over time. Contemporary hair and clothing forms supplanted or supplemented more archaic garments, like the kilt and sheath dress, so that objects like the Akhmim coffins could incorporate new forms of dress in a meaningful way. Throughout the Roman Period, such images of the deceased, along with depictions of the native gods, were communicated according to the Egyptian representational system.

¹ O. Pächt, *The Practice of Art History: Reflections on Method* (London 1999), 128.

Exposure to Classical and Hellenistic Greek art, especially in the course of the Ptolemaic Period, brought a very different kind of visuality to Egypt, one based in large part on recreating the observed world in sculpture and paint. This exposure perhaps influenced the artistic alternatives that began to appear already in Late Period Egypt, such as the representation of natural hair or of non-traditional clothing. Specific influences are difficult to ascertain unless a model and copy can be securely identified, as on stelae from the Carian cemetery at Saqqara, or the sacrificial bull scene in the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel.² Egyptian art from every period had fashioned distinctive styles of personal appearance, like clothing and wig types that were only represented at a certain time (cloaks on Middle Kingdom statues, for instance) or features that distinguished a certain person (like the double heart amulet worn by Sennefer in his Theban tomb and on a statue).³

What Greek immigration and the Ptolemaic regime also introduced to Egypt was another way of using images: Greek statue practice, for example, depended on public display, in contrast to the restrictive, hidden world of Egyptian statues. After the Roman annexation of the country, naturalistic portraiture came to dominate Egyptian funerary art with objects like the mummy portraits, portraits painted on shrouds or tomb walls, or sculpted images on stelae. One explanation for this development lies in the gradual cultural and artistic changes that society experienced, especially in urban milieux. Throughout the empire, Augustus and his successors instituted building works and artistic programmes which made the imperial image and, by association, other Greek and Roman portrait forms ubiquitous. At the same time, Roman reforms altered the political, legal, and economic organization of Egypt, favouring the cities and large towns, discouraging the native language for official purposes, and defining financially privileged groups. This combination of broad cultural trends—the spread of elite Roman and Greek portraiture, and codification of social status—contributed to the increased use of naturalistic portraits in the funerary sphere, with their copying of Roman hairstyle models and fashionable East Greek dress and jewellery styles. Portraiture in this vein offered a new means of self-presentation with the added cachet of an elite, high cultural form.

But naturalistic portraits in funerary art were used in conjunction with Egyptian texts and images that actively maintained and built upon native forms of art and

² Carian stelae: e.g. P. Gallo and O. Masson, 'Une stèle "hellénomemphite" de l'ex-Collection Nahman', *BIFAO* 93 (1993), 265–76. The tomb of Petosiris bull sacrifice: G. Lefébvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris* (Paris 1924), iii. 90–4, pls. 19 and 22. 2. C. Picard, 'Les influences étrangères au tombeau de Petosiris: Grèce ou Perse?', *BIFAO* 30 (1930), 201–27, demonstrated the Greek origin of the scene, to counter an assertion in P. Montet, 'Note sur le tombeau de Petosiris pour servir à l'histoire des Perses en Égypte', *Revue archéologique* v. 23 (1926), 161–81, that the tomb exhibited Persian influence.

³ Tomb of Sennefer (TT 96, Dynasty 18): PM i². 197–203. Statue (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 42126): G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes des rois et des particuliers*, i: *Catalogue général du Musée de Caire* (Cairo 1906), 76–8, pl. 75.

thought. The Greek images were incorporated into Egyptian mortuary practice with a pictorial logic based on the significance attached to the different manners, or stages, of representing the dead. The deceased tended to be portrayed in a naturalistic form at the liminal stage of his or her passage from life to death, like the 'psychopomp' motif on the Saqqara shrouds, or in the context of displaying an image of the deceased as an object of veneration, as with the coffins from Abusir el-Meleq or painted portraits set in frames. Naturalistic portraiture was an innovation in representing the dead that lent validity to lifelike forms, but its use did not alter the essential precepts of funerary religion.

Coffins, tombs, and mummies could thus use both naturalistic portraits and Egyptian scenes, combining the premier form of expression from each artistic tradition. Often, the resulting work of art was lavished with decorative and technical details befitting the glorification of the dead, like the coffin of a young girl reproduced in Figs. 122 and 123.⁴ The coffin has a distinctive tall foot projection ending in an arch, which is identical to the foot projections of the Meir mummies (see Pl. 4) and to coffins known to come from Middle Egypt.⁵ Other elements of the coffin decoration also resemble Middle Egyptian art like House 21 at Tuna el-Gebel and the mummy masks from Meir, so the coffin should be attributed to Middle Egypt in spite of Budge's testimony that he purchased it at Akhmim.⁶

The entire length of the coffin lid (Fig. 122) is given over to a representation of the dead girl, which attempted to fit the fluid lines of naturalistic portraiture into the form of a plaster-coated wooden coffin. She wears a fashionable Roman hairstyle combined with long, layered corkscrew curls that hang in front of her shoulders like the lappets of an Egyptian tripartite wig, not unlike the Roman hairstyle and Egyptian curls combined on the mummy mask of Artemidora (48, Fig. 48). The hairstyle helps date the girl's coffin: the hair is dressed in waves around her forehead with a centre parting and small, wispy curls indicated along the hairline, like the hairstyles of Julio-Claudian empresses and elite Roman women from the early and mid-first century AD.⁷ Other datable elements in the adornment of the coffin include the snake bracelets the girl wears on either wrist, which have the same form as the bracelets on most of the female Meir masks and on several first-century mummy masks from Hawara.⁸

⁴ London, British Museum, EA 29587 (plastered and painted wood, L: 109.0 cm): Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 332–3 (no. 227); *Ancient Faces* (London), 35–6 (no. 9); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 15 n. 15, 96, 100, 147 C 4, pl. 117. 5.

⁵ The coffins of Teüris (Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 7069) and Didyme (Minia, Antiquities Museum): Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, *passim*.

⁶ Budge visited Middle Egyptian sites in the early 1890s to procure antiquities, some of which he did not report to the Museum until 1896, after the trip to Akhmim when he acquired coffins 14, 15, 25–8, and 36: M. Smith, 'Budge at Akhmim, January 1896', in C. Eyre, A. Leahy, and L. M. Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore* (London 1994), 299 and n. 46.

⁷ The hairstyle resembles the centre-parted waves of Antonia Minor and was worn in the 30s and 40s.

⁸ e.g. *Ancient Faces* (London), 80–2 (nos. 58 and 59).

FIGURE 122 On this coffin for a small girl, a curled Egyptian wig surmounts her Roman hairstyle, and her mature body contrasts with the overlong tunic she wears, which has been taken up and belted at her waist. The coffin was made by sculpting plaster over a wood core and painting the surface. L: 109.0 cm. From Middle Egypt, mid-first century AD. London, British Museum, EA 29785.



On the coffin, the clothing represented on the deceased accurately reproduces many textile details that point to the artist's close observation of actual garments or of paintings or sculpture that illustrated such garments. Diagonal strokes of black paint edge one side of each *clavus*-like stripe on the white tunic, perhaps to indicate a step in the exchange of black for white threads as the stripes were woven into the textile. A black weaver's mark decorates the tunic's right sleeve. Above the knees of the deceased, a fold in the tunic shows that the garment has been doubled over, and it may be tied at the waist by the green strip of cloth whose ends trail between the deceased's legs. Over the tunic, a pink mantle with green borders, longer than it is

wide, is wrapped lightly around the subject's shoulders and hips and then thrown over her bent left arm so that one knotted end falls to her ankles. Like the clothing depicted on the fronts of the female mummy masks from Meir, the style of the tunic and mantle reflects women's clothing fashions in the Greek East during the first century; coloured tunics were more popular, but undyed tunics are also attested.⁹ The feet that emerge from the tunic hem complete the fashionable ensemble with black thong sandals that include a small *lingula* flap where the straps meet between the first and second toes. These fashionable and datable elements in the hairstyle, jewellery, clothing, and footwear of the dead girl coexist, however, with indications that this is a funerary image: her left hand grasps two sprigs of myrtle, and a wreath of red, white, and green leaves and petals is tied around her head. On her chest, modelled breasts give the deceased the appearance of a sexually mature woman, to contribute to her rebirth and fill the gap that early death created in her life cycle.

The sides of the coffin (Fig. 123) are decorated with vertically arranged scenes derived from temple decoration. The narrow panels divided into registers are oriented towards the large image of the girl like either side of a decorated gateway. Pairs of deities make offerings to Osiris and, by extension, the deceased; each deity is identified by a column of hieroglyphic inscription. Such references to the world of the Egyptian temples displayed a degree of specialist knowledge, which was in any case a prerequisite for replicating traditional art forms or copying and composing texts in the native languages. Burying the dead in an elaborate Egyptian manner suggests that segments of the populace had access to, or a particular interest in, the archaic aspects of the native religious cults, while the use of naturalistic portraits demonstrates that the same people were conversant with self-presentation and artistic display in the Greek and Roman world.

The funerary stela of Besas (Fig. 124), a carver of hieroglyphs, hints at the multiple cultural affiliations of an artisan whose own skill was put to use alongside a Greek *himation* statue type.¹⁰ The stela represents Besas in Greek clothing and posture, flanked by two mummiform Egyptian deities. The heads of all three figures are lost, but the Egyptian figures perhaps represented forms of Osiris, or Besas in his transfigured state. On the front of the stela plinth, a Greek epitaph identifies Besas, his father, and his profession:

βησᾶς Σισόιτος ἱερογλύφου ἐβίωσεν $\overline{\text{L}}$ κε

Besas, son of Sisois, (maker of) hieroglyphs, died aged 25.

⁹ The portrait on the mummy of Hermione (c. AD 40–50) shows her in a white tunic: *Ancient Faces* (London), 37–8 (no. 11).

¹⁰ Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 27541 (limestone, H: 38.0 cm): C. C. Edgar, *Greek Sculpture*, Catalogue général du Musée de Caire (Cairo 1903), 39–40, pl. 24; W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, i: *Die demotischen Inschriften*, Catalogue général du Musée du Caire (Leipzig 1904), 69–70, pl. 23. According to P. Oxy. VII 1029, there were five hieroglyph carvers active in Oxyrhynchus in AD 107: A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, pt. vii: *Nos. 1007 to 1072* (London 1910), 163–5.

FIGURE 123 The scenes on the sides of the coffin are arrayed in registers like the walls of a temple. Gods make offerings to Osiris in the upper two registers, goddesses hold attributes of mummification in the third, and the Sons of Horus appear in the bottom register. Wood with plaster and paint. L: 109.0 cm. From Middle Egypt, mid-first century AD. London, British Museum, EA 29785.



At one side of the plinth, a Demotic text prays for his eternal rejuvenation:

'nh bi ntr (?)
k3=f hr ht=f twt q(r)s=f
m-b3h Wsir hnti [imntiw]
ntr '3 nb 3bdw
Bs si n Tidai p3 hm-qd (?) 'r
'q n [for m] rnp.t 25

May the soul live, (may it be?) divine (?),
 His *ka* is upon his body, his bones are united
 before Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners,
 the Great God, Lord of Abydos:
 Bes, son of *Sisois*, the carver of signs,
 who entered (the tomb, i.e. 'was buried') in year 25.

And a line of hieroglyphs near each mummified figure refers to the transfigured dead whom Besas has joined in the afterlife:

hpt.k m prt-hrw n.t m3'tiw
 3hw

May you receive the offerings of the justified ones.
 the glorified ones.

FIGURE 124 The trilingual stela of Besas, a carver of hieroglyphs, is inscribed in Greek, Demotic, and hieroglyphs. Two mummy-form figures flank an image of the dead man wearing a *himation*. Limestone. H: 38.0 cm. Provenance unknown, perhaps first century AD. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 27541.



The trilingual inscription is almost an advertisement for Besas' specialized trade, and an example of how the Egyptian languages, both verbal and visual, were maintained.

What the stela also makes clear is that Greek forms and pictorial types, like the *himation* statue, were desirable ideals for art and for self-presentation in Roman Egypt. Greekness was central to the portraits used in funerary art, which can be dated by their Roman imperial hairstyles but which primarily display markers of Hellenic identity. In the Greek East, Hellenic identity formed a sharp contrast to Roman identity from the late Hellenistic period into the mid-second century AD.¹¹ Features of the Egyptian funerary portraits, like tunics, mantles, and beards, would have been read in keeping with the societal predilection for cultivating Greek language, education, and values. In the eastern Mediterranean, including Egypt, the rubric of Hellenism was a broadly unifying factor: 'language, thought, mythology, and images that constituted an extraordinarily flexible medium of both cultural

¹¹ Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 150–76; B. Borg, 'Der zierlichste Anblick der Welt': Ägyptische Porträtmumien (Mainz 1998), 34–59; see also R. R. R. Smith, 'Cultural choice and political identity in honorific portrait statues in the Greek East in the second century AD', *JRS* 88 (1998), 56–93.

and religious expression'.¹² The fact that Greek identity could be framed within the traditional sphere of Egyptian mortuary practices indicates the extent to which Greekness had become a desirable model for the self.

Nonetheless, the funerary art of Roman Egypt relied on both Egyptian and Greek images being acknowledged and understood. In articulating his theory of the 'double style', Castiglione assumed that the human deceased and the Egyptian gods were depicted in two different ways as the result of a natural and inevitable development. This assumption overlooks the role of choice in the selection of Greek or Egyptian elements. Long after Greek ways of seeing and depicting were cemented in Egyptian society, Greek representations were excluded from certain areas of Egyptian art, or limited to a narrow use.

Two shrouds in the Metropolitan Museum of Art show that the choice to use either a Greek or an Egyptian image of the deceased was not a chronological development or a statement of 'ethnic' identity. The pair of shrouds (Figs. 125, 126) are of identical workmanship, from the style of their draughtsmanship to the application of paint to each textile.¹³ Both have wear and staining consistent with their being used to wrap an embalmed body, and their layout, divided vertically into one central and two narrower side regions of decoration, is in keeping with the design of many shrouds used on mummies. When in place, the side panels would cover the sides of the body while the central figure covered the front. The shrouds preserve a quantity of pink paint with traces of white, red, and blue, and the hieroglyphic inscriptions drawn in black.

The Osiris figure on the shroud in Fig. 125 indicates that this shroud was made for a man. In modern times, its top and bottom portions were repositioned to meet in the middle, giving the mistaken impression that the shroud is only about a metre long. The middle portion of the shroud, corresponding to the abdominal area of the central figure, has been lost between the upper legs and the hands of Osiris, reducing the length of the shroud by about 40.0 cm.¹⁴ In their original states, both shrouds would have been approximately the same size, at almost 150.0 cm.

The shrouds have nearly identical scenes along their sides: Isis and Nephthys appear as kites in the top registers, the Sons of Horus in the second registers, and in the third, jackals striding over serpents, which are only partly preserved on

¹² G. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor 1990), 27.

¹³ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.184.20 (male, L as assembled: 98.0 cm): Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 165–7 (no. 4), pl. 59. 2 (erroneously as a shroud to cover only the lower body). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.5 (female, L: 140.0 cm): Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 173, 186 (as later than AD 200).

¹⁴ Fragments from at least one other, similar shroud have also been inserted into it in its reassembled state, to give an impression of completeness. Specifically, the rosette near Anubis at the viewer's bottom left and the falcon-headed Son of Horus at the viewer's far right are intrusive.

FIGURE 125 This shroud, which has been reassembled without its missing midsection, represents the deceased in the guise of Osiris.

At the bottom right, the dead man appears in an Egyptian tunic and mantle as he greets the figure of Anubis opposite. Painted linen. L. (as assembled): 98.0 cm. Provenance unknown, c. AD 100–25. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.184.20.



the male example.¹⁵ At the bottom of the male shroud, a figure of Anubis on the viewer's left counters a figure of the deceased male in traditional Egyptian guise, wearing short hair, a fillet, a pleated tunic, and a long Egyptian kilt that falls in scallop-shaped drapes. On the female shroud, the bottom registers depict the dead woman similarly clad but with her hair in the shape of a bag wig. She is led forward by Horus in the scene on the viewer's left and by Anubis on the viewer's right. These bottom registers thus represent, respectively, the dead man and woman

¹⁵ Compare the motif of a jackal with a uraeus for its tail, striding over a mummy, on the rear projection of mask 42 from Meir (Chapter 3): Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, pl. 12.

FIGURE 126 This shroud with the naturalistic portrait of a woman was produced by the same workshop as the shroud in Fig. 125. Fewer restrictions seem to have been placed on the representation of women in Roman Egypt, since the iconography of their images is more varied than men's. Painted linen. L: 140.0 cm. Provenance unknown, c. AD 100–25. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.5.



wearing native Egyptian dress and archaic head-dresses that are appropriate for their presence with the gods as they are being, or about to be, presented to Osiris.

The shrouds differ, however, in the treatment of each central figure. An *en face* image of Osiris stands simultaneously for the deceased and the god on the male shroud, as on the Soter-group shrouds, and the columns of hieroglyphs flanking the figure's head confirm this duality (Fig. 125). The inscription on the viewer's left gives the name and epithets of the god Osiris, while the other column refers to the dead man, with his name, 'Petephis (?)' preceded by the appellation 'Osiris'. On the female shroud (Fig. 126), the central area corresponding to the lower body is filled by a u-shaped, patterned *wesekh*-collar against a background of bead net. Above this, a naturalistic Greek portrait depicts the dead woman's head, chest, and hands. She wears a dark purple tunic with a lighter purple *clavus*, and a coloured mantle draped over her left shoulder. In her left hand is a wreath of flowers folded in half, its ribbon ties trailing below. Her hair is dressed over her forehead, probably with curls whose painted details are lost, and piled into a broad, coiled bun at the crown of the head, which is secured by a decorative stick. This hairstyle was in use in the late Flavian and early Hadrianic period, around AD 100–25, and thus provides a date range for both shrouds.¹⁶

The shrouds are the products of the same workshop but represent the deceased in two different ways, the former with an Egyptian image that emphasizes the Osirian nature of a dead man, the latter with a Greek portrait that commemorates the dead woman in fashionable attire. Although the shrouds are only two examples, their differing treatments of the deceased are quite suggestive of the range of options available for representing the social and individual self. For instance, depicting women in contemporary dress seems to have been more readily accepted, and the beautifying effect of fine clothing, precious jewellery, and fashionable hairstyles might have made naturalistic portraits especially desirable for the burials of women and girls. For male burials, the persistent and powerful link with Osiris was an enduring feature, and no less beautiful because it revealed the god himself. The representational options that existed for objects like these shrouds, even within the same community and workshop, illustrate how artistic forms could be selected for different visual and ideological effects in a mortuary context.

Such variations, together with the localized nature of artistic production, mean that there is no single answer to questions surrounding the identity of the individuals represented in funerary art from Roman Egypt. Each monument or class of objects must be considered in the context of its provenance and date, where these can be established, as well as in terms of how it was used and what it represents. The examples of Theban funerary art from the Roman Period are especially informative because their relationship to local monuments, cults, and settlements is evident.

¹⁶ Compare Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 32–8, esp. her pl. 56. 1.

Characterized by an artistic and religious conservatism, material like the burials of the Soter group and the Pebos family used funerary art to emphasize native and local aspects of identity, regardless of how we might perceive the social position or ethnic make-up of the people involved. These ornate burial outfits helped local elites—who may have included recent immigrants—reinforce and legitimize their status with reference to an ancient past and restricted forms of knowledge. Traditional art and texts represented a purposeful choice, not a lack of artistic ability or ignorance of Greek culture, while resurrecting older material and burying the dead in reused tombs or near revered monuments created links with the past and increased the efficacy of the funerary ritual. Works of art that did employ more naturalistic images of the deceased, like the painted shrouds and Deir el-Bahri mummy masks, still paid homage to an idealized past that was generally Egyptian and specifically Theban.

Thebes was not the only place in Egypt where this use of the past contributed to funerary art and mortuary practices—the mummy portraits of Hawara were buried within sight of the pyramid of the deified Middle Kingdom pharaoh Amenemhat III, and Roman Period interments were made in and around dynastic tombs at Saqqara. Continuity with the past was not inevitable. It was, however, an inherent motivation in combining the Egyptian and Greek representational systems. Both artistic traditions belonged to the people of Roman Egypt, and the funerary art that interwove the two traditions made a visual statement that reflected what was unique about the country, its society, and its history. The patrons of such artworks and burials were not necessarily drawn from the highest social strata, as defined by Roman rule, but presumably were members of local elites who had the wherewithal to pursue the commemoration of the dead in this way. Some of these elites felt the especial pull of the dominant Greek art forms of the day, which they could make their own by commissioning portrait panels or statue-like shrouds and coffins. Others opted for archaizing funerary art, in the process patronizing textual and pictorial forms of expression that were beginning to wane in Roman Egypt. One option did not necessarily offer a more grandiose display than the other. The 'Greekness' or 'Egyptianness' that we perceive did not *reflect* contemporary society: it *was* contemporary society, and people could mould these differing components to the shapes they required.

The elaborately decorated monuments and mummies dating to the late Ptolemaic and Roman Periods testify to the suitability of the mortuary sphere as a forum for negotiating identities, which could be remarkably flexible. In this way, the constancy of Egyptian mortuary practice fulfilled a need in local communities, and the artistic impact of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman art alike contributed to the beautiful burials that glorified the dead.

APPENDIX

List of Objects

COFFINS FROM KHARGA OASIS

Coffins **2** to **4** are constructed of linen cartonnage, with modelled faces and projecting footcases. The painted decoration represents the face and feet of the deceased, whose body is otherwise mummiform, and the surface of the coffins is augmented with gilding, plaster decoration, or, on **4**, a wooden plaque. Coffin **1** and the coffin fragment **5** are decorated by the same artist(s) as coffins **2–4** but are made of wood and take the form of a vaulted lid that rested on a shallow base. The boards of **5** made up part of the vaulted lid. On the fully preserved example, coffin **1**, the deceased is painted in mummiform guise in the centre of the lid. There is no archaeological context for these coffins, but their provenance is suggested by references to the Kharga Oasis town of el-Hibis in the inscriptions of coffins **4** and **5**.

- 1** Coffin of a woman named Ta-sheryt-Isis (Sennesis) Fig. 16
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 7070
L: 159.0 cm, W: 39.4 cm

Column of hieroglyphic inscription on the lid, over the legs of a mummiform image of the deceased:

[H]y Hwt-ḥr T3-šrt-3st ms n Hwt-ḥr T3-šrt-Imn-ip3t

Hail, Hathor Ta-sheryt-Isis, born of the Hathor Ta-sheryt-Amun-ipy

Author's translation.

W. Van Haarlem, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum: Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam*, iv: *Sarcophagi and Related Objects* (Hildesheim 1998), 95–8.

- 2** Coffin lid of a young man named Panakht Figs. 19–21
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 14291
L: 136.0 cm

Two hieroglyphic inscriptions on either side of the lid, above the register-ordered scenes, as well as four columns of texts flanking each of the two images of pantheistic Bes at the head end. Presented below is the column of hieroglyphs from the Osiris figure on the front case:

Wsir P[3]-nḥt m3' ḥrw ms n T3-šrt-Imn m3' 'nḥ

The Osiris Panakht, justified, born of Ta-sheryt-Amun, true of life.

Author's translation.

R. Germer, *Das Geheimnis der Mumien* (Munich 1997), 87–91; and *Mummies: Life after Death in Ancient Egypt* (Munich and New York 1997), 88–91, figs. 94–7 ('Akhmim' *sic*); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 36, 99–100, 146 B (2); *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse* (Berlin 1899), 345–6.

- 3 Coffin lid of a man or boy Figs. 13–15
 Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1914.715
 L: 166.5 cm, W: 57.0 cm, H: 20.5 cm

Two hieroglyphic inscriptions, one on either side of the case. The beginning of the text on the right side is lost, but it was presumably similar or identical to the left:

ḏd mdw n Wsir . . . s3 n Wsir Sb . . . m3' ḥrw
ms n Hwt-ḥr T3-šrt-ḥw m3' ḥrw m (?) T3-ḥnm Snt

Words spoken by the Osiris . . . , son of the Osiris Seb . . . , justified,
 born of the Hathor Ta-sheryt-hu, justified, in (?) the 'Well of Senet (?)'.

Author's translation.

L. Berman, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art* (Cleveland 1999), 503–5 (no. 399); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 100, 116, pl. 115. 1.

- 4 Coffin lid of a boy named Paopis
 Heidelberg, Ägyptologisches Institut, 17
 L: 90.8 cm, W: 29.5 cm, H: 25.5 cm

Demotic inscription on interior of case:

Rejuvenate before Osiris, lord of Hibis, Osiris Paopis, (son of) Sematawy, born of Di-es-Mut, person (?) of Hibis.

Translation: W. Spiegelberg (see below).

Égypte romaine: L'autre Égypte (Marseille 1997), 161 (no. 185); W. Seipel, *Ägypten: Götter, Gräber und die Kunst: 4000 Jahre Jenseitsglaube* (Linz 1989), 346–7 (no. 521); E. Feucht, *Vom Nil zum Neckar: Kunstschatze Ägyptens aus pharaonischer und koptischer Zeit an der Universität Heidelberg* (Berlin 1986), 128 (no. 285); E. Brunner-Traut and H. Brunner, *Osiris, Kreuz und Halbmond: Die drei Religionen Ägyptens* (Mainz 1984), 159, 164 (no. 136); W. Brunsch, 'Sechs demotische Graffiti vom Gebel el Ter in der Oase Charge', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 72 (1980), 12–13 (inscription); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 29, 100, pl. 115. 3; W. Spiegelberg, *Demotica*, i (Munich 1925), 48–9 (inscription).

- 5 Coffin lid of a woman named Ta-sheryt-pa-di-Hor
(Senpeteuris) Figs. 17, 18
Paris, Louvre, E 31886
L: 170.0 cm, W: 31.0 cm (combined)

The exterior has three inscriptions, two of which are preserved in full. The first (A) is a column filling the centre of the vault; this was flanked by a horizontal band of text on either side, above the register-ordered decoration, but only the right-hand text (B) is extant.

(A) [H]y Hwt-hr T3-šrt-p3-di-Hr ms [n T3]-di-Imn-ip3t ms Hbt . . .

Hail, Hathor Ta-sheryt-pa-di-Hor, born of Ta-di-Amun-ipy, born [in] Hibis . . .

(B) [H]y Hwt-hr T3-šrt-pa-di-Hr ms [n T3]-di-Imn-ip3t ms Hbt . . .

Hail, Hathor Ta-sheryt-pa-di-Hor, born of Ta-di-Amun-ipy, born [in] Hibis . . .

Author's translation.

O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, iii: *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs* (Providence 1969), 104 (no. 81), 205, pl. 49B.

THE AKHMIM COFFIN GROUP

The following coffins and mummy cases come from the burial grounds of Akhmim, probably at el-Hawawish. They began to appear on the art market in the late nineteenth century. Close similarities in their decoration indicate that they form a cohesive group, all created around the same time. Most of the coffins are made of mud and straw, dried to a hard shell, then washed with plaster ground and painted. In several examples, linen was used to prepare the surface for the plaster wash and to help create the clothing. Coffins **11** and **14** are papyrus cartonnage; cases **16** and **28** are linen cartonnage.

The following list is organized in four sections: female coffins; male coffins with mummiform attributes; male with contemporary clothing; and other material, namely a male coffin base. Within each section, the coffins are listed in alphabetical order according to the city where they are located. In addition to the coffins enumerated here, several head ends broken from coffin lids have been published, and many other fragments in museum and private collections remain unpublished. The published examples from female coffins include:

Kiev, Museum of Western and Eastern Art, BV-752: O. Berlev and S. Hodjash, *Catalogue of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt from the Museums of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Bielorrussia, Caucasus, Middle Asia and the Baltic States* (Fribourg 1998), 37 (no. III.7), pl. 72; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 98 n. 58.

Windsor, Eton College, Myers Museum, 1285: *Ancient Faces* (London), 32–3 (no. 5); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 99, pl. 120. 1.

A fragment formerly in the Schmidt Collection: Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 35, 99, 146 B (3), pl. 120. 3.

Published examples of fragments from male coffins include:

New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, 1951-84-1: Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 96, pl. 119. 5.

Brunswick (Maine), Bowdoin College Art Gallery, 1917.12: Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 98, pl. 120. 2; K. Herbert, *Ancient Art in Bowdoin College* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 21–2 (no. 12), pl. 5.

Frankfurt, Liebieghaus-Museum Alter Plastik, 2461: E. Bayer-Niemeier, B. Borg, and G. Burkard, *Liebieghaus-Museum Alter Plastik: Ägyptische Bildwerke*, iii: *Skulptur, Malerei, Papyri und Särge* (Melsungen 1993), 459 (no. 127), 461–2.

A fragment in a private collection: Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 336–7 (no. 230), erroneously as female.

Female Coffins

- 6 Coffin, uninscribed
Aberdeen, Marischal College, 22116
L: 95.0 cm, W: 21.0 cm, H: c.25.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 35, 99, 147 B (4), pl. 117. 6; R. W. Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Anthropological Museum, University of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen 1912), 86 (no. 96).

- 7 Coffin lid, uninscribed
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 723
L: 141.5 cm, W: 35.0 cm, H: 20.1 cm

H. Willems and W. Clarysse, *Keizers aan de Nijl* (Leuven 1999), 230–1 (no. 141); and *Les empereurs du Nil* (Leuven 2000), 230–1 (no. 141); Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 335 (no. 229); W. Van Haarlem, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum: Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam*, iv: *Sarcophagi and Related Objects* (Hildesheim 1998), 78–80; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 99, pl. 118. 3.

- 8 Coffin lid of Tatriphis Fig. 22
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 13462; lost in WWII
L: 154.0 cm

Demotic inscription on right skirt panel:

Words said by the Hathor of Tatriphis, daughter (of) Inaros the younger, son (of) Peteminis the younger the scribe, born of Thermuthis. May her *ba* live forever and ever.

Translation: M. Smith (see below).

R. Germer and M. Smith, 'Ein altägyptischer Mädchensarg mit demotischer Inschrift', *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg* 30 (2000), 280 (inscription); M. Smith, 'Dating anthropoid mummy cases from Akhmim: The evidence of the Demotic inscriptions', in M. L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks* (London 1997), 66 (inscription), pls. 31. 1 and 32. 2–3; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 36, 97–9, 147 C (9), pls. 117. 4 and 119. 2, 146 C (9); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 112 n. 141, 146 nn. 157–8; V. Schmidt, *Levende og døde i det gamle Aegypten* (Copenhagen 1919), 234 (no. 1352); *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse* (Berlin 1899), 345.

- 9 Coffin lid, uninscribed
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33270
L: 125.0 cm, W: 45.0 cm, H: 48.0 cm

Broken off below knees.

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 26, 98 nn. 54 and 56, 99 n. 67, 146 A 5; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 110–12, pl. 44.

- 10 Coffin lid, uninscribed
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33271
L: 138.0 cm, W: 43.0 cm, H: 42.0 cm

Broken off below ankles.

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 26, 98, 146 A 4, pl. 118. 4; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 112 n. 139, 146 n. 157; V. Schmidt, *Levende og døde i det gamle Aegypten* (Copenhagen 1919), 234 (no. 1350); Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 112–14, pl. 44.

- 11 Coffin lid, uninscribed Fig. 28 right
Chicago, The Field Museum, 30020, lid only (see 37 for base)
L: c.160.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 35, 99, pl. 118, 1.

- 12 Coffin lid of Tatykhonsiy
Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, 5172
L: 116.0 cm

Demotic inscription on right cheek:

Tatykhonsiy, daughter (of) Pesais, (son of) Harmakhis.

Translation: M. Smith (see below).

R. Germer and M. Smith, 'Ein altägyptischer Mädchensarg mit demotischer Inschrift', *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg* 30 (2000), 280 (inscription); M. Smith, 'Dating anthropoid mummy cases from Akhmim: The evidence of the Demotic inscriptions', in M. L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks* (London 1997), 66–7 (inscription), pls. 31. 2 and 32. 4; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 99, pl. 119. 1; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 112 n. 139; V. Schmidt, *Levende og døde i det gamle Aegypten* (Copenhagen 1919), 235 (no. 153).

13 Coffin of Tawa

Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, 4064

L: 108.0 cm, W: 35.0 cm

Demotic inscription near right knee:

Year 23, third month of the inundation season, day 15, Tawa daughter of Pelilis, whose mother is . . .

Translation: M. Smith (see below).

R. Germer and M. Smith, 'Ein altägyptischer Mädchensarg mit demotischer Inschrift', *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg* 30 (2000), 278–83.

14 Coffin lid, uninscribed

Fig. 24

London, British Museum, EA 29585

L: 165.0 cm, W: 47.0 cm, H: 36.0 cm

Papyrus cartonnage. Interior painted with figure of Nut.

Ancient Faces (London), 32 (no. 4); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 96–7, 98–9, 147 C 2, pl. 116. 5.

15 Coffin lid of Taminis

Fig. 25

London, British Museum, EA 29586

L: 151.0 cm, W: 54.0 cm, H: 48.0 cm

Demotic inscription on left shoulder:

Recitation by the Hathor Taminis daughter (of) Spemminis, like Re forever and ever.

Translation: M. Smith (see below).

R. Germer and M. Smith, 'Ein altägyptischer Mädchensarg mit demotischer Inschrift', *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg* 30 (2000),

278–83, 280 (inscription); A. Schweitzer, 'L'évolution stylistique et iconographique des parures de cartonnage d'Akhmim du début de l'époque ptolémaïque à l'époque romaine', *BIFAO* 98 (1998), figs. 12, 14, 16, 17; *Ancient Faces* (London), 31–2 (no. 3); M. Smith, 'Dating anthropoid mummy cases from Akhmim: The evidence of the Demotic inscriptions', in M. L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks* (London 1997), 66 (inscription), pls. 7. 3; 8. 1; and 32. 1; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 96–7, 99, 147 C 3, pl. 116. 6.

Male Coffins with Mummiform Attributes

- 16** Mummy case of Horos Pl. 1
 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 13463
 L: 175.0 cm, W: 45.0 cm, D: 29.0 cm

Demotic inscription on upper edge of chest area:

The Osiris Horos, (son of) Peteminis, (son of) Petharoeris, may his *ba* live forever.

Translation: M. Smith (see below).

A. Schweitzer, 'L'évolution stylistique et iconographique des parures de cartonnage d'Akhmim du début de l'époque ptolémaïque à l'époque romaine', *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 325–52, fig. 6; R. Germer, *Mummies: Life after Death in Ancient Egypt* (Munich and New York 1997), 73–4, fig. 78 ('Hawara' *sic*); M. Smith, 'Budge at Akhmim, January 1896', in C. Eyre, A. Leahy, and L. M. Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore* (London 1994), 292–303, 296–7, 300, 303 n. 54 (inscription); *The Exhibition of Art Treasures of Ancient Egypt, National Museum of Tokyo* (Tokyo 1988), cover, 184–5 (no. 127); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 36, 97–8, 148 C (10), pl. 119. 4 (mask only); *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse* (Berlin 1899), 345.

- 17** Coffin lid, uninscribed
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 26930
 L: 155.0 cm

Hands in fists opposite each other on chest.

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 26, 146 A 1.

- 18** Coffin lid, uninscribed
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 26932
 L: 162.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 26, 98 n. 60, 146 A 3.

- 19** Coffin lid, uninscribed
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 26937
L: c.165.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 26, 98, 146 A 8, pl. 117. 2.

- 20** Coffin lid, uninscribed
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 26938
L: 140.0 cm, W: 53.0 cm

Broken off below knees; hands on chest, right above left.

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 26, 98 n. 61, 146 A 9.

- 21** Coffin lid, uninscribed
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 26939
L: c.165.0 cm

Lower arms depicted, with hands on chest, left (holding flail) over right (holding crook).

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 26, 98, 146 A 10, pl. 117. 3.

- 22** Coffin lid, uninscribed
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 29019
L: 145.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 26, 98 n. 60.

- 23** Coffin lid of Meter
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 20/12/25/6
L: c.60.0 cm

Demotic inscription on right side of head:

Meter son of Kolanthes

Translation: M. Smith, pers. comm.

Broken off below elbows; hands crossed on chest, right over left.

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 98 n. 61.

- 24** Coffin lid, uninscribed
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 25/8/19/1
L: 185.0 cm, W: 62.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 98, pl. 119. 3.

- 25** Coffin, uninscribed Fig. 31
 London, British Museum, EA 29584
 L: 174.0 cm, W: 52.5 cm, D: 48.0 cm

Hands in fists on chest, right above left.

J. H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London 2000), 242 fig. 179; A. Schweitzer, 'L'évolution stylistique et iconographique des parures de cartonnage d'Akhmim du début de l'époque ptolémaïque à l'époque romaine', *BIEAO* 98 (1998), figs. 9, 10, 18, 19; *Ancient Faces* (London), 30–1 (no. 2); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 96–7, 99, 147 C 1, pl. 116. 3.

- 26** Coffin lid of Petubastis
 London, British Museum, EA 29590
 L: 110.0 cm, W: 35.9 cm, D: 48.0 cm

Demotic inscription in top border of leg placard:

Petubastis, son of Pet . . .

Translation: M. Smith, pers. comm.

Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 334 (no. 228), erroneously as girl's coffin; A. Schweitzer, 'L'évolution stylistique et iconographique des parures de cartonnage d'Akhmim du début de l'époque ptolémaïque à l'époque romaine', *BIEAO* 98 (1998), figs. 8 and 11; *Ancient Faces* (London), 34 (no. 7), erroneously as girl's coffin; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 97–8, 147 C (7), pl. 116. 2.

- 27** Coffin of an infant or small child Fig. 32
 London, British Museum, EA 29588
 L: 81.0 cm, W: 23.5 cm, D: 23.0 cm

Column of hieroglyphic inscription over legs and footcase, partly erased or damaged, and difficult to decipher.

Ancient Faces (London), 34–5 (no. 8); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 15 n. 15, 97–9, 147 C 5, pl. 116. 1; W. R. Dawson and P. H. K. Gray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, i: *Mummies and Human Remains* (London 1968), 40 (no. 76), pl. 20b.

- 28** Mummy case, uninscribed
 London, British Museum, EA 29782
 L: 169.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 96–9, 147 C (8), pl. 117. 1; W. R. Dawson and P. H. K. Gray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, i: *Mummies*

and *Human Remains* (London 1968), 27 (no. 49), pl. 13c; *A Guide to the First, Second and Third Egyptian Rooms*, 3rd edn. (London 1924), 125.

- 29 Coffin of Sa . . . , son of Horpaheter
Pittsburgh, Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 22266–1b
L: 169.0 cm, W: 47.0 cm, D: 36.5 cm

Demotic inscription at bottom of each head-dress lappet:

May the Osiris Sa . . . , son of Horpaheter, son of Pasherkhonsu, live forever and ever. Day 14, fourth month of winter, year 33.

Translation: R. Jasnow (see below).

D. C. Patch, *Reflections of Greatness: Ancient Egypt at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1990), 101–2 (no. 82); R. Jasnow, 'Demotic texts from the Carnegie Museum of Natural History', *Enchoria* 17 (1990), 95–6, pl. 8 (inscription).

Male Coffins with Contemporary Clothing

- 30 Coffin lid of Sematawy Fig. 34
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 7068
L: 158.5 cm, W: 46.0 cm, D: 43.0 cm

Demotic inscription on left shoulder:

May the *ba* of the Osiris Sematawy, son of Pasher . . . live forever.

Translation: M. Depauw, pers. comm.

W. Van Haarlem, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum: Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, i: Selected Objects* (Hildesheim 1996), 87–9; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 99, pl. 118. 6.

- 31 Coffin lid, uninscribed
Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, 51.1213
L: 189.0 cm, W: 58.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 99 n. 64; L. Castiglione, 'Dualité du style dans l'art sépulcral égyptien à l'époque romaine', *AAASH* 9 (1961), 222 fig. 14, 223 fig. 15, 226 n. 23.

- 32 Coffin lid for a boy, uninscribed
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33272
L: 100.0 cm, W: 30.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 26, 99, 146 A 6, pl. 118. 5; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 114–15, pl. 45.

- 33 Coffin for a boy, uninscribed
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33274
L: 84.0 cm, W: 42.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 26 n. 31, 99 n. 64; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 116–17, pl. 45.

- 34 Coffin lid, name unknown
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33275
L: 150.0 cm, W: 42.0 cm

Partly preserved Demotic inscription over left knee seems to refer to ‘year 17’:
see M. Smith, below.

M. Smith, ‘Aspects of the preservation and transmission of indigenous religious traditions in Akhmim and its environs during the Graeco-Roman Period’, in A. Egberts, B. P. Muhs, and J. Van Der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest: Acts from an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne 2002), 240 (inscription); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 26 n. 31, 99 n. 64; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 117–19, pl. 45.

- 35 Head end from a coffin lid, uninscribed Fig. 35
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, ÆIN 1383
L: 38.0 cm, W: 27.0 cm, D: 29.0 cm

M. Jørgensen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek: Egypt III* (Copenhagen 2001), 288–9;
Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 35, 99, pl. 121. 3.

- 36 Coffin of a boy named Pemsais Fig. 33
London, British Museum, EA 29589
L: 89.0 cm, W: 27.0 cm, D: 24.5 cm

Demotic inscription below left hand gives name of the deceased: see *Ancient Faces*, below.

A. Schweitzer, ‘L’évolution stylistique et iconographique des parures de cartonnage d’Akhmim du début de l’époque ptolémaïque à l’époque romaine’, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), fig. 15; *Ancient Faces* (London), 33 (no. 6); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 97, 99, 147 C 6, pl. 116. 4.

Other

- 37 Base from the coffin of a man named Sematawy Fig. 28 left
Chicago, The Field Museum, 30020, base only (see 11 for lid)
L: c.170.0 cm

Column of inscription in centre begins and ends in Demotic, with hieroglyphic text in between, including a reference to 'Osiris of Akhmim' and the name of the deceased.

Information and translation courtesy of M. Depauw and M. Smith, pers. comm. Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 35, 99, pl. 118. 2 (interior only).

MUMMY MASKS FROM MEIR

Discovered in the necropolis of Meir, west of Cusae, these masks were made to fit voluminously wrapped mummies, which are preserved for 47, 48, 56, and 57. The masks are constructed of linen cartonnage, painted and gilded, with moulded faces and hands and added plaster for wreaths and jewellery. Some masks incorporate inlaid stones as well, and most female masks had hair made of vegetable fibres. In the list below, female examples are given first, in alphabetical order by city, followed by male examples.

Female Masks

- 38 Mummy mask Figs. 53, 54
 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 34434
 L: 58.0 cm, W: 31.0 cm, D: 41.0 cm

R. Germer, *Das Geheimnis der Mumien* (Munich 1997), 146–7, fig. 153; D. Wildung, 'Geheimnisvolle Gesichter', *Antike Welt* 21 (1990), 206–21, *passim* and figs. 1, 12a–c, 22, 23, 26, 31.

- 39 Mummy mask
 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 34435
 L: 61.0 cm, W: 29.0 cm, D: 34.0 cm

R. Germer, *Das Geheimnis der Mumien* (Munich 1997), 146, fig. 152; D. Wildung, 'Geheimnisvolle Gesichter', *Antike Welt* 21 (1990), 206–21, *passim* and cover photo, figs. 3, 18a–c, 25, 28.

- 40 Mummy mask of Dekeleia Figs. 44, 45
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33129
 L: 66.0 cm, W: 39.0 cm, D: 59.0 cm

A column of hieroglyphs identifies each deity in the scenes, with appropriate epithets; Osiris is called both 'Osiris-Sokar' and 'Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners'. In a band between the upper and lower registers is a pair of hieroglyphic inscriptions, which begin at the back of the mask and read in opposite directions. Reading towards the deceased's left side:

Hail, *ba* of Dekeleia [lost filiation], may you live in heaven like Re and may you rest in the earth like Geb, while (your) corpse is in the underworld like Osiris.

To her right side:

Hail, *ba* of Osiris, may you have a festival place under the *ished*-tree and take part in the offering bread, libations and incense of the gods which are offered under it, to the Foremost of the Westerners, who lives forever.

Translations: After D. Kurth (see below).

Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 24–5 (texts M and N, for the inscriptions); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 19 n. 51, 27, 62, 132 A 5, pl. 60. 2; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 18–21, pls. 8, 10; G. Daressy, 'Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques des masques de momie d'époques gréco-romaine', *ASAE* II (1911), 44–5 (hieroglyphic texts).

41 Mummy mask

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33130

L: 52.0 cm, W: 31.0 cm, D: 41.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 19 n. 51, 133 A (7); Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 21–3, pls. 8, 11.

42 Mummy mask

Fig. 51

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33131

L: 51.0 cm, W: 28.0 cm, D: 42.0 cm

Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 65 fig. 23; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 19 n. 51, 62–3, 133 A (8), pl. 60. 3; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 23–4, pls. 8, 12.

43 Mummy mask

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33132

L: 55.0 cm, W: 30.0 cm, D: 43.0 cm

Columns of hieroglyphic inscription identify each deity.

Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 25 (text O, for deities' inscription bands); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 19 n. 51, 27, 62 n. 23, 132–3 A 6; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 24–5, pls. 9, 13; G. Daressy, 'Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques des masques de momie d'époques gréco-romaine', *ASAE* II (1911), 45 (hieroglyphic texts).

44 Mummy mask

Figs. 46, 59

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33133

L: 55.0 cm, W: 32.0 cm, D: 45.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 19 n. 51, 27, 62 n. 23, 132 A 2; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 26–7, pls. 9, 14.

- 45 Mummy mask
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33134
L: 57.0 cm, W: 30.0 cm, D: 46.0 cm

Columns of hieroglyphic inscription identify each deity.

Kurth, *Sarg der Teüiris*, 25 (text O, for deities' inscription bands), 57 fig. 12; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 19 n. 51, 27, 62 n. 23, 132 A 3; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 28–9, pls. 9, 15.

- 46 Mummy mask Fig. 52
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33135
L: 56.0 cm, W: 30.0 cm, D: 41.0 cm

Columns of hieroglyphic inscription identify each deity.

Kurth, *Sarg der Teüiris*, 25–6 (text P); G. Grimm and D. Johannes, *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (Mainz 1975), 7, 24 (no. 46), pl. 84; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 19 n. 51, 27, 62–3, 132 A 4, pl. 60. 1; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 29–31, pls. 9, 16.

- 47 Masked mummy of a girl named Anoubias
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33137
L of mummy: 98.0 cm, H: 63.0 cm (foot projection)

Four columns of hieroglyphic inscriptions are adhered to the surface of the mummy wrapping, over the legs; these are unpublished, and they are not legible in the museum display. Greek *tabula ansata* on bottom of foot projection:

Anoubias, daughter of Apion, (aged) 3, farewell

Author's translation.

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 19 n. 53, 64–6, 133 B 5; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 32–4, pl. 17.

- 48 Masked mummy of a woman named Artemidora Pl. 4; Figs. 48, 49
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 11.155.5
L of mummy: 205.0 cm, H: 102.5 cm (foot projection)
L of mask: 78.0 cm, W: 46.5 cm, D: 71.5 cm

Two columns of hieroglyphic inscription are adhered to the surface of the mummy wrapping, over the legs. Right side:

Hail, *ba* of Osiris, may your *ba* live in heaven like Re. May your body rejuvenate in the earth like Geb. May your *ba* live with the gods and under the justified. May you breathe in the underworld. May you unite with the Great God at his burial place in the place of the living, like Re forever.

Left side:

Hail, *ba* of Osiris, receive incense, libations, and the white cloth of the goddess Hebeset-
netjer for your body. Your purification is that of Horus, your censuring is that of Thoth. Geb
and Horus purify you with the *menu*-vessels, (with) the water which purifies all the gods.

On the mask, columns of hieroglyphic inscription identify each figure, with appropriate epithets.

Greek *tabula ansata* on the bottom of the foot projection:

Artemidora, daughter of Harpocras, (died) untimely aged 27, farewell.

Translations: After D. Kurth (see below); for the Greek text, see *Ancient Faces*, below.

Ancient Faces (New York), 132–5 (no. 85); Kurth, *Sarg der Teüris*, 28 (text Aa); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 14 n. 6, 64, 77, 82, 108, 120, 134 C 2, pl. C. 1; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 120, 148, pl. 2. 2; A. B. Kamal, ‘Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Déirout au nord et Déir el-Ganadlah, au sud’, *ASAE* 14 (1914), 62–3.

49 Mummy mask

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 19.2.6

L: 63.0 cm, W: 33.0 cm, D: 53.0 cm

Columns of hieroglyphic inscription identify each deity, with appropriate epithets.

Ancient Faces (New York), 129–31 (no. 84); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 51, 62, pl. C. 2; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 120, 148 n. 168, pls. 2. 1 and 3. 2.

50 Mummy mask for a girl or woman

Trier, Universität, Forschungszentrum Griechisch-römisches Ägypten,
OL 1997.9

L: 46.0 cm, W: 25.5 cm, D: 37.0 cm

Two columns of Demotic inscription flank the head of the *ba*-bird on the back of the mask but are very difficult to read (K.-Th. Zauzich, pers. comm.). Columns of hieroglyphic inscription also identify deities on the sides and back of the mask.

Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 308–9 (no. 205).

Male Masks

51 Mummy mask

Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 78.3

H: 50.9 cm

Fig. 50

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 61, 64, 72, 91 n. 307, pl. 16. 3.

52 Mummy mask for a man named Aischynes, also called *P3-rmt-syg*

Pl. 5, Fig. 2

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, III-89

L: 57.0 cm, W: 27.0 cm, D: 41.0 cm

Four columns of Demotic inscription flank the head of the *ba*-bird on the back of the mask:

I, near (viewer's) right of the *ba*-bird

'nh p3 rpe n ntr n Wsir pr-3 Wn-nfr

'nh p3 rpe n ntr 3ys-kyns s3 M3rks

(Just as the divine rejuvenation) of Osiris, of Pharaoh Wennefer lives,
(so) lives the divine rejuvenation of Aischynes, the son of Malakos (?).

II, far (viewer's) right of the *ba*-bird

rpe-s rm=f hr p3 dd Wsir n

Wsir 'P3-rmt'-syg s3 P3-sr-t3-ih.t

tw=(w) iw n=k b' 'b3 p3 ntr n=k 'b3

His name is rejuvenated at the command of Osiris, for
the Osiris *Pa-remet-syg*, son of Pashertaihet (Psentaes).

A palm-branch is brought to you. The god offers to you an offering.

III, near (viewer's) left of the *ba*-bird

tw=w 'h'w n=k nm(m)e grh

ibt 4 3h.t sw 25 r twe sw 26

p3 nbs Wsir r p3 't3 irm=k'

A bier is erected for you in the night

Of the fourth month of Akhet (Khoiak), day 25 to the morning of day 26,
the awakening of Osiris on the earth with you.

IV, far (viewer's) left of the *ba*-bird

.....p3.....

imnt tme(?) . . . n ms-s(?) n-im=f

.....

in the West of the city (?) . . . of the birth of him (?) therein.

Translation and commentary generously provided by K.-Th. Zauzich, pers. comm.
R. Germer, *Das Geheimnis der Mumien* (Munich 1997), 146 fig. 151; D. Wildung,
'Geheimnisvolle Gesichter', *Antike Welt* 21 (1990), 206–21, *passim* and figs. 4, 19a–c,
24, 29, 34.

53 Mummy mask

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 34436

L: 61.0 cm, W: 30.0 cm, D: 38.0 cm

Columns of hieroglyphic inscription identify most deities.

R. Germer, *Das Geheimnis der Mumien* (Munich 1997), 147 fig. 154; D. Wildung, 'Geheimnisvolle Gesichter', *Antike Welt* 21 (1990), 206–21, *passim* in text, and figs. 2, 13a–c, 20, 21, 30.

- 54 Mummy mask
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1993.555
L: 57.2 cm

Columns of hieroglyphic inscription identify most deities.

J. Haynes and G. Graham, 'A new funerary arts gallery at Boston's Museum of Fine Arts', *KMT* 9 (1998), 28.

- 55 Mummy mask
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 28440
L: 77.0 cm

G. Grimm and D. Johannes, *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (Mainz 1975), 7, 17 (no. 2), pl. B; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 61, 72, 120, 132 A 1, pl. 17. 1; V. Schmidt, *Levende og døde i det gamle Aegypten* (Copenhagen 1919), 239 fig. 1383; M.-L. Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi* (Copenhagen 1959), 159 fig. 86.

- 56 Masked mummy of a man named Hierax
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 42951
L of mummy: 205.0 cm; L of mask: 54.0 cm

Two columns of hieroglyphic inscriptions are adhered to mummy wrapping, over the legs. Each gives a different Egyptian name and patronym for the deceased.

Right side:

Hail, Osiris . . . , justified, son of Hor, Anubis comes, who cries out the victory call against his brother, whom he came for on the day of your burial. He brings to you two vessels with unguents, from the hands of the god Shesemu, . . . , to anoint your body. May you sail downstream to Busiris, and may you sail upstream to the nome of Abydos, when its resident (i.e. Osiris) celebrates the festival of Sokar.

Left side:

Hail, Osiris Bik, justified, son of Ankh-hap, the arms of Selket give your body constant protection. The goddess Hebeset-netjer protects your body, for which she brings to you all the cloths and garments from the house of Neith, which have been spun and woven by the two weavers (Isis and Nephthys). May your *ba* live in heaven like Re, and may he descend to the place where he lives, which is the tomb. The eternity of Osiris is your eternity, in which you rejuvenate every day like Re.

On the bottom of the foot projection, two short columns of hieroglyphs flank Anubis; each reads ‘words said by Selket’. Greek *tabula ansata* above Anubis:

Hierax, son of Sarapion, (aged) 85, farewell.

Translations: main Egyptian texts after D. Kurth (see below); Egyptian and Greek texts on foot projection, author’s translation.

Kurth, *Sarg der Teiiris*, 30 (text Ad, for hieroglyphic texts on legs); G. Grimm and D. Johannes, *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (Mainz 1975), 7, 24 (no. 42), pl. 80; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 61, 65, 124 c 3, pl. 16. 4; A. B. Kamal, ‘Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Déirout au nord et Déir el-Ganadlah, au sud’, *ASAE* 14 (1914), 66–7.

- 57 Masked mummy of a man
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 42952
L of mummy: 195.0 cm, H: 95.0 cm (foot projection)
L of mask: 68.0 cm

Four columns of hieroglyphic inscription flank the head of the falcon at the back of the mask, identifying it.

G. Grimm and D. Johannes, *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (Mainz 1975), 7, 24 (no. 43), pl. 81; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 61, 65, 72, 120, 134 c 4, pl. 17. 2; K. Parlasca, ‘Eine Gruppe Römischer Sepulkralreliefs aus Ägypten’, *Forschungen und Berichte* 14 (1972), 75, pl. 18. 2.

- 58 Mummy mask for a man or boy Pl. 3 centre
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 18/8/19/1
L: c.45.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 59, 72, 133 A (9–12), pl. 16. 1.

- 59 Mummy mask Pl. 3 left
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 18/8/19/4
L: c.50.0 cm

Columns of hieroglyphic inscriptions identify deities, and a longer column of text at each end of the rear projection addresses the deceased as Osiris.

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 61, 72, 120, 133 A (9–12), pl. 17. 3.

- 60 Mummy mask for a boy
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 18/8/19/5
L: c.35.0 cm

Two columns of Demotic inscription at the back of the mask, flanking the head of a *ba*-bird; inaccessible in museum display.

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 59, 133 A (9–12).

- 61** Mummy mask for a man or boy Pl. 3 right
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, number uncertain
 L: c. 55.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 133 A (9–12); G. Maspero, *Guide au visiteur au Musée de Caire* (Cairo 1915), 452.

- 62** Face from a mummy mask
 Moscow, Pushkin Museum, I I a 5386
 L: c. 22.0 cm

Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 308 (no. 204); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 59, 72, pl. 16. 2.

- 63** Mummy mask
 Private collection
 L: 60.0 cm, W: 45.0 cm

Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 306 (no. 202).

- 64** Mummy mask
 Private collection
 L: 60.0 cm, W: 45.0 cm

Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 307 (no. 203).

COFFINS FROM ABUSIR EL-MELEQ

Each coffin is carved from an unidentified wood, with inlaid eyes and the remains of plaster, gilding, and paint. The excavated examples (**65** and **66**) were found in the ‘tomb of the Harsaphes priests,’ a subterranean Late Period structure in the Abusir el-Meleq cemetery (Fig. 69). Coffin **67** is assigned to the group because of its close similarity to coffin fragment **65**.

- 65** Upper part of a coffin for a man
 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 17016
 L: c. 60.0 cm

Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 212–13 (no. 120); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 15 n. 13, 55, 129 II 4; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 119–20, pl. 5. 2.

- 66** Coffin for a boy, inside a shrine-shaped sarcophagus Figs. 70, 71
 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 17126 and 17127
 L of coffin: 114.0 cm

K. H. Priebe, *Ägyptisches Museum: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung* (Mainz 1991), 203–4 (no. 123); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 55 n. 104, 113, pl. 125. 1–2; K. Polaschek, *Untersuchungen zu griechischen Mantelstatuen* (Berlin 1969), 151 (no. 2); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 107, 119, pl. 1. 2.

- 67** Coffin lid for a man Fig. 72
 London, British Museum, EA 55022
 L: 176.0 cm, W: 44.0 cm, D: 30.0 cm

Ancient Faces (London), 36 (no. 10); S. Walker, *Roman Art* (London 1991), 48–9, fig. 59; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 55 n. 104; K. Polaschek, *Untersuchungen zu griechischen Mantelstatuen* (Berlin 1969), 173 (no. 3); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 107, 119, pl. 1. 3.

THE ‘PSYCHOPOMP’ SHROUDS FROM SAQQARA

These painted linen shrouds are attributed to Saqqara on the basis of acquisition information. Some of them might have functioned as wall hangings prior to, or instead of, wrapping a corpse, but others show signs of staining and damage in keeping with mummification burials. Examples for women are listed first, in alphabetical order by city, followed by the male examples.

Female Shrouds

- 68** Shroud Fig. 80
 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 11652
 L: 182.0 cm, W: 135.0 cm

R. Germer, *Das Geheimnis der Mumien* (Munich 1997), 148–9, fig. 155; K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, B 1: *Ritratti di mummie*, i: Nos. 1–246 (Rome 1969), 30 (no. 17), pl. A. 1; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 39 n. 154, 123 n. 195, 168, pls. 12. 2 and 14. 2 (detail); B. Stricker, ‘ΑΥΓΟΙΕΔΕΣ ΣΩΜΑ’, *OMRO* 42 (1962), 4, pl. 5b; S. Morenz, ‘Das Werden zu Osiris: Die Darstellungen auf einem Leichentuch der römischen Kaiserzeit (Berlin 11651) und verwandten Stücken’, *Forschungen und Berichte* 1 (1957), 64–5, fig. 7; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse* (Berlin 1899), 356.

- 69** Shroud, top left portion only Fig. 81
 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 11653
 L: 90.0 cm, W: 57.5 cm

Ägypten. Schätze aus dem Wüstensand: Kunst und Kultur der Christen am Nil (Wiesbaden 1996), 143–5 (no. 105); W. Seipel, *Ägypten: Götter, Gräber und Die Kunst: 4000 Jahre Jenseitsglaube* (Linz 1989), 330–1 (no. 501); K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, B I: *Ritratti di mummie*, i: Nos. 1–246 (Rome 1969), 31 (no. 18), pl. 5. 1; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 39 n. 154, 123 n. 195, 170; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse* (Berlin 1899), 356.

- 70 Shroud for a woman and a boy Pl. 7
Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, 4301/I 1 a 5747
L: 196.0 cm, W: 143.0 cm

Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 246–7 (no. 153); Goette, 'Römische Kinderbildnisse', 217 (no. 8), with child identified as a girl; K. Parlasca, 'Osiris und Osirisglaube in der Kaiserzeit', in *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine: Colloque de Strasbourg 9–11 juin 1971* (Paris 1973), 99, pl. 6. 1; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 172, 180–1, pl. 12. 1; B. Stricker, 'ΑΥΓΟΙΕΔΕΣ ΣΩΜΑ', *OMRO* 42 (1962), 4, pl. 5a; A. A. Strelkov, *Faiumskii portret: issledovanie i opisaniï pamiatnikov* (Moscow 1936) (in Russian), 134–6 (no. 26), pl. 30; W. de Grunecisen, *Les caractéristiques de l'art copte* (Florence 1922), pl. 15. 2.

Male Shrouds

- 71 Shroud Fig. 82
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 11651
L: 185.0 cm, W: 130.0 cm

Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 260–1 (no. 165); K. H. Priese, *Ägyptisches Museum: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung* (Mainz 1991), 216, fig. 132; K. Parlasca, 'Osiris und Osirisglaube in der Kaiserzeit', in *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine: Colloque de Strasbourg 9–11 juin 1971* (Paris 1973), 99 n. 5; and *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, B I: *Ritratti di mummie*, i: Nos. 1–245 (Rome 1969), 49 (no. 325), pl. 78. 2; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 39 n. 154, 154, 170, 173, 292; B. Stricker, 'ΑΥΓΟΙΕΔΕΣ ΣΩΜΑ', *OMRO* 42 (1962), 4, pl. 6b; S. Morenz, 'Das Werden zu Osiris: Die Darstellungen auf einem Leichentuch der römischen Kaiserzeit (Berlin 11651) und verwandten Stücken', *Forschungen und Berichte* 1 (1957), *passim*, figs. 1–4; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse* (Berlin 1899), 355–6.

- 72 Shroud Pl. 8
Moscow, Pushkin Museum, 4229/I 1 a 5749
L: 185.0 cm, W: 125.0 cm

K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, B I: *Ritratti di mummie*, ii: Nos. 246–496 (Rome 1977), 48–9 (no. 324), pl. 78. 1; L. Kákossy, 'Selige und

Verdammte in der spätägyptischen Religion', *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 96–8, figs. 1–1a; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 22, 170–1, 174–7, 180–1, 221 (no. 48), 237–8 (no. 189), 238 (no. 191), pls. 35. 1 and 36. 1; B. Stricker, 'ΑΥΤΟΙΕΔΕΣ ΣΩΜΑ', *OMRO* 42 (1962), 4, pl. 4; S. Morenz, 'Das Werden zu Osiris: Die Darstellungen auf einem Leichentuch der römischen Kaiserzeit (Berlin 11651) und verwandten Stücken', *Forschungen und Berichte* 1 (1957), 68–9, fig. 9; A. A. Strelkov, *Faiumskii portret: issledovanie i opisaniu pamiatnikov* (Moscow 1936) (in Russian), 132–4 (no. 25); W. de Gruneisen, *Les caractéristiques de l'art copte* (Florence 1922), pl. 14.

- 73 Shroud for a youth Pl. 9
 Paris, Louvre, N 3076
 L: 179.0 cm, W: 123.0 cm

Ancient Faces (London), 110–11 (no. 105); M.-F. Aubert, R. Cortopassi, F. Calament-Demerger, D. Bénazeth, and M.-H. Rutschowskaya, *Les antiquités égyptiennes*, ii: *Égypte romaine, art funéraire, antiquités coptes* (Paris 1997), 49–51; K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, B 1: *Ritratti di mummie*, i: *Nos. 1–245* (Rome 1969), 37 (no. 39), pl. 11. 1; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 22 (no. 21), 170–1, 179 fig. 10, 180–1, pls. 10. 3 and 61. 2; B. Stricker, 'ΑΥΤΟΙΕΔΕΣ ΣΩΜΑ', *OMRO* 42 (1962), 4, pl. 7a; S. Morenz, 'Das Werden zu Osiris: Die Darstellungen auf einem Leichentuch der römischen Kaiserzeit (Berlin 11651) und verwandten Stücken', *Forschungen und Berichte* 1 (1957), 66–7, fig. 8.

COFFINS AND SHROUDS OF THE SOTER GROUP

This list divides Soter-type material into two sections: the first (74 to 82) enumerates the coffins and shrouds belonging to members of the Soter family, listed in alphabetical order by city. Coffins are of the vaulted form unless otherwise specified, and any associated material—mummies, grave goods, and papyri—is mentioned in each entry. For a full list of material identified with the Soter family, see F. R. Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter: Histoire d'une famille dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 2002), 52–3 and family tree on inside back cover.

The second section of the list (83 to 108) includes coffins and shrouds whose manufacture and decoration resembles the material from the Soter family burials. Although some of the shrouds and coffins are inscribed, none reveal a definite link to the family itself. Items 83 to 108 are also alphabetized by the city where they are located.

This list does not include some recently excavated examples mentioned in the text (see p. 184, notes 27 and 28) and eight shroud fragments in the Egypt Centre, Swansea (unpublished). Other museums and collections contain further unidentified or unpublished examples from the group.

The Family of Soter

- 74 Coffin of a boy named Phaminis
 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 504
 L: c.95.0 cm

Associated with mummy and hieratic papyrus, P. Berlin 3041.

Column of hieroglyphic inscription in centre of lid, naming the deceased. Greek epitaph on left side of lid:

Phaminis, (son of) Herakleios, (aged) 2.

Demotic on right side of lid:

Hail to your *ba* forever, may he rejuvenate eternally, the Osiris Phaminis, born of Taloulou, known as ‘Ta-sheryt-Soter [literally, the daughter of Soter]’. His duration of life was 2 years, 10 months, 18 (?) days.

Translations: K. Van Landuyt (see below).

F. R. Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter: Histoire d’une famille dans l’Égypte romaine* (Paris 2002), 18 fig. 20 (papyrus), 52 O and P; K. Van Landuyt, ‘The Soter family: Genealogy and onomastics’, in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1995), 77 (Greek and Demotic inscriptions); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 118–19, pl. 136. 2; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse* (Berlin 1899), 344–5.

- 75 Coffin of two girls named Sensaos and Tkauthi
 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 505
 L: 107.0 cm, W: 44.0 cm

Associated with the mummies of both girls, placed head to foot on top of each other, and a hieratic papyrus for each girl: P. Berlin 3068, lost, for Sensaos, and P. Berlin 3069, lost, for Tkauthi.

Two columns of hieroglyphic inscriptions in centre of lid, one for ‘the Hathor Sensaos, justified, born of Kleopatra’ and the other for ‘the Hathor Tkauthi, justified, born of Kleopatra’.

Greek epitaph at head end:

Sensaos and Tkauthi, (her) sister.

Translations: Egyptian, author’s translation; Greek, K. Van Landuyt (see below).

F. R. Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter: Histoire d’une famille dans l’Égypte romaine* (Paris 2002), 17 fig. 18 (coffin), 18 fig. 19 (mummies), 52 L, M, and N; K. Van Landuyt, ‘The Soter family: Genealogy and onomastics’, in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the*

Graeco-Roman Period (Leiden 1995), 75 (Greek inscription); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 118–19, pls. 136. 3 and 138; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse* (Berlin 1899), 345.

- 76** Coffin and shroud of a young woman named Sensaos Fig. 90
 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, M75 (coffin) and AMM8 (shroud)
 L of coffin: 184.0 cm
 L of shroud: 212.0 cm, W: 102.0 cm

Associated with the mummy, from which the shroud has been removed, and the hieratic funerary papyrus, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, T 33.

Column of hieroglyphic inscriptions in centre of lid, on Nut figure on floor of coffin, and on corner posts.

Greek epitaph at head end:

Sensaos, (daughter of) Soter, (son of) Kornelios Pollios, (her) mother Kleopatra, also (known as) Kandake, (daughter of) Ammonios, has died, a maiden of 16 years, 2 months, 9 days, (in year) 12 of Trajan, the lord (on the) twenty-first (of) Epeiph.

= born 8 May 93, died 15 July 109

Translation: K. Van Landuyt (see below).

F. R. Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter: Histoire d'une famille dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 2002), 20 fig. 24 (shroud), 52 G and H; K. Van Landuyt, 'The Soter family: Genealogy and onomastics', in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1995), 75 (Greek inscription); P. P. M. van't Hooft, M. J. Raven, E. H. C. van Rooij, and G. M. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic and Early Medieval Textiles* (Leiden 1994), 90–1 (nos. 190–1); M. J. Raven, *Mummies Onder het Mes* (Amsterdam 1994), 48–52; and *De Dodencultus van het Oude Egypte* (Amsterdam 1992), 80–3 (no. 33); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 94 n. 17; O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, iii: *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs* (Providence 1969), 92 (no. 69), pl. 49A (zodiac); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 166, pl. 60. 1; B. H. Stricker, 'De Lijkpapyrus van Sensaos', *OMRO* 23 (1942), 30–47.

- 77** Coffin and shroud of a man named Soter Figs. 87–9, 98
 London, British Museum, EA 6705 (coffin) and EA 6705a (shroud)
 L of coffin: 213.0 cm, W: 77.0 cm
 L of shroud: 235.0 cm, W: 78.5 cm

Associated with two hieratic papyri, written for Soter son of (?) Pa-kerer and Philous, P. BM 10292 and 10283.

Column of hieroglyphic inscription in centre of lid, on Nut figure on floor of coffin, and on each corner post. Lid inscription calls him 'the Osiris Soter, justified,

great official (*sr mr*) in his city (*m niwt.f*), born of the Hathor Paimut (*Py-mwt*)'.
Greek epitaph at head end of coffin:

Soter, son of Kornelios Pollios, (his) mother Phimous, *archon* of Thebes.

Column of hieroglyphic inscription on Osiris figure on shroud begins:

Hail the Osiris Soter, justified, born of Paimut (*Py-mwt*), the Hathor, an important man (*mr*) in his city, a great official (*sr 3*) in his district, Thebes (*W3s.t*).

Translations: Egyptian, author's translations; Greek, K. Van Landuyt (see below).
F. R. Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter: Histoire d'une famille dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 2002), 11 fig. 8, 12 figs. 9–10, 52 C and D; K. Van Landuyt, 'The Soter family: Genealogy and onomastics', in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1995), 71–3 (Greek inscription); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 118, pl. 138. 1 and 3; O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, iii: *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs* (Providence 1969), 91 (no. 67), pl. 47A (zodiac).

- 78** Coffin and shrouded mummy of a young woman named Kleopatra Fig. 96
London, British Museum, EA 6706 (coffin) and EA 6707 (mummy)
L of coffin: 183.0 cm, W: 66.0 cm
L of mummy: 161.0 cm

Associated with double-sided wooden comb, linen pad found under head of mummy, clay beads, an assortment of dried leaves and flowers, and two hieratic funerary papyri, P. BM 10114 and 10115.

Column of hieroglyphic inscription in centre of lid:

Hail to the Hathor Kleopatra, justified, born of Kandake. Her duration of life was 17 (?) years . . . months, (20+?) days.

Another column of hieroglyphic inscription appears on the Nut figure on the coffin floor and on the corner posts. The hieroglyphic text on the shroud is obscured by the mummy wrappings.

Translation: K. Van Landuyt (see below).

F. R. Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter: Histoire d'une famille dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 2002), 13 figs. 11–12, 14 figs. 13–14, 52 I and J; *Ancient Faces* (London), 149; K. Van Landuyt, 'The Soter family: Genealogy and onomastics', in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1995), 74 (hieroglyphic inscription on coffin lid); O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, iii: *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs* (Providence 1969), 91 (no. 68), pl. 48 (zodiac); W. R. Dawson and P. H. K. Gray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, i: *Mummies and Human Remains* (London 1968), 33 (no. 63), pl. 17a.

- 79** Coffin of a girl named Tphous Fig. 86
 London, British Museum, EA 6708
 L: 139.6 cm, W: 47.8 cm

Associated with two hieratic papyri, P. BM 10256 and 10259.

Column of hieroglyphic inscription in centre of lid and on each corner post. Greek epitaph at head end:

Coffin of Tphous, (daughter of) Herakleios, (son of) Soter, (her) mother Sarapous. She was born (in the) fifth (year) of Hadrian, the lord, (on) the twelfth of Athyr, and she died (in) the eleventh (year), (on) the twentieth of the month Tybi, 6 years, 2 months, 8 days (old), and she was buried (in) the twelfth (year), (on) the twelfth of the month of Athyr.

= born 29 October 120, died 16 January 127, buried 8 November 127

Translation: K. Van Landuyt (see below).

F. R. Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter: Histoire d'une famille dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 2002), 16 fig. 15, 17 fig. 16, 53 v and w; J. H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London 2000), 241 fig. 178; K. Van Landuyt, 'The Soter family: Genealogy and onomastics', in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1995), 77–8 (Greek inscription).

- 80** Coffin of man named Kornelios Pollios
 London, British Museum, EA 6950
 L: 204.0 cm, W: 62.0 cm

Part of the sides of the lid are missing. Probably associated with hieratic papyrus, P. Louvre N 3290, written for Kornelios, son of Esoeris.

Column of hieroglyphic inscription in centre of lid refers to 'the Osiris *Krnly*, justified, born of . . . *iw* (?)'.

Author's translation.

F. R. Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter: Histoire d'une famille dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 2002), 16 fig. 17, 52 A and B; U. Horak and H. Harrauer, *Mumie-Schau'n: Totenkult im hellenistisch-römerzeitlichen Ägypten* (Linz 1999), 12 fig. 4; O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, iii: *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs* (Providence 1969), 89–91 (no. 66), pl. 46 (zodiac).

- 81** Coffin and shroud of a man named Petamenophis, Fig. 92
 called Ammonios
 Paris, Louvre, E 13048 (lid), E 13016 (base), E 13382 (shroud)
 L of coffin: 200.0 cm, W: 79.0 cm
 L of shroud: 227.0 cm, W: 112.0 cm

Associated with unwrapped mummy, gilded copper and reed crown, gilt eye and tongue covers, bead net (E 13218), and hieratic papyrus, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, P. BN 152. Column of hieroglyphic inscription in centre of lid, on Nut figure on floor of coffin, and on the corner posts. Greek epitaph at head end:

Petamenophis, also (known as) Ammonios, (son of) Soter, (son of) Kornelios Pollios, (his) mother Kleopatra, (daughter of) Ammonios; (aged) 21 years, 4 months, 22 days, he died in (year) 19 of Trajan, the lord, (on the) eighth (of) Payni.

= born 11 January 95, died 2 June 116

Translation: K. Van Landuyt (see below).

F. R. Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter: Histoire d'une famille dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 2002), *passim*, 52 E and F; M.-F. Aubert and R. Cortopassi, *Portraits de l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 1998), 34–5 (no. 2, mummy), 63 (no. 20, shroud); M.-F. Aubert, R. Cortopassi, F. Calament-Demerger, D. Bénazeth, and M.-H. Rutschowskaya, *Les antiquités Égyptiennes*, ii: *Égypte romaine, art funéraire, antiquités coptes* (Paris 1997), 34–9; K. Van Landuyt, 'The Soter family: Genealogy and onomastics', in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1995), 75 (Greek inscription); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 94, 118, pl. 139. 1; O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, iii: *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs* (Providence 1969), 92–3 (no. 70), pl. 47B (zodiac); V. Schmidt, *Levende og døde i det gamle Aegypten* (Copenhagen 1919), 231; E. Ledrain, *Les monuments égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1879), vi, pls. 83–4 (bead net), 91–2 (shroud); F. Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé, au Fleuve Blanc, au-delà de Fazogl dans le midi du royaume de Sennâr, à Syouah et dans cinq autres oasis; fait dans les années 1819, 1820, 1821 et 1822* (Paris 1827), vol. iv (text), pp. 1–55, and vol. ii (plates), pls. 66–71.

82 Coffin and mummy of a boy named Petamenophis

Turin, Museo Egizio, 2230

L of coffin: 110.0 cm, W: 42.0 cm

Associated with intact mummy, gilded reed and linen wreath, linen cushion under head of mummy, and two hieratic papyri, P. Turin 1861b and 1861c.

Column of hieroglyphic inscription in centre of lid and on Nut on floor of coffin. Greek epitaph at head end:

Coffin of Petamenophis, (son of) Pebos. He was born (in year) 3 of Hadrian, the lord, (on the) twenty-fourth (of) Khoiak, (and) died (in year) 7 (on) the fourth of the supplementary days, so that he lived for 4 years, 8 months, 10 days. Farewell!

= born 20 December 119, died 27 August 123

Translation: K. Van Landuyt (see below).

F. R. Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter: Histoire d'une famille dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 2002), 19 figs. 21–3, 52 Q and R; K. Van Landuyt, 'The Soter family: Genealogy and onomastics', in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1995), 76 (Greek inscription); A. M. Donadoni Roveri, *Dal museo al museo: Passato e futuro del Museo Egizio di Torino* (Turin 1989), 201, fig. 12; and *Egyptian Civilization: Religious Beliefs* (Milan 1988), 232–3 (nos. 322–3); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 96, 118, pl. 139. 3; V. Schmidt, *Levende og døde i det gamle Aegypten* (Copenhagen 1919), 232, figs. 1341–2.

Coffins and Shrouds Not Linked to Members of the Soter Family

- 83** Shroud for a boy or young man Fig. 95
 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 12427
 L: c.50.0 cm, W: c.90.0 cm

Fragmentary, upper half.

Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse (Berlin 1899), 356.

- 84** Shroud for a woman Fig. 93
 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1872.4723
 L: 218.0 cm, W: 104.0 cm

F. Friedman, *Beyond the Pharaohs: Egypt and the Copts in the 2nd to 7th Centuries A.D.* (Providence, RI, 1989), 248–9 (no. 163); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 166 (no. 1).

- 85** Shroud for a man
 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1872.4724
 L: c.90.0 cm

Fragmentary, upper half.

Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 165 (no. 7).

- 86** Shroud for a man
 Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et Histoire, E 5699
 L: 66.0 cm, W: 90.0 cm

Fragmentary, upper half.

M.-C. Bruwier *et al.*, *Égyptiennes: Étoffes coptes du Nil* (Mariemont 1997), 134; I. Errera, *Collection d'anciennes étoffes égyptiennes* (Brussels 1916), 5 (no. 17); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 165 (no. 8).

- 87 Shroud for a man
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 41099
L: c.200.0 cm

Unpublished. Column of hieroglyphic inscription on Osiris figure, difficult to read.

- 88 Shroud for a woman
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, EGA 5.1943
L: 60.0 cm, W: 44.0 cm

Fragmentary, head area only.

Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 166 (no. 2).

- 89 Coffin and mummies for two boys
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1956.137
L of coffin: 114.5 cm, W: 53.0 cm, D: 16.2 cm (head end)

One mummy is intact, the other is unwrapped; each has a necklace of beads and amulets, and each is associated with a hieratic papyrus. One papyrus was written for Pa-di-Amun-ipat, born of Thermouthis, and the other for Hor-pa-bik, also known as Pa-di-Amun-ipat, with the mother's name lost; alternatively, the Pa-di-Amun-ipat mentioned in the papyrus of Hor-pa-bik could be a separate individual, perhaps the boy mentioned in the first papyrus (information courtesy of M. Coenen, pers. comm.).

Four Demotic inscriptions on coffin lid, one at the head end, one on the left side, and two on the chests of the Osiris figures, each naming one of the boys (M. Depauw, pers. comm.).

U. Horak and H. Harrauer, *Mumie-Schau'n: Totenkult im hellenistisch-römerzeitlichen Ägypten* (Linz 1999), 11 fig. 3; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, pl. 139. 5 (1956.307 *sic*); W. R. Dawson, 'On two Egyptian mummies preserved in the Museums of Edinburgh', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 1/6 (1926–7), 290–6.

- 90 Coffin of a man named Telesphoros
Florence, Museo Egizio, 2165
L: 189.0 cm, W: 70.0 cm

Column of Demotic inscription in centre of lid:

May his *ba* live forever, may he rejuvenate eternally, Telesphoros, son of Pa-she-pa . . . the elder, called Paloulou. May his *ba* follow Osiris, may he receive water in the land of the west after Wennefer. Years of his life on earth: 32.

Greek epitaph on right side of vault:

- 1) *Μικός*
- 2) *Τελέσφωρος ἐπικαλούμενος μικκὸς καλῶς βιώσα[ς] γενητὶς τῷ κ (ᾗ) Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Λουκίου*
- 3) *Ἀυρηλίου τῶν κυρίων σεβαστῶν με[σορῇ] μηνὶ ὡς ἐτῶν λβ̄ εὐψύχι*

- 1) Mikos (meaning 'Junior' or 'the younger')
- 2) Telesphoros called Mikos, who lived well, who was born in year 20 of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius
- 3) Aurelius, the august rulers; in the month of Mesore, about 32 years old: farewell!

Translations: Demotic, after G. Botti (see below); Greek courtesy of M. Depauw, pers. comm.

G. Botti, 'Documenti demotici del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze', in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Vatican City 1941), 33–6 (Demotic inscription); W. de Gruneisen, *Les caractéristiques de l'art Copte* (Florence 1922), pl. 17. 1.

- 91** Coffin of a man named Phagonis
 Florence, Museo Egizio, 2166
 L: c.155.0 cm, W: c.40.0 cm

Anthropoid form.

Column of Demotic inscription in centre of lid:

May his *ba* live forever, may he rejuvenate for eternity, Phagonis (*Py-wm*), son of Miusis (*Mi-hs*). May his *ba* follow Osiris, may he be present at the adoration of Osiris. May he receive water on the offering tables after Osiris for all eternity.

Translation: After G. Botti (see below).

G. Botti, 'Documenti demotici del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze', in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Vatican City 1941), 36–8 (Demotic inscription).

- 92** Coffin for a boy or young man
 Florence, Museo Egizio, 2168
 L: c.150.0 cm

Bowed shape.

V. Schmidt, *Levende og døde i det gamle Aegypten* (Copenhagen 1919), 258, figs. 1511–12.

- 93** Coffin for a woman
 Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum, AE I/1–2
 L: 181.0 cm, W: 28.5 cm (head end)

Pl. 10

Anthropoid form.

U. Horak and H. Harrauer, *Mumie-Schau'n: Totenkult im hellenistisch-römerzeitlichen Ägypten* (Linz 1999), esp. at 58–61 (nos. 41–2).

94 Shroud for a man

Cracow, Archaeological Museum, MAK/AS/1467

L: 55.0 cm, W: 34.0 cm

E. Laskowska-Kusztal, 'Quatre linuels de momies du Musée Archéologique de Cracovie', *Materialy Archeologiczne* 30 (1997), 30–1, pl. 1. 1; A. Prokopowicz, 'Conservation des fragments des linuels égyptiens du Musée Archéologique de Cracovie', *Materialy Archeologiczne* 30 (1997), 39.

95 Shroud for a man

Cracow, Archaeological Museum, MAK/AS/2335a

L: 92.5 cm, W: 72.6 cm

E. Laskowska-Kusztal, 'Quatre linuels de momies du Musée Archéologique de Cracovie', *Materialy Archeologiczne* 30 (1997), 25–8, pls. 1. 2 and 2. 5; A. Prokopowicz, 'Conservation des fragments des linuels égyptiens du Musée Archéologique de Cracovie', *Materialy Archeologiczne* 30 (1997), 39.

96 Shroud for a man

Cracow, Archaeological Museum, MAK/AS/2335b

L: 61.4 cm, W: 75.0 cm

E. Laskowska-Kusztal, 'Quatre linuels de momies du Musée Archéologique de Cracovie', *Materialy Archeologiczne* 30 (1997), 28–30, pl. 1. 3; A. Prokopowicz, 'Conservation des fragments des linuels égyptiens du Musée Archéologique de Cracovie', *Materialy Archeologiczne* 30 (1997), 39.

97 Shrouded mummy of a man

London, British Museum, EA 6712

L: 170.0 cm

W. R. Dawson and P. H. K. Gray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, i: *Mummies and Human Remains* (London 1968), 32 (no. 61), pl. 16c.

98 Fragment from the coffin of a man named Imhotep

Marseille, Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne, 260

L: 172.0 cm, H: 30.0 cm

From the left side of a vaulted coffin.

Band of hieroglyphic inscription along top edge of scene, with address to the gods and declaration of innocence for the deceased, identified as Imhotep, a god's father (*it-ntr*) and great stolist (*sm3ti wr*); his father was Ankh-hesat, his mother Tent-iru.

C. Beinlich-Seeber, 'Ein römerzeitlichen Sargfragment in Marseille', in A. Brodbeck (ed.), *Ein ägyptischen Glasperlenspiel: Ägyptologische Beiträge für Erik Hornung aus seinem Schülerkreis* (Berlin 1998), 9–40.

- 99** Shroud of a boy named Nespawtytawy Fig. 94
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1913.924
L: 131.0 cm

Column of hieroglyph inscription on the Osiris figure:

I am the cloth of the two goddesses . . . my two arms extend to envelop the Osiris Nespawtytawy, forever.

Author's translation.

P. R. S. Moorey, *Ancient Egypt* (Oxford 1988), 54–5, fig. 42; Parlasca, *Mumien-porträts*, 165 (no. 3), with a translation by Battiscombe Gunn. For the text, cf. F. R. Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter: Histoire d'une famille dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 2002), 38; a similar text appears on the shrouds of Sensaos (76) and Petamenophis, called Ammonios (81). For the name of the deceased, cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, i. 176. 1.

- 100** Shroud for a man
Paris, Louvre, AF 12135
L: 122.0 cm, W: 49.0 cm

Fragmentary, centre of upper half only.

M.-F. Aubert and R. Cortopassi, *Portraits de l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 1998), 64–5 (no. 22).

- 101** Coffin of a woman named Chelidona
Paris, Louvre, N 2576
L: 169.0 cm, W: 47.0 cm, H: 59.0 cm

Column of Demotic inscription in centre of lid. Greek on left side of lid:

Beautiful Chelidona, with curly hair, lived in a blameless manner (for) 36 years, 6 months, and 10 days, thanks to the care of her son . . . and the aid of her husband Eukleitos (?) . . . of Chelidona, for her (?) to rest well in peace, Eukleitos has buried his companion.

Translation: After M.-F. Aubert and R. Cortopassi (see below).

M.-F. Aubert and R. Cortopassi, *Portraits de l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 1998), 152 (no. 95); M.-F. Aubert, R. Cortopassi, F. Calament-Demerger, D. Bénazeth, and M.-H. Rutschowskaya, *Les antiquités égyptiennes*, ii: *Égypte romaine, art funéraire, antiquités coptes* (Paris 1997), 39–41 (gives translation of the Greek, but does not reproduce the original text).

102 Shroud for a woman

Tübingen, Ägyptologisches Institut, 342

L: 132.0 cm, W: 37.0 cm

Fragmentary, viewer's right half only.

E. Brunner-Traut and H. Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen* (Mainz 1981), 302–3 ('Abusir el-Meleq' *sic*).

103 Coffin for a man

Tübingen, Ägyptologisches Institut, 1714

L: 175.0 cm, W: 54.0 cm, H: 28.0 cm

Anthropoid form. Associated with a male mummy with gilding on face and chest (inv. 1093) and fragments of linen (inv. 1083 a–d).

Column of hieroglyphic inscription in centre of lid presents several difficulties.

E. Brunner-Traut and H. Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen* (Mainz 1981), 234–6, pls. 156–7 ('Saqqara' *sic*; copy of hieroglyphic transcription is inaccurate).

104 Shroud of a man named Kornelios, son of Thoth

Present location unknown; ex-Olsen Collection

L: 208.3 cm

Column of hieroglyphic inscription on Osiris figure:

Hy Wsir krlns m3'-hrrw ms n T3-šrt-dhwtj
dj n=k Is.t wr.t mwt (-ntr) krs.t nfr.t hr imnt.t W3s.t
šsp=k kbh.w m-' Imn-tp̄t n Dm3 tp sw-10 nb.w
'nh bj=k m p.t hr R' h3.t=k m d3.t hr Wsir nhb d.t

Hail, Osiris Kornelios ['Korlenios' as written], justified, born of Senthotes,

May Isis the great, the (god's) mother, give you a good burial in the West of Thebes.

May you receive libations through Amun of Luxor in Djeme every ten days.

May your soul live in heaven like Re, your corpse in the underworld like Osiris, forever and ever.

Translation: After K.-Th. Zauzich (see below), who observes that the inversion of 'I' and 'n' in the Egyptian writing of the deceased's name is problematic.

K. Van Landuyt, 'The Soter family: Genealogy and onomastics', in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1995), 82 (o); K. Parlasca, 'Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Gräberwesen der griechisch-römischen Zeit', in *Ägypten: Dauer und Wandel: Akten des Symposiums in Kairo 10/11 Oct 1982* (Mainz 1985), 99 n. 6 (inscription, transcribed and translated by K.-Th. Zauzich), pl. 4a; Sotheby's New York, Sale 6196, 18 June 1991, no. 48; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 165 (no. 1).

105 Shroud for a woman

Present location unknown; from the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Deir el-Bahri, 1928–9, Roman Burial 41
L: 70.0 cm, W: 52.0 cm

Fragmentary, lower half only.

C. Riggs and M. Depauw, '“Soternalia” from Deir el-Bahri, including two coffins with Demotic inscriptions', *RdÉ* 53 (2002), 75–90.

106 Base from a vaulted coffin

Present location unknown; from the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Deir el-Bahri, 1928–9, Roman Burial 40
L: 189.0 cm, W: 54.0 cm

C. Riggs and M. Depauw, '“Soternalia” from Deir el-Bahri, including two coffins with Demotic inscriptions', *RdÉ* 53 (2002), 75–90.

107 Coffin of a man named Pikos

Fig. 91, left and centre

Present location unknown; from the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Deir el-Bahri, 1928–9, Roman Burials 5 (lid) and 6 (base)
L: c.175.0 cm

Anthropoid form.

Column of Demotic inscription in centre of lid:

May his *ba* live forever, may he rejuvenate eternally, Pikos born of Senpikos, and may his *ba* follow Osiris. Years he lived on earth: 30. May he rejuvenate, may he rejuvenate eternally until eternity.

Translation: M. Depauw (see below).

C. Riggs and M. Depauw, '“Soternalia” from Deir el-Bahri, including two coffins with Demotic inscriptions', *RdÉ* 53 (2002), 75–90, with text edited by M. Depauw.

108 Coffin lid of a man named Horos

Fig. 91, right

Present location unknown; from the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Deir el-Bahri, 1928–9, Roman Burial 1
L: c.190.0 cm

Anthropoid form.

Column of Demotic inscription in centre of lid:

May his *ba* live forever, may he rejuvenate, Horos born of Askleia (?), and may his *ba* follow Osiris and may he become one of the praised ones by Osiris and may he receive water on the offering table after Osiris and may he praise those who have buried him until eternity. Years he lived on earth: [left blank]. Eternity.

Greek on right lappet of head-dress gives name of the deceased, Horos.

Translations: M. Depauw (see below).

C. Riggs and M. Depauw, “Soternalia” from Deir el-Bahri, including two coffins with Demotic inscriptions, *RdÉ* 53 (2002), 75–90, with text edited by M. Depauw.

THE PEBOS FAMILY MUMMY MASKS

These six masks were found intact on their mummies in Tomb 1407 (House C 3) at Deir el-Medina, the basement of an abandoned house. Greek inscriptions on the wooden coffins that held five of the mummies identify each individual, and the palaeography of the inscriptions might point to a date in the second half of the second century AD. The mummies, shrouds, coffins, and two of the masks have not survived. Each mask was made of linen cartonnage with a projecting face, with added paint, plaster, and gilding. The extant masks are listed here in alphabetical order by the city where they are located, followed by the two lost examples.

109 Mummy mask of Sarapias, daughter of Plenis

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 66882

L: 60.0 cm

D. Montserrat and L. Mesckell, ‘Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina’, *JEA* 83 (1997), 188–93; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 15, 42, 93–4, 96, 145 C 3; B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, ‘Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, I–II’, *BIFAO* 36 (1936–7), *passim*, esp. 154 (‘Masque no. 3’), 170–1 (associated coffin inscription), pls. 5. 3 and 3. 3. For mummy, see B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, ‘Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, III–IV’, *BIFAO* 38 (1939), 83–5, with linen at 93–5.

110 Mummy mask of the daughter of Hereis

Fig. 102

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 68803

L: 70.0 cm

D. Montserrat and L. Mesckell, ‘Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina’, *JEA* 83 (1997), 188–93; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 15, 42, 93–4, 96, 145 C 4, pl. 110. 3; B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, ‘Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, I–II’, *BIFAO* 36 (1936–7), *passim*, esp. 154 (‘Masque no. 4’), 171 (associated coffin inscription), pls. 5. 4 and 3. 4. For mummy, see B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, ‘Une tombe

gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, III–IV', *BIFAO* 38 (1939), 85–8, with linen at 96.

- III** Mummy mask of Pebos, son of Krates Pl. II
 Paris, Louvre, E 14542*bis*
 L: 72.0 cm

M.-F. Aubert, R. Cortopassi, F. Calament-Demerger, D. Bénazeth, and M.-H. Rutschowskaya, *Les antiquités égyptiennes*, ii: *Égypte romaine, art funéraire, antiquités coptes* (Paris 1997), 42–3; D. Montserrat and L. Mesckell, 'Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina', *JEA* 83 (1997), 188–93, pl. 23. 1 (left); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 15, 42, 93–4, 145 C 2, pl. 110. 1; B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, I–II', *BIFAO* 36 (1936–7), *passim*, esp. 153 ('Masque no. 2'), 168–70 (associated coffin inscription), pls. 5. 2 and 3. 2. For mummy, see B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, III–IV', *BIFAO* 38 (1939), 77–80, with linen at 90–3.

- III2** Mummy mask of Krates, son of Pebos Figs. 101, 105
 Paris, Louvre, E 14542*ter*
 L: 75.0 cm

M.-F. Aubert, R. Cortopassi, F. Calament-Demerger, D. Bénazeth, and M.-H. Rutschowskaya, *Les antiquités égyptiennes*, ii: *Égypte romaine, art funéraire, antiquités coptes* (Paris 1997), 42–3; D. Montserrat and L. Mesckell, 'Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina', *JEA* 83 (1997), 188–93, pl. 23. 1 (right); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 15, 42, 93–4, 96, 145 C 5, pl. D; B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, I–II', *BIFAO* 36 (1936–7), *passim*, esp. 154 ('Masque no. 5'), 171–2 (associated coffin inscription), pls. 5. 5 and 3. 5. For mummy, see B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, III–IV', *BIFAO* 38 (1939), 80–3, with linen at 96–101.

- III3** Mummy mask of Psenmont, son of Papasemis Fig. 103
 Present location unknown
 L: 50.0 cm

D. Montserrat and L. Mesckell, 'Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina', *JEA* 83 (1997), 188–93; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 15, 42, 93–4, 96, 145 C 6; B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, I–II', *BIFAO* 36 (1936–7), *passim*, esp. 154 ('Masque no. 6'), 156–8 (mummy), 164–8 (associated coffin inscription), pls. 4. 6 and 5. 6.

- III4** Mummy mask of Senamphiomis, daughter of Kalasiris
 Present location unknown
 L: 68.0 cm

D. Montserrat and L. Mesckell, 'Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina', *JEA* 83 (1997), 188–93, pl. 23. 1 (right); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 15, 42, 93–4, 96, 145 C 3; B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, I–II', *BIFAO* 36 (1936–7), *passim*, esp. 154 ('Masque no. 3'), 170–1 (associated coffin inscription), pls. 5. 3 and 3. 3. For mummy, see B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, 'Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, III–IV', *BIFAO* 38 (1939), 83–5, with linen at 93–5.

NATURALISTIC PORTRAITURE ON SHROUDS FROM THEBES

- II5** Shroud for a boy or young man, upper half only Figs. II0, III
 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, F 1968/2.1
 L: 65.0 cm, W: 53.0 cm

From Deir el-Medina, Tomb 1447; found with a fragment from the feet of the shroud, now lost.

D. Montserrat, 'Burial practices at third century AD Deir el-Medina as evidenced from a Roman painted shroud in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden', in R. J. Demarée and A. Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD: A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen* (Leiden 2000), 277–86; P. P. M. van't Hooft, M. J. Raven, E. H. C. van Rooij, and G. M. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic and Early Medieval Textiles* (Leiden 1994), 92 (no. 193), pl. 9; M. J. Raven, *De Dodencultus van het Oude Egypte* (Amsterdam 1992), 83 (no. 34); B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh (années 1948 à 1951)* (Cairo 1953), 108, pls. 23 (right) and 25. 7.

- II6** Shrouded mummy of a boy, in a wooden coffin Fig. II6
 London, British Museum, EA 6715
 L of mummy: 85.0 cm, W: 21.5 cm
 L of coffin: 95.5 cm, W: 32.0 cm

Ancient Faces (New York), 117–18 (no. 75); *Ancient Faces* (London), 118–20 (no. 116); Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 160, 165, pl. 87. 2; K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, B II: *Ritratti di mummie*, ii: Nos. 246–496 (Rome 1977), 71 (no. 413), pl. 102. 3; W. R. Dawson and P. H. K. Gray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, i: *Mummies and Human Remains* (London 1968), 37 (no. 70), pl. 18d; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 19 n. 11, 20 (no. 10), 183, pl. 44. 3.

- II7** Shroud of a man named Tyras Pl. 12
 Luxor, Luxor Museum, J. 194/Q. 1512
 L: 85.5 cm, W: 70.5 cm

Fragmentary, upper half only.

Two lines of Greek inscription next to head of the deceased, the first line of which gives his name, Tyras.

M.-F. Aubert and R. Cortopassi, *Portraits de l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 1998), 16; J. F. Romano, *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Antiquities: Catalogue* (Cairo 1979), 186–7 (no. 290), fig. 154, pl. 15.

- 118** Shroud for a girl or young woman, chest area only Fig. 114
 Paris, Louvre, N 3398
 L: 36.0 cm, W: 35.0 cm

Four lines of Greek inscription on right arm of subject, largely illegible.

Unpublished.

- 119** Shroud for a woman or girl Fig. 113
 Turin, Museo Egizio, 2265
 L: 57.0 cm, W: 45.0 cm

Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 24, 118, pl. 139. 2; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 188; V. Schmidt, *Levende og døde i det gamle Aegypten* (Copenhagen 1919), 256, fig. 1505.

- 120** Shroud for a boy or young man Fig. 115
 Private collection
 L: 230.0 cm, W: 100.0 cm

H. Willems and W. Clarysse, *Keizers aan de Nijl* (Leuven 1999), 226–7 (no. 138); and *Les empereurs du Nil* (Leuven 2000), 226–7 (no. 138); M.-C. Bruwier *et al.*, *Égyptiennes: Étoffes coptes du Nil* (Mariemont 1997), 135–6; M.-C. Bruwier, *Van Nijl tot Schelde/Du Nil à l'Escaut* (Brussels 1991), 280, 284–5 (no. 366); M. Rassart-Debergh (ed.), *Arts tardifs et chrétiens d'Égypte* (Limoges 1988), 28–9 (no. 42).

- 121** Shroud of a boy or young man named Hery-tawy (?) Fig. 112
 Present location unknown
 L: 160.0 cm, W: 49.0 cm

From Deir el-Medina, Tomb 1447.

Band of hieroglyphic inscription on either side of subject's head. The more legible band, on his left, seems to refer to purifications for the 'Osiris Hery-tawy' (Ranke, *Personennamen*, i. 253. 13), perhaps followed by another name; compare the transcription and translation in the excavator's report.

B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh (années 1948 à 1951)* (Cairo 1953), 108, 110, pl. 23 (left).

THE DEIR EL-BAHRI MUMMY MASKS

Based on the excavated examples, this group of masks is attributed to burials made at Deir el-Bahri in the mid- to late third century AD. The date is suggested by the clothing, jewellery, and hairstyles of the masks, which are made of linen and plaster. The projecting faces were made by stretching the linen over a smooth mould and adding plaster to the surface of the mask. In the entries below, the female examples are listed first, in alphabetical order by the city where they are located, followed by the male masks.

*Female Masks***122** Mummy mask, face only

Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum of Emory University, 1999.1.143;

Charlotte Lichirie Collection of Egyptian Art

L: 18.0 cm, W: 16.0 cm

P. Lacovara and B. T. Trope, *The Realm of Osiris: Mummies, Coffins, and Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art in the Michael C. Carlos Museum* (Atlanta 2001), 57 (no. 46).

123 Mummy mask, face and neck only

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33278

L: 30.0 cm, W: 34.0 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 142 (no. 10); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 31, 143 A (7), pl. 113. 1; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 122, pl. 46, with further references.

124 Mummy mask, face and neck only

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33279

L: 34.0 cm, W: 35.0 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 142 (no. 11); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 143 A (8); V. Schmidt, *Levende og døde i det gamle Egypten* (Copenhagen 1919), 250, fig. 1461 ('Saqqara' *sic*); Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 122–3, pl. 46, with further references.

125 Masked mummy of a woman

Fig. 118

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 49099; from the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Deir el-Bahri, 1923–4, Roman Burial 1

L of mummy: c.160.0 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 143 (no. 23), pl. 18; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 144 B 3, pl. 112. 4; Parlasca,

Mumienporträts, 208 n. 84; H. E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir El Bahri 1911–1931* (New York 1942), pl. 95 (left); and ‘The Museum’s excavations at Thebes’, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pt. ii: *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924* (1924), 5–33, fig. 38 (left).

- 126** Mummy mask, face and neck only
Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum, 9385
L: 26.6 cm, W: 33.6 cm

E. Teeter, *Ancient Egypt: Treasures from the Collection of the Oriental Institute* (Chicago 2002), 61, 130, 137; C. Riggs, ‘Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri’, *JEA* 86 (2000), 143 (no. 17).

- 127** Mummy mask Fig. 119
Dublin, National Museum of Ireland, 1901:79
L: 102.6 cm, W: 37.0 cm

C. Riggs, ‘Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri’, *JEA* 86 (2000), 143 (no. 19); M. A. Murray, *National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, General Guide to the Art Collections: Egyptian Antiquities* (Dublin 1910), 17 (‘cartonnage head’).

- 128** Mummy mask
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1956.1187
L: 101.0 cm, W: 30.0 cm, D: 7.5 cm (face)

C. Riggs, ‘Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri’, *JEA* 86 (2000), 141 (no. 1); *Ancient Faces* (London), 158–9 (no. 178); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 207 n. 76, pl. 52. 3.

- 129** Mummy mask, lower portion only
Kyoto, University Museum, 625
L: c.50.0 cm

C. Riggs, ‘Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri’, *JEA* 86 (2000), 143 (no. 18).

- 130** Mummy mask Fig. 117
London, British Museum, EA 26272
L: 92.5 cm, W: 39.0 cm, D: 7.0 cm (face)

C. Riggs, ‘Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri’, *JEA* 86 (2000), 142 (no. 12); Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 351–2 (no. 241); *Ancient Faces* (London), 157–8 (no. 176); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 143 A 1; Parlasca,

Mumienporträts, 208 n. 78; E. Naville, 'The excavations at Deir el-Bahri during the winter, 1894–5', *Archaeological Reports* (1894–5), 33–7, pl. 2 (right).

- 131** Mummy mask, face only
Marseille, Musée Égyptien, 1074
L: 30.0 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 142 (no. 8); M.-F. Aubert and R. Cortopassi, *Portraits de l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 1998), 72, 73 (no. 28); *Égypte romaine: L'autre Égypte* (Marseille 1997), 154–5 (no. 177); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 207 n. 65, pl. 52. 5; G. Maspero, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille* (Paris 1889), 196 (no. 1074).

- 132** Mummy mask for a woman, used to wrap mummy of a child
New Haven, Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, 6942
L of mummy: 76.0 cm

G. D. Scott, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale* (New Haven, Conn., 1986), 200 (no. 161).

- 133** Masked mummy of a woman
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.219; from the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Deir el-Bahri, 1923–4, Roman Burial 4a
L of mummy: 154.0 cm, W: 28.0 cm, D: 25.0 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 144 (no. 24); *Ancient Faces* (New York), 145–7 (no. 98); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 143 B 1, pl. 112. 5; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 208 n. 84; H. E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931* (New York 1942), pl. 95 (right); and 'The Museum's excavations at Thebes', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pt. ii: *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924* (1924), 5–33, fig. 38 (right).

- 134** Mummy mask, face only
Paris, Louvre, E 20360
L: 25.0 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 143 (no. 16).

- 135** Mummy mask
Swansea, the Egypt Centre, w 923
L: 86.4 cm, W: 34.3 cm, D: 7.7 cm (face)

Fig. 120

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 141 (no. 5); J. C. Stevens (London) sale, 10 October 1922, lot 311, second item.

- 136** Mummy mask, face only
 Sydney, Nicholson Museum, R 108
 L: c.20.0 cm, W: 18.0 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 142 (no. 7); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32; C. Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca, Comprising a Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, Collected in the Years 1856, 1857* (London 1891), 27–8 (no. 80).

- 137** Masked mummy of a woman, unwrapped in the field
 Present location unknown; from the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Deir el-Bahri, 1923–4, Roman Burial 4b
 L of mask: 95.0 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 144 (no. 25); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 144 B 2 (*sic*); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 208 n. 84, pl. 52. 2; H. E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931* (New York 1942), pl. 95 (centre); and 'The Museum's excavations at Thebes', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pt. ii: *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924* (1924), 5–33, fig. 38 (centre).

Male Masks

- 138** Mummy mask
 Amherst (Massachusetts), Amherst College, 1942.84
 L: c.95.0 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 141 (no. 3); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32, pl. 112. 1; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 291; J. Cooney, *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (Brooklyn 1941), no. 10 and plate; Sotheby's sale, 'The Rev. W. Frankland Hood Collection', 11 November 1924, lot 162.

- 139** Mummy mask, face only
 Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum of Emory University, 1999.1.144;
 Charlotte Lichirie Collection of Egyptian Art
 L: 20.0 cm, W: 20.0 cm

Unpublished.

- 140** Mummy mask for a man or young man, with no beard
 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 97.1100
 L: 93.5 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 142 (no. 14); S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara, and C. H. Roehrig, *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston 1988), 214–15 (no. 165), with further references; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 143 A 4, pl. 112. 2; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 291; J. Cooney, *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (Brooklyn 1941), no. 9 and plate.

141 Mummy mask

Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum of Art 52.128a; from the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Deir el-Bahri, 1928–9, Roman Burial 40a
L: 90.0 cm, W: 33.7 cm

Associated with an unwrapped mummy, linen, and reed wreath, Brooklyn Museum of Art, 52.128b–d. For the wreath, see C. Riggs, 'Forms of the *wesekh* collar in funerary art of the Graeco-Roman Period', *CdÉ* 76 (2001), 65–7, fig. 3.

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 144 (no. 26); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 143 B 4, pl. E; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 291; J. D. Cooney, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art, 1951–1956* (Brooklyn 1956), 59–60 (no. 74), pl. 92.

142 Masked mummy of a man

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33276
L of mummy: 170.0 cm, W: 40.0 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 143 (no. 21); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 143 A (5), pl. 112. 3; Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 119–21, pl. 46.

143 Mummy mask, face and neck only

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33277
L: 31.0 cm, W: 29.0 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 142 (no. 9); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 143 A (6); Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 121.

144 Mummy mask, face only

Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts; formerly Paris, Louvre, AF 804
L: 19.0 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 143 (no. 20); M.-F. Aubert and R. Cortopassi, *Portraits de l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 1998), 72–3 (no. 17); V. Laurent, *Des pharaons aux premiers chrétiens* (Dijon 1986), 47–8 (no. 227); V. Laurent, *Antiquités égyptiennes: Inventaire des collections du Musée des*

Beaux-Arts de Dijon (Paris n.d.), 138 (no. 175); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32, pl. 113. 2.

145 Mummy mask

Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1956.1188

L: 88.5 cm, W: 35.5 cm, D: 12.0 cm (face)

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 141 (no. 2); *Ancient Faces* (London), 158 (no. 177); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 207 n. 76, pl. 52. 1.

146 Mummy mask, face only

London, British Museum, EA 7017

L: 24.0 cm, W: 17.0 cm, D: 14.0 cm (face)

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 143 (no. 22); Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 352 (no. 242); *Ancient Faces* (London), 159 (no. 179); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32.

147 Mummy mask

Fig. 117

London, British Museum, EA 26273

L: 86.5 cm, W: 32.0 cm

Associated with a wooden mummy label, British Museum, EA 26273a (visible in Fig. 117):

Παχὼνς τῆσαρ(άριος) | Μεσήσε(ως) Ἐπώνυχος | ἀπὸ κώμῃ Τερκύθ(εως)

Pachons, *tessararius*, son of Mesesis, grandson of Eponuchos, from the village of Terkythis.

This inscription was previously edited by P. D. Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* (Cambridge 1913), 127 n. 2, whose erroneous translation is quoted in Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 351, and *Ancient Faces* (London), 156. The text here is from G. Wagner, 'Encore Terkythis', *Memnonia* 6 (1995), 245–9; see further G. Nachtergaele, 'Étiquettes de momies: éditions, notes critiques, bibliographie', *CdÉ* 78 (2003), 267–8, and K. Parlasca, 'Das Grabrelief eines Athleten aus Theben-West im British Museum', *CdÉ* 78 (2003), 241 n. 2.

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 142 (no. 13); Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 351 (no. 240, with photograph of mummy label); *Ancient Faces* (London), 156–7 (no. 175); Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 143 A 2; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 208 n. 78; E. Naville, 'The excavations at Deir el-Bahri during the winter, 1894–5', *Archaeological Reports* (1894–5), 33, pl. 2 (left).

148 Mummy mask

Paris, Louvre, E 20359

L: c.90 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 143 (no. 15); M.-F. Aubert and R. Cortopassi, *Portraits de l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 1998), 70–1 (no. 26); M.-F. Aubert, R. Cortopassi, F. Calament-Demerger, D. Bénazeth, and M.-H. Rutschowskaya, *Les antiquités égyptiennes*, ii: *Égypte romaine, art funéraire, antiquités coptes* (Paris 1997), 43–4; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 143 A 3; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 208 n. 80, pl. 52. 4; E. Guimet, 'Symboles asiatiques trouvés à Antinoë (Égypte)', *Annales du Musée Guimet* 30 (1903), 145–52, pl. 1.

149 Mummy mask

Fig. 121

Swansea, the Egypt Centre, w 922

L: 86.7 cm, W: 34.2 cm, D: 7.8 cm (face)

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 141 (no. 4); Sotheby's sale, 'The Rev. W. Frankland Hood Collection', 11 November 1924, lot 163.

150 Mummy mask for a man or young man, with no beard; face and chest only
Sydney, Nicholson Museum, R 80

L: 46.7 cm, W: 33.0 cm

C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 86 (2000), 142 (no. 6); K. Sowada, 'Egyptian treasures in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney', *Egyptian Archaeology* 8 (1996), 21; Grimm, *Römischen Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32; C. Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca, Comprising a Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, Collected in the Years 1856, 1857* (London 1891), 27–8 (no. 80).

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REGISTER OF MUSEUMS

This register includes the 150 objects from the Appendix as well as other objects discussed or illustrated in the text. Objects are listed in alphabetical order by city, followed by objects in private collections and objects whose present location is unknown.

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AMSTERDAM, ALLARD PIERSON MUSEUM

723 (7) 65, 67, 80, 82, 93, 260

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PLATE 1 This three-part case, which exemplifies mummiform iconography, is inscribed in Demotic for Horos, son of Peteminis, who was probably also buried with the Demotic funerary papyrus P. BM 30507. Linen cartonnage with added plaster, painted and gilded. L: 175.0 cm. From Akhmim (Panopolis), mid-first century BC to early first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 13463 (16). (See Chapter 2.)



PLATE 2 On the well-preserved shroud of Taathyr, the long flowing hair of the dead woman was an Egyptian symbol associated with beauty, sexuality, and fecundity. Painted linen. L: 206.0 cm. From Middle or Upper Egypt, mid-to late first century AD. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri—Columbia, 61.66.3. Gift of Mr Leonard Epstein. (See Chapter 3.)

PLATE 3 Three of the male masks from Meir have different faces but are otherwise almost identical. The mask at left (59) has a pink and white complexion and a short fringe of hair; the mask in the centre (58) has gilded skin and inlaid eyes; and the mask at right (61) has rosy skin on both his face and hand. Linen cartonnage, painted, or gilded with glass inlay. L of 59: c.50.0 cm. Mid- to late first century AD. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, (left to right) 18/8/19/4, 18/8/19/1, and number uncertain. (See Chapter 3.)



PLATE 4 The mummy of Artemidora was excavated by Ahmed Kamal at Meir in 1910 with its heavily gilded mask and body decorations intact. Figures of Isis, Osiris, and Nephthys and a column of hieroglyphs adhere to both sides of the body. On top of the mummy, six strips with triangular 'leaves' mimic the crossbands of a long *wesekh*-collar. Gilded linen cartonnage on linen-wrapped human remains. L: 205.0 cm. From Meir, late first century AD. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 11.155.5 (48). Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1911. (See Chapter 3.)



PLATE 5 Gilded skin, inlaid glass eyes, and wavy locks of hair can augment the representation of the deceased on a mummiform mask. The back of this mask is restricted to traditional Egyptian iconography: the *ba* of the deceased holds *maat*-feathers in its hands and ostrich plumes in its talons. A Demotic text in four columns gives both Greek and Egyptian names for the deceased and his father. Linen cartonnage with added plaster and glass inlay, painted and gilded. L: 57.0 cm. Meir, mid- to late first century AD. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 111-89 (52). (See Chapter 3.)

PLATE 6 Full-length shrouds with naturalistic Greek paintings of the deceased are unique survivals from Roman Egypt. In this example, a woman in a pink tunic and mantle holds funerary offerings of wine and flowers. The jewelled frame arched over her head springs from the columns of Egyptian scenes beside her. Painted linen. L: 138.0 cm. Provenance unknown, second half of the second century AD. London, British Museum, EA 68509. (See Chapter 3.)

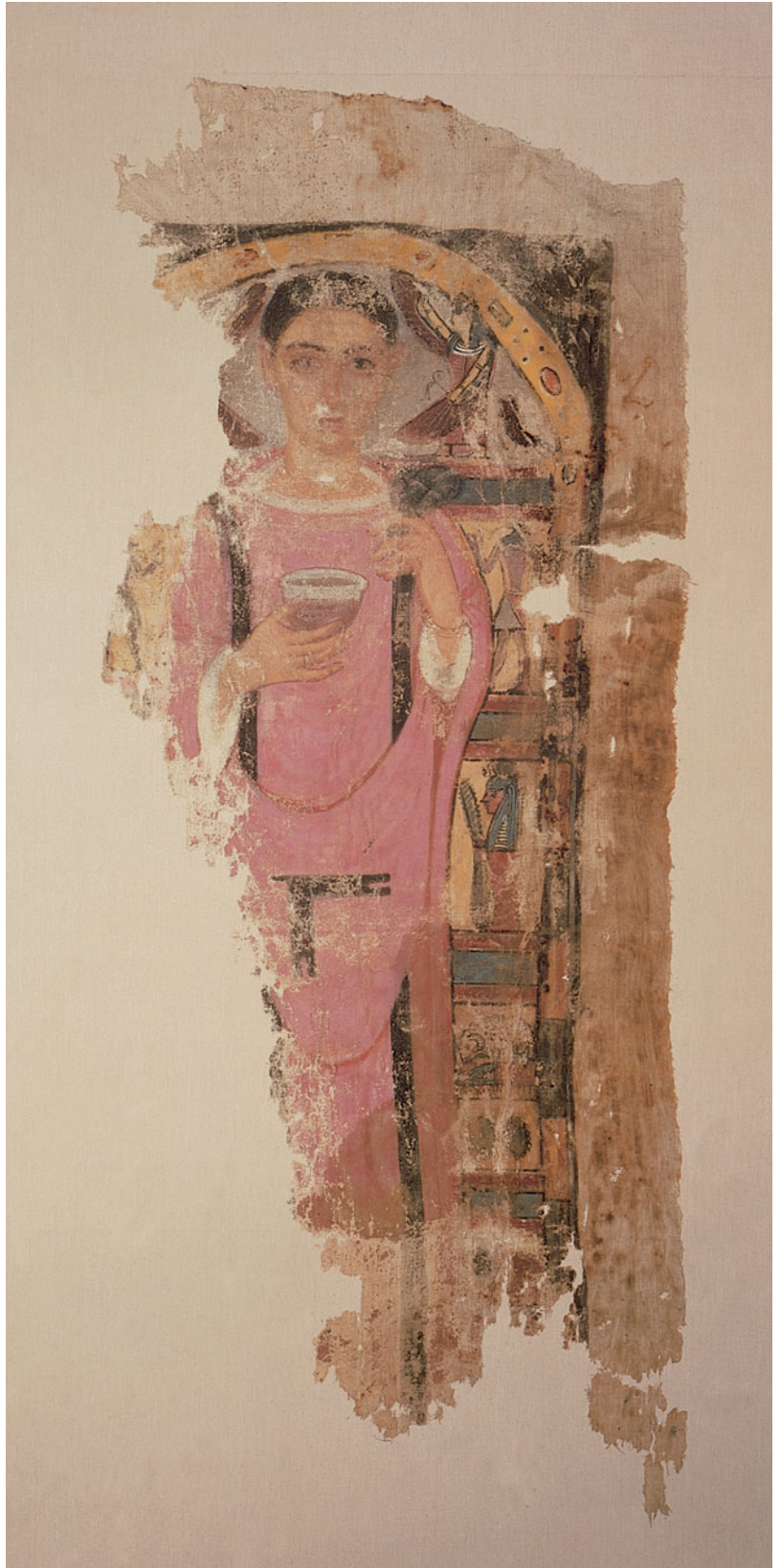




PLATE 7 This 'psychopomp' shroud features a woman and a small boy, perhaps commemorating the deaths of both. The dark rectangle around the woman's head results from her portrait having been painted separately and inserted into the larger textile. Painted linen. L: 196.0 cm. From Saqqara, mid-first century AD. Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, 4301/1 1a 5747 (70). (See Chapter 3.)

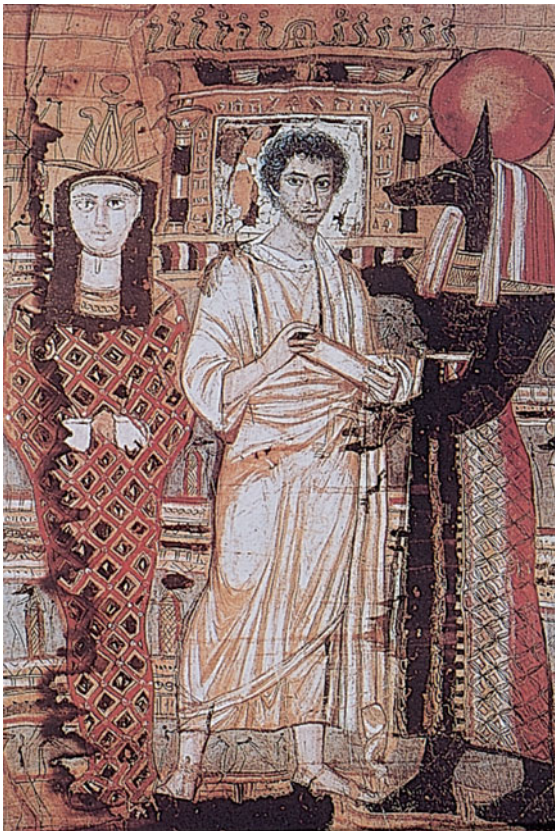


PLATE 8 Anubis holds a key and embraces the deceased. In the background, a monumental Egyptian temple façade signifies the entrance to the underworld. Painted linen. L: 185.0 cm. From Saqqara, mid-first century AD. Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, 4229/1 1a 5749 (72). (See Chapter 3.)



PLATE 9 The plinth beneath the feet of the dead youth on this shroud may have been a device to add to the figure's height, but it also highlights the visual and functional ties between such painted images and their counterparts in honorific Greek statuary. Painted linen. L: 179.0 cm. From Saqqara, mid-first century AD. Paris, Louvre, N 3076 (73). (See Chapter 3.)



PLATE 10 This anthropoid coffin is the only one of its kind made for a woman, who is shown on the lid wearing the feather-patterned dress and tightly curled hair of an Egyptian goddess. The coffin was purchased at Luxor in the 1850s together with a masked female mummy, which is roughly contemporary with the coffin but not original to it. Carved and painted wood, perhaps sycamore fig. L: 181.0 cm. From Thebes, second century AD. Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum, AE I/1-2 (93). (See Chapter 4.)



PLATE 11 The mask of Pebos, son of Krates, who was a *neokoros* of Sarapis and died around the age of 73. Gold leaf covers the face and neck of the mask. Linen cartonnage, painted and gilded. L: 72.0 cm. Deir el-Medina, Thebes, mid- to late second century BC. Paris, Louvre, E 14542bis (III). (See Chapter 4.)



PLATE 12 His belt and cloak identify the subject of this shroud, Tyras, as a soldier, and he was probably stationed with one of the auxiliary cohorts in the vicinity. At the top of the shroud is a rolled-up blind adorned with garlands, representing a *velum* used to cover sacred paintings and shrines. Painted linen. L: 85.5 cm. From Thebes, late second to early third century AD. Luxor, Luxor Museum, J. 194/Q. 1512 (117). (See Chapter 4.)