

Original article

WHO GUIDES THE DECEASED IN EL-SALAMUNI?.

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<p>Received: 26-6-2023 Accepted: 30-12-2023 Doi: 10.21608/ejars.2024.361174</p>	<p><i>In El-Salamuni tombs of the Greaco- Roman period, the judgment court was a traditional scene, the deceased were often led by various gods, who introduced him to Osiris, or Sokar-Osiris. The article studies samples of the scenes show leading the deceased by a deity either in the court of the judgment, or in the processions, and invented the various deities who act this funerary role. Remarkably, procession-scenes of various male or female deities present offerings to Osiris or Sokar-Osiris is also a characteristic representation in these tombs. At the rear of these processions, the deceased was always following a human deity, holding his hand in order to introduce him to Osiris. The paper recognizes for the various gods who guide the deceased to the court, as well as tries to investigate and answer for the character of the usual and the unknown deity who leads him in these unpublished processions' scenes.</i></p>
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1. Introduction

El-Salamuni C Mountain lies 6 km north-east of Akhmim and about 2 km north of the famous El-Hawawish B. The archaeological mountain is named according to the nearby modern village “El-Salamuni” which locates south of the site, while Nagaa el-Sawâma- sharq villages lies north of the mountain [1]. One has to pass El-Sheikh Ismail bridge (or El-Raii ‘irrigation’s’ bridge) to reach the north edge of the mountain. The ‘El-Isawieh’, ancient ‘El-Faruqiyya’ canal lies at the foot of the mountain beside the cultivated lands of the villagers. It is not easy to get a comprehensive picture of the chronology, topography, and tomb architecture in this necropolis The El-Salamuni Mountain is about 300 m in height and 2000 m in length. Unfortunately, The Akhmim Inspectorate Office registered the tombs randomly and not in a systematic way for the whole mountain, on the other side, many tombs have not been systematically recorded, while other tombs were not registered yet. Furthermore, hundreds of landslide openings of tombs are also hewn through the mountain, giving it the appearance of a honeycomb. The Akhmim Inspectorate divided the Mountain into two sections; the north and the south one, each section was also divided into eight terraces extending from the bottom of the mountain to the top, labelling them as terraces A-H. Numerous tombs are cut out, the one next to or above the other, the extreme cemetery was mainly used during the late pharaonic, Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (fifth century BC - second/third century AD). Kuhlmann divided the tombs chronologically into four typological architectural

groups (C1-C4); tombs of the Roman period C4 are façade-tombs consisting of two rooms. Tombs of the Ptolemaic-Roman Period are located over the mountains’ terraces A- F, most of them are now documented in the mountains’ registers C and F. The upper terraces G and H contain tombs dating back to the Old, New Kingdom, and the Late Period. Hitherto tombs of the Graeco- Roman period are also documented in the south section of the mountain. The most magnificent and important tombs are Tombs B2, B6, B7, C1 (the so-called Tomb of von Bissing 1897), C3, C4, C5, C6, F1, F2, F3, F4 and F5. Tombs C3, C4, C5, F1, F2, F3, F4 and F5 are located on the south section of the mountain, while Tombs B2, B6, B7, C1 and C6 are on the north side. All these tombs are now closed with steel doors to protect them, except Tombs B2, B6 and C6, fig. (1).



Figure (1) El-Salamuni Mountain (©W. Omran)

The El-Salamuni is still relatively intact and largely archaeologically unexplored. Very little data concerning the tombs are scientifically and systematically published. The cemetery mainly flourished and replaced El-Hawawish A as the main burial center from the Late Ptolemaic Period until the end of the 3rd century AD, and it reached its peak as the main burial center for the urban elite community during the Roman Period [2], particularly during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. The El-Salamuni is a significant necropolis in Graeco-Roman Egypt, it has its special characteristics either in the tombs' architectural layouts, burial customs, and funerary art. The blending of Egyptian- Hellenistic features is extremely attested in the expression of the afterlife beliefs in the tombs. Osiris, and Sokar- Osiris are of course prominent in the tombs, Osiris still the god of the dead and guarantor of their posthumous existence. The tombs show a trend towards conservatism in mortuary practices. The funerary belief in El-Salamuni still persisted in viewing the afterlife as a journey which led to the Hall of Judgment, where the deceased's heart would be weighed and judged. By receiving a good burial and funerary rites, the dead are now ready to pass through the court of the judgment of Osiris, receive and participate in divine offerings, and enjoy his eternal rejuvenation. In El-Salamuni, leading the deceased by a deity is shown either in the court of the judgment or in the processions' scenes.

2. Description

Leading the deceased by various deities to the court of the judgment was a major depiction in the Graeco- Roman cemeteries of Egypt such as Anubis, Maat, Hathor, Amentet. In El-Salamuni, the same deities were responsible for introducing the deceased to the court of the Judgment. Otherwise, an unknown human deity is also widely depicted guides the deceased to the funerary processions in the tombs. In El-Salamuni, the Graeco-Roman tombs mainly consist of two chambers; the court of the judgment is presumably depicted in the antechamber, while the funerary processions are always found in the burial chambers.

2.1. The judgment court

The El-Salamuni Roman Tomb C3 [3], the north wall of the antechamber shows a remarkable version of the judgment of the court before Osiris. The jackal-headed Anubis holds the left wrist of the deceased in his right hand, while the right hand of the deceased is raised in adoration gesture. The deceased is dressed in a white, calf-length fringed garment, unfortunately, his head is destroyed, with only short curly hair. A partially damaged *silhouette*- only its thin black legs are preserved- is shown between Anubis and a damaged female goddess, certainly Hathor^(a) [4], or Maat. Anubis turns his head towards the *silhouette*, and holds it with his left hand, while Hathor holds the same *silhouette* with her right hand, and another *silhouette* with her left hand [5]. Anubis is painted in black, and he wears a red kilt

and a yellow hair wig, Anubis's belly is also painted in reddish. A damaged goddess, probably Hathor, wears a red fitted garment, while the feet are painted yellow. The scene records the only known representation of a silhouette led by the *psychopomp* deities to the court in the ancient Egyptian tombs, fig. (2). The adjacent vignette-wall shows the weighing process takes place before the enthroned figure of Sokar- Osiris who sits on the far north side of the wall.



Figure (2) leading the deceased and the silhouettes, Tomb C3 (© W. Omran)

El-Salamuni is the only necropolis that records the ambivalent nature of the *silhouette* within a single judgment scene, where it plays a double role, they function both benevolently and malevolently, as a manifestation of the blessed deceased, and as a tortured victim and stubborn enemy who hinders the deceased's transfiguration. This contrasting role of the *silhouette* gives El-Salamuni a special funerary character, and it helps to create a more nuanced understanding of the role these black figures played in funerary beliefs in Roman Egypt. In this scene, the *silhouette* functioning as a counterweight in a judgment scene^(b) [6]. Devouring the goddamn *silhouette* in El-Salamuni tombs was a necessary prelude for the rebirth, paralleled to the sacrificing the bull representing Seth in the funeral rites [7]. Also, the lake of fire or fire-cauldron, was depicted as a means of transforming and revitalizing the sun god and blessed dead [8]. Another amazing scene is depicted on the north wall of the burial chamber in Tomb B1 which locates on the mountain's terrace B in the south section of the mountain just beneath the ghafeer's security cave. It shows two jackal-headed figures of Anubis flank the female deceased, one wears the *pschent* crown, while the other one is headed with the *atef* crown. Unfortunately, the Anubis figure behind the deceased is still covered with the soot. They are striving towards an enthroned figure of Osiris in his shrine, while smaller mummiform figures of the Four Sons of Horus are protruding from a lotus bloom before him. The sun disc gives shining is adorned behind the shrine of Osiris, fig. (3).

The forward Anubis holds with his left hand the right hand of the deceased, while salutes Osiris with his upraised right hand. Unfortunately, because of the damage of the wall, the head of the female deceased is crashed.



Figures (3) Leading the deceased by Anubis, Tomb B1 (© W. Omran)

The deceased in Roman Period, especially in El-Salamuni, was so eager to be depicted in the most prestigious form of a human representation; as a vigorous young man, clad in the latest fashion, she is costumed in a fashionable Roman garment, and wears a chiton with two vertical purple *clavi* stripes [9] and a himation pulled about her torso, and wrapped around her right hip and thrown over her left arm, while two- woven-*gamma* shaped are shown on the garment's cilia along his left leg [10]. The deceased has a curly hair and barefooted without the common black leather thong sandals as traditionally worn by the classical figures of the deceased in El-Salamuni, the knee of the left leg is slightly flexed and the foot is represented as it is ready for movement, her weight shifted onto one foot evoking the 5th century BC sculpture Greek figures [11]. The corkscrew curls have its religious conception as a symbol of divinity and blessed abode, that it resembles the distinctive hairstyle used in Isis-gesture in Roman period 'Isis locks', especially in Greek art, furthermore, since the Ptolemaic period, the hair curls was a fashion style of the queens, women, and goddesses, therefore, it was a costume of the dead in Roman Egypt, especially in Panopolis [12]. In the Book of the Dead, Anubis plays the important role of vouching for the deceased before the judges of the Osirian court. Normally The *psychopomp* Anubis, the divine messenger, acting in his role of guiding souls to the afterlife [13], he introduces the deceased to Osiris. The cult of Anubis was distinguished in Panopolis, especially in the east bank, whereas mummified jackals were discovered in el-Hawawish A cemetery [14] perhaps the patron of the cemetery. A sanctuary of Anubis in Akhmim is mentioned in the famous demotic *P. Berl. Bork* of the 4th century AD, through the commission inventory's report of the of the buildings in the city, the text mentioned '*we have gone to the house of Melas*', the initial position would be '*the house of Melas*', a generally known building in the city; the officials also mentioned '*we have reached the temple of An () – temple of An ()*' [15], the text is missing, most probably means the temple of Anubis, the god who is attached to the funerary banquettes' meals. Furthermore, on the opposite Athribis, a dedication sanctuary to Anubis; the so-called the Asklepeion, it was suggested to an Anubieion^(c) [16]. The El-Salamuni Roman Tomb C1 (the so-called Tomb

of von Bissing 1897) [17] depicts another scene of the court on the north wall of the antechamber. The upper frieze of the north wall of the antechamber shows goddess Maat with her attributed feather emblem above, she introduces the male deceased to the tribunal of Osiris which is depicted on the adjacent vignette, fig. (4). She is responsible for introducing the male deity to the court in this tomb. Maat dressed in red fitted garment, and guides the male deceased to the court, which located on the adjacent north frieze.



Figure (4) leading the deceased by Maat, Tomb C1 (© W. Omran)

Maat is also found acting her traditional role for introducing the deceased into the court. In the so-called Kaplan's Tomb IV, the judgment of the court is depicted in the antechamber, right of the main entrance of the tomb, where the deceased beside the scale is upraising his hands in adoration attitude, while the feathered-headed Maat stands behind, and support him by her right hand [18], fig. (5-a). Also, in unregistered tomb, most probably, dates to the Ptolemaic period, Maat is depicted acting her traditional role for leading the deceased to the court, she costumes with an anthropomorphic beautiful lady with a feathered head, dressed in a white garment, with green feet, chest, and arms. She put her left hand on the right arm of the male deceased who is in orans-gesture with upraised hands, expressing that his jubilation for successfully passing the judgment, and confirming his posthumous gesture [19] which is partially damaged on the adjacent frieze, because of the damage of the wall, fig. (5-b).



Figure (5) Maat leads the deceased, unregistered Tomb

2.2. The processions

Depicting a human deity assists and guides the deceased at the rear of a funerary procession of various male/female deities pre-

senting offerings before Osiris, or Sokar-Osiris is a characteristic feature in El-Salamuni tomb. On the lower register of the north wall of the burial chamber of the Tomb C1, a procession of seven male -deities stride before an enthroned figure of Sokar-Osiris. At the rear of the procession, a human deity, acts as a *psychopomp*, leads the deceased to Sokar-Osiris, he turns his back faces the deceased and grasps the left wrist of the deceased by his right hand and turns to face her as he leads her forward, while he salutes Sokar-Osiris with his upraised left hand. Unfortunately, a great part of the deceased's figure is still covered with bitumen, he is garbed in his white traditional garment, fig. (6).

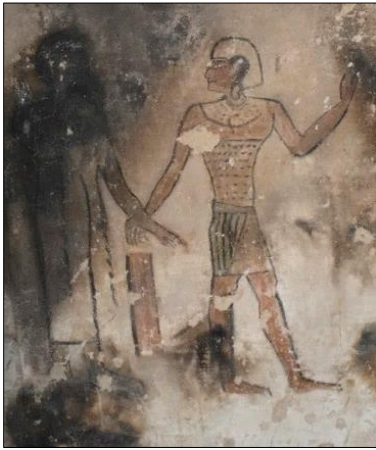


Figure (6) a male deity (Haryotes?) leads the deceased, Tomb C1 (© W. Omran)

He depicted twice in Tomb F3; once at the north wall of the burial at the rear of a procession of eight male -deities stride before Sokar-Osiris, while his second representation is on the parallel south wall at the rear of another procession consists of seven female deities stride before Osiris. On both processions, he is depicted as a psychopomp, his back to the procession and faces the male deceased, he grasps the hand of the deceased, leading him forward, while the deceased looks towards procession, raises his hand in a veneration attitude and dressed in the fringed, white, calf-length garment, fig. (7).

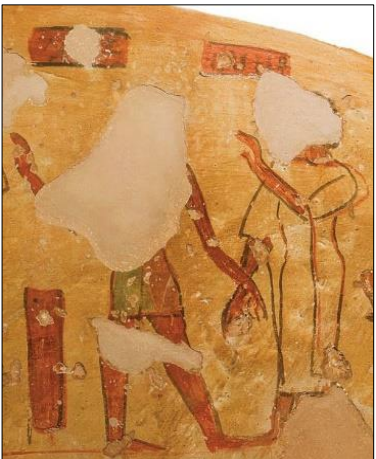


Figure (7) a male deity (Haryotes?) leads the deceased, Tomb C3 (© W. Omran)

In another unregistered tomb of the Roman period locates on the south section of the mountain on the terrace F. Unfortunately, it is still covered with the soot. The traditional male and female deities' processions are depicted here on the back walls of the north and south burial niches in the burial chamber of the tomb. The male deities' procession is offering before an enthroned figure of Osiris, while the female procession is before Sokar-Osiris: In both scenes, the human deity in his traditional gesture, he also turns his back and holds the wrist of the hand of a male deceased at the rear of the procession introduces the deceased to Osiris/ Sokar-Osiris. The deceased is garbed in his white Roman garment and a white hair wig, he raises his right hand in a gesture before Sokar-Osiris, fig. (8).



Figure (8) a male deity (Haryotes?) leads the deceased, Tomb C3 (© W. Omran)

3. Results

Many deities were depicted in El-Salamuni tombs guide the deceased either to the judgment court or the ritual processions. The deities of Maat, Hathor, Anubis, and Amentet lead the male/female deceased to the court. Strikingly, El-Salamuni necropolis is unique that the guiding deities are not only lead the deceased but also the black silhouettes to the court of the judgment. Furthermore, an anonymous deity is also widely depicted as a member of a procession's row of various deities, he is leading the male/female deceased either before Osiris or Horus. Unfortunately, with the absence of the text, exploring the character of the male deity is still not strictly defined.

4. Discussions

Horus was widely worshipped in the Panopolite nome, and as a result several forms of Horus are attested, such as "Horus who rejoices the heart/Horus *senedjemib*" [20], son of Osiris and Isis, and Horus the great, Haroeris, lord of Letopolis [21], who was venerated at Edfa, and was associated with the cult of Horus *Iounmoutef* 'Harmouthes' *hr-iwn-mw.t.f*, 'Horus, the pillar of his mother' [22] in the Roman Period. Moreover, the cult of *Hr-wd3* (Horus is healthy) [23] "Harudja/Haryotes" was familiar in Bompae [24]. Horudja/Haryotes, the local deified human god, who combined divinity and humanity,

whose cult was flourishing in Bompae [25], and venerated together with Hermes and Apollo [26] is also has special appearance and function in the tombs. Haryotes combines the Greek gods Hermes and Apollo who are assimilated with the Egyptian gods Thoth and Horus. The Haryotes-names were familiar in the onomastics of the community of the Panopolite nome; 103 out of 714 names, about 15% derive from Haryotes there [27]. Haryotes-names also appear in Panopolis [28]. A mummy label of Haryotes, son of Haryotes, grandson of Haremephis, has a picture of a Horus falcon on the back [29]. Furthermore, The bilingual mummy label *CEMG 1839* mentioned in the demotic version ‘Marcus Aurélius Appollonias, priest of Haryotes, the great god of Bompae’, while in the Greek text mentions ‘priest of the temple of Haryotes, Hermes and Apollo, the great gods of Bompae’ [30], another mention of a “Sansnôs son of Apollonios, Priest of Horoudja of Bompae” [31]. Haryotes was worshipped in Bompae alongside the great Egyptian gods Thoth (Hermes) and Horus (Apollo), which reflects his great rank in the Panopolite pantheon. Unfortunately, there is no inscription accompanied the procession-scenes to figure out the character of the human deity. I assume that the male *psychopomp* deity is Haryotes who widely accompanying the deceased on the Roman mummy labels, especially on the west bank of the nome^(d) [32]. Therefore, Haryotes was a traditional figure guiding the deceased in El-Salamuni It is remarkable that Haryotes exclusively appeared accompanying the deceased as his helper and deliverer only in the procession-scenes of both the male and female deities who are offering to Osiris or Sokar-Osiris. He does not attest to introducing the deceased in the courts of the judgment, that the traditional deities such as Maat, Amentet, Anubis, and Hathor was responsible for this task. Introducing the deceased among the deities of the procession confirms that he gained a kind of divinity in his tomb. Von Bissing suggested that the deceased in El-Salamuni tombs enjoyed a kind of cult in his tomb; especially in the antechamber which was meant for the cult of the deceased, and the ritual veneration of the deceased was took place inside [33]. They are receiving and offering a ritual act [34], visitors- benches ‘*kilnium*’ which were found in the forecourt of many tombs which assume family visits and funerary banquets took place, most probably, outside the tombs itself [35]. Furthermore, dumps of pottery sherds found in the mountain especially in the area between the tomb and the temple of Ay, remnants of many drinking cups, small flasks (*unguentaria*) were recorded.

5. Conclusion

The combination of both Hellenistic and Egyptian visual elements is a result of a fusion between two rival cultures in Panopolis. Classical culture was a part of education for the elite men of Panopolis. Decorated tombs in a mixed Egyptian-Hellenistic style are more numerous along El-Salamuni’s east bank than in the Athribis necropolis of the Panopolite nome’s west bank. From the Late Period until the Early Ptolemaic Period, El-Salamuni was

not used as a necropolis on a large scale. Most of the elite, including high-status officials, were buried in El-Hawawish. El-Salmauni contains many special characteristics of funerary art and burial customs that are not found elsewhere in Egypt. In El-Salamuni, many deities used to lead the deceased to the court of the judgment, those who are traditionally act the same role in other necropolises either in Alexandria, or in the chora such as Tuna el-Gebel, Athribis, Bahariya, Dachla. Otherwise, a widely and exclusively deified deity ‘Haryotes’ acts as the leader of the deceased to the funerary processions in the tombs. El-Salamuni is characterized by the unique representation of Haryotes who intercessor and proclaimed the divinity for the posthumous deceased before Osiris in the presence of the pantheon deities of Panopolis, letting the deceased to follow Osiris in the netherworld. As, the deceased widely asked the help and support from Haryotes through the inscriptions on the mummy labels found in the west bank villages of the Panopolite nome. Here, in El-Salamuni, he scenically asked the same support from the deified Haryotes to introduce him before Osiris, and to help him to reach glorification and divine assimilation and achieve the transforming into a divine. Haryotes has a special cult center in the Panopolite nome, his appearance is only exclusive in El-Salamuni, and he didn’t appear elsewhere. He was a minor god, not a main god, has very specific role or influence towards the deceased, therefore, his appearance is always restricted at the end of the procession, he is not attested in the courts of the judgment.

Endnotes

- (a) The deceased woman is closely associated with Hathor rather than Osiris in texts and funerary art in Ptolemaic-Roman Egypt: Riggs. C (2005). *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, Oxford, 71–78; Rondot, V. (2011). *L’Empereur et le petit prince: les deux colosses d’Argo: iconographie, symbolique et datation*, in V. Rondot, F. Alpi, and F. Villeneuve (eds.), *La pioche et la plume: autour du Soudan, du Liban et de la Jordanie. Hommages archéologiques à Patrice Lenoble*, Paris, 428–31; Rondot, V. (2013). *Derniers visages des dieux d’Égypte: iconographies, panthéons et cultes dans le Fayoum hellénisé des IIe-IIIe siècles de notre ère. Passé présent*, Paris, 265, 355–56; Smith, M. (2017). *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia*, Oxford, 385–89.
- (b) The silhouette as a counterweight is also depicted on the coffin of Didyme of the 2nd century AD, it was found at Zaweit el –Meitin. See Kurth. D (1990), *Der Sarge der Teüris, Eine Studie zum Totenglauben im römischen Ägypten*, AT 6, Mainz, pl. 5. Also, it is depicted on the Roman-era coffin (Louvre AF 13027) from Antinoupolis, it dates to the 2nd-3rd century AD. where; the silhouette lies in one of the scale’s pans while being weighed against a heavy spherical object. Brunner-Traut. E (1981), *Gelebte Mythen*, Darmstadt, 70; Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung*, 77, fig. 23; Régen. I (2012), ‘Ombres, Une iconographie singulière du mort sur des «linceuls» d’époque romaine provenant de Saqqâra’, in A. Gasse, F. Servajean, and Ch. Thiers (eds.), *Et in Ægypto*

et ad Egyptum, *Recueil d'études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier*, CENiM 5, Montpellier, 614, fig. 10; Aubert. M.-Fr. & Cortopassi. R (2004-2008), *Portraits funéraires de lagypse Romaine*, Paris, 219–220; Régen, 'Ombres. Une iconographie singulière', 614, 623, fig. 10. While in the tombs, it is shown in the judgment scene in the House-tomb 20 at Tuna el-Gebel (GB 29), It shows a unique depiction of a near-skeletal figure in the orange-gesture emerging from a vessel that is set on the scale's right pan. Unfortunately, the other pan is now lost. Anubis and Horus, crowned with a solar disc, stand below the crossbar attending each pan, while Thoth (partially damaged) stands in the middle of the beam Gabra. S et. al, *Fouilles d'Hermoupolis Ouest*, 102–03; Kaplan. I (1999), *Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit, Wechselwirkung zwischen der Ägyptischen und Griechisch Alexandrinischen Kunst*, BzÄ 16; Vienna, 161–62, pl. 78c, d; Venit. M (2016), *Visualizing the Afterlife in Tombs of Greco-Roman Egypt*, Cambridge, 112–13. Zabkar suggested a sexual power role for these silhouettes, where the black color of the shadow assimilated with the black earth which makes the seed grow, the darkness of the night gives life to the new sun, and the dark color of Osiris assume his second birth, Žabkar. L (1968) *A Study of the BA Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, SAOC 34, Chicago, 104.

- (c) S. Lippert recorded about 70 inscriptions on its walls; 65 in demotic, while 5 in Greek, in addition to 8 painted sketches and one recessed rectangular panel with a painting underneath one line of demotic. She mentioned that only the Greek inscription on the entrance mention god Asklepios, while none of the over 60 demotic inscriptions mention Imhotep/Asklepios; they mentioned different deities as Min- Re, Repit, Horus Senedjem-ib, Haroeris, lord of Letopolis, Kolanthes, Oairis Sokar, lord of Abydos. Lippert suggested that the Speos was mainly used as a resting place for falcon mummies, and the Greek inscription on the lintel is either much earlier or much later than the beginning of the 1st century AD when the cult of the sacred falcons of Athribis was in full swing, especially the cult of *p3 bi k* and *Hr-wr nb shm*, and one of the inscriptions mentions a number of persons of which some bear titles that seem connected to a falcon cult.
- (d) The vast majority of the Akhmim mummy labels is dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD and especially 175-275 AD, Vleeming. S (2008). *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications*, *Studia Demotica* 8, Leuven. Some Coptic mummy labels with crosses, formulae or a chi-rho-monogram also attested, CEMG 104, 113, 1404, CEMG 1512, Bouriant. U (1889). *Notes de voyage, Rec. Trav* 11, pp.143–4. The most important collections are: the collection of Robert Forrer: ca. 255 labels in Str-

asbourg, Forrer, R (1895). *Mein Besuch in el-Achmim: Reisebriefe aus Ägypten*, Strassburg, pp. 59–60. Further objects are in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin, Krebs. F (1984). Griechische Mumienetikette aus Ägypten, ZÄS 32, pp. 36–51 (1894); Möller, G (1913). *Mumienschilder (Demotische Texte aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 1*, Leipzig; Vleeming. S (2008). The Berichtungs liste of Demotic Documents in A. D. 2007, Brauneberg, 132–3, and numerous in Leiden and Amsterdam, Pestman. P (1963). Two Mummy-Labels in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, *OMRO* 44, pp. 24–26; Pestman. P (1965). Der demotische Text der Mumientäfelchen aus Amsterdam, *OMRO* 46, pp. 44-51; Sijpesteijn. P (1965). Eine Sammlung von Mumientäfelchen im Allard Pierson Museum zu Amsterdam, *OMRO* 46, pp. 34–43; Pestman. P (1974). Fourteen Ostraca from a Private Collection, *ZPE* 14, pp. 229–39. The collection of the Louvre was mainly assembled by Bouriant and Revillout, the Greek texts were published by Baratte. F & Boyaval. B (1974). *Catalogue des étiquettes de momies du Musée du Louvre (C.E.M.L.)*. Textes grecs, 1, *CRIPEL* 2, pp. 155–264. The British Museum collection was acquired by Budge. E (1982). *The Mummy, A Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archaeology*, New York, pp. 224–245; Hall. H (1905). Greek Mummy-Labels in the British Museum, *PSBA* 27, p. 4, some of which are published. The collection of the Egyptian Museum of Cairo: Spiegelberg (1904), 13–20, 48–56, 83–91, 115–22, 159–65; Milne. J (1905). *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée de Caire*, Nos. 9201–9400, 26001–26123, 33001–33037. The collection in the IFAO, Wagner. G (1974). Étiquettes de momies grecques de l'IFAO, *BIFAO* 74, pp. 45–61; Devauchelle, D & Quaegebeur. J (1981). Étiquettes de Momies démotiques et bilingues de l'IFAO, *BIFAO* 81, pp. 359–77. For the mummy labels in the collection of the Austrian National Library Vienna. Klos. H (1952). Griechische Mumientäfelchen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *CdE* 27, pp. 282–284; Klos. H (1956). *Die griechischen Mumientäfelchen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, *Studia et Documenta Orientalia* 6, Cairo, pp. 221–282. Textes grecs, 1", *CRIPEL* 2, pp. 155–264.

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