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Wahid Omran

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ABSTRACT

The Deceased in el-Salamuni Necropolis

Following Osiris in Classical Dress

Wahid Omran

This article investigates the depiction of the deceased in unpublished Graeco-Roman tombs of el-Salamuni, the main necropolis of Akhmim, ancient Panopolis, during the Graeco-Roman Period, where the male/female deceased is often represented at a large scale dressed in a daily, luxurious classical-style garment, displaying a kind of greatness, power, and wealth. The deceased also often hold a special attribute-object in their hands, containing the *rotulus* and the situla of Isis. During the author's investigation of the Graeco-Roman tombs, the large classical depiction of the patron of the tomb was found to be a special characteristic that is extensively depicted in the el-Salamuni necropolis, either in the antechamber or the burial chambers of the tombs. The paper visualises and analyses the religious and artistic reasons for this special iconography.

KEYWORDS

Panopolis, burial niche, situla, afterlife

The Deceased in el-Salamuni Necropolis

Following Osiris in Classical Dress

1 Ancient Panopolis played a distinct historical and cultural role during the Graeco-Roman Period¹. It was the metropolis of the Panopolite nome, the 9th nome of Upper Egypt. Herodotus mentioned that a vast Greek community settled there as early as the mid-fifth century B.C. and remarked that Greek culture was widespread in Panopolis during that period². Panopolis was, during the Graeco-Roman Period, a thriving, Hellenised metropolis with several ethnicities and a population who culturally interacted, including Greeks and Romans, alongside the indigenous Egyptian population. As a matter of fact, Panopolis is a paradigm for studying Graeco-Roman Egypt because it resembles the double style of Egyptian religion and cultivated Hellenism in culture, traditions, funerary beliefs, and burial traditions³.

2 Unfortunately, Panopolis is still poorly documented because of a gap in the documentation of the archaeological material from the site, which is partly due to the inadequate excavations of the cemeteries in the late nineteenth century, as a result of which many artefacts and papyri cannot be identified. The precise find circumstances of most objects and, thus, their dating and context are still unknown. Mark J. Smith stated that »Akhmim remained, in a sense, the older Egypt's home of lost causes«⁴, as was confirmed by Jacques van der Vliet, who noted that »working on ancient Panopolis means working with fragments«⁵.

The Akhmim Necropoleis

3 The necropoleis of Akhmim are a complex of burial places from various periods. The extensive cemeteries of Akhmim were classified by Klaus P. Kuhlmann as cemetery A, B, and C (Fig. 1). Rock-cut tombs seem to have been the most common

1 Since 2019, the author has investigated the Graeco-Roman tombs in the necropolis for a publication entitled »The Afterlife in Akhmim. Exploring el-Salamuni Tombs C1 and C3« (Omran 2023). See also Omran 2020a; Omran 2020b; Omran et al. 2021; Omran 2024.

2 Hdt. 2, 91.

3 Castiglione 1961.

4 Smith 1997, 70.

5 Egberts et al. 2002, XI.

architectural type in the three cemeteries. Unfortunately, these cemeteries were the victims of unscientific excavations and treasure hunts.

El-Hawawish A

⁴ El-Hawawish A is also known as Nag^c el-Diabat or the ›ridge cemetery‹.⁶ It is about 4 km east of Akhmim, in the valley closer to the village of el-Hawawish el-Qibliyah⁷. The cemetery contains burials from the Predynastic Period onwards, up into the Christian and Islamic Periods, although the majority of the tombs belong to the Graeco-Roman Period. Furthermore, a catacomb for sacred animals, including ibises, raptors, canids, cats, and snakes, was found⁸. From 1884 until the early 1890s, Gaston Maspero conducted many field campaigns at the site⁹. The majority of objects originating from Akhmim, for instance, were found almost exclusively at cemetery A of el-Hawawish¹⁰. Later, Robert Forrer visited the destroyed Coptic necropolis in search of more Coptic textiles and discovered many mummies and textiles¹¹. In 1985, el-Masry excavated several tombs from the Ptolemaic Period between Deir el-Qibli and Deir el-Wastani and a tomb for ibis and falcon mummies¹². Recently, a magnificent early Ptolemaic tomb belonging to Tutu/Totoes, high priest of Min, and his wife Ta-shereset-Iset (*T3-šrs.t-Īs.t*), sistrum-player of Hathor, was found there by the local authorities of the Akhmim Ministry of Antiquities Inspectorate.

El-Hawawish B

⁵ El-Hawawish B is also known as Beit el-Medina and is located 6 km east of Akhmim. Between 1979 and 1992, Naguib Kanawati excavated and recorded about 884 rock-cut tombs dating from the Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2350–1750 B.C.) that related to governors, viziers, and high priests of the nome¹³. Most of the tombs are undecorated, unfinished, or damaged¹⁴.

6 The term ›ridge cemetery‹ was coined by Jonathan P. Elias in 2005; see Elias 2013, 2. It is south-west of the cemetery zone, which is up on the ridge on the north side of the Coptic monastery of Deir el-^cAdhara/Deir el-Qibli; see Kiales 2014, 30.

7 There are two villages named el-Hawawish, and only a road separates them; the first one is el-Hawawish el-Qibliyah (el-Hawawish South), while the second is el-Hawawish el-Bahariya (el-Hawawish North).

8 Maspero 1886, 90 (= Maspero 1893, 219); Forrer 1895, 35 f.; Kessler 1989, 21 f.; Ikram 2005, XVIII.

9 Maspero gave Rais Khalil-Sakkar the order to dig in the cemetery. On Maspero's accounts, see Maspero 1886, 84–90; Maspero 1887, 210–223; Maspero 1893, 233 f. Karl Baedeker mentioned that thousands of mummies were found there by Maspero; see Baedeker 1898, 56. Later, from 1986–1999, the necropolis was excavated again by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization (EAO), headed by Yahia S. S. el-Masry, which helped to contextualise parts of the Ptolemaic Period cemetery for the first time, revealing the presence of a hypogeum containing the mummies of ibises and falcons; see el-Masry 2010.

10 Petrie 1931, 75. Since Maspero's excavations, el-Hawawish A has been subject to illicit looting activities; see Budge 1920, 87.

11 Forrer noted from his excavations at el-Hawawish A in the 1800s that the elite were buried in colourful decorative clothing, while the lower classes were buried in a plain linen cloth, the dressed bodies were then wrapped in a shroud, tied to a board, and placed in the grave. On Forrer's visits, see Forrer 1895, 44 f.; Forrer 1901, 10–12. 14. 17. 33 figs. 16–22; pls. 2–4.

12 El-Masry 2003; el-Masry 2010. On the other excavations in the cemetery, see Baedeker 1898, 57. On the typology of its tombs, see Kuhlmann 1983, 53–71.

13 Newberry 1912; Kanawati 1980–1992; Kuhlmann 1983, 12 f. 21. 63–71; pls. 22–26; Kanawati 2007. Ernesto Schiaparelli first visited the cemetery in 1885 (Schiaparelli 1885). Kanawati also found indications for a rock-cut temple in the necropolis (Kanawati 1980–1992 I, 6). Near the end of 1888, after the excavations in cemetery A, Maspero discovered the cemetery of Beit el-Medina situated farther east of el-Hawawish A, and Rais Khalil-Sakkar conducted an excavation campaign there (Kuhlmann 1983, 64).

14 Thompson 2001, 1.

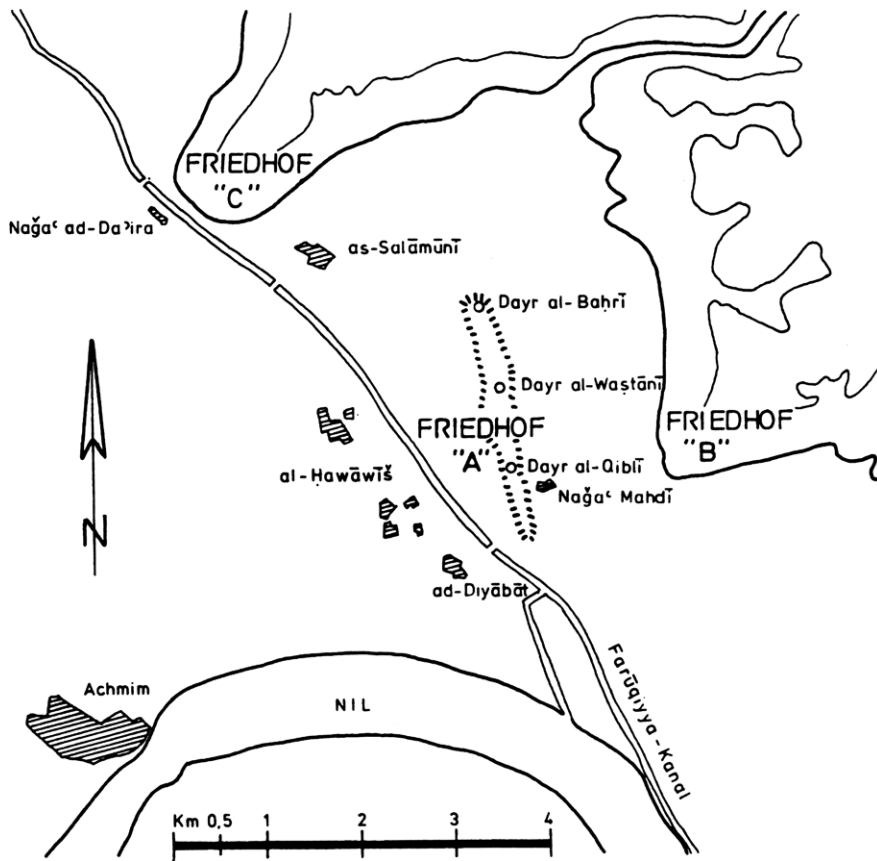


Fig. 1: The Akhmim cemeteries (scale 1 : 80,000)

El-Salamuni C

6 El-Salamuni C lies 6 km north-east of Akhmim and about 2 km north of the famous el-Hawawish mountain. The archaeological site located in the area of this mountain is named according to the nearby modern village el-Salamuni, which lies south of the site, while the village Nag' el-Sawama'ah Sharq lies north of the mountain¹⁵. The cemetery embraces a whole complex of tombs from various periods dating from the Old Kingdom to the Roman Period¹⁶. The el-Isawieh canal, ancient el-Faruqiyyah, lies at the foot of the mountain¹⁷.

7 The el-Salamuni mountain extends for about 2,600 m in length and 250 m in height (Fig. 2). The Akhmim Inspectorate Office divided the mountain into eight registers from the bottom to the top, which are named from A–H. On the uppermost part of the mountain, in the middle of the necropolis, there is a rock-cut temple dedicated to Min/Pan¹⁸, Repit/Triphis/Aperet-Isis, and the child God Kolanthes/Harendotes, the divine trinity of Akhmim (Fig. 3)¹⁹. The temple was built by Nakht-Min, the high priest of Min during the reign of King Ay in the 18th Dynasty, and later it was substantially refurbished

15 On its archaeological value, see Whittemore 1914.

16 Von Bissing 1950, 555.

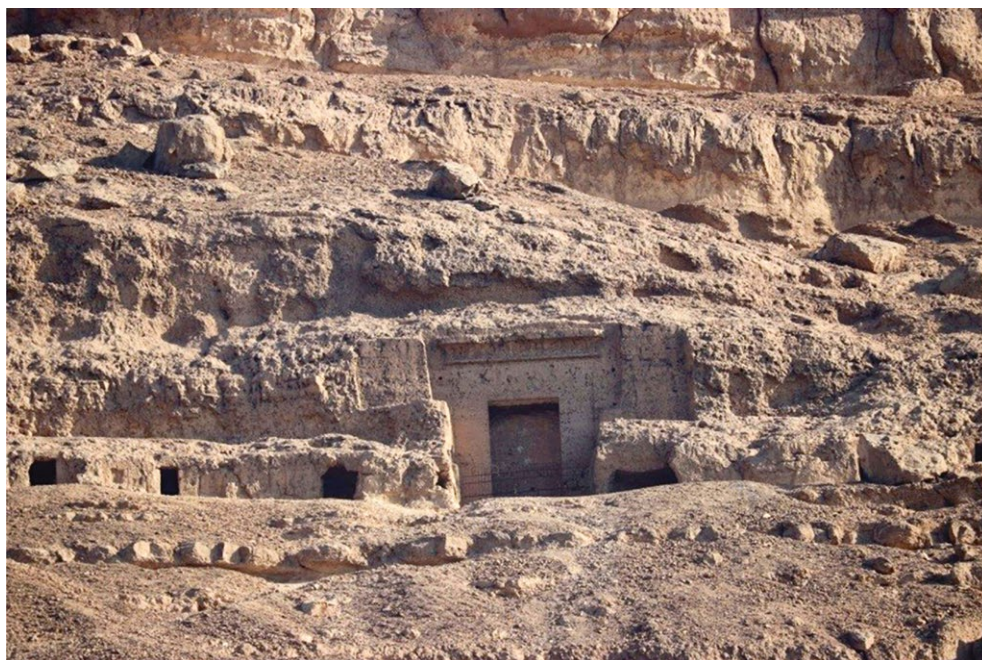
17 Kees 1914, 51; Kuhlmann 1983, 71–86; pls. 27–38.

18 On this temple, see LD II, 102. 411 no. 22. Later, it was described by Kuhlmann 1979; Kuhlmann 1982; Kuhlmann 1983, 82; pls. 27. 29. One of the titles of Pan is *Ὀρεσσανύλοιο* »the one who lives in the mountains«, and another is *Ὀροβάτης* »running through the mountain« (Bernard 1977, 276 f. nos. 1. 4).

19 In the Ptolemaic Period, Kolanthes substituted Horus as the child in the triad, especially on the west bank of the Panopolite nome (Karig 1975, 54). The name of the trinity Min-Triphis-Kolanthes is also found in a demotic inscription at Gebel Tukh, together with Harnebeschinis, another local god in Panopolis (Spiegelberg 1923; Bilabel 1927), as well as a Greek dedication from Ptolemais Hermiou (el-Minshah); see SB III 1, 27 no. 6184, 9.



2



3

Fig. 2: The mountain of el-Salamuni

Fig. 3: The rock-cut temple of Ay

and enlarged by Hormaakheru, the high priest of Min during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The sanctuary served as a cult space for the quarry workers²⁰.

8 Since the first half of the eighteenth century, the cemetery of el-Salamuni was well-known as a regular stopping point for European travellers and archaeologists. Friedrich W. von Bissing, Jean Clédat²¹, Otto Neugebauer and Richard A. Parker²², and Kuhlmann are the scholars who have more extensively investigated the site. Kuhlmann divided the tombs chronologically into four typological architectural groups²³, and he

20 Kuhlmann 1979, 182–185; pl. 48; Kuhlmann 1983, 30 f.; pls. 27. 28 a.

21 Clédat 1903.

22 Neugebauer – Parker 1969, 98–102. 204 f. nos. 73–78.

23 Kuhlmann 1983, 71–81.

related the façade-tombs in the uppermost rows of the mountain to the Roman Period, from the first to the third century A.D.²⁴. Below the temple of Ay, the pharaonic tombs of the Old Kingdom, New Kingdom, and the Late Period are situated, while the Graeco-Roman tombs occupy the lowest terraces of the mountain and are mainly concentrated within zones A–F. The most important painted tombs in the mountain are registered by the Akhmim Inspectorate as tombs B2, B6, B7, and C1, and they are located in the northern section. Tombs C3–C5 and F1–F5 are cut on the south side of the mountain.

⁹ A full and detailed topographical map of the necropolis is still required. Unfortunately, many tombs on the mountain were registered in a random and unsystematic way, and many other tombs are not yet registered. The Akhmim Inspectorate registered the tombs in the southern and northern sections separately rather than as a unit, giving the same numbers to tombs in the northern and southern sections. Furthermore, all shaft tombs of the Late and Ptolemaic Periods are as yet unregistered. The shaft tombs are only documented in the northern section of the mountain, to the south, and below the rock-cut temple of Ay. Furthermore, in the southern section, many Graeco-Roman tombs located above terrace F are unregistered, and all the tombs located on the upper terraces in the northern section containing Old Kingdom, New Kingdom, and other Graeco-Roman tombs below the temple of Ay are also still without registration codes. A full topographical map is still to be implemented.

¹⁰ The el-Salamuni cemetery flourished as the main burial centre from the late Ptolemaic Period until the end of the third century A.D., and it reached its peak as the main burial centre for the elite community during the Roman Period, particularly during the second and third centuries A.D. From el-Salamuni originated a number of Roman mummy portraits²⁵. Carl Schmidt, for example, discovered an intact tomb at el-Salamuni, containing about ten mummies lying next to each other on the bare floor²⁶. The el-Salamuni tombs still record the Egyptian afterlife scenes, where Osiris and Osiris-Sokar are of course prominent in the tombs. Furthermore, el-Salamuni records the largest number of zodiacs and astronomical scenes from a necropolis in Graeco-Roman Egypt, which leads to the assumption that, in the local traditions of Panopolis, immortality was not only imagined to be accessed through a chthonic deity (Osiris) but also through a cosmic approach (celestial realm).

Representations of the Deceased

¹¹ The el-Salamuni mountain was the cemetery of the people living in the metropolis Panopolis as well as its adjacent villages. Judging from the quality of architecture and funerary art in el-Salamuni, it is likely that the deceased people belonged to the local wealthy elite²⁷, including high priests, landowners, high officials, and veterans of the Roman army, especially because the local community on the east bank was wealthier than the one on the west bank²⁸. Moreover, the great number of zodiacs is an indication of a once-royal privilege widely featured in these private tombs

²⁴ Kuhlmann 1983, 79 f. fig. 27; pls. 27. 29 a; 30. 32 a; 33–38.

²⁵ On mummy portraits from Akhmim, see Parlasca 1966, 41–43; Doxiadis 1995, 153–155; Parlasca – Seemann 1999, 337–343.

²⁶ Schmidt 1896, 80 f. On Schmidt's records, see Tallet 2014, 390–392.

²⁷ Corcoran 2021.

²⁸ Within the Panopolite nome, the majority of stelae were excavated on the east bank, while the west bank is distinguished by the mummy labels, which suggests a regional variation in religious and burial practices as well as the wealth enjoyed by the families on the east bank (Chauveau 2002, 47). André Bataille, however, disagrees that mummy labels are an indication of a lower-class burial (Bataille 1952, 53). From Akhmim, ca. 150 Graeco-Roman hieroglyphic stelae and some demotic funerary stelae are listed for Trismegistos (TM) Geo 1589 <https://www.trismegistos.org/geo/geotex_list.php?tm=1589&partner=all> (04.07.2023).

and marking the high social and cultural status of the dead. Six tombs in el-Salamuni show that the deceased hoped to follow Osiris in the afterlife, wearing a high-status, classical-style garment.

The So-Called von Bissing's Tomb 1897/el-Salamuni Tomb C1

¹² The so-called von Bissing's tomb 1897 is still the most famous and best documented painted tomb at el-Salamuni. It was recorded by von Bissing during his first visit to the site in 1897²⁹. Later, on a subsequent visit in 1913, von Bissing could not locate it again, and it was accidentally rediscovered by Kuhlmann in 1981³⁰. Tomb C1 is located on the mountain terrace C, at the middle section of the mountain, just beneath the rock-cut temple of Ay. The tomb consists of two chambers with a low south-west façade, and three burial niches are cut into the burial chamber. Recently, a full conservation programme was conducted in the tomb to remove the debris and clean the heavy soot from the walls and ceilings. Furthermore, the conservators removed the debris, filled the gaps in the walls, and re-erected the damaged burial niches. They also cleaned the soot, so that the magnificent painted scenes beneath the soot were uncovered³¹.

¹³ On the left side of the doorway into the burial chamber, the deceased is depicted in a classicising posture, spanning two registers, and inhabiting a spot directly opposite the entrance of the tomb, as he welcomes the visitors in the first image that would be seen by them³². He is standing frontally in three-quarter view, with his weight shifted onto one foot, evoking fifth century B.C. Greek figural sculpture³³. The deceased is dressed in a red contemporaneous Hellenistic garment³⁴, with curly hair and short beard, as well as black, thonged sandals on his feet. He wears a chiton with two vertical purple stripes³⁵ and a himation pulled over his torso, which is wrapped around his right hip and thrown over his left arm, while two woven gamma-shapes are shown on the garment's *cilia* along his left leg³⁶. He holds objects in both hands which have various religious meanings. Marjorie S. Venit suggests that they could be identified as a *rotulus* and a laurel branch – the sign of victory – in his upraised left hand, and a situla in his lowered right hand (Fig. 4)³⁷. Kuhlmann proposes that there are an olive branch and a papyrus roll in the left hand and an ovoid vessel above another vessel in the other³⁸, whereas Christina Riggs suggests that a book roll and a spring of myrtle are in his left hand, while with his right hand, he holds a floral garland or makes an offering over a large, two-handled *krater*³⁹.

¹⁴ To the left of the classical-style figure of the deceased, the wall is divided into two friezes. The upper frieze shows the deceased as a larger and taller figure in profile, venerating a fetish topped with the headdress of Amun⁴⁰ with two Egyptian deities, probably Horus and Thoth⁴¹. The lower frieze shows two offering bearers facing each

²⁹ Von Bissing visited el-Salamuni twice: the first time was in 1897, while the second visit was in 1913 with Hermann A. J. Kees; see von Bissing 1946/1947; von Bissing 1950, 554–573. On the von Bissing's tombs, see Riggs 2005, 164; Venit 2010, 98–107, 113–119; Klotz 2012; Venit 2016, 183–192.

³⁰ Kuhlmann 1983, 73; pl. 35 c. d.

³¹ See the publication of the tomb by Omran 2023.

³² Von Bissing 1946/1947, 5; von Bissing 1950, 558.

³³ Venit 2016, 187 f.

³⁴ Kuhlmann 1983, 73; pls. 35 c. d; 36 a. b.

³⁵ Venit 2016, 235 no. 1204.

³⁶ Riggs 2005, 164.

³⁷ Venit 2010, 104.

³⁸ Kuhlmann 1983, 73 fn. 373; pl. 36 a. b.

³⁹ Riggs 2005, 164.

⁴⁰ The fetish's figure in Irene Kaplan's publication shows the right recumbent ram at the top of the fetish, which is now destroyed (Kaplan 1999, 167 fig. 87 a).

⁴¹ Kaplan describes it as the Abydenian fetish and assumes that the accompanying gods are Horus and Thoth

other: one is costumed in an Egyptian garment, while the other (partially damaged) is garbed in a classical-style one, and two offering tables are between them.

Tomb F2

15 Tomb F2 is located in the southern section of the mountain on terrace F. The façade tomb consists of two rooms, with two burial niches cut into the east and south walls of the burial chamber. In April 1903, Clédat visited »Qurnet es-Salamouni«. His interest in the necropolis is reflected in his very brief description of some tombs in an unpublished notebook entitled *Couvents rouge et blanc*⁴². He documented three tombs named as tombs 1, 2, and 3⁴³. Recently, these tombs were registered as tombs F2 (Clédat's tomb 2), F3 (tomb 3), and F4 (tomb 1). Tomb F2 lies south of tombs F3 and F4. Kaplan identified it as tomb VII⁴⁴. Clédat only mentioned the two zodiacs in the antechamber and burial chamber of the tomb and briefly described the one in the burial chamber. He noted that the zodiac was reused later, and another one was painted over it⁴⁵. On examination of the zodiac, Coptic signs and figures are still faintly visible.

16 This tomb is distinguished with the depiction of four large classical-style figures in both the anteroom and the burial chamber, comprising two separate figures of the female deceased and a pair of male figures. The first female figure is located in the antechamber, on the wall to the left of the doorway leading into the burial chamber, the same location as the male figure in von Bissing's tomb 1897, but the female deceased covers only the upper frieze, not the two friezes. Unfortunately, the wall is cracked, and her figure is partially damaged. She stands contrapposto with a long, curled-hair wig. She is garbed in a Roman pallium and tunic with two tapestry-woven *calvi*⁴⁶. Her face is painted red, and she is supposed to hold an object in her damaged left hand, while her lowered right hand holds a damaged situla (Fig. 5).

17 A second female figure appears on the lower frieze of the right side of the west wall of the burial chamber, while the upper frieze illustrates the court of judgement. The female figure is also garbed in a Roman dress, wearing a white tunic and folded mantle wrapped around her right hip and thrown over her left arm. Two woven gamma-shaped emblems are depicted on the trailing end of the mantle along her left leg. Her right foot is destroyed because of the damage to the wall, while a black-thonged sandal is still visible on the left foot. Her hair falls over her shoulders and consists of several rows of curls encompassing the face and forehead. She holds a reddish situla in her lowered right hand and most likely a floral garland or myrtle in her raised left hand, of which the remains of the green leaves are still visible (Fig. 6).

18 The pair of male figures appears on the right side of the doorway into the burial chamber (Fig. 7), opposite the first female figure depicted in the antechamber (Fig. 8). The naturalistic male figures are completely different and their facial features seem to suggest a date into the late Roman Period, as the tomb was reused later. Unfortunately, because of the damage to the wall, their figures are partially demolished. They stand frontally, coated with a reddish colour, and their bodies are turned towards each other, hence, their eyes look in two contrasting directions. They are bald, clean-shaven, with wide eyes and white faces, and the left figure is wearing something like white shoes, but not sandals. They did not hold any objects in their hands which

(Kaplan 1999, 167).

42 Clédat 1903, 192–174.

43 For Clédat's visit to Akhmim, see Meurice 2014, 69 f. 463 fig. 20.

44 Kaplan 1999, 176 fig. 99 a, but there is no reference to tomb F3 in her monograph.

45 It is el-Salamuni zodiac 6 by Neugebauer – Parker 1969, 100; pl. 54.

46 This Roman-style dress was widely worn by the male/female owners of late Roman mummy cases (Rutschowskaya 1990, 151; Walker – Bierbrier 1997, 178 f. no. 227; Riggs 2005, 240 f. no. 110).



4

Fig. 4: The classical costume of the deceased who holds the situla and the *rotulus* papyrus in his hands, tomb C1

could have been alongside their bodies and hidden under the reddish garment. The male figures presumably were added later than the original date of the tomb, most likely during the early Coptic Period, as Charles E. Wilbour noted that Coptic monks used el-Salamuni tombs as shelter-dwellings⁴⁷. This tomb was probably used during the Coptic persecution of the third century A.D., as crosses were documented in the zodiac of the burial chamber.

Tomb F3

¹⁹ Tomb F3 is located about 10 m north of tomb F2, and it also consists of two chambers, with two burial niches cut into the south and the west walls of the burial chamber. A couple of fully classical-style, large male figures are depicted in the upper frieze of the north side of the west wall of the burial chamber. Clédat wrongly noted that they are shown in the first chamber⁴⁸.

²⁰ El-Salamuni tomb F3 records the second depiction of a pair of deceased male figures similar to the pair of stucco-like figures in tomb F2, but they are completely different in their facial features, costume, and style. Unfortunately, due to the heavy cracking of the wall, large areas of their figures are now lost. Thus, only the black curly-hair wig, the upper part of the body, and the upraised right hand of the right figure are still visible, while its face is destroyed. The left male figure is badly damaged, with only the upper part of its right shoulder and the curly, black-hair wig remaining, while its face is partially damaged. They were once presumably identical because they have the same curly hair, they are both bearded, garbed in a yellow pallium with reddish bordered strips, and probably both were in a salutation gesture welcoming the visitors of the tomb with their upraised right hand. Unlike the classical models in el-Salamuni tombs C1 and F2, they are not customarily holding the situla in their right hands, while it is difficult to determine the posture of the left hand, which either supports the folds of the mantle or holds an object (a book roll, a myrtle, or a branch; Fig. 9).

⁴⁷ Capart 1936, 98.

⁴⁸ Meurice 2014, 70.



5

Fig. 5: The classical deceased female, southern part of the east wall of the antechamber, tomb F2



Fig. 6: Another representation of the deceased female in classical gesture, west wall of the burial chamber, tomb F2

6



7

Fig. 7: Representation of a pair of (Coptic?) males, northern part of the east wall of the antechamber, tomb F2

Tomb F4

21 This is a one-chamber tomb, and a burial niche covers its east wall. It is parallel to Clédat's tomb 1, while it was named tomb VIII by Kaplan⁴⁹. It is located 8 m north of tomb F3.

22 A full-length classical-style figure of a male deceased appears on the upper frieze of the west wall of the tomb, to the left of the entrance. Although this figure is similar to the classical-style deceased in tomb C1, unfortunately, the lower part of the figure is demolished because of the damage to the wall. It stands frontally contrapposto and wears a pallium and tunic with two *calvi*. Although its face is partially destroyed, its beard seems to have been shaved, and it is characterised by having curly hair. The figure holds a damaged situla in its lowered right hand, but only the upper elongated neck of the situla is still visible, and it could have had a handle attached to the wrist of the hand. The remains of a spring of myrtle painted black are still visible in its raised left hand, which supports the folded mantle (Fig. 10).

Tomb A2

23 The tomb is located in the northern section of the mountain and was wrongly registered by the Akhmim Inspectorate as tomb A2, which is situated on the mountain's terrace C, not in the lowest register A. It is a doorless façade tomb consisting of two rooms. The tomb is in a bad state of conservation and its paintings are demolished except for the classical-style, generalised, and veristic male figure of the patron of the tomb, which is portrayed in the traditional location to the right of the entrance into the burial chamber's doorway. The man's face is partially demolished, and the lower part is completely damaged. The bearded deceased has curly hair and wears a white tunic and a mantle with black

Fig. 8: Photogrammetry of the east wall of the antechamber, tomb F2 (scale 1 : 20)



8



Fig. 9: Representation of a pair of males in classical costume, north wall of the burial chamber, tomb F3

9

stripes, which is folded over his left arm. His lowered right hand may have held a damaged situla due to the remains of a myrtle branch in his left hand, which protruded from the folded mantle. The classical figure of the deceased is inside a framed icon frieze on black ground caused by soot covering the walls of the tomb, surrounded by garlands (Fig. 11).

Tomb V

24 The tomb first recorded by Kuhlmann⁵⁰ and then named by Kaplan as tomb V dates to the second century A.D.⁵¹ It is located on the north side of the mountain, at the northern end of the upper gallery, and just below the gallery of the rock-cut tombs of the Old Kingdom. The tomb consists of three chambers in a bad state of preservation because it is extremely damaged, and its walls were covered with heavy soot. There are two burial niches in the burial chamber, and a shallow pit in the ground is attested in room 1.

25 The first room shows a new classical-style representation of the male deceased, which is depicted in the upper frieze on the north/left side of the east wall, to the left of the doorway of the second tomb, the same location as the male figure in tomb A2. The figure wears the traditional white tunic and mantle, with a gamma-shaped woven mark over the thighs. Riggs suggests that he holds a book roll between his hands⁵². This figure is completely different to other representations and presents a unique image of the deceased among the el-Salamuni tombs: both hands are crossed over its chest; they are not depicted holding the traditionally attributed objects or raised in a salutation gesture. It is most likely the classical-style pose of the male deceased holding the *rotulus* papyrus scroll that is depicted on the Roman mummy shroud I.1.a 5749 in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow⁵³.

50 Kuhlmann 1983, pl. 33 b.

51 Kaplan 1999, 174 fig. 94 a.

52 Riggs 2005, 164. 166 fig. 78.

53 Régen 2012, 605 fig. 2.



Fig. 10: The classical costume of the male deceased, west wall of tomb F4

10



Fig. 11: The classical deceased male on the left side of the east wall of the burial chamber, tomb A2

11

Commentary

26 The large-scale classical-style image of the male/female deceased is a special characteristic of and extensively depicted in the el-Salamuni necropolis. No cemetery in Egypt of the Graeco-Roman Period depicts the deceased in the same way as the el-Salamuni cemetery. The tombs' patrons appear either single or in pairs and are often located in the anteroom, flanking the north or the south side of the doorway to the burial chamber. Only two examples are depicted inside the burial chamber: the female deceased in tomb F2 and the pair of males in tomb F3. Outside el-Salamuni, Petosiris is depicted in a classical-style costume in the Roman tomb at el-Mazawaka. In addition, the Roman house-tomb 13 of Tuna el-Gebel, the tomb of Aurelios Petese, shows the same scheme for the patron of the tomb⁵⁴.

54 Perdrizet 1941, 91. To the right of the classical-style deceased, there is a small naos with a triangular pediment, where a mummy holds a palm leaf in its hands crossed over its chest (Venit 2016, 198. 238 no. 1292). Outside

27 Venit suggests that the classical style of the deceased marks a point of intersection between the classical world and Egypt and recalls the idealistic ancient Egyptian portrait of the tomb owners of the Old Kingdom, for it is an ›Egyptianising‹ inheritance of artistic style in Roman Egypt⁵⁵. Unlike classical funerary art, the Greek gods were depicted at a greater scale than their mortal humans⁵⁶. On the contrary, Helen Whitehouse supposes that this model is mainly derived from Hellenistic and Roman sculpture⁵⁷. László Castiglione assumes that this style of figure shows both ›real‹ and ›spiritual‹ aspects as a stock figure that resembles a vivid indicator of the double style of a deceased that is classical in appearance and Egyptian in spiritual iconography⁵⁸. Riggs assumes that these classical-style examples evoked a Greek identity and followed the Greek, not Roman, fashion of dress, suggesting that Greekness had become a desirable model for the deceased⁵⁹.

28 Some scholars distinguish two stages through which the deceased had to pass for their full posthumous transfiguration. The classical fashion of dress evokes him or her at the beginning of that process, while the traditional mummiform iconography visualises the end⁶⁰. Riggs suggests that the contemporary fashionable figure of the deceased still connected the deceased with the earthy world of the living, and this custom also distinguished the deceased from the gods and his/her future transfigured appearance in the afterlife⁶¹. Smith, on the other hand, supposes that portraying the deceased in classical-style garments in the presence of Osiris (Osiris *en face*), which is widely depicted on mummy shrouds, symbolised the deceased's successful association with the god at the end of their transfiguration⁶².

29 Regarding the similarities between Petosiris's figure and the male figure in von Bissing's tomb 1897, von Bissing suggests that the antechamber was meant for the cult of the deceased⁶³, and this supposes that the deceased in both von Bissing's and Petosiris's tombs enjoyed a kind of a cult in his tomb. Riggs proposes that both of them were engaged in parallel activities: they are receiving and offering a ritual act⁶⁴. In Roman Egypt, the cult of the dead was prominent, and after the burial, regular family visits and funerary banquets took place in the tombs on certain days as part of the cult of the dead⁶⁵. This custom was presumably performed in el-Salamuni, and von Bissing reports that there was a long bench or shelf encircling the late Roman tomb that served for the rest of the tomb visitors. Moreover, he also found red terracotta, small pots,

Egypt, a similar classical-style figure shows Moses and the burning bush in a synagogue mural at Dura-Europos in Syria, dating 244 A.D. (du Mesnil du Buisson 1939, pl. 19). For the similarities and differences between the Akhmim figure and that of Moses, see Venit 2010, 106 no. 85; Venit 2016, 188. 235 no. 1211.

55 Venit 2016, 189–199.

56 In some exceptional cases, the mortal human is depicted larger than the other figures in a scene, for instance, on a Roman relief, possibly from Ostia, now in the Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense, Rome, 9556 (Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, 263 fig. 294; Venit 2010, 104 f.; Venit 2016, 199. 238 fn. 1300).

57 Whitehouse 1998, 259.

58 Castiglione 1961.

59 Riggs 2005, 165. 252. The naturalistic classical style of the dead dressed in tunics and cloaks and with beards either on the coffins or in the tombs suggests, as an initial indicator, that the deceased was Greek or Roman (Borg 1996, 150–176; Borg 1998, 34–59; Riggs 2003, 193–199; Riggs 2005, 165; Müller 2017).

60 Von Lieven 2004, 309–312; Riggs 2005, 13 f. 88. 142. 174. 247; Hellinckx 2010, 135 f.

61 Riggs 2005, 13 f.

62 Smith 2017, 364 f. The early representation of the Osiris shroud of the deceased may be traced to the 21st Dynasty and is also recorded on the early Ptolemaic Osiris shrouds in TT 32, the ›Soter Tomb‹; see Schreiber 2007, 340 f. figs. 29–44.

63 Von Bissing 1950, 559.

64 Riggs 2005, 164.

65 The banquets could be held in the tomb itself, for the triclinium dining room of Kom el-Shuqafa suggests a funerary banquet for the families of the deceased, or the relatives may have dined near the tomb in the necropolis, as in Tuna el-Gebel (Montserrat 1992; Montserrat 1993; Willeitner 2004).

Coptic vases, and amphora, which suggest that family visits and funerary banquets took place inside the tomb itself⁶⁶.

30 Besides the classical-style deceased in both the el-Salamuni C1 and Petosiris tombs, there are two offering-bearers, one costumed in Egyptian style, while the other is in classical style. Presenting offerings by Egyptian and Hellenistic priests is presumably associated with the sustenance of the dead, and they carried out the service for the deceased by donating to him the cultic water and food⁶⁷, which symbolised the Nile's inundation and guaranteed duration over time and cosmic integration⁶⁸. They were probably carrying out the traditional function of the choachyte-priest (*χοαχύτες*), mainly consisting of the purification of the deceased⁶⁹ or their service in the mortuary cult of the deceased⁷⁰.

31 Furthermore, the palm branch in the right hand of the Egyptian priest in von Bissing's tomb could associate him with the *θαλλαδότης*-priest, »the deliverer of branches« to visitors of temples/shrines, a function that was known in the Panopolite priesthood clergy⁷¹. The palm branch symbolised longevity, conveyed the triumph over death, and confirmed the posthumous state of the deceased⁷².

32 The offering of water continued to be a vital practice in the funerary cult for the deceased during the Roman Period⁷³. The deceased in el-Salamuni were eager to secure a water supply in their afterlife, as is shown either by offering water by the priest in von Bissing's tomb or by carrying the water cult situla of Isis by the deceased themselves⁷⁴. The el-Salamuni necropolis was under the full auspices of the God Min, and water tends to be a constant element where Min is worshipped, especially in the desert areas, which no doubt is also related to Min's role as a fertility god⁷⁵. By the Coptic Period, sacred water continued to be an important mortuary belief amongst the local community of Panopolis⁷⁶.

66 Von Bissing 1950, 565 f. fig. 10; Kuhlmann 1983, 81.

67 Bommas 2005, 258–262.

68 Bommas 2003, 98 f.

69 Papyrus in the Museo Egizio, Turin, Cat. 2147 (Ptolemy VIII), and papyri in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin, P. 3106 and P. 3139 (both 98 B.C.). For the choachytes, see de Cenival 1972, 103–107; Pestman 1993; Vleeming 1995, 246–248; el-Aguizy 2003, 4–15.

70 Cannata 2020, 91.

71 This priestly title is attested, among others, also at Oxyrhynchus. In the Panopolite nome the title is also mentioned in Psonis (*Pr-sw*), modern Bassuna (Baratte – Boyaval 1974, 211 no. 139; Rea 1975, 19 no. 3094; pl. 2, 40. 43; Boyaval 1976, 170 no. 2176). Palm trees were attributed to Min in the Egyptian tradition and Apollo in the Greek; see Claesen 1938.

72 Dils 1990, 83–85; Brewer et al. 1994, 50; Willems – Clarysse 2000, 282 f. nos. 217. 218. The palm is also associated with the jubilant deceased in the judgment court as a symbol of the positive result of the court (Seeber 1976, 101–108 figs. 35–40; Kurth 2010, 80 fig. 5). Palm branches are also depicted beside the texts of some mummy labels from Akhmim (Quaegebeur 1978, 240).

73 The formula »may Amenope pour out water on his day of coming to the valley« is attested on Theban funerary monuments until the Roman Period; see Herbin 1994, 140–145.

74 Supplying water was one of the main funerary attributes of Isis (Wild 1981). During the Roman Period, the situla was always in the right hand of the deceased, took several forms, and served many functions; see Lichtheim 1947; Merkelbach 1967; Walters 1988, 20–25; Merkelbach 2001, 675 fig. 216. Normally, the garments of priests and other members of the Isiac cult were long, and they did not wear a headdress or false beard. Most probably they appeared with long garments, natural hair, and a beard like the male figure at the entrance of the burial chamber of von Bissing's tomb 1897 at Akhmim, who was acting as a priest of Isis; see Venit 2010, 106 f. Other examples of Isis priests outside Egypt can be found in the paintings from Herculaneum; see Arslan et al. 1997, 447 no. V.77.

75 Bernard 1977, 270 f. Graffiti in Wadi Bir el-*ʿAyn* (»valley of the magic [?] spring«) show that the large inscribed rock and the source (the *bir*) were consecrated to Sheikh Shakhoun, who is said to have the gift of making fertile the women who come to ask him and drink his water (Meinardus 1985, 185). Sheikh Shakhoun was the modern inheritor of the fertility God Min, disguised in Islamic clothing, and a local festival was celebrated yearly in Wadi Bir el-*ʿAyn*, where the people of Akhmim, either Christians or Muslims, gathered, performed rituals, and celebrated for some three or four days, believing that a drink or a bath from the holy water would achieve their special desires (Kanawati 1990, 39).

76 Since Jesus had blessed the Bir el-*ʿAyn* spring, the Bedouins of Wadi Bir el-*ʿAyn* mix the water from the well of Mecca with the water of this spring; see Meinardus 1985.

33 In Roman Egypt, the classical form of the deceased was still addressed as »Osiris of NN«⁷⁷. The el-Salamuni necropolis maintained conservatism in mortuary practices, and the mummified dead still became Osiris⁷⁸. The opulent, wealthy Greek dress fashion of the deceased is proof of virtuosity. Therefore, as a consequence, the deceased has been given a position among the noble *akhs* near Osiris. Hence, the noble deceased hope to be resurrected in their wealthy costume, as is textually confirmed by a Roman demotic papyrus which recounts the visit of Setna Khaemwaset and his son Siosiris to the underworld⁷⁹. The story relates how the deceased person, who was virtuous on earth, will be dressed in the finest classical, fashionable garment in the court of Osiris as an indication of his posthumous state. The judges in the tribunal of Osiris reward the virtuous poor man by cladding him with the wealthy garment as a noble in the Osiris afterlife, »among the noble spirits as a man of God that follows Sokaris Osiris, his place being near to the person of Osiris«, while it was ordered to imprison the wealthy man in the netherworld⁸⁰.

34 Doubtless, the classical form of the deceased in the el-Salamuni tombs does not visualise his identity. The deceased's identity in Graeco-Roman Egypt is an extremely complex issue. By the middle of the second century B.C., there was a greater number of Hellenised Egyptians intermarrying with Greek settlers, who began to share additional benefits in the Ptolemaic administration, and the priestly community accelerated Hellenisation particularly in culture and dress, but it was mixed with the conservatism of ancient Egyptian practices⁸¹. In Roman Panopolis, Ammon and his brother were members of the traditional hereditary priesthood, although they still preserved their priestly aristocratic status, with hereditary rights to office and property, combining devotion to the local cults⁸², they also associated themselves with Hellenistic culture as part of the intellectual, Hellenised urban elite of the metropolis⁸³.

35 Dressing in classical style in an Egyptian funerary context is not a clear parameter for the Greek, Roman, or Egyptian identity of the deceased. Laura Miguélez Caveró remarks that »Classical culture was a part of the heritage of all learned men« at this time, irrespective of religious affiliation⁸⁴, and »Hellene« was synonymous with civility and culture⁸⁵. Classical culture was the common inheritance of educated persons whatever their background⁸⁶. Classical dress had become the daily dress code among the educated, decorous, and wealthy, all of which were the elite ideals in the community. Similarly, in Ptolemaic Panopolis, educated men were applying their versatility in Hellenistic literature to refine Egyptian literature itself⁸⁷. The so-called

77 In Graeco-Roman Egypt, the male deceased still always sought to become »Osiris of NN« as in the Roman tomb of Qetinus at Bashendi, where he was described in the inscriptions as »Osiris Qetinus« (Moursi – Osing 1982a, 58–69; Kaplan 1999, 11). The female deceased could be addressed as »Hathor of NN«, »Hathor«, or »Osiris-Hathor« (Riggs 2005, 45; Smith 2017, 372–389).

78 Römer 2000. The inscription above Petosiris's classical figure described him as Osiris-Petosiris and confirmed his transfiguration state so that he could follow Osiris in the afterlife: »O Osiris-Petosiris, may you be great, strong, and powerful! May you follow Osiris! May your *ba* follow Sokar! May you follow Osiris every day! May you enter and leave the necropolis (the tomb) freely [...]!« (Moursi – Osing 1982b, 92; pl. 71; Venit 2016, 170).

79 Papyrus British Museum, London, EA 10822, 2 verso (Griffith 1900, 41–50; pls. 1. 2). On the story of Setna, see Lichtheim 1980, 140 f.; Dunand – Zivie-Coche 1991, 313; Hoffmann – Quack 2007, 118–137. 340–343; Smith 2017, 365. 369. 371. Scholars suggest that the demotic Setna text is derived from the Greek mythology of Oknos and Tantalos which refer to the same torments; see Hoffmann 1994; Vittmann 1998, 68 f.

80 Griffith 1900, 48 f.; pl. 2, l. 9–13.

81 Bell 1980, 60 f.

82 Feder 2005, 105 f.

83 Tacom 2006, 117.

84 Miguélez Caveró 2008, 195.

85 See Cameron 1993.

86 Guéraud 1939; Bernand 1969, 461 f.

87 Thissen 1992, 80–83.

juxtaposition⁸⁸ in funerary art and burial customs in el-Salamuni reflects the deceased's choice to dress in classical style and pay homage to the Egyptian deities. The bilingual text in hieroglyphic and demotic in tomb F2⁸⁹ indicates that the female classical-style deceased (the patron of the tomb) could be related to one of the Panopolis's priestly families during the Roman Period⁹⁰.

36 The attributed *rotulus* and the situla which the deceased hold have funerary meanings. The *rotulus* papyrus roll was widely faded in the hands of the deceased or priests. It is referred to as *md3.wt* »books«, *šfd.w* »rolls«, *sš* »knowledge«, and *ṛ.w* »manuscripts/documents«⁹¹. This magical knowledge including the *m*-name of the owner was used as a magical and powerfully protective symbol, helping the deceased's integration into the afterlife⁹². A papyrus roll held in the hands of the deceased continued in the funerary art of Roman Egypt, developing a new and syncretic classical model⁹³. Whitehouse noted that the *rotulus* papyrus is a letter of recommendation which served as a passport or an introduction which the deceased had to present to the inhabitants of the underworld, ensuring their justification and that they are worthy to be accepted in the realm of Osiris⁹⁴.

37 Indeed, the situla, the Isiac mummiform cultic vessel, in the hands of the deceased provides the key to the Isiac meaning and associations of the tomb⁹⁵. It shows the deceased to be an initiate of Isis's mysteries, an adherent, and regards him as *wn-pr* »pastophoros«, »shrine-bearer«, or »shrine-opener«⁹⁶, whose position was enhanced in Roman Egypt⁹⁷. Holding the suspended situla in the hands of the deceased served for libations of water or milk in the Egyptian temples and affirmed the cult of the dead in el-Salamuni. The bronze situla was also related to elite banquets and symbolic drinking rit-

88 »Juxtaposition« is the term that was introduced by Smith 2017, 366–368. On the classical Egyptian art on mummy masks, see Müller 2017.

89 Vleeming 2015, 272.

90 The demotic line in the tomb provides the name of the female deceased: »Tasheretbastet, (the daughter) of Padimin, Senobastis, (the daughter) of Peteminis«. The publication of the tomb is forthcoming by the author. The name Peteminis was widely used in Roman Panopolis, as is attested, for instance, by the mummy label BM, EA 23189 of Apollon, son of Peteminis. Moreover, the name is documented in the demotic mortuary liturgies of the Roman Period (pBM, EA 10507). He was the father of Horos, the owner of the document, published by Smith 1987. Furthermore, in 1896, Carl Reinhardt acquired a pair of mummy cases from Akhmim for the AMP (AM 13462 and AM 13463), of which AM 13462 was related to »Tatriphis, son of Hatres, son of Peteminis the younger, the scribe«, while AM 13463 was inscribed for »Horos, son of Peteminis« (Smith 1997, 69). The name of the grandfather Peteminis is also inscribed on the stela of Tatriphis in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 31123 (Spiegelberg 1904, 48 f.; pl. 12). Both mummy cases could almost certainly belong to the same person; see Grimm 1973, pls. 117, 4; 119, 4. The name Peteminis, the father of Hatres and member of a sacerdotal family in Panopolis, is also found on a Roman mummy label from the early third century A.D. from Bompae (modern Sohag); see Chauveau 1992, 107.

91 BD 42, 157. See also Tarasenko 2017, 76.

92 During the Late and Ptolemaic Periods, the papyrus roll was attached to the body of the deceased for protective functions. Rolls of papyri of the BD were also wrapped with the mummies of the dead during the Ptolemaic and early Roman Periods (Bayer-Niemeyer et al. 1993, 254 fig. 62 A; Illés 2006; Martin – Ryholt 2006; Budka 2008, 70 f.

93 The deceased holding the *rotulus* is also frequently shown on Roman mummy coffins and shrouds, such as the Moscow mummy shroud I.1a. 5749, the Berlin coffin AM 17126 from Abusir el-Meleq, as well as the Roman papyri BM, EA 9995, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, E.103.1911 (Parlasca 1966), and the two others in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 12379 (Aubert – Cortopassi 2004, 161 no. D 19) and AF 21587. For further information about the papyrus rolls in the BD vignettes, see Tarasenko 2017.

94 Whitehouse 1998, 26; Vleeming 2017, 375–378. Mark Depauw argues that this interpretation was due to the lack of epistolary elements (Depauw 2003). Smith proposes that their designation as letters for breathing depended not so much on their actual contents as on their intended function. The deceased would present them on their arrival at the gates to the underworld in order to attain the privileges that were bestowed upon the blessed (Smith 1992/1993).

95 The situla is known in funerary art in Ancient Egypt from the 18th Dynasty onwards, and it is one of the characteristic ceremonial vessels used in temples as well as in the mortuary cult of private tombs (Ragheb 2008).

96 Cannata 2009, 58 f. The pastophoroi in the Hellenistic and Roman world are mainly associated with the priests who spread the Egyptian beliefs for the Egyptian gods (Schönborn 1976).

97 About the pastophoros, see de Meulenaere 1956, 301–312; Dunand 1969; Hoffmann – Quack 2014.

uals in Rome⁹⁸. Pastophoroi are also attested in Panopolis when carrying out the statue of Min during his ritual festival, »going out of Min«⁹⁹, and von Bissing suggests that this ritual festival of Min is depicted in the von Bissing tomb 1897¹⁰⁰. Also, women wearing knotted cloaks and with corkscrew curls, as in the costume of the female figure in tomb F2, was a clear resemblance to Isis in Roman cult statues¹⁰¹. In el-Salamuni, the deceased hoped to gain the support and power of Isis to act as intercessor between the deceased and Osiris, to petition Osiris, to overcome the agony of mortal death, and to reach the afterlife¹⁰².

38 The large, full-length depiction of the deceased is a style of presentation seen in Graeco-Roman tombs, shrouds, and coffins. As the deceased paid great attention to adding their finest depiction in a mummy portrait upon their coffin, they were interested in depicting themselves in the idealism of beauty in Hellenistic garb in their tomb, which, therefore, acted as a »tomb portrait«. The classical portrait is not only an attribute for the privileged class, but it also evokes the traditional, large Egyptian figure of the noble dead or their statues in their pharaonic tombs, and it reflects the same ancient desire of the noble deceased to enter the afterlife in his fashionable, wealthy costume. Furthermore, the large portrait enables the *ba* to recognise the deceased.

39 The deceased in the el-Salamuni tombs desired to be clothed in classical, fashionable garments either in the antechamber or the burial chamber inside their tomb. In tomb C1, the deceased was presented to the court of Osiris dressed in an ordinary Egyptian garment, and then, after finishing the procedures of the court and approving his justification, the virtuous deceased was costumed in the luxurious classical garment and received the priestly service. The finest classical garment of the deceased is direct proof of the deceased's success in following Osiris at the end of the transfiguration phase.

98 Perego 2011, 243.

99 See Gauthier 1931, 34 f.; Bleeker 1956, 59–66.

100 Von Bissing 1946/1947, 8; von Bissing 1950, 563.

101 Eingartner 1991, 29–33. 47 f.

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The Deceased in el-Salamuni Necropolis Following Osiris in Classical Dress

Wahid Omran

يتناول هذا المقال تصوير المتوفي في المقابر اليونانية الرومانية غير المنشورة في جبانة السلاموني، الجبانة الرئيسية في أخميم، بانوبوليس القديمة، حيث غالبًا ما يتم تصوير المتوفي، الذكر والأنثى، بحجم كبير مرتديًا الزي اليوناني التقليدي بما يشمله من مظاهر الترف والبزغ والرفاهية التي تعكس المكانة الاجتماعية والسلطة التي كان يتمتع بها المتوفي. لقد أصبح تصوير المتوفي بهذه الهيئة من العناصر الفنية المميزة والمعتادة في جبانة السلاموني. تنوع تصوير الهيئة التقليدية للمتوفي داخل المقابر سواء على جدران الحجرة الأمامية أو حجرة الدفن الرئيسية، حيث يظهر المتوفي دائمًا ممسكًا بلقافة بردي وإناء سيتولا الجنائزي المرتبط بعبادة إيزيس داخل مصر وخارجها. يهدف هذا البحث إلى التعرف على المغزى الديني والفني من تصوير المتوفي بهذه الهيئة المميزة في مقابر السلاموني.

الكلمات المفتاحية

بانوبوليس، مقصورة دفن، إناء سيتولا، العالم الآخر

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ADDRESS

Wahid Omran

Fayoum University, Faculty of Tourism and Hotels,
Tourist Guidance Department

32, Sharia Zaid Ibn-Haritha

Qesm Al Fayoum

Egypt

wao00@fayoum.edu.eg

<https://orcid.org/0009-0007-0487-4740>

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