

**Universität zu Köln  
Philosophische Fakultät  
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**The Aspects of Animal Sanctification in the Graeco-Roman Monuments  
in Egypt**

**(Study in Classical Influences)**

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von

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To the memory of my Father  
To my beloved Mother  
And to my precious Daughters, Alaa and Mariam

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## Abbreviations

In writing the footnotes, the references, and the abbreviations in this research, I have adhered to the *Autor-Jahr-System* of the German Institute of Archeology (DAI).

### 1. Periodicals

**AA** = Archäologischer Anzeiger. Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin

**AF** = Archäologische Forschungen

**AM** = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung

**ANRW** = Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt

**ASAE** = Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte

**BIFAO** = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale

**BSAA** = Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie

**CdE** = Chronique d'Égypte, Brüssel

**EPRO** = Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden

**HÄB** = Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim

**IBAES** = Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie

**IFAO** = Institut français d'archéologie orientale

**JARCE** = Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston

**JbAC** = Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum

**JdI** = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

**JEA** = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

**LÄ** = Lexikon der Ägyptologie

**LIMC** = Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae

**MÄS** = Münchner ägyptologische Studien

**MDAIK** = Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo

**RdE** = Revue d'égyptologie

**RHR** = Revue de l'histoire des religions

**RSO** = Rivista degli Studi Orientali

**SAK** = Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur

**ZÄS** = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

**ZPE** = Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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## I. Introduction

### 1. Aim of the Study

The aim of this study is to spot the light on the relation between the Greeks, Romans and the sacred animals in ancient Egypt. It investigates the classical elements relating to this theme in arts during the Graeco-Roman Periods, and provides artistic and archaeological proofs for the existence of this sanctification among the Greeks and Romans. This could be done through answering a number of questions: Did the Greeks and Romans believe in the idea of the animal sanctification and participate in it? How can one account for the classical elements that appeared in the representations of the animals in art? Were there *stelae*, statues and dedications made for the sacred animals by the Greeks and Romans? In addition, I will compare the cemetery of Tuna el- Gebel, on the one hand, and the ibis catacomb of Abukir, on the other, to know why the latter was built in Abukir. Thus, I will give a comprehensive study of one of the most important phenomenon in ancient Egypt, the sanctification of the animal.

### 2. Former Studies

Actually, there are some former valuable studies (books and articles) concerned with the sacred animals such as:

T. Hopfner, Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern (Wien 1913).

This study was one of the old and important studies that declared the religion of animal in Egypt. The references of Hopfner were the classical historians that visited Egypt. He tried to give some reasons for that cult.

K. A. D. Smelik, The Cult of the Ibis in the Graeco-Roman Period: With Special Attention to the Data from the Papyri, in: M.J. Vermaseren (ed.), Studies in Hellenistic Religion (Leiden 1979).

This article is concerned with the ibis cult in Egypt during the Graeco-Roman periods as it tries to know the locations of this cult in Egypt.

D. Kessler, Die heiligen Tiere und der König (Wiesbaden 1989).

This study mentions all the cemeteries of the sacred animals in all archaeological locations in Egypt, but most of them no longer exist.

M. Fitzenreiter (Hg.), *Tierkulte im pharaonischen Ägypten und im Kulturvergleich*, IBAES IV (Berlin 2003).

It contains some articles about the cult of animals. It is concerned with the information given by the classical historians and the comparison with the animal religion in south Asia and Africa.

S. Ikram (ed.), *Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, American University Press (Cairo 2005).

It contains some articles about the cult of animals such as the ways of the mummification and the animal necropolis of Tuna el-Gebel.

Most of those studies are concerned with the religious aspect of the animal especially in the Pharaonic period. But there is no complete study about all the religious and the artistic aspects of this sanctification especially in the Graeco-Roman periods, and about the relationship between the Greeks, Romans and the sacred animals in Egypt.

### **3. The Study**

The flourishing of the animal cult began during the reign of Psamtik I (664-610 BC) who was the first of three kings that carried this name during the Saite period, or the Twenty-sixth dynasty. Psamtik I destroyed the last vestiges of the Nubian 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty's control over Upper Egypt. After that, Psamtik I began the war against those local princes such as the Libyan marauders that were against his rule of Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Psamtik I proved to be a great Pharaoh by winning Egypt's independence from the Assyrian Empire and restored Egypt's prosperity throughout his rule.<sup>2</sup> The Pharaoh established strong relations with the Greeks and also encouraged many Greek settlers to start colonies in Egypt and serve in the Egyptian army. Psamtik I was capable of making a new powerful Egypt. This was done due to his rigor in the management of Sais city. Therefore, he started to depend on the Greeks and the Carian mercenaries who were at that time the most respected military forces in the eastern Mediterranean area and had a crucial impact on the revitalization of the Egyptian army which had degraded to the level of the local forces.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. S. Auckland, Psammetichus I, in: Wiesbaden LÄ. IV (Wiesbaden 1982) 1164 ff

<sup>2</sup> Ray 200, 268

<sup>3</sup> Gärtner 2003, 3; Smoláriková 2008, 12 ff; Ray 2001, 268

Psamtik I owed his power to the Ionian and Carian mercenaries whom he settled in camps on the Pleusiac branch of the Nile, north of Bubastis.<sup>4</sup> Later on, the Greeks gained a good position. This is confirmed by the words of Herodotus: “The Ionians and Carians who had helped him to conquer were given by Psammetichus places to dwell in, called The Camps, opposite to each other on either side of the Nile; and besides this he paid them all that he had promised. Moreover he put Egyptian boys in their hands to be taught the Greek tongue; these, learning Greek, were the ancestors of the Egyptian interpreters. The Ionians and Carians dwelt a long time in these places, which are near the sea, on the arm of the Nile called the Pelusian, a little way below the town of Bubastis. Long afterwards, king Amasis removed them thence and settled them at Memphis, to be his guard against the Egyptians. It comes of our intercourse with these settlers in Egypt (who were the first men of alien speech to settle in that country) that we Greeks have exact knowledge of the history of Egypt from the reign of Psammetichus onwards. There still remained till my time, in the places whence the Ionians and Carians were removed, the landing engines<sup>1</sup> of their ships and the ruins of their houses.”<sup>5</sup>

The Greek mercenaries were enticed to settle down in the delta region. Although the mercenaries used to be paid with customary precious metals or coins, the Greek mercenaries in Egypt were also rewarded with land grants in the Egyptian Delta. This of course made them available whenever Psamtik I needed them. It also partially integrated these Greeks into the Egyptian society.<sup>6</sup>

The Greek mercenaries not only protected the Saite rulers from internal and external threats, they also encouraged the growth of foreign trade in Egypt. Therefore, Psamtik I extended the privilege of the Greek and other foreign merchants for commencing particularly in the city of Naucratis. Later on, Amasis (570-526 BCE) reorganized the city of Naucratis, which became then a preeminent port of trade in the Mediterranean and a Greek colony in Egypt.<sup>7</sup>

“Amasis became a lover of the Greeks, and besides other services which he did to some of them he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naucratis to dwell in, and to those who voyaged to the country without desire to settle there he gave lands where they might set altars and make holy places for their gods. Of these the greatest and most famous and most visited precinct is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and

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<sup>4</sup> K.Winnicki, Late Egypt and her Neighbours. Foreign Population in Egypt in the 1st Millennium BC ( Warsaw 2009) 113

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus 2, 154

<sup>6</sup> Möller 2000, 33

<sup>7</sup> Möller 2000, 75 ff

Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene. It is to these that the precinct belongs, and these are they that appoint wardens of the port; if any others claim rights therein they lay claim to that wherein they have no part or lot. The Aeginetans made a precinct of their own, sacred to Zeus; and so did the Samians for Here and the Milesians for Apollo.<sup>8</sup> The Greeks started to succeed. This was the reason that made the Egyptians hate them. Therefore, the successor of Psamtik I, Amasis (570-526 BC) solved this problem by allowing the Greeks to settle in Naucratis that lied near the city of Sais.<sup>9</sup>

Naucratis was located in the Delta region (Fig.1)<sup>10</sup> along the east band of the Canopic of the Nile. This provided an access to both the Mediterranean Sea and the Nile valley. Because of the reorganization of the city that had been made by Amasis, the city became the place of all the foreign trade. Naucratis became the link between two great civilizations, the Egyptian and the Greek. In addition, the inhabitants of this city had a commercial activity that made the city the most important commercial centre in the second half of the sixth century BC. This city became also the centre of the Greek art, as the Greeks from every city settled in it.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, it became a place of different artistic trends.

Several *temene* or sacred enclosures were established by the Greeks for the Greek gods (Fig.2). Excavation occurred in Naucratis in the winter of 1884-85 by Petrie and Griffith and in the winter of 1885-86 by Petrie, Griffith, and Gardner. In the northern part of the site, in the area quarried by the *sebakhin*, Petrie discovered several Greek *temene*. Nothing remained of these temples, although, he was able to recover quantities of Archaic Greek figured pottery.<sup>12</sup>

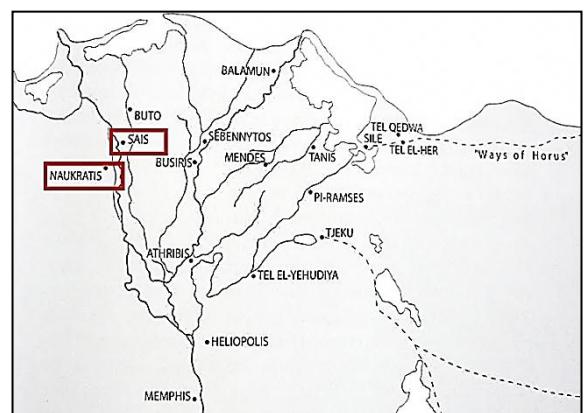


Fig.1

To the west of the Hellenion lied the Sanctuary of Apollo, the first stone greek temple that was built in ca. 570-550 BC. There is also the Sanctuary of Hera, in which the earliest mud-brick foundations were found, below the Temple of Apollo.

<sup>8</sup> Herodotus 2, 178

<sup>9</sup> J. Ray, Late Period, in: The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Vol. 2 (Oxford 2001 ) 269

<sup>10</sup> Smoláriková 2008, Fig.3

<sup>11</sup> Möller 2000, 20 ff

<sup>12</sup> Muhs 1994, 99

Thus, this possibly indicates its earlier construction. To the north of the Sanctuary of Apollo is the Sanctuary of the Dioskouroi.<sup>13</sup>

Although the Greeks lived in a Greek atmosphere both in life and religion, they were affected by the Egyptian religion and culture. This can be obvious in the bronze votive statuettes bearing Greek dedicatory inscriptions discovered around Lower Egypt.

For example, there is a bronze votive figurine found in an Egyptian temple (?) at Saqqara and dedicated by a Greek (Fig.3).<sup>14</sup> The figurine represents the shape of the seated Osiris with the lunar-disk crown.<sup>15</sup> The Greek dedicatory inscription dates back to 400 BC.<sup>16</sup>

The inscription reads:

*Zηνῆς Θεοδότου Σελήνης ἄγαλμα ἐποιήσατο*

Zenes, son of Theodosius, made this statue of Selene, [given life].<sup>17</sup>

There is also another bronze relief from Memphis depicting Amun and Mut receiving an offering from a worshipper (Fig.4).<sup>18</sup> The inscription can be seen along the sides and at the top of the pedestal. It is written in both Greek and Egyptian Hieroglyphics. It demonstrates that this offering was presented by a Greek to the Egyptian temple of Amun at Thebes.

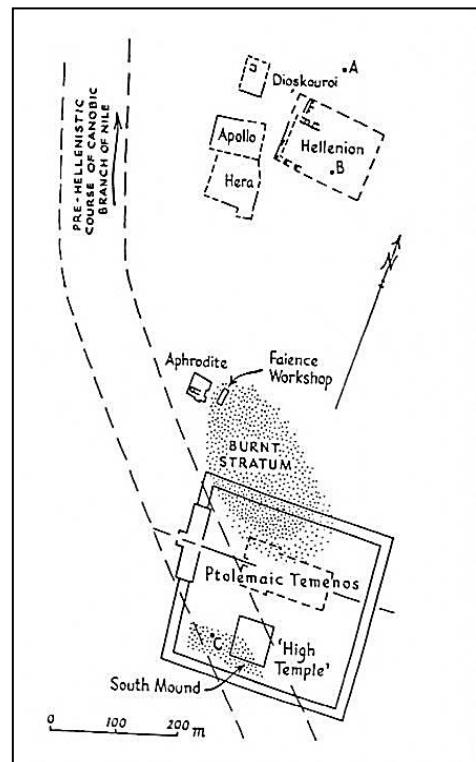


Fig.2



Fig.3

<sup>13</sup> Vittmann 2003, 215 ; Möller 2001, 3 Abb.1; Smoláriková 2008,73 Fig.1; Livingston 2002a, Internet- publication

<sup>14</sup> Vittmann 2003 , 232 Abb.118 ; Weiβ 2012, 619 Nr. 347

<sup>15</sup> Masson 1977, 63

<sup>16</sup> Masson 1977, 64 Pl. 4

<sup>17</sup> Vittmann 2003 , 232

<sup>18</sup> Vittmann 2003, 230 f Abb. 116

The inscription reads:

Με]λάνθιός με ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ζηνὶ Θηβαίωι ἔκαλμα.

Melanthisos dedicated me, a statue for Theban Zeus.<sup>19</sup>

If we take into consideration the Ionian dialect, this inscription can be dated back to 550-525 BC.<sup>20</sup> This votive statuette confirms the assimilation between Zeus and Amun that occurred in the late period.



Fig.4

There is another bronze votive statuette representing the Apis bull in a purely traditional Egyptian style (Fig.5).<sup>21</sup> The statuette carries a Greek dedication to the god "Panepi" and the style of the inscription is dated back to 500-450 BC.<sup>22</sup>

Τοῦ Πανεπὶ μ' ἀνέστασε Σοκύδης

Sokydes dedicated me to Panepi.<sup>23</sup>

The worshipper was not Ionian, but possibly Dorian.<sup>24</sup> The place of finding is unspecified; however, it could have come from a Greek site in the Delta.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Vittmann 2003 , 230

<sup>20</sup> Masson 197, 54; Vittmann 2003, 230 f

<sup>21</sup> Vittmann 2003 , 232 Abb.117

<sup>22</sup> Masson 1977, 53 f Pl. 2.5.

<sup>23</sup> Vittmann 2003, 232

<sup>24</sup> Masson 1977, 62; Vittmann 2003, 232; Livingston 2002b, Internet- publication

<sup>25</sup> Vittmann 200 , 232

The Apis was considered the *Ba* (the spirit or physical manifestation) of the Egyptian god Ptah, chief god of the city Memphis. The Greek name "Panepi" could be derived from the Hieroglyph *b3 n Pth*, the "Spirit of Ptah", as the name of Panepi is not attested to be used for any Greek god in the records.<sup>26</sup>



Fig.5

The tomb of Petosiris (the high priest of the temple of Thoth) at Hermopolis Magna (Tuna el-Gebel) provides us with another example of the assimilation that occurred between the Egyptian and the Greek gods, not to mention the Greek influence on the Egyptian arts in the late period.<sup>27</sup> This tomb dated back to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>28</sup> and continued to be used by successive family members through the reign of Alexander and the Ptolemaic period.

In the procession which was represented on the lowest frieze of the *naos* of the tomb, a woman is represented in white skin and blond hair, wearing a himation which covers her right shoulder and her left side, while her right side and breast are nude (Fig.6, a-b).<sup>29</sup> She is crowned with a lotus flower and two green leaves. She holds a small ampoule tied with a robe, in addition to a cock to be presented as an offering to Thoth-Hermes. The cock was the symbol of eloquence and it was offered to Hermes as a votive.<sup>30</sup> This indicates that the Greeks assimilated Hermes with Thoth in the third intermediate period and the early Ptolemaic era.

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<sup>26</sup> Masson 1977, 62

<sup>27</sup> Vittmann 2003, 235

<sup>28</sup> Cherpion 2007, 2

<sup>29</sup> Lefebvre 1923, Pl.XLVII; Cherpion 2007, 115 No.8; Corbelli 2006, 25 Fig. 21

<sup>30</sup> W. Stewart, Dictionary of images and symbols in counseling (London 1998) 102

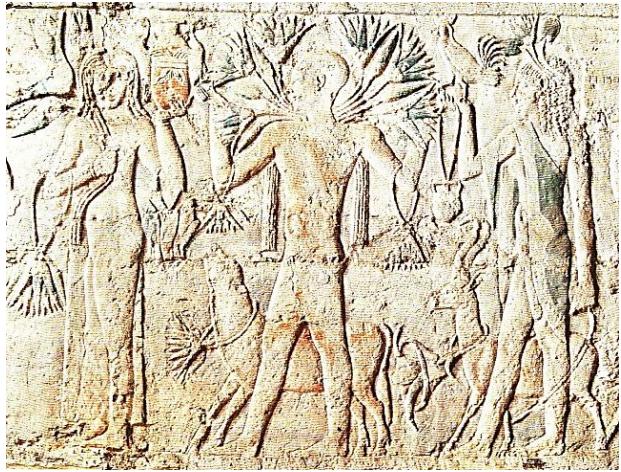


Fig.6,a



Fig.6,b

After all the above-mentioned argument, the following question emerges: what are the reasons of the flourishing of the animal cult?

Smelik thinks that the reasons could be related to the desire of fostering the popular religion against the state-religion. He said “the animal cult was considered an aspect of the popular religion. As for the state-religion, it began to decline especially after the invasion of the Assyrians and the incapability of preserving the independence of Egypt. This affected the belief in the old state-gods and made the sanctification of other gods more attractive.”<sup>31</sup>

Ikram agrees with this opinion as she mentions: “Animal cults have existed in Egypt from the Predynastic Period onward, gaining in popularity in the New Kingdom, and most especially in the Late Period and thereafter. Certain animal cults, such as that of the Apis Bull of Memphis, are securely attested from the First Dynasty onward, and enjoyed a renaissance in the Eighteenth Dynasty under the reign of Amenhotep III, as is demonstrated by the construction of the Serapeum galleries and the cat sarcophagus dedicated by Crown-Prince Djutmose. Others came into being, or at least became popular, from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty onward. The roots of the popularity of these cults lay in their accessibility to the public and the upsurge of personal piety and personal gods that occurred during the New Kingdom .The nature of the later cults seems to have differed slightly from that of the earlier, more established ones in their general accessibility and the identification of most of the

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<sup>31</sup> Smelik —Hemelrijk 1984, 1864

creatures with aspects of Osiris, as well as the king, although this is still a matter of some conjecture.”<sup>32</sup>

Ikram also states that the reason for the flourishing of the animal cults, which started in the Late Period and continued into the Greco-Roman Period, is unclear.<sup>33</sup> However, she says: “animal cults became not just a manifestation of Egyptian religion, but also a means of separating and defining ‘Egyptian’ as opposed to foreign, and was a reaction against the alien peoples who ruled and inhabited Egypt. These cults were extremely popular, perhaps as they offered guarantees of salvation for those who served them or those who put themselves under their protection.”<sup>34</sup>

I think that archeologists tried to know the reason of the flourishing of this cult in the late period but they didn't succeed because there are no clear archeological or literary evidences to confirm the reasons of this flourishing.

In fact, no specific reason for the flourishing of the animal sanctification in the late period has been found. The archaeologists tried to know the changes and the events that occurred in the Egyptian society in the late period that could influence the Egyptian religion. They did not find anything except the intruding of foreigners in the Egyptian society starting from the reign of Psamtik I. With this change, a new culture, new gods, and new temples emerged in Egypt. At that time also assimilation between Egyptian divinities and foreign ones began to appear. Take for example the identifications between Amun and Zeus, Isis and Astarte, or Osiris and Dionysos etc.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, the scholars tried to interpret this flourish as a reaction to the foreign influence in the Egyptian public life, the matter that made the Egyptians return to their ancient beliefs especially the animal sanctification.

The word “sanctification” of the animals means that some animals are recognized as holy and worthy of respect and cult manifestations.

“The Latin word *sancire* is related to the Sanskrit 'sak', means to accompany, or to honour. It is related also to *sequor*, means follow, *sacer*, sacred, and to the Greek root *hag*, seen in *hagios*, and *hagnos*, holy. *Sancire* is to render sacred or inviolable by religious act, to appoint as sacred and inviolable. *Sanctus* has been rendered sacred and inviolable. *Sanctus* also means

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<sup>32</sup> Ikram 2005, 7

<sup>33</sup> Ikram 2005, 7

<sup>34</sup> Ikram 2005, 8

<sup>35</sup> Witt 1997, 125

august, divine, pure, and holy. It is used for a deity and for divine objects such as the temple or the shrine.”<sup>36</sup>

So, I decided to use the word “sanctification” instead of the word “worship”, because I think that the ancient Egyptian did not worship the animal itself but he/she sanctified and respected it as a manifestation of the god that he worshiped.

This study will be as follows:

## **II. An Overview of the Animal Sanctification in Ancient Egypt**

This Chapter deals with the religious background of the animal sanctification in Egypt starting from the Pharaonic period till the Roman era. In addition, this chapter is concerned with the reasons of the sanctification of animals in Ancient Egypt, the opinions of the historians, the categories of the sacred animals, and the creation of new sacred animals in the Graeco-Roman period. It explains how the Greeks and the Romans dealt with this religious topic in Egypt. In this chapter, I will give an account of the reasons of building a catacomb in Abukir “Canopus”. Then, I will compare it with the Catacomb of Tuna el-Gebel especially that the catacomb of Abukir does not exist anymore.

## **III. Dedications to the Sacred Animals and the Egyptian Animal Headed Gods**

Many Greek dedications were made to the sacred animals during the Greco-Roman period, especially to the crocodile in El-Fayoum. These dedications are considered an aspect of the animal sanctification. I will investigate in this chapter the dedications on the temples, the *stelae* and also the statuettes group of military figures with animal heads as ex-votos.

## **IV. Representations of the Sacred Animals on Tombstones**

This chapter explores the classical elements and the influences that appear in the representations of the tombstones of the Graeco-Roman period which carry the shapes of the sacred animals accompanying the deceased. This is done through studying many *stelae* from Kom Abou Bellou and Alexandria to prove that the representation of the sacred animals on those *stelae* was one of the aspects of animal sanctification.

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<sup>36</sup> H. Crosthwaite, Ka : A handbook of mythology, sacred practices, electrical phenomena, and their linguistic connections in the ancient Mediterranean world (Princeton 1992) 239 f

## II. An Overview of Animal Sanctification in Ancient Egypt

This Chapter deals with the origin of animal sanctification in Egypt starting from the Pharaonic period till the Roman era. In addition, it explores the reasons for animal sanctification in ancient Egypt, the opinions of the historians, the categories of the sacred animals, the creation of new sacred animals in the Greco-Roman period, and explains how the Greeks and the Romans dealt with this religious topic in Egypt. The chapter theorizes for an explanation of the reason for building a catacomb in Abukir “Canopus” and contrasts it with catacomb of Tuna el-Gebel, because the catacomb of Abukir does not exist anymore. Moreover, I will give an overview of the animal mummies in the Graeco- Roman Egypt.

### 1. The Pharaonic Period

#### 1.1. Theories of Animal Sanctification

It is probable that in the religious universe of the prehistoric Egypt the animals occupied a large place as many burials for the dogs, sheep/goats, gazelles, and cats were found<sup>37</sup> at Badari, Mostagedda, Deir Tasa and Matmar.<sup>38</sup> All these locations lie on the east bank of the Nile at the edge of the eastern desert between Akhmim and Asyout, the whole area is known as the El-Badari. The importance of the animals could be obvious in the animal names of the first kings, and the unifiers of the two lands (the scorpion king and the serpent king). We can assume that the animal cult, practiced in prehistoric Egypt was abandoned for a cult addressed to human gods. However, the signs confirmed that the animal cult was very well attested in the late period, which could have been a return to the ancient practices. This could be proved by the testimonies of Herodotus.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, one would ask about the reasons of the sanctification of animals in Ancient Egypt. This sanctification started from early times and lasted for a long period till it was vanquished by Christianity. Why the ancient Egyptian did chose the animal to symbolize the deities more than anything else in the nature such as the plants and the trees? To answer this question, we have to display the reasons of this sanctification, as the scholars supposed.

Wiedemann thought the ancient Egyptian sanctified the animal for some political and social reasons. If the gods were sanctified in human form, it would affect the loyalty of the people to the pharaoh and the stability of the state.<sup>40</sup> He also thought that the ancient Egyptian

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<sup>37</sup> Kessler 1986, 579; Ikram 2005,7

<sup>38</sup> D.V. Flores, Funerary Sacrifice of Animals in the Egyptian Predynastic Period (England 2003) 6

<sup>39</sup> Dunand 1986, 60

<sup>40</sup> Wiedemann 1879, 177

sanctified the animal because the animal is capable of referring to his desires by doing certain movements and it is also a living being which needs eating and drinking. Thus the god could be transmigrated in its shape. Moreover, the king and the priests could interpret the movements of the animal according to their desires.<sup>41</sup> Hornung thought the ancient Egyptian did not sanctify the animal for being an animal, but he believed that the soul of the god lives inside this animal. Therefore, the Egyptians did not designate the gods (the sacred animals) with animal names but with normal human names like *Sbk* for the crocodile or *Hr* for the falcon.<sup>42</sup> He also proposed that the ancient Egyptian realized that the animal is a more powerful creature than the human.<sup>43</sup> This power was the subject of honor and sanctification. This can be obvious in the palettes that dated back to the pre-dynastic period, where we can see the depiction of the battle area with the shape of the defeated enemies and the captives. The artist represented the defeated enemies in a human-shape, while the victorious ones were represented in animal-shape such as the lion, or the falcon.<sup>44</sup>

For Sadek, the ancient Egyptian believed that the gods lived in the sky and appears on earth in animal form.<sup>45</sup> Other scholars such as Morenz showed that the sacred animals are not the gods but are the soul “*ba*” of the gods, they were the visible feature of invisible power, “The phoenix is the *ba* of Osiris; the ram the *ba* of Re, Shu and Osiris; the crocodile the *ba* of Sobek; the Apis bull the *ba* of Osiris, etc.”<sup>46</sup> Hopfner thought that the Egyptians sanctified the animals because the latter followed their instincts in predicting future events, an act too difficult to be carried out by the human. This was enough proof for the ancient Egyptians that the animals were better.<sup>47</sup> In a similar strain to Morenz’s, Bonnet thought the sacred animal was a manifestation of the gods and a mediator chosen by the deity to transmigrate in. Thus, the sanctification was not for the sake of the animal itself.<sup>48</sup> So we can conclude from the former researchers that the Egyptians did not sanctify the animal itself, but they only symbolized the invisible god with some visible creatures that carried one of the characteristics of the god. Then they took care of these animals desiring to approach the god.

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<sup>41</sup> Wiedemann 1879,178

<sup>42</sup> Hornung 1983, 138; Rawash 2003,8

<sup>43</sup> Hornung 1983, 104

<sup>44</sup> H.W. Müller, Ägyptische Kunstwerke, Kleinfunde und Glas in der Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern, MÄS 5 (Berlin 1964) 12 f No. A3; Hornung 1983, 104 f.

<sup>45</sup> A. Sadek, Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom, HÄB 27, 1987, 162

<sup>46</sup> S. Morenz, Egyptian Religion (London 1973)157

<sup>47</sup> Hopfner 1913, 7

<sup>48</sup> Bonnet 1971, 813

The ancient Egyptian considered the sanctified animal a picture of an invisible god on earth in which the god's soul had transmigrated.<sup>49</sup>

The concept of considering the animal as the bearer of the divine soul was clearly expressed in the Egyptian religion.<sup>50</sup> At the beginning, maybe the ancient Egyptians sanctified the animals apparently either for fear or desire. But as no ancient text commented on this concept for the archaic periods, we have to remain cautious before making an argument *a silentio*. The choice of sanctified animals can be related to the conditions of the environment at that time. When the climatic conditions changed at the end of the Old Kingdom with the growth of the deserts, the Egyptians continued to sanctify animals, including those that were in the deserts. It is possible that the underlying reasons for their belief changed in the course of time, but it is certain that under the Middle Kingdom, the animals were without any doubt understood as the bearers of the divine soul. In the Book of the Celestial Cow (XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), the connection that was made between the *ba* of the deity and the animal is clearly documented.<sup>51</sup>

Although the animal was not sanctified for itself, its characteristics played an important role in its association with a certain deity.<sup>52</sup> For example, the scarab was considered by the ancient Egyptians as the symbol of the god Khepri. Khepri represented in the Egyptian religion the power of the mysterious self-creation, and was considered one of the gods of reviving and resurrection.<sup>53</sup> As for the scarab, the Egyptians used to see it rolling its ball of dung in order to move it to a secure place underground to swallow it. The female scarab placed a similar ball that was intended to preserve the eggs. Therefore, the Egyptian considered the scarab as a single-sex bug that had the capability of the self-reproduction. Therefore, they assimilated it with the power of the god of creation (Khepri).<sup>54</sup> The same thing can be noticed for *Hr*, the celestial god, who was assimilated with the falcon that has the ability to fly high.<sup>55</sup> This can also be obvious in the association between god Djehuti, god of wisdom, and the baboon and the Ibis. The baboon was characterized with calmness, intelligence, and wisdom.<sup>56</sup> As for the ibis, it was characterized with sobriety, calmness, equilibrium of steps, and patience in searching for the worms. Therefore, they derived from it the verb *gm* meaning "find".<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Rawash 2003,10

<sup>50</sup> V. Zakbar, A study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts, SAOC 34, 1968, 13

<sup>51</sup> Rawash 2003, 10; Hornung 1982, 80 f.

<sup>52</sup> Wiedemann 1879,178 f.

<sup>53</sup> Budge 1975, 36 ff; Rawash 2003,11

<sup>54</sup> M. Lurker, Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt, an Illustrated Dictionary (London 1980) 14; Rawash 2003,11

<sup>55</sup> Houlihan 1986, 48

<sup>56</sup> E. Brunner-Traut, Affe, in LÄ I, 1982, 83 f; Hopfner 1913, 26 f.

<sup>57</sup> Rawash 2003,12

To understand this subject we should admit that the animals played a unique role in the ancient Egyptian religion. In Egypt, a strange relationship was formed between the god and the animal. And to understand this relationship, we should realize that the bond between the god and the animal could be differentiated. The god Horus is a falcon whose eyes represent the sun and the moon, while his breath is the north wind, so that we can think that this is a picture of a god of the sky. The god Thoth appeared in the shape of a moon, a baboon, and an ibis, however, we do not know the link between these three symbols. Likewise, what is also the relation between the Mnevis bull that was sanctified in Heliopolis and the sun god Re?<sup>58</sup> The relation between the Apis bull and the god Ptah is also odd. The god Ptah was never represented in the shape of a bull, however, the Apis bull was known as the messenger of Ptah. The Mnevis bull carried also a similar title that connected it with god Re.<sup>59</sup>

### 1.2. Gods in Human Form

I will mention here some examples for the gods that were represented in a human form to indicate that not all gods have been represented in animal form or with animal heads. In the ancient Egyptian religion, there were some gods that used to be presented in human form. For example, Osiris usually appeared in a mummy form.<sup>60</sup> He was considered the god of death, resurrection and fertility. In the Ennead of Heliopolis, he is considered the son of Geb and Nut, the brother of Isis, Nephthys and Seth, and also the father of Horus.<sup>61</sup>

“The god is first mentioned in private funerary texts of King Neuserre of the Fifth Dynasty. That a representation of him also occurs on an unpublished fragment from the mortuary temple of a later Fifth Dynasty king, Djedkare, is stated by Baer. If this is so, it will be the earliest representation of the god. Details have, fortunately, now proved accessible (Fig.7).”<sup>62</sup>

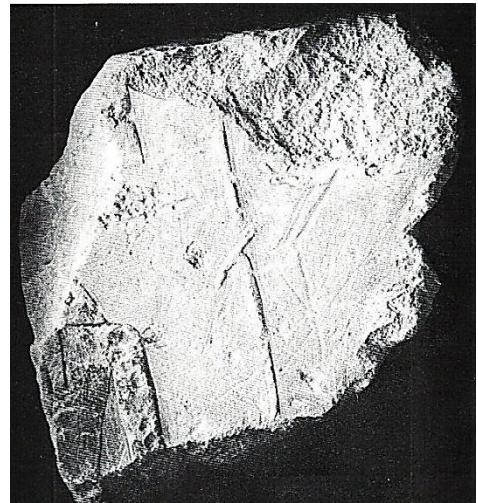


Fig.7

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<sup>58</sup> Bonnet, 2000 468 ff.

<sup>59</sup> Frankfort 1961, 10

<sup>60</sup> Griffiths 2001, 615

<sup>61</sup> A.Dieter, Osiris,in: LÄ IV ( Wiesbaden 1982) 625 f.

<sup>62</sup> Griffiths 1980, 44

Klaus Baer informed Griffiths that Abd el-Salam Hussein excavated the relief on a block of Djed-ka-ra Isesi in the corresponding room in Djed-ka-ra's temple and that he, i.e. Baer, had viewed it in the storehouse of Professor Fakhry behind the Pyramids at Giza. Osiris appears with his human head in a row of small representations of gods. Although there is a slight damage to the name, the reading is undoubted. Griffiths mentioned that the existence of the signs for throne and eye, even if they are slightly damaged, gives no doubt about the reading. Griffiths mentioned also that Elisabeth Staehelin confirmed the reading of the name which appears above, and to the right of, the figure of the god. Further to the right appears a *was* sceptre and also behind the figure of the god. It is obvious that this sceptre belonged to another god who does not exist in the relief. Griffiths said, "It will be noticed that the throne-sign comes first, on this block, in the writing of the name; that is the usual sequence in the Pyramid Texts. The upshot is that an anthropomorphic Osiris is firmly attested for the end of the Fifth Dynasty. The figure is disappointing in that it shows only one divine attribute — the long wig."<sup>63</sup> The lower part of Osiris-figure itself is missing, so we can only guess the shape of the legs. The left arm is represented as hanging freely which indicates that Osiris was not represented here in the mummy form. There is a normal human form represented as standing, however, there is also a long wig which is normally worn by gods. It can be concluded that the god in the relief is represented without special features. No sign indicates that he is carrying the flail and the crook, however, the missing right arm suggests the possibility of him holding something.<sup>64</sup>

Mojsov confirmed what Griffiths mentioned above as she said, "The first representation of Osiris was found on a relief of king Djed-ka-ra Isesi of the Fifth Dynasty. Osiris was represented as a man with a curled beard and divine wig in the manner of traditional ancestor figures. The name of Osiris was written with the signs for the eye and the throne. The name of Isis was also written with the sign for the throne."<sup>65</sup>

The main cult centre of Osiris was Abydos, the capital of the eighth Upper Egyptian nome. This site possessed the tomb of King Djer (Predynastic period) that was later regarded as the tomb of Osiris. Therefore, it became a pilgrimage center as it was thought that the head of the god was buried there.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Griffiths 1980, 236

<sup>64</sup> Griffiths 1980, 236

<sup>65</sup> B. Mojsov, Osiris: Death and Afterlife of a God, John Wiley & Sons (2008) 33

<sup>66</sup> Griffiths 2001, 618

At Abydos, the annual festival of Osiris used to be held. In this festival, the bark of the god was carried in a procession where the victory of Osiris upon his enemies was celebrated.<sup>67</sup>

There is a statuette of Osiris (H.26.3 W.6.32 cm) dating back to the late period. We can see Osiris depicted in a mummy form and holding in his hands a crook and a flail, signs of royal dignity. He is surmounted with the *atef* crown, a white crown with an ostrich-feather on either side or sometimes the horns of a ram. He wears a ceremonial beard and a broad collar. Occasionally, Osiris's skin is green or black, referring to his fertility aspects (Fig.8).<sup>68</sup>

There is also another god that used to be represented in a human form, god Min. He was the god of fertility and the protector of the desert and foreign lands. He was sanctified in Coptos and Akhmim.<sup>69</sup> His cult dates back to the pre-dynastic period<sup>70</sup>, as his emblem appeared on the vessels of that period. The same emblem was the symbol of the ninth nome of Upper Egypt. The rituals of Min used to be involved in the coronation ceremony and the Sed festival, to ensure the regeneration of the pharaoh.<sup>71</sup>

In the art, Min used to be depicted in a standing position with one arm raised holding a flail, while his other hand holds his erected Phallus. He used to be crowned with two feathers. This can be noticed in a bronze statuette dating back to the Late Period (Fig. 9).<sup>72</sup> Frankfort mentioned that the oldest preserved divine statues of Min represent him in a human form (Fig.10).<sup>73</sup>



Fig.8

During the excavations that were done by Petrie on the site of the temple of Coptos, precisely in the winter of 1893-4, this statue was found. It dates back to the pre-dynasty period till the first dynasties.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Griffiths 2001, 618

<sup>68</sup> Van Haarlem 1986, 103 ff; The Global Egyptian Museum 2004 a, Internet-publication

<sup>69</sup> Romanosky 2001, 414

<sup>70</sup> T. A. H. Wilkinson, Early Dynastic Egypt: Strategies, Society and Security, Routledge ( 2001) 263

<sup>71</sup> Romanosky 2001, 414

<sup>72</sup> A. Erman, Die Religion der Ägypter (Berlin 2001) 35 Fig.22

<sup>73</sup> H.Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian religion : An Interpretation ( New York 1961)11

<sup>74</sup> Capart 1905, 223

It represents a man standing; his legs are paralleled and joined with a scarce indication of the knees. The arms project slightly from the body. We can notice a hole in the left hand that was intended to hold his phallus. The god wears a garment wounded eight times around the body.<sup>75</sup> Thus, we can assume that the ancient Egyptians intended to represent him in this form, in order to be capable of completing the sex progress.



Fig. 9



Fig.10



Fig.11

### 1.3. Gods in Animal Form

The gods that were represented in the shape of an animal were very popular in the Egyptian art. There was a belief that the gods appeared in the shape of animals. For example, the goddess Hathor appeared, in the late papyri and in the royal statues, in the shape of a cow. This can be noticed in the shiest statue (L. 105 cm) that was found at Saqqara and dates back to the Late Period, 30<sup>th</sup> dynasty (Fig.11).<sup>76</sup> We can see Psamtik standing in a posture of prayer, with the seal of his profession as chief scribe hanging from the neck. He is standing beneath the figure of a cow representing the goddess Hathor that wears her usual crown of the sun disk, with two tall feathers inserted between her horns and the *uraeus*, or royal cobra.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Ashmolean Museum, The New Galleries of ancient Egypt and Nubia (Oxford 2011) 6; Capart 1905, 223 Fig.166

<sup>76</sup> Ragghianti 1978, 144; The Global Egyptian Museum 2004 b, Internet-publication

<sup>77</sup> Ragghianti 1978,144

Goddess Bastet appeared in the shape of the cat. This can be seen in a bronze statuette (H.13.1 cm), which dates back to the Late Period. The cat appears with inlaid eyes and a tail curved around the right leg. On the chest, there can be seen an aegis engraved, the pectoral of the goddess Bastet. Sometimes, we can find a scarab at the top of the head. This is more visible in the bronze statuettes (Fig.12).<sup>78</sup>

#### 1.4. Gods with Animal Heads

There are also mixed figures of the gods, represented in human form with animal head. For example, goddess Hathor appeared as a lady with a cow's head, Bastet as a lady with a cat's head, and Sekhmet as a lady with a lion's head. In the statuette of Bastet represented in Fig. 12, we can notice we can notice the mixed figure. This statuette (H .9.7 W.3.5 cm) was found at the city of Bubastis in the Delta.<sup>79</sup> The statuette represents the goddess as a lady with a cat's head. Two holes pierced in the ears could be intended for holding the earrings. The goddess wears a low-cut dress, decorated with a pattern of lines. She carries a basket and holds a divine emblem (Fig.13).<sup>80</sup>

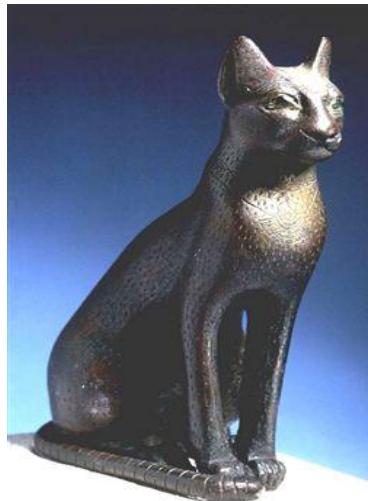


Fig. 12



Fig. 13

<sup>78</sup> Satzinger 1987, 72 ; The Global Egyptian Museum 2004 c, Internet-publication

<sup>79</sup> Erman 2001,34

<sup>80</sup> J.Rowlandson, Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt (Cambridge 1998) 48 Pl. 9; The Global Egyptian Museum d, Internet-publication

Anubis was also represented as a man with the jackal's head and the scorpion goddess Selqet was represented as a female surmounted with a crown and carrying her animal emblem. The appearance of the gods was not limited to one shape. For example, god Thoth appeared in the shape of a moon, the shape of a baboon, and in the shape of an ibis. There was also a need to find a characteristic shape for the gods when they appeared in a human form to help the worshippers to identify them.

For example goddess Hathor could be represented in the shape of a cow or in the shape of a woman with the face of a cow or even in the shape of a woman surmounted with a crown with the cow horns. Thus, the representation of the human form with an animal head was not a real shape but just a picture invented by the Egyptians to refer to an idea. For example, the goddess Taweret appeared in a combined animal form. She got the head and the belly of a hippopotamus, the chest and the tail of a crocodile, the breast of a woman, and the claws of a lion. These mixed figures appeared starting from the Old Kingdom till the end of the religious history of Egypt.<sup>81</sup>

### **1.5. Categories of the Sacred Animals**

Herodotus is the earliest Greek author to write about the ancient Egyptian religion, however, he gave us no much information about the animal sanctification. He said: "But were I to declare the reason why they are dedicated, I should be brought to speak of matters of divinity, of which I am especially unwilling to treat; I have never touched upon such save where necessity has compelled me."<sup>82</sup>

Although Herodotus mentioned in his book the sacred animals that lived on the banks of the Nile, he did not write his opinion about the animal sanctification. The same thing happened by Strabo and Diodorus because when they tried to explain something related to this subject, they could not understand it and did not believe in it.<sup>83</sup>

Feder mentioned the opinions of the historian writers as he said: "Plutarch mentioned that the sanctification of the animals should be a result of a deep philosophical thinking. On the other hand other writers thought the Egyptian sanctification of the animal is wrong. Among these writers is the Roman philosopher Cicero who thought that the Egyptian deserves to be disrespected because of that."<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Dunand 1986, 60

<sup>82</sup> Herodotus II, 65; P.Germond, Das Tier im alten Ägypten ( München 2001) 145

<sup>83</sup> Feder 2003, 160

<sup>84</sup> Feder 2003, 162 ff

The Greeks and Roman historians, who visited Egypt and wrote about the animal sanctification in Egypt, failed to theorize for the reasons of the sanctification and the reasons for which the sacred animals were not sanctified in all the regions equally. This matter attracted the attention of the Greek historian writers. Herodotus mentions: “Some of the Egyptians hold crocodiles sacred, others do not so, but treat them as enemies. The dwellers about Thebes and the lake Moeris deem them to be very sacred. There, in every place one crocodile is kept, trained to be tame; they put ornaments of glass and gold on its ears and bracelets on its forefeet, provide for it special food and offerings, and give the creatures the best of treatment while they live; after death the crocodiles are embalmed and buried in sacred coffins. But about Elephantine they are not held sacred, and are even eaten. The Egyptians do not call them crocodiles, but champsae. The Ionians called them crocodiles, from their likeness to the lizards which they have in their walls.”<sup>85</sup>

“Herodotus is quite right. Attitudes to the crocodile depended entirely on the god to whom it was related in cult - a relation in turn generally depending on the attitude to its dreadful ferocity. The ancient Egyptian might wish to enlist its powers for his own use and regard it as a protector and champion or he might consider it the embodiment of the powers of destruction in which case it would be loathed and execrated. In areas where the crocodile was connected with Sobk, it was regarded as sacred. And such cults might be expected wherever an island in the stream, shoals or cliffs presented dangers to navigation as also where there were many lakes and canals e.g. the Fayoum and the Delta.”<sup>86</sup>

The difference in the animal sanctification among the regions in Egypt could be traced back to the origin that different tribes were separated and each one got their own sacred animal. For example, Plutarch mentioned that during the second century AD, a war occurred between the people of Bahnasa “Oxyrhynchus” (the 19<sup>th</sup> nome of Upper Egypt) and the people of Asyout (the 13<sup>th</sup> nome of Upper Egypt) because the latter ate the fish that was sanctified at Bahnasa. The people of Bahnasa killed the dogs that were sanctified at Asyout for revenge.<sup>87</sup>

“For of all the Egyptians, even today, the Lycopolitans alone eat sheep, since the wolf, whom they regard as a god, also does so. In our time the Oxyrhynchites, when the Cynopolitans ate the Oxyrhynchus fish, seized a dog and after offering it in sacrifice, devoured it as sacrificial

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<sup>85</sup> Herodotus 2, 69

<sup>86</sup> Lloyd 1976, 307 f.

<sup>87</sup> Feder 2003, 162

meat; as a result they went to war and treated each other maliciously until they were later punished and separated by the Romans.”<sup>88</sup>

As for the types of the animals that were sanctified, Herodotus mentioned: “All of them are held sacred. Some of these are part of men’s households and some not.”<sup>89</sup> Each species of animals was divided into three categories, and each category got its own characteristics.

- The first category included the animals that stayed after their death because the god transmigrated in it. There was only one kind of this animal in each temple. This animal was much respected and known as the temple animal. This category can be divided into two types; the first type included the animal that was sanctified alone like the Mnevis bull, Buchis bull and Apis bull, while the other animals of the same species were not even sanctified. The second type included the animal that was sanctified like the ibis, baboon, cat and lion, etc, and the other animals of the same species were also sanctified.<sup>90</sup>

It is worth mentioning that the temple animal was characterized by certain signs. Discovering the temple animal that got these signs was one of the difficult things. For example, the Apis bull had to be born from a ray darted from the moon on his mother who, after his birth, never brought forth again. There should be a sign of an eagle on his shoulders, the mark of a scarab on his tongue, and double hair on his tail.<sup>91</sup>

Therefore, the king dedicated a reward to the one who could find this sacred animal. For example, the Persian king Darius I dedicated a reward of 100 talents to the one who could find the new Apis bull. The Egyptians were so impressed by the piety of the king, that they took decisive action against the rebels, and entirely devoted themselves to support Darius.<sup>92</sup> If this animal was found and agreed upon by the specialists that this was the one, the animal was taken right away. At the time of finding the sacred animal, ceremonies in which the king and his family participated were held around the country. The animal was then taken to the temple and sanctified there.

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<sup>88</sup> Plutarchus De Is. et Os.,72

<sup>89</sup> Herodotus 2, 65

<sup>90</sup> Hornung 1967, 69

<sup>91</sup> J. Dimick, The Embalming House of the Apis Bulls, Archaeology 11, 1958, 183

<sup>92</sup> Otto 1964,16; Polyaenus Strategemata, 7.11.7

The pilgrims then came from every part in the country to welcome the new animal. The ceremonies of the Apis bull or the Mnevis bull or Buchis bull, were held in all of Egypt from Elephantine to the Delta. The temples that were dedicated to the god Seth were not to participate in such ceremonies. The day of finding the sacred crocodile in El-Fayoum was considered as a vacation.<sup>93</sup> The god could appear in two or more types of animal. For example Thoth appeared in the shape of an ibis and a baboon. The God Amun-Re appeared in the shape of a ram, a lion, and a goose. God Hor in Tanis appeared in the shape of a lion; however, he appeared in the same place in the shape of a falcon. Thus, we can conclude that the god in ancient Egypt was sanctified in the same place in different shapes.<sup>94</sup>

It is worth mentioning also that there was not only one god in the temple, as each temple got its triad that was worshipped inside. The triad was composed of the father, the mother, and the son. The most famous triads in ancient Egypt are Osiris-Isis-Horus, Amun-Mut-Khonsu, Ptah-Sekhmet-Nefertem, Sobek-Hathor-Khonsu, and Hor-Hathor-Ihi. The triad could also be composed of a man and two women such as Khnum-Satet-Anket. Although there were many gods that were sanctified in one temple, only the main god was transmigrated in the sacred animal.<sup>95</sup>

The most sacred place in the temple was at the end of the building as it was thought that the god that was transmigrated in the shape of an animal lived there. Little animals such as the mouse, the snake, the frog and the ichneumon were put in cages or wooden *naos* because it was hard to guard them, while bigger animals such as the bull, the ram, the gazelle, and the lion were put in large places surrounded with a fence because of the danger of some of them such as the lion and the crocodile. Birds were put in large cages.<sup>96</sup> There is no more evidences about that, however, there is a limestone *stela* from Theadelphia dating back to the Greco-Roman period, which represents the crocodile god in his sacred lake that could be reached by two staircases (Fig.14). A stretcher was found in the temple of Pneferos at Theadelphia, which was used for the transportation of the mummy of the god in the processions (Fig.15).<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Hassan 2000, 717 ff.

<sup>94</sup> Hornung 1967, 69

<sup>95</sup> Hornung 1967, 72

<sup>96</sup> Hopfner 1913, 15

<sup>97</sup> Dunand 1986, 67 Pls.I, IV

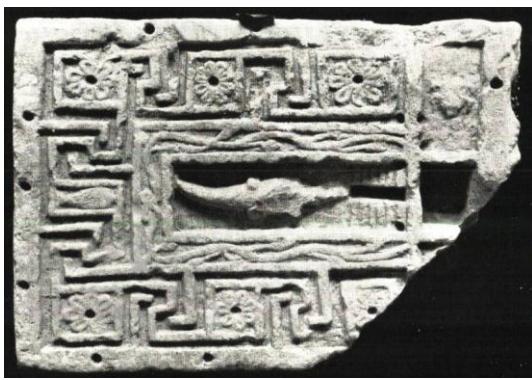


Fig.14

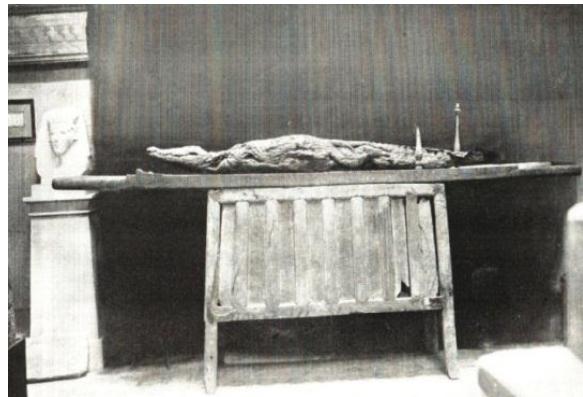


Fig.15

We can have an idea about the image of the god through many frescos issued from the same temple. In one of them, Pnepheros was represented in the form of a mummified crocodile, rolled up in white linen that covered all the body except the head which is surmounted by the *atef* crown and the disc. The mummy is placed on a stretcher and is transported by the priests wearing long skirts in a procession (Fig.16).<sup>98</sup>

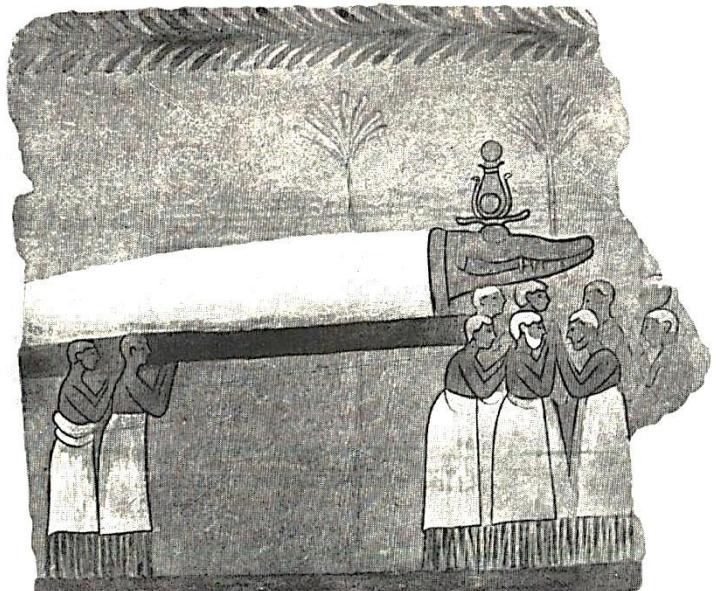


Fig.16

- The second category contains the animals from the same type of the temple animal. The gods did not transmigrate in these animals, but these animals were sanctified because they share the species of the temple animal. They were identified as sacred animals. We can differentiate the two categories through the way of the burial. Animals of the second category were mummified in cheap and bad way for example as an ex-voto.

- The third category contains the animals which were sanctified and bred in the private houses. This was spread among the law-class people. The most important examples of these animals are the cats, the jackals, the falcons and the snakes. The monuments proved also the sanctification of baboons, Ibises, swans, and geese.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Dunand 1986, 67 Pl.III

<sup>99</sup> Kessler 1986, 571

## 2. The Graeco Period

Now, we should know how the Greeks dealt with this religious topic in Egypt.

The most ancient attestation of the burial of the Apis bull dates back to the reign of Amenhotep III, 1386 to 1349 BC.<sup>100</sup> And the golden age of this cult was the Late Period. So when Alexander the Great arrived in Egypt, the sacred animals were already a phenomenon. Alexander the Great became the ruler of Egypt as a pharaoh in Memphis on 14 November 332 B.C. On the side of his brief visit to Egypt, the young king, on his passage to Memphis, offered a sacrifice to the gods of the city, among them the Apis bull.<sup>101</sup> In addition, he understood that anyone who wanted to rule Egypt had to win backing from the priests. Therefore, he visited the temple of the god Amun in Siwa to pay his respects to the Egyptian religion and to get the legitimacy to rule Egypt from the priests of the god Amun (King of the Egyptian Gods). Moreover, Alexander the Great was portrayed with the ram's horns as a symbol of the god Amun which was sanctified by the Egyptians as a ram.<sup>102</sup>

### 2.1. The Ptolemies and the Sacred Animals

One would ask about the relation between the successors of Alexander and the sacred animals.

The Ptolemies revealed to the public, in rare occasions, their interest in the animals. Ptolemy I dedicated fifty talents of money for the funerals of the dead Apis bull. Ptolemy II asked Apollonios, the finance minister, to provide hundred talents of myrrh destined to the treatment of the cow Isis Hesat of Aphroditopolis.<sup>103</sup> There is a *stela* from Mendes, in the Delta, which indicates the visit to Ptolemy II. On the upper part of the monument the king is represented facing the offerings made to a ram and placed on the pedestal. The text gives important details about the animal of the god, his conditions in life and the finding of a new enthroned ram.<sup>104</sup>

Ptolemy III was sent in the 21<sup>st</sup> year of his reign to assist the installation of the animal in his renovated *sekos* which suffered, according to the text, from the Persians.<sup>105</sup> There is evidence that during the second Persian period the sacred animal cults may have suffered from neglect or even aggression. The extensive building program of Ptolemy I and II in the Serapeum area and Anubieion suggests that the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty structures had either been left unfinished or had

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<sup>100</sup> Charron 2002, 173

<sup>101</sup> Fildes —Fletcher 2002, 54 ; Bissing 1936, 5

<sup>102</sup> Fildes —Fletcher 2002, 45-58

<sup>103</sup> Charron 2003, 173

<sup>104</sup> Hölbl 1994,77 Abb.6

<sup>105</sup> Charron 2003, 173

been damaged. No burial of a mother of Apis is recorded between year 9 of Nectanebo II (351 BC) and year 3 of Alexander the Great (329 BC).<sup>”106</sup>

Different decrees, like the one of Canope, under Ptolemy III, or that of Memphis, under Ptolemy V, the famous copy discovered in Rosette by the army of Bonaparte during his campaign on Egypt, mentioned the interest of the sovereigns or their kindness towards the sacred animals and particularly the Apis of Memphis and the Mnevis of Heliopolis.<sup>107</sup>

Ptolemy VI Philometor attended in year 24 the ceremony of the installation of the Buchis bull at Thebes. The animal, born in year 19 of his reign, had been already consecrated.<sup>108</sup> Another visit to Buchis was made by Cleopatra VII accompanied by her brother.<sup>109</sup> The queen accompanied the animal in the bark of Amun till Armant.<sup>110</sup> Many *stelae* indicate that the Ptolemaic kings participated in the ceremonies of the sanctification of the animals.<sup>111</sup>

The *stela* of Mendes confirms that the sacred animal wasn't only appreciated by the ordinary people but also by the kings. The inscriptions and the *stelae* show us that the kings had an interest in this subject throughout the ages, as they presented offerings to the sacred animals. For example, the Mendes *stela* reported that Ptolemy II exempted the temple of the ram from a great part of taxes that were paid for the royal house: “His Majesty ordered that no bread-tribute should be paid as regards the Ram-temple and its district, or in its name.”<sup>112</sup>

The top of the *stela* is rounded and decorated with the winged sun disc and two snakes. One wears the white crown, while the other wears the red crown. Beside the right snake it is written: “The great god, the god of the sky, who has decorated feathers, the one who comes from the horizon, the giver of life and power.” It represents the ram of Mendes standing in a *naos* crowned with the sun-disc and the cobra. Behind the ram there are some divinities, Harpocrates, who is represented with the side-lock, naked, and putting his finger in his mouth, a ram-headed divinity wearing a composite crown and accompanied with the following inscription: “the ram, the master of Gedet” (This is the deceased ram that is replaced by the new one that is depicted in the main scene). The goddess Hat Mehét, in the shape of a lady surmounted with the symbol of the 16<sup>th</sup> *nome* of Lower Egypt, a crowned woman

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<sup>106</sup> M. Jones, Saqqara: The Serapeum and Animal Cults, in: K. A. Bard –S.B. Shubert (ed.), The Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt (London 2010) 872

<sup>107</sup> Budge 1969, 176

<sup>108</sup> Charron 2003, 173

<sup>109</sup> Roberts 2004, 127

<sup>110</sup> Charron 2003, 175

<sup>111</sup> Hölbl 2000, Abb. 9; Walker — Higgs 2001, 57

<sup>112</sup> A. Kamal, Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines (Le Caire 1904) 160

accompanied with the inscription: “The daughter of the king, the sister of the king, the wife of the king, the great, the beloved one, the goddess that loves her brother, Arsinoe.” All these figures carry in the hand the *ankh* sign and the sceptre, except for Harpocrates who holds only the *ankh* sign.<sup>113</sup> In front of the ram stands the royal family that presents the offerings to the ram. Ptolemy II appears surmounted with the double crown, and holding a jar of perfume. The inscription reads: “The presentation of the perfume to his father and the presentation of the myrrh to the nose of the god”. Behind the king stands the queen Arsinoe holding the *ankh* sign in one hand and wheat in the other. Behind her stands the young Ptolemy, followed by the Nekhbet vulture that wears the crown of Upper Egypt (Fig.17).<sup>114</sup>

Many *stelae* from Armant “Hermonthis” represent the Ptolemies presenting the offerings to the Buchis bull. We do not know if the Ptolemies did sanctify the animals or not. But evidently they took part in such rituals, and this is the only thing that matters. The most important offering *stela* is the one that belonged to Ptolemy V, who is represented wearing the Pharaonic costume and presenting offerings. It is a painted and gilded limestone *stela* (H.72 W. 50 cm) dedicated to the Buchis bull by Ptolemy V. It was found in the Bucheum of Armant (Fig.18).<sup>115</sup>

Ptolemy V Epiphanes 204-180 BC presents offerings to Buchis bull. In the upper part, the winged sun disc flies at the top of the *stela* as a usual protective element. Under this disc, the scarab beetle of the sun god is flanked by two cobras wearing sun discs. Two jackals are presented with a flail over the shoulder.

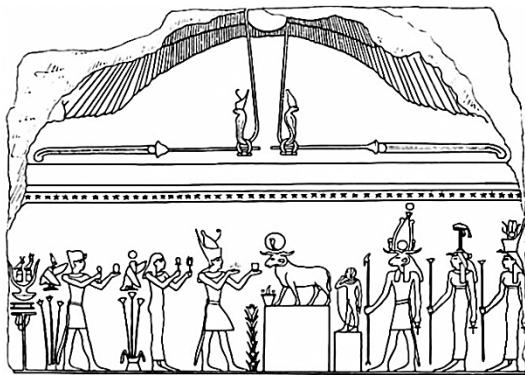


Fig.17

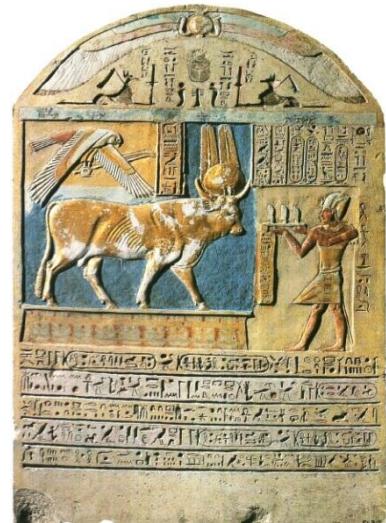


Fig.18

<sup>113</sup> Rawash 2003, 87

<sup>114</sup> Hölbl 1994,77 Abb.6

<sup>115</sup> Walker — Higgs 2001, 78 Pl. 57

In the lower part, the Buchis bull wears his characteristic headdress of sun disc, two plumes and double *uraei*. The hieroglyphic names (living spirit of Re and herald of Re) link him with the sun god. Over his back flies a falcon. Before the bull stands the king offering the emblem of the field symbolizing the cultivated area of Egypt. He wears the blue war crown, a corselet and kilt with a triangular apron. The bull's tail, which hangs from his belt, and the *uræus* on his forehead are old symbols of the kingship. The cartouche of Ptolemy's queen, Cleopatra I, is also present, although she is not depicted. The text is dated back to 14 February 180 BC. This gives further information confirming that the bull was thirteen years, ten months and twenty-four days old (or twenty-eight days) at his death, having been born in year 11 of Ptolemy's reign, in march 184 BC in the town of Taareq, but was only installed as Buchis the year before its death.<sup>116</sup>

We can conclude from what was mentioned before, that the Ptolemies had a positive attitude towards the animal sanctification. We do not know if this official attitude helped in assessing the concept of the animal sanctification among the Greeks, or not. This could be due to the insufficient Greek texts that reached us. Even the trials that were made to base the knowledge on the texts of the Late Period, as being the source of the Hellenistic one, is not sufficiently justified. We can only use such texts if they mentioned direct quotations from authors.<sup>117</sup>

Religion played an important and impressive role in the life of ancient Egyptians, as it was considered a sacred part of their life that could not be insulted. Therefore, the Ptolemies showed interest in the religious behavior of the Egyptians and the Greeks. After Ptolemy I, (Soter) became king in 305 B.C. He realized that it would not be possible to establish his rule on a firm foundation without reconciling the Egyptians and the Greeks by appealing to religion, which was a subject dear to the hearts of both communities. He, therefore, resorted to the clergy. The Egyptian priests, led by Manetho, and the Greeks, led by Timotheus, finally met and made the effort to mix Egyptian and Greek convictions and beliefs into one doctrine to unite the Greeks and Egyptians in one cult.<sup>118</sup> They came up with the Alexandrian triad: Sarapis-Isis-Harpocrates.

It is worth mentioning that this new cult succeeded in getting new worshippers both from the Egyptians and the Greeks. It provided Alexandria with a religious role in the world. This is confirmed by its spread in the Mediterranean world.

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<sup>116</sup> Myers 1934b, 4, Pl. XL

<sup>117</sup> Smelik — Hemelrijk 1984, 1895

<sup>118</sup> P. M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria (Oxford 1972) 249

## 2.2. The Greeks and the Sacred Animals

The Greeks believed also in the power and ability of the Apis bull. A rectangular limestone *stela* (H. 35 W. 25 cm) preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo Inv. CG 27567 can substantiate this belief.

The stela, dating back to the third century BC, carries a Greek inscription written by a Cretan interpreter of dreams.<sup>119</sup> The *stela* was found in Memphis at the area of the *Serapion*. Apis bull is represented in Greek style, especially the representation of the head that turns to left or frontal. In the main scene, we see the Apis bull next to a square altar which stands on a two-stage base. The *stela* is crowned with a triangular pediment with *akroteria*. The field is framed by pilasters, on which two nude female figures with long hair stand in Egyptian style. The heads support an *abacus*. The pilasters stand on a base consisting of four stages (Fig.19).<sup>120</sup>

ἐνύπνια κρίνω  
τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσταγ-  
μα ἔχων. τύχ' ἀγα-  
θαι. Κρής ἐστιν ὁ  
κρίνων τάδε.

The inscription reads:

"I interpret dreams, having a command from the god, with good fortune. The interpreter is Cretan".<sup>121</sup> Now, we can say that the Greeks accepted that Alexandria (the center of the kingdom) got a sacred triad like all other Egyptian nomes in the Pharaonic period. The Triad of Alexandria was of Sarapis, Isis and Harpocrates.



Fig.19

A new sacred animal was created by the Greeks in Alexandria; it was the Agathos Daimon. This god was known as the protector god of Alexandria.<sup>122</sup> The Agathos Daimon was the snake of the Good Spirit. According to the legend, the Agathos Daimon was mentioned for the first time with Alexandria, as it was related to the construction of the city. The legend says that during the construction of the city of Alexandria, the snake appeared to the workers, who

<sup>119</sup> Bagnall — Rathbone 2004, 91 Fig.3.2.2

<sup>120</sup> R. Ling, The Cambridge Ancient History: Plates to Volume 7, Cambridge University Press (Cambridge 1984) 12 Fig.10

<sup>121</sup> W. V. Harris, Dreams and Experience in Classical Antiquity, Harvard University Press (Cambridge 2009) 137

<sup>122</sup> Carney—Ogden 2010, 126

were terrified but eventually killed it. Later on, Alexander the Great corrected this mistake by building a sanctuary for this snake. During the construction of this sanctuary, small snakes appeared and entered the houses that have been just built. From this time on, the people sanctified this snake as the protector of the houses. By the time, this snake began to be considered as the protector of the city.<sup>123</sup>

### 3. The Roman Period

#### 3.1. The Roman Emperors and the Sacred Animals

During the Roman period the practices and beliefs of the sacred animals in Egypt continued during the Roman period and vanished with the appearance of the Christian religion. Feder mentioned: To the eyes of the some historians of the Roman period such as Cicero and Juvenal, the representation of the gods in an animal form is inappropriate.<sup>124</sup> Octavianus “Augustus” in Egypt refused to visit the bull of Memphis and the incarnation of Apis.<sup>125</sup> However, the Roman emperors who honored the gods of Egypt continued till the reign of Decius and Diocletian. On the *stelae* of Buchis bull, we can see emperors as late as Valerian and Diocletian.<sup>126</sup>

One of these limestone *stelae*, found at the cemetery of Armant, was dedicated to the Buchis bull which was born in 27 march 254 AD, in the first year of Valerian ( 253-260 AD) and died on the 27<sup>th</sup> of December 273 AD, in the fifth year of Aurelian “ 270-275 AD.”<sup>127</sup>

The names of the two emperors were written in cartouches, on the other hand there is no name for the king who presents offerings to the bull. The upper part is decorated with a sun-disc and also two jackals with the keys of the Netherworld hanged around their necks. In the main scene, the Emperor depicted in a Pharaonic form presents the offerings to the Buchis Bull that is lying on a base, crowned with the sun-disc and the two feathers (Fig.20).<sup>128</sup>

Also on the back wall of the left niche of the main tomb in the catacomb of Kom El Shougafa which dates back to the 2nd century AD, Apis stands on a base in front of an altar. A crescent is depicted on the side of the bull that is crowned with the sun-disc between the horns. Around the neck there is collar with a hanging *naos*. In front of the altar stands a man wearing a kingly kilt. The man is crowned with the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and

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<sup>123</sup> Wisser 1983, 5 f ; Carney—Ogden 2010, 126

<sup>124</sup> Feder 2003,163f

<sup>125</sup> Dunand 1986, 59

<sup>126</sup> Smelik — Hemelrijk 1984, 1930

<sup>127</sup> Hölbl 2000, 40

<sup>128</sup> Hölbl 2000, 40 Abb. 31

presents a decorated collar to the bull. This man could be the emperor, is certainly a king. Behind the bull stands Isis-Maat stretching her wings, holding the justice feather in her left hand and crowned with the sun-disc and two *uraei* (Fig.21).<sup>129</sup>



Fig.20

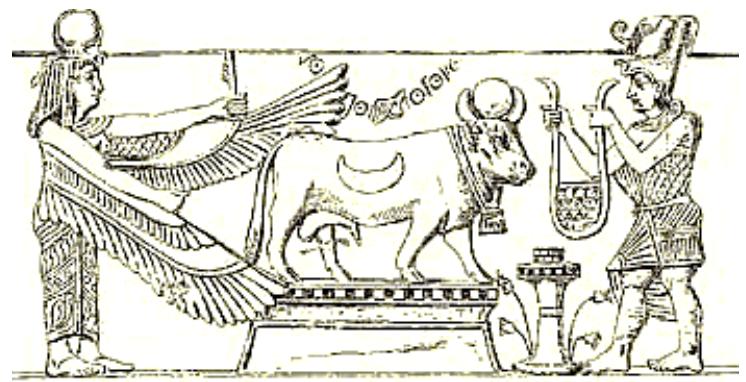


Fig.21

A bas-relief on the last register of the west wall of the Roman Hypostyle hall in the temple of Esna represents the Emperor Decius offerings to the ram a symbol of the god Khnoum (Fig.22).<sup>130</sup>

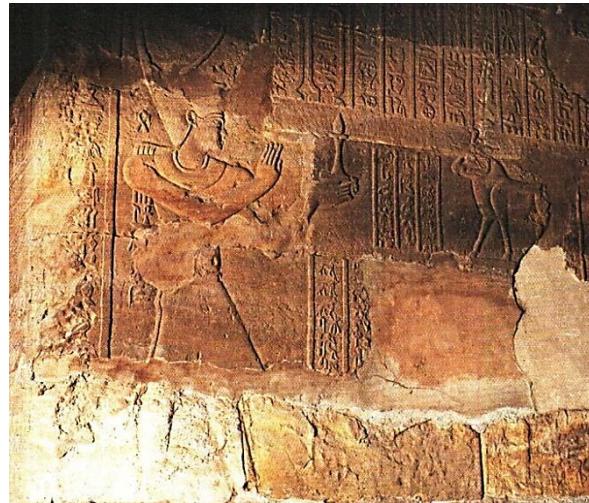


Fig.22

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<sup>129</sup> Venit 2002, 139 Fig.118 ; Empereur 1998, 168

<sup>130</sup> Hölbl 2000, 113 Abb. 155

A raised relief on the intercolumn of the Roman hypostyle hall in the Temple of Esna represents Domitian kneeling before a crocodile and offering the *ankh*, symbol of life, the *was*, symbol of prosperity, and the *Djed*, symbol of stability, to the crocodile god Sobek, who bears a sun disc and a snake on his head (Fig.23).<sup>131</sup>

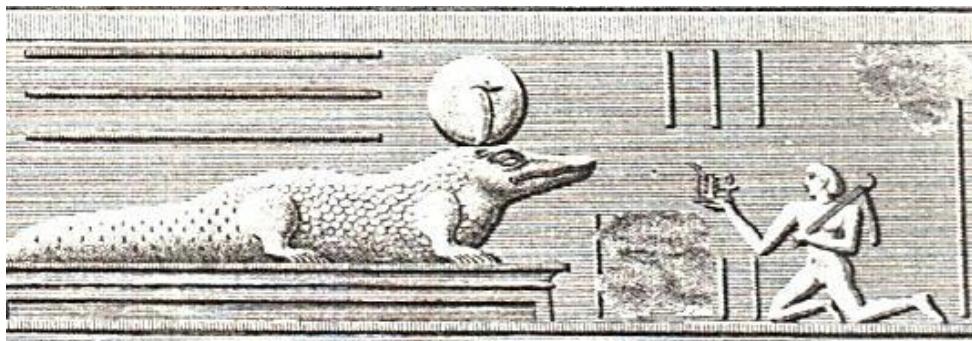


Fig.23

The sacred animals were represented also on the coins with Roman emperors. I think this is one expression of the animal sanctification in Egypt during the Roman period. In the *Katalog Alexandrinischer Kaiser münzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln*, I observed that there is just one coin minted for the sacred animals in the reign of Tiberius, two coins under the reign of Claudius, ten coins under the reign of Nero, six coins under the reign of Vespasian, 13 coins under the reign of Domitian, just one coin under the reign of Nerva, 24 coins under the reign of Trajan, and 31 coins under the reign of Hadrian. Most of the coins were minted in Bronze.

I show here just some examples of these coins to confirm the idea.

The 1<sup>st</sup> coin was made from Bronze 8, 75. Head of Antoninus Pius with an inscription Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τίτος Αἴλιος Αδριανὸς εὐσεβὴς is represented on obverse, while an Apis bull is represented in front of an altar with the inscription LE on reverse (Fig.24). The coin dates back to the 5th year from the reign of Antoninus Pius (141-142 AD).<sup>132</sup>



Fig.24

<sup>131</sup> Description de l'Égypte 1809, Pl.82

<sup>132</sup> Geissen 1978, Bd. II No.1383.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> coin was made from Bronze: 7, 99. Head of Vespasian with an inscription *Aὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ* is represented on obverse, while a falcon with an inscription LE is represented on reverse (Fig. 25). The coin dates back to the 5th year from the reign of Vespasian (72-73 AD).<sup>133</sup>



Fig. 25

The Agathos Daimon was represented on this collection of coins also, such as this coin “Billon Tetradrachme 11,15.” which dates back to the 6<sup>th</sup> year from the reign of Nero (59-60 AD). We see on obverse of the coin head of Nero with the Greek inscription *Nέρων Κλαύ(διος) Καῖσ(αρ) Σεβαστὸς Γερ(μανικὸς) Αὐτο(κράτωρ)* On reverse: Agathos Daimon with inscription *Σεβα(στὸς) Νέο(ς) Αγαθοδαιμων* (Fig.26).<sup>134</sup>



Fig .26

I observed that the Apis bull, Agathos Daimon, ibis , and falcon were represented most on the coins especially in the 1st and 2nd century AD. The Apis bull was one of the important sacred animals in Egypt. The ancient resources associated Serapis with Apis, the sacred bull of Memphis who was associated with Ptah and later with Osiris.<sup>135</sup> In addition we cannot forget the black diorite statue of Apis bull that was found in the Serapeum of Alexandria and represents the god in the shape of a bull (Fig. 27).<sup>136</sup>

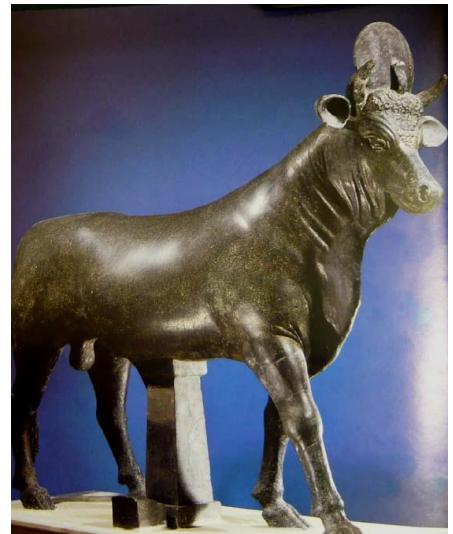


Fig. 27

<sup>133</sup> Geissen 1974 , Bd. I No. 295.

<sup>134</sup> Geissen 1978, Bd. I ,No. 142.

<sup>135</sup> S.Pearce , The Land of the Body: Studies in Philo's Representation of Egypt ,Mohr Siebeck ( 2007) 244

<sup>136</sup> Empereur 1995, 89

As for the Agathos Daimon, the legend said that the snake Agathos Daimon was mentioned for the first time in Alexandria, as it was associated with the construction of the city. The people started then to sanctify it, and progressively, this snake began to be considered as the protector of the city.<sup>137</sup> As for the falcon, he was the symbol of Horus or Harpocrates, one of the members of the Alexandrian triad.<sup>138</sup>

Some Ptolemaic kings and queens had visited the places of the Egyptian sacred animals as I mentioned before. Moreover, there are representations of many Roman emperors presenting offerings to the sacred animals, as it is obvious on *stelae*, tombs, and temples.

However, I suppose that those Ptolemaic kings and Roman Emperors did not sanctify these animals, as it was just a routine procedure to maintain authority in Egypt. This could be emphasized by Emperor Decius who ruled for only 2 years, during which he never visited Egypt. However, he is depicted presenting offerings to the ram on the walls of the temple of Esna.

The representation of the sacred animals on the coins had political and religious aims. This indicated the ability of the Roman Emperors to control the land of Egypt especially that the Emperors ruled from Rome and not from Egypt. The Greco-Roman society accepted to use a coin that carries the shape of an Egyptian sacred animal. Therefore, we can confirm that that society sanctified these animals.

During the rule of the Ptolemaic kings, no sacred animals were represented on the coins. On the contrary we can see some Greek birds such as the eagle and the owl. The reason is supposedly that Egypt was a kingdom ruled by the Ptolemies who tried to exert an affect by using the Greek symbols, like the eagle and the owl, on the coins. The Roman Caesars, however, remotely ruled Egypt from Rome, as a province of the Roman Empire. So, in order to avoid domestic disturbances in Egypt and to highlight the most prominent features of the province, they ordered the coining of Egyptian sacred animals on coins. These scenes and Roman coins confirm that this religion was spread between the Greeks and Romans in Egypt, especially that most of these coins are made from bronze that is considered the widespread coin in Egypt.

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<sup>137</sup> Wisser 1983,5 f

<sup>138</sup> Wisser 1983, 25

### 3.2. The Romans and the Sacred Animals

In the Roman era, the Agathos Daimon continued to be considered one of the important divinities of Alexandria for the people. Images of this god appeared on many *stelae* from this time. For example, there is a rounded-top *stela* (H.54.4 W.30 cm) on the top of which we can see a winged sun-disc from which hang two *uraei*. Below this, there is a representation of a shrine or *aedicula* in which the snake god Agathos Daimon lies coiled on a cushion. The shrine consists of a double cornice, supported on architraves by two lotus columns, and standing on a ledge. We can see traces of colors on the *stela* (Fig.28).<sup>139</sup>



Fig.28

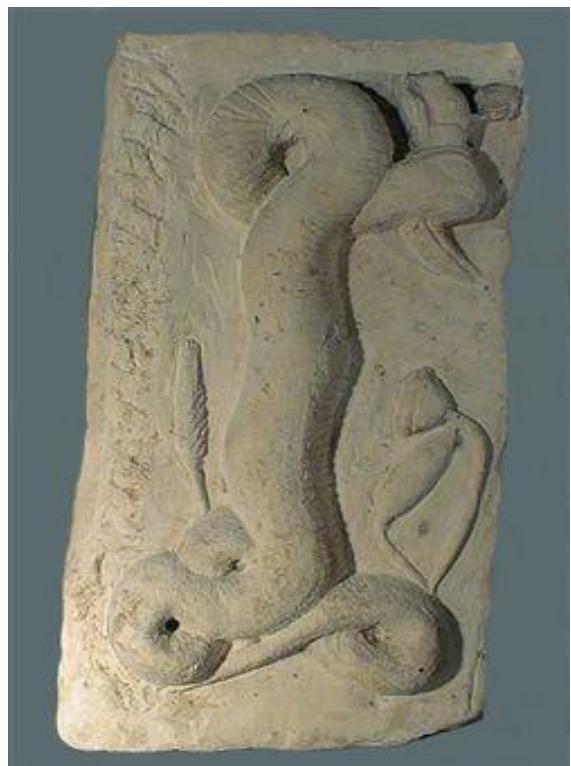


Fig.29

On another limestone *stela* (H.34 W.18.1cm), there is a representation of the Agathos Daimon as a coiled snake, wearing the double crown and the ceremonial beard. Inside the coils there are an ear of corn (on the left), and a lotus flower and bud (on the right) (Fig. 29).<sup>140</sup>

<sup>139</sup> Van Haarlem 1995, 87 f; The Global Egyptian Museum 2004 e, Internet-publication

<sup>140</sup> Van Haarlem, 1995, 91-92; The Global Egyptian Museum 2004 f, Internet-publication



Fig.30

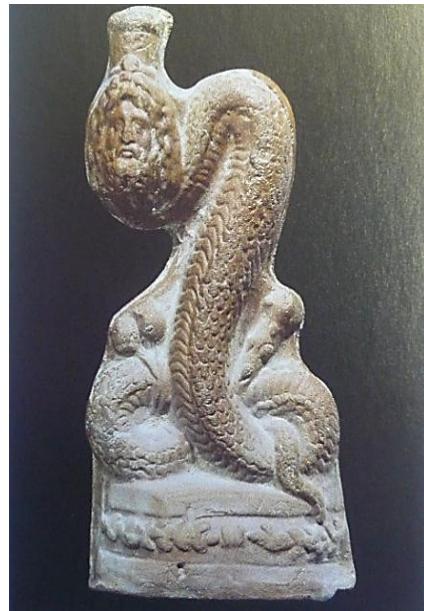


Fig.31



Fig.32

Agathos Daimon was used also as symbol of protection within the tomb as we see a painting representing him on the wall of the second chamber of Tigran tomb that dates back to 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Fig.30).<sup>141</sup>

The Agathos Diamon was linked also with Sarapis as we see in one of the terracotta (H.15, 5 W. 7, 7 cm), from Kasr Daoud in Lower Egypt dating back to 2<sup>nd</sup> -3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Fig.31).<sup>142</sup>

Another piece (H.13.8 cm) made from copper represents Isis Thermuthis and Dionysus or Agathos Daimon as snakes with human heads. Isis is wearing her crown which consists in a sun disc between the horns that related to Hathor; on the other side Dionysus is wearing the Calathos which was the symbol of Sarapis (Fig. 32).<sup>143</sup>

Finally, I would like to say that the Egyptian religion was popular because it had been brought to Greece and its colonies by merchants as early as the sixth century BC.

The Egyptian influence was also very strong in Rome. We can find a lot of artistic objects relating to the Egyptian religion, especially to the cult of Isis. In addition, the Romans made in Rome a lot of artistic objects about the Egyptian animals. These objects have a lot of classical elements such as the movement of the body and the representation of the head. They represented especially the Apis bull and the ibis. Furthermore, some statues and *stelae* with

<sup>141</sup> Kaplan 1999, Taf. 53,a

<sup>142</sup> Beck 2005, 610 Abb.187; Dunand 1981, 281 Fig. 40

<sup>143</sup> Ashton 2005, 96 Fig. 58

representations of Egyptian sacred animals were found in the Roman colonies in Europe such as Cologne in Germany, Acci in Spain, and Sopron in Hungary.<sup>144</sup>

The artistic objects were executed in classical style. The technique and movements differ from the idealism of the ancient Egyptian art. Anyway, these objects were generally found in the cult centres of Isis abroad.

Thus, it can be argued that the Greeks and the Romans accepted the idea of animal sanctification in Egypt and also participated in it, but the Greeks believed in it more than the Romans. This could be confirmed through tombs that took the Greek design especially the *loculi* design such as the cemetery of Tuna el Gebel that was dedicated to different animals such as the ibis and the falcon.

Also many inscriptions dedicated to the animals carried Greek names. In addition, the animals were depicted beside the Greeks and Romans on the tombstones. Furthermore, the Ptolemaic kings and the Roman Emperors were depicted sanctifying the sacred animals.

In the next chapters, I study the aspects of the sanctification of animals in the arts during the Greco-Roman period and discuss many dedications made by the Greeks for the sacred animals especially in El-Fayoum, making reference to the consecration of this animal or the various monuments of the crocodile god made by the Greek people. In addition, the Greeks refer to the god Sobk (crocodile) with new names like Petesouchos and Pnepheros.<sup>145</sup>

#### 4. The Cemetery of the Ibis in Abukir

Other inscriptions relating to other animals, such as ibis, confirm that the Greeks sanctified the sacred animals in Alexandria.<sup>146</sup>

The cult of the ibis occupied large areas of Egypt during the Graeco-Roman period, since it is noticeable that this cult was in Akoris, Apias, Apollinopolites, Hermopolis Magna, Latopolis, Memphis, Ombos, Oxyrhynchus, Philadelphia, Sobthis, Soknopaiounesos, Tebtynis, Theadelphia, etc. In addition, these places provided us with papyri and *ostraca* and also archaeological evidence especially in Tuna el-Gebel, and Saqqara.

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<sup>144</sup> For further information; see M.Malaise, Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie, EPRO 21 (Leiden 1972); E. Arslan, Iside: il mito il mistro la magia (Milano 1997); Grimm 1969; M. B. Galan, Die orientalischen Religionen Hispanien in vorrömischer und römischer Zeit. in : ANRW II, 18.1, 1987; Y. B.A .Gtacia, Les Religions Orientales dans l'Espagne Romaine, EPRO 5 (Leiden 1967).

<sup>145</sup> Bernand 1975, 131 Pl.70

<sup>146</sup> Empereur 1998,150

Furthermore, the important aspects of the sanctification of the ibis are the temple cult, the breeding and feeding and the funerary rituals of the dead birds.<sup>147</sup>

In Greek papyri, we can notice three Greek words referring to three meanings, the first one ἱβιών for the ibis sanctuary, the second one ἱβιών τροφή for the feeding place and the third one ἱβιοταφεον for the mummification place.<sup>148</sup>

Smelik did not mention Abukir as a cult centre of the ibis. Even his map does not show anything (Fig.33). Moreover, the map that has been made by Ikram for the animal cemeteries does not refer to the cemetery of the ibis in Canopus.

Thus, a question arises: why was an ibis catacomb built in Canopus?

I only study the cemetery of the ibis at Abukir, because this place is considered a new cult center of the ibis, as it was not known in the Pharaonic period. Moreover, this cemetery does not exist now and few scholars wrote about it, compared to the cemetery of Tuna el-Gebel that was studied in details by Kessler. Most of the cemeteries that do not exist nowadays could be identified through the animal mummies that were found in the original place of the cemetery.

Abukir “Canopus” is a village on the north coast of Egypt, 23 kilometres northeast of Alexandria city. No archaeological evidence was found from the Pharaonic period related to any animal necropolis at Abukir. That means the first necropolis of the animal was built during the Greco-Roman period. The cemeteries map of Ikram does not show any animal cemetery in Canopus (Fig.34).<sup>149</sup>

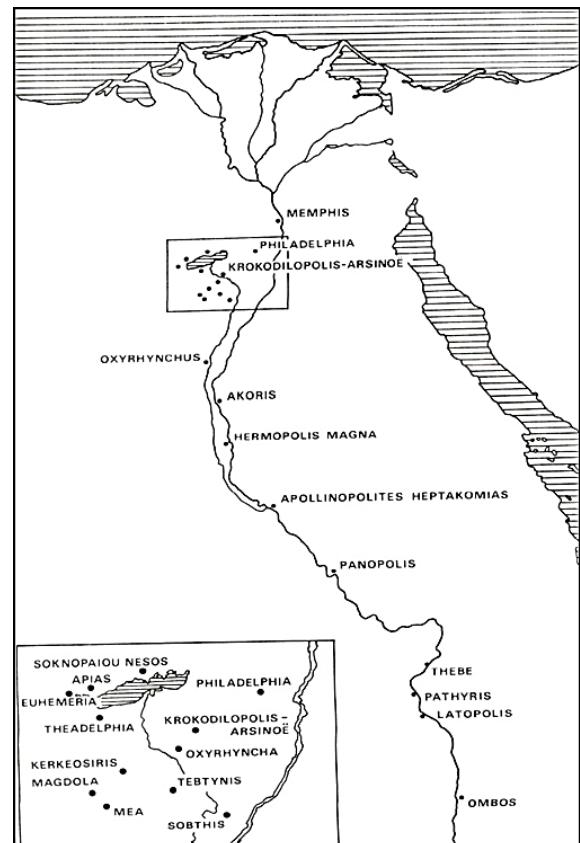


Fig.33

<sup>147</sup> Smelik 1979, 228

<sup>148</sup> Smelik 1979, 227

<sup>149</sup> Ikram 2005, xvi

However, the cemetery was discovered by chance in 1963 during digging the foundation of some buildings inside the military factory to the south of the archeological area of Abukir. During removing the sand, an entrance to a long corridor was found. The corridor leads to *serdabs* cut in the rocks. Other wide corridors were found extending from the east to the west.<sup>150</sup>

The height of the ceiling is 2.5 m. and the depth is 20 m under the ground.<sup>151</sup> It was hard to follow the design of the corridors on the sides because they were full of water at the time of the discovery. The corridors are more in number in the western side, as they spread on the sides of the main corridor towards the north and the south (Fig.35).<sup>152</sup>

However, the side corridors in the eastern side are on the southern side only. The main corridor is on the same axis in the western side and bends a little to the south in the eastern side. The side corridors were not cut in the same distances probably because of the bad type of the rocks.<sup>153</sup>

Despite of the difficulty of the excavation in this site because of the water and the collapses, great amount of terracotta jars were found.<sup>154</sup> Inside some of these jars, bones of mummified birds were found. These bones belonged to the sacred ibis. We can notice that the ibis jars of Abukir necropolis are small with narrow body. In addition these jars contained one or two mummies (Fig.36).<sup>155</sup>

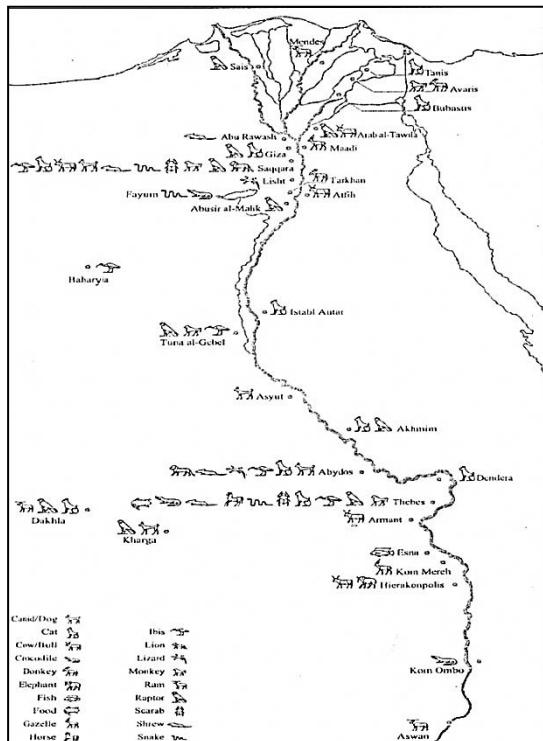


Fig.34

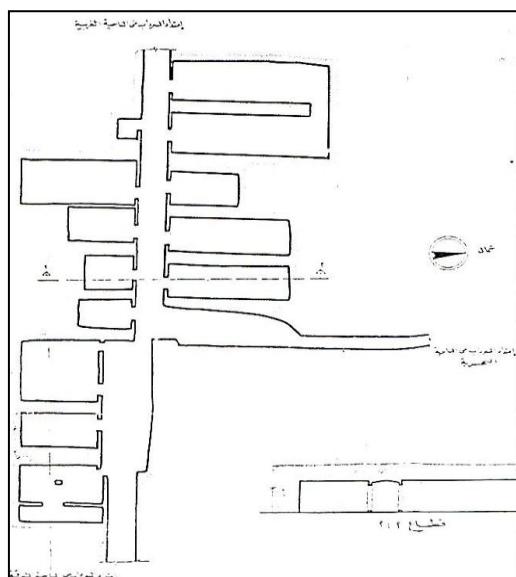


Fig.35

<sup>150</sup> Muhammed 1987, 123 Pl. V

<sup>151</sup> Masaoud 2004,150

<sup>152</sup> Muhammed 1987, 123

<sup>153</sup> Muhammed 1987, 123

<sup>154</sup> Masaoud 2004,150

<sup>155</sup> Muhammed 1987, 123 f . Pl. IV



Fig.36

This style was found also in Tuna el-Gebel necropolis from the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy I as the jars changed to be smaller with narrow body and shoulder but in the Pharaonic period the jars were broad and closed by plastered linen. Also in the Ptolemaic period, the small openings of the jars were closed by a pottery lid fixed with plaster.<sup>156</sup>

This discovery confirms that the ibis was sanctified at Canope. Probably other cults also appeared in this area and dated back to the Pharaonic period. This makes Canope among the important cities in the Egyptian provinces that got a long history. This city was considered a cult place of Thoth alongside with El-Ashmonin and Tuna el-Gebel.

Comparing the *serdabs* of Tuna el-Gebel with that of Abukir, we can notice that the latter ones are very small. The *serdabs* of Tuna el-Gebel cover an area of two and half feddan. They are also complicated in the design especially the second *serdab* that contains long corridors with many turns (Fig.37).<sup>157</sup>

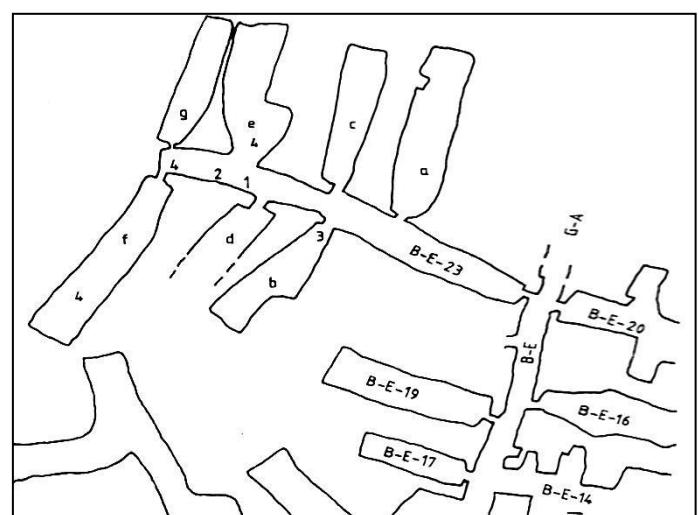


Fig.37

<sup>156</sup> Ikram 2005, 145

<sup>157</sup> Kessler — Nur el-Din 1994, 256 Abb. 6

However, the *serdabs* of Abukir are straight. The reason for the existence of these turns probably relate to the hardness of the rock at Tuna el-Gebel which forced the artist to do these turns to find an easier place to carve in.

The *serdab* of Abukir lacks for the drawings and the inscriptions on the contrary of the *serdabs* of Tuna el-Gebel where wooden boxes were found decorated with drawings of kneeling persons (priests) in front of Thoth and surrounded by inscriptions.<sup>158</sup> None of these wooden boxes were found in Abukir catacomb, as the burials were done in terracotta jars. In Tuna el-Gebel, altars were also found decorated with inscriptions such as the altar found in the second *serdab*. The reason for the smallness of the *serdabs* of Abukir compared to those of Tuna el-Gebel, is that Hermopolis Magna was the most important cult center of Thoth and the principal burial place for the ibis. The sanctification and the burial were not only for the ibis but also for the baboon. On the other hand, no evidences for the cult of the baboon were found at Abukir. Hermopolis Magna and its cemetery became the principal pilgrimage center for Thoth, as many pilgrims came to this place, placed altars inside the *serdabs*, and presented offerings and statues. Those pilgrims were allowed to enter the *serdabs* as places dedicated to the visitors of the god were found. It is well known that the *loculi* are common in the Alexandrian tombs such as that of Kom El-Shouqafa, and Elgabbarby (Fig.38-39).<sup>159</sup> In addition, the existence of these classical elements could be related to the desire to imitate the Greeks and their architecture.

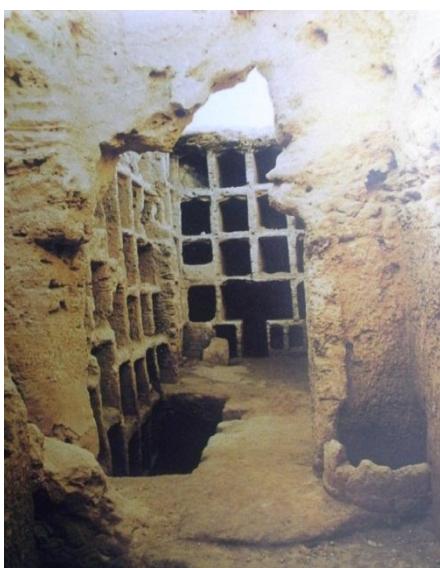


Fig.38



Fig.39

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<sup>158</sup> Kessler — Nur el-Din 1994, 262 Abb. 18 f

<sup>159</sup> Empereur 1998, 168, 178

A building was found on the north side of the fence of the Military factory. The eastern side of the fence had two holes with vaulted ceiling. No archeological evidence was found in these holes. It is thought that this building was used for the mummification of the sacred ibis, as this building is close to the burial *serdabs* of the ibis.<sup>160</sup> To the north of the previous building, two parallel buildings were found dating back to the Roman era. Each of these buildings had a rectangular design with four entrances. Some statues of standing priests were found in this place. These priests were probably those of Thoth. A basin was also found representing a rectangular hole with the depth of 2.20 m. The walls are covered with plaster to prevent leaking. At one of the sides of the basin is a hole with the same depth of the basin. Beside it there are small holes looking like steps. This basin was used in storing the water that was used in the cult of the ibis.<sup>161</sup>

One of the papyri of Tebtunis described the important and the necessary elements necessary for the cult of the ibis. These elements are the *serdabs*, the temple, the basin, and the garden where the ibis lived.<sup>162</sup>

All of these elements were found at Hermopolis Magna. Thus, it should also have existed in Abukir. This area was probably covered also with a vast garden. There were also other buildings adjacent to the temple used to be a residence place for those that were responsible for the cemetery and for the priests.<sup>163</sup>

There is no doubt that the delta was the origin place for Thoth personified in the shape of the ibis. Then it transferred to Hermopolis Magna in the south. Probably Thoth was the god of the fifteenth nome of Lower Egypt<sup>164</sup> Hermopolis Parva, (now, Damantour) and the ibis was its symbol. The pyramid texts described him as the god of the western Delta.

The reason for the existence of the cult of Thoth in Canope is that this city combined all the healing gods as it became a place for the patients who looked for the cure by passing the night in the temple of Sarapis and Isis. Thoth also gained this ability as he was thought of as the protector of magic and the magicians and the one who knew all the healing texts, as he was the one who healed Horus when he was stung by a scorpion in the marches of the delta. Moreover, Canope was a coastal city and a commerce center. That is why the Greeks built in

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<sup>160</sup> Masaoud 2004, 152

<sup>161</sup> Masaoud 2004, 153

<sup>162</sup> Gabra 1971, 157

<sup>163</sup> Masaoud 2004, 153

<sup>164</sup> G. Roeder, Hermopolis 1929-1939 (Hildesheim 1959) 163

it a cemetery for the ibis who was assimilated with Hermes, the god of commerce and the protector of the merchants in the sea.

## 5. Animal Mummies

Millions of animal mummies were found in the cemeteries and temples of many cities in Egypt. Most of these animals were excavated in the animal cemeteries of Tuna el-Gebel and Saqqara.<sup>165</sup> In addition to these cemeteries, animal mummies were found also in cemeteries for cats at Bubastis; rams at Elephantine; crocodiles at Kom Ombo and El-Fayoum; and ibises and falcons at Abydos.<sup>166</sup> The museums, where those animals were stored, have registered most of them without any information about their provenances and without specific dating. But scholars, such as Kessler, Dunand and Ikram, date those sacred animals to the time period spanning from the late period to the Graeco-Roman period because it was the age of the flourishing of the animal cult. Animal mummies can be categorized into four main types: beloved pets, food or virtual mummies, sacred animals, and votive mummies.<sup>167</sup>

The mummification of pets and their burial with their owners or beside the owners' tombs were intended so that they would frolic together in the hereafter. For example, I studied an unpublished gazelle mummy (L.55 cm) in Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum Inv. 1675. This mummy was simply treated. The head was straightened in order to give a natural shape. The organs were gathered under the stomach and fastened with a rope (Fig.40).<sup>168</sup>

The gazelle was the animal manifestation of the gods

Isis and Seth but it is not known if the gazelle was consecrated for them or not.<sup>169</sup> This type of animal mummies was not necessarily a sacred animal because small animal mummies, such as cats, dogs and gazelles, etc., were found in the tomb of humans; the only justification for their presence is that their owners did not want to get apart from them.<sup>170</sup>



Fig.40

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<sup>165</sup>E. Teeter, Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt (Cambridge - New York 2011) 92

<sup>166</sup>S.E.Thompson, Cults: An Overview, in: The Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt (Oxford 2001) 331

<sup>167</sup>Ikram 2005, 1; Ikram 2003, 235

<sup>168</sup>Photographed by the researcher

<sup>169</sup>Charron 2003,193.

<sup>170</sup>Dunand—Lichtenberg 2006, 333

Scholars define victual mummies as “pieces of meat or poultry that was prepared as if to be consumed immediately (a prelude to the ready-to-eat roast meats available today) by the deceased in the hereafter.”<sup>171</sup> A victual mummy, for instance, is composed of beef ribs which might have been cooked before the process of mummification (Fig.41).<sup>172</sup>



Fig.41

The sacred animal mummies, on the other hand, are “mummies of animals that were worshipped during their lifetimes as a personification of the god whom they were identified with (cats for Bastet, goddess of love and indulgence; ibises for Thoth, the god of wisdom; dogs for Anubis the way-finder who guided the dead from the land of the living to the land of the dead, etc.), and buried with pomp and circumstance upon their deaths.”<sup>173</sup> When a sacred animal dies, god’s spirit gets into another animal with special features too and so on.<sup>174</sup> The mummy could not be only protected by the bandages, it had to be put in a sarcophagus to be preserved. Many animals, but particularly the sacred one, had the right to be put in big sarcophagi from stone, limestone, granite, or sandstone.<sup>175</sup> This type of burial costs much, and in certain cases the king was the one who took it in charge. The Apis bull was buried in sarcophagi from red granite, sandstone, or limestone. The size was generally of about 3.30 m high and 2.30 m long (Fig. 42).<sup>176</sup>

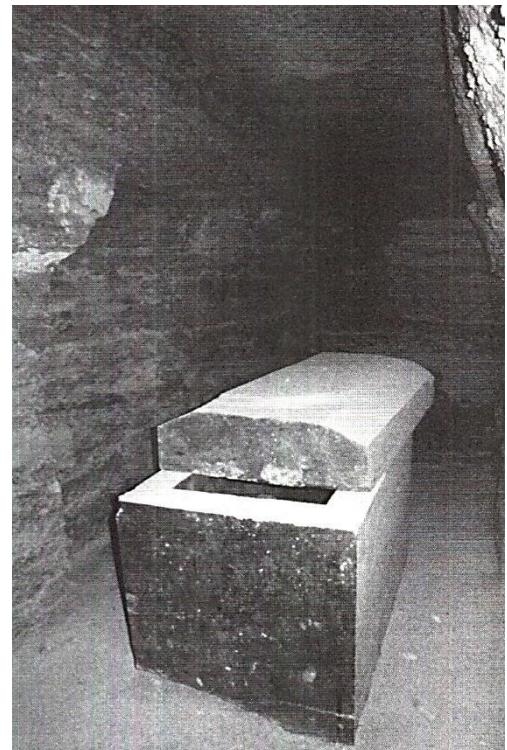


Fig. 42

<sup>171</sup> Ikram 2005, 214 f.

<sup>172</sup> Ikram 2013, Internet-publication

<sup>173</sup> Ikram 2013, Internet-publication

<sup>174</sup> Ikram 2005, 5

<sup>175</sup> Charron 2003, 205

<sup>176</sup> Dunand –Lichtenberg 2006, 114 Fig. 178

An unpublished limestone sarcophagus (H.22 L.37 W.26 cm) from the animal cemetery of Saqqara is preserved in the basement of the Egyptian museum without inventory number. The cover of the sarcophagus has four square corners, one of them is broken. The cover and the body of the sarcophagus are decorated with paintings consisting of vertical lines and geometrical form. The paintings are colored in red, black and yellow (Fig. 43).



Fig. 43

After being covered with bandages, the mummy of the sacred animal was put in a wooden or cartonnage coffins and then in *loculi* such as the case of Tuna el-Gebel cemetery (Fig.44).<sup>177</sup> There is a wood coffin from a niche of gallery B-E-23 which represents a priest adoring before a crouching ibis with a representation of Maat (Fig.45).<sup>178</sup>



Fig.44



Fig.45

The animal mummies were buried also in wood coffins which were fitting to their shapes, like that unpublished wood coffin (L.38 cm) which is preserved in Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum Inv. 4551. The coffin, whose cover is missing, takes the shape of the falcon; the provenance is unknown (Fig.46).<sup>179</sup>



Fig.46

<sup>177</sup> Kessler — Nur el-Din 1994, 261 Abb.17

<sup>178</sup> Kessler — Nur el-Din 1994, 263 Abb.19

<sup>179</sup> Unpublished ; Photographed by the researcher

In humans, the process of mummification presumably took forty days. In animals, it could have taken more or less, depending on the animal's size. The Apis bull took fifty-two days or more. After the dehydration, the body was lubricated with sacred oils, such as castor, lettuce, and balanites, and in some cases resins, and then muffled in linen bandages.<sup>180</sup>

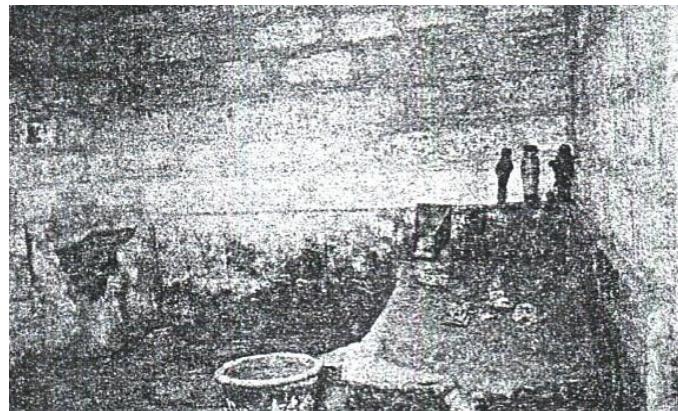


Fig.47

The sacred animals were mummified by Evisceration and Desiccation. This method was considered to have high quality. In this method the brain was removed (In humans and the large mammals through the nostrils). Then, the viscera (lungs, stomach, intestines, and liver) were removed through a cut in the left side of the body, or from a ventral incision. The bodies were cleaned by using water and sometimes palm wine, before being dehydrated by the natron (a mixture of sodium bicarbonate, sodium carbonate, sodium sulphate, and sodium chloride).<sup>181</sup>

This process was done in the embalming room. An example of this room was found at Tuna el-Gebel. It contains an inclining stone bed that is covered with black substances, a deep jar containing embalming materials (natron, salt, resins). It was supposed to be used for heating resins and oils that were used to mummies (Fig.47).<sup>182</sup>

The *webet*, the place where the treatment of the corpse of the Apis bull and his mother was made, was found at Memphis, to the south-west of the temple of Ptah, certainly not away from *sekos* where he lived. The building was used during the reign of Nectanebo II and the Ptolemaic period. It contains alabaster tables used for the embalming. They were decorated on the sides with the head of the lion and used for the evisceration. The pipes permit the evacuation of the liquids that get out during the operation (Fig.48).<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Ikram 2005,18

<sup>181</sup> Dunand –Lichtenberg 1993, 28

<sup>182</sup> Ikram 2005, Fig.2.3

<sup>183</sup> Charron 2003; 190 Fig.100

After the death of Apis bull, the mourning lasted for seventy days. The priests carried the bull away from the west door, to the tent of purification, which did not lie far from the embalming building. It was located to the south of the complex, on the shores of the lake of the king. They transferred the bull across the water to its park. It stayed there for four days.<sup>184</sup>

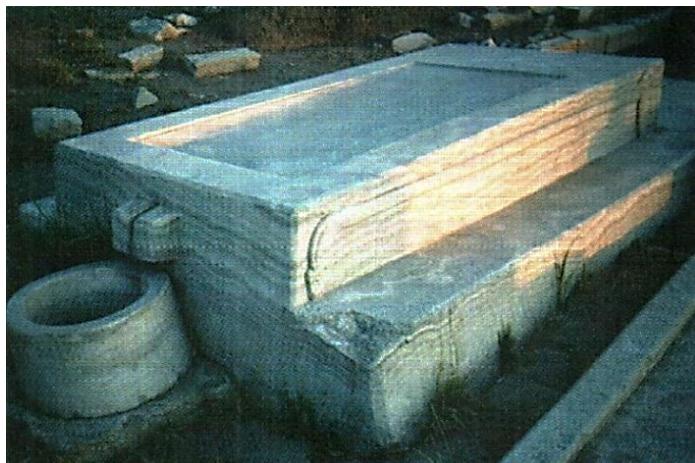


Fig.48



Fig.49

Then, the body was transported to the embalming house, the *webet*, where it stayed for 68 days.<sup>185</sup> It is worth mentioning that the head of the sacred animal was covered with gilded cartonnage mask, on which the eyes were replicated (Fig.49).<sup>186</sup>

As a manifestation of the god Khnum, the sacred ram was also coated in a gilded cartonnage. Many sarcophagi for sacred rams were found on the island of Elephantine, however, only a few had burials which were not robbed of these animals. Through the x-ray, it is shown that this is an old animal whose teeth were very worn down (Fig.50). It seems that there are no horns. “The animal may have been polled and the horns used in sacred head dresses by the priests.”<sup>187</sup>



Fig.50

<sup>184</sup> Charron 2003, 190

<sup>185</sup> R. L. Vos, The Apis embalming ritual : P. Vindob: 3873 (Leuven 1993) 32

<sup>186</sup> Charron 2003,191 Fig. 92

<sup>187</sup> Ikram 2013, Internet-publication

As for votive mummies, they are mummies of animals that were purchased by devout pilgrims and offered to the relevant deity (e.g. cats for Bastet, etc.) and then buried in catacombs, en masse, at certain religious festivals.<sup>188</sup> The votive animals were mummified by Desiccation and Anointment.<sup>189</sup> This method was done through washing out the viscera, and then drying the body using the natron before anointing and wrapping it. A variation of this method was observed from the mummies, where black substances (resin, oil, pitch, bitumen) were poured over the body after the dehydration, without extracting the viscera. These substances inhibit bacterial growth. This method was widely used on votive mummies, especially those dating to the late and the Greco-Roman Periods.<sup>190</sup>

Summerfield mentioned: “cat mummies were purchased by private individuals, either local patrons of the temple or pilgrims, who wished to bestow an ex-voto offering on a cat goddess. The patron might make the offering in expectation of a specific favor or general blessing from the divinity. Yet beyond being ex-voto offerings, cat mummies were also magical devices.”<sup>191</sup>

Kessler provided a different explanation of these mummies, as he thought that they were not votive. He considered that every animal lived inside the walls of the temple and died, used to be dedicated to the god and considered sacred, therefore, it had to be mummified and kept in the tombs dedicated to the gods. The other animals that were not considered to be a manifestation of the gods such as the Flamingos, are just animals that died within the precinct of the temple.<sup>192</sup> Ikram refuses the explanation of Kessler because there are some mummies that could be considered votive. They are the mummies of the animals that were killed on purpose to be sacrificed to the gods (Fig.51).<sup>193</sup> She mentioned: “However, a significant number of animal mummies that have been identified as belonging to the category of votive/ contain animals that have deliberately been killed. This ritual sacrifice would argue against the idea that anything living and dying on the god's land was elevated to a sacred or revered - being that was mummified and interred in the hypogea.”<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Ikram 2005, 5

<sup>189</sup> Ikram 2005, 20

<sup>190</sup> Ikram 2005, 20

<sup>191</sup> E. N. Summerfield, Feline Embodiments of Divinity: A Wooden Statue of a Cat and a Cat Sarcophagus in the Kelsey Museum , Bulletin of the University of Michigan Museums of Art and Archaeology, Volume 10, 1992, 78

<sup>192</sup> Kessler — Nur el-Din 2005,155

<sup>193</sup> Ikram 2013, Internet-publication

<sup>194</sup> Ikram 2005,10

For example, a votive cat mummy was bandaged in a very skillful way but it is obvious, through the X-ray, that the animal was strangled on purpose in order to mummify it.<sup>195</sup> Another X-ray of a cat mummy was found in Bubasteion of Saqqara, shows fracture of the cervical spine and the back of the skull (Fig.52).<sup>196</sup>



Fig.51



Fig.52

Many of the cat mummies that were found in the Bubasteion appear to have been killed by breaking the neck or crashing the skulls and it seems that there were levels in the quality of the votive mummies depending on the money paid by the pilgrims.<sup>197</sup>

It seems that these animals were raised up in the temple or beside it because the excavations which have occurred in Madinet Madi refer to the existence of a hatchery and a stall for the crocodile adjacent to the temple. In addition, in the sacred tombs at Saqqara, many Ibis eggs were found in the hall, therefore, this place is considered to be a hatchery for this bird.<sup>198</sup> According to Thompson, pilgrims used to pay for the votive animals when visiting the temples at festivals or when seeking sacred blessings.<sup>199</sup> The mummified animal body served as an ex-voto for the god; and burying a sacred animal was a means by which the worshipper hoped to gain the satisfaction of the god; there is an inscription on a jar which has an ibis mummy; the inscription represents a prayer which beseeches Thoth to be good toward the woman who had mummified his sacred animal.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Ikram 2013, Internet-publication

<sup>196</sup> Dunand –Lichtenberg 2006, 114 Fig. 188

<sup>197</sup> Ikram 2005, 13

<sup>198</sup> Ikram 2005, 12

<sup>199</sup> Thompson 2001, 331

<sup>200</sup> Thompson 2001, 332

Teeter mentioned that animal mummies were votive offerings<sup>201</sup> since this is indicated by the inscriptions on some of the coffins or animal mummies. Like other votive types, the donation of the mummy was meant to urge a god to favor the donor. A typical example is an ibis mummy from Tuna el-Gebel; it reads “Thoth - twice great, lord of Hermopolis, he may give life, prosperity, and sanity and the lifetime of Ra and a high and beautiful age for the general Petosiris, son of the general Nakht-ef.”<sup>202</sup> Drawing upon what the scholars mentioned above, it is logical to agree that these animals were ex-votos.

Most of those mummies were buried in the terracotta urns and then were put in *loculi*. Though this system of burial was the most widespread, it was also the most rough. The terracotta urn was used for all sizes; it could encompass one or two mummies. I saw many of those urns in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (Fig.53).<sup>203</sup>



Fig.53

I studied only one of those mummies because most of them are similar. Their length is ca. 38-45 cm. This small terracotta urn is designed for the burial of an ibis. The province of the mummy (L. 45 cm) is unknown; however it may be from Saqqara because the galleries were filled with terracotta pots holding the mummies in the ground.<sup>204</sup> The mummy dates back to the Graeco-Roman period because of the geometrical bandages which appeared only in the Graeco-Roman period. The bad condition of the mummification indicates that this mummy was an ex-voto (Fig.54).<sup>205</sup>



Fig.54

<sup>201</sup> Teeter 2011, 91

<sup>202</sup> Teeter 2011, 92

<sup>203</sup> Unpublished; Photographed by the researcher

<sup>204</sup> Charron 2003, 200

<sup>205</sup> Unpublished; Photographed by the researcher

We can differentiate between the sacred and votive animals through the quality of the mummification. The mummification of the sacred animals was of high quality and better than the others. In addition, Dunand mentioned: „Since the animals were raised to furnish mummies for ex-voto offerings, these were young animals.”<sup>206</sup> So that, I assume that this unpublished mummy of a small crocodile (L.22 cm) that was wrapped with crossed bandages was an ex-voto. The mummy may be from El -Fayoum or Kom Ombo. It is preserved in Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum Inv. 5805 (Fig.55).<sup>207</sup>



Fig.55

Few of the mummies contain bones of cats. It seems that these cats died after crashing their skulls. Therefore, we can conclude that the cats were raised to be killed and sold to the pilgrims that used them as votiv-offerings to Bastet.<sup>208</sup> These fake mummies are big in size as they could reach 43 cm; however, the length of the cat inside it is only 20 cm and the rest is clay. This fake was probably intended by the priests to sell more of these mummies to the naive pilgrims. The same thing occurred in the ibis mummies. When these mummies were examined by Ikram in the Egyptian Musem, they were empty from inside, or filled with feathers, or parts of other animals. Many of these mummies that dates back to the Ptolemaic period consist parts of the ibis or feathers.<sup>209</sup> Ashton studied one of the crocodile mummies (L.32 cm) which preserved in the Fitzwilliam museum, Cambridge Inv. E.1, 1894. The X-ray shows stones inside the bandages of a crocodile mummy (Fig.56).<sup>210</sup>



Fig.56

<sup>206</sup> Dunand— Lichtenberg 2006, 185

<sup>207</sup> Unpublished; Photographed by the researcher

<sup>208</sup> Dunand –Lichtenberg 2006,108

<sup>209</sup> Ikram 2005, 14

<sup>210</sup> S. An Ashton, Roman Egyptomania : A Special Exhibition at Fitzwilliam Museum (London 2005) 160 Fig. 95

The reason for making the fake mummy was that the animals which were supposed to be mummified were difficult to catch, such as hawks and falcons, or that the animals were not available for mummification when they were required; sometimes the sellers of religious items made it when their work was not going out well.<sup>211</sup>

Mummy wrappings varied considerably. Until the Roman Period, they remained relatively simple, consisting of linen bandages spirally wound around the creature (presumably this was a bit different for bulls and cows, as their size made bandaging difficult).<sup>212</sup> The first enrolment of bandages of linen covered the whole corpse. This first bandage ranged from 4.5-6.5 cm thick. Under this bandage there is a larger layer (about 45 cm wide) 80-90 cm long, enveloping the rest of the mummy as a shroud. Under this shroud there is a second enrolment of fine bandages, which covers a second shroud.<sup>213</sup>

For virtual mummies, the bandages were generally knotted into place, while other animal mummies had a more elaborate system for sealing that involved copious amounts of resin. Some animals have layers of different wrappings in addition to their linen bandaging. There are several instances when the body was first wrapped in a papyrus or reed mat, perhaps to provide extra protection and bulk to the desiccated creature, and then covered with the conventional linen wrappings.<sup>214</sup>

Wrapping votive offerings and even sacred creatures was not always a task that commanded the embalmer's complete attention. The layers functioned as a protection of the corpse. However, in the Late Period, the decorative aspect was very important. The Ptolemaic period reached the peak of this artistic practice. Not only the bandages were crossed in the form of an extraordinary geometrical motif, but they were also colored. All of this increased the precious character of the mummy. Finally, the additions should accentuate the appearance of the living animal (Fig.57).<sup>215</sup>

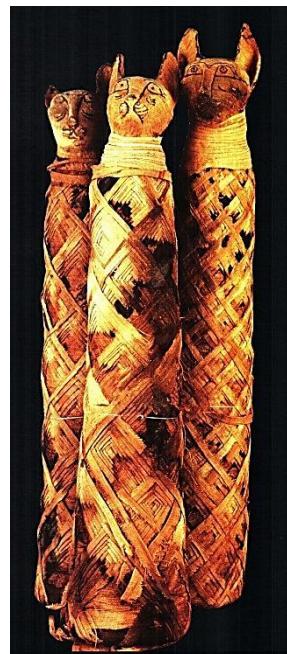


Fig.57

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<sup>211</sup> Animal Mummy Project 2000, Internet-publication

<sup>212</sup> Ikram 2005, 28

<sup>213</sup> Charron 2003, 195

<sup>214</sup> Ikram 2005, 28

<sup>215</sup> Charron 2003, 195 Fig. 89

The outermost wrappings of mummies dating from the Roman Period are often quite elaborate. Some have bi-colored coffering in square or lozenge patterns, while others are wrapped in a herringbone or a basket pattern. Some of the plain packages of Greco-Roman mummies were often enhanced with appliquéd images of divinities or animals, or even the features of the animals themselves (eyes, nose, mouth, etc.).<sup>216</sup>

It is worth mentioning here that the technique of the animal mummy wrappings is similar to the technique of human mummy wrappings. The bandages of the human mummies were well wrapped during the Ptolemaic period and reached its peak during the Roman period when it began to take a geometrical shape.<sup>217</sup> The best example is a mummy of a boy (L, 133 cm), found at Hawara and dated back to 100-120 AD. It is covered with many layers of linen and the bandages are complicated. There are also gilded stucco buttons in the middle of the bandages (Fig.58).<sup>218</sup>



Fig.58

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<sup>216</sup> Charron 2002, 199 Fig.89

<sup>217</sup> B. Brier, Egyptian Mummies Unrevealing the Secrets of Ancient Art (New York 1994) 60.

<sup>218</sup> Doxiadis 1995, 40.

### III. Dedications to the Sacred Animals and the Egyptian Animal Headed Gods

This chapter deals with the dedications to the Egyptian Gods that dated back to the Graeco-Roman period as an aspect of the animal sanctification. Many Greek dedications to the crocodile were found during the Graeco-Roman period especially in El-Fayoum.

The crocodile was one of the most important sacred animals in ancient Egypt. The crocodile was considered by the ancient Egyptians to be the strongest and the wildest animal in the water<sup>219</sup>. In the Pyramid texts, the crocodile took the wives from their husbands whenever he wanted.<sup>220</sup> Therefore, fear was the principal motive in sanctifying this animal.

The reason for this sanctification could be traced to ability of the crocodile to see people without being seen.<sup>221</sup>

Diodorus found that the people differed in deciding the reasons for the sanctification of the crocodile. Some thought that it was responsible for the safety of the country as its presence in the river prevented the foreigners from crossing the river into Egypt. Others thought that the crocodile saved an early king from his own vicious dogs by carrying him on its back to the other side of Lake Moeris. Therefore, the king commanded the inhabitants of the region to pay homage to the beast.

“It remains for us to speak of the deification of crocodiles, a subject regarding which most men are entirely at a loss to explain how, when these beasts eat the flesh of men, it ever became the law to honour like the gods creatures of the most revolting habits. Their reply is, that the security of the country is ensured, not only by the river, but to a much greater degree by the crocodiles in it; that for this reason the robbers that infest both Arabia and Libya do not dare to swim across the Nile, because they fear the beasts, whose number is very great; and that this would never have been the case if war were continually being waged against the animals and they had been utterly destroyed by hunters dragging the river with nets. But still another account is given of these beasts. For some say that once one of the early kings whose name was Menas, being pursued by his own dogs, came in his flight to the Lake of Moeris, as it is called, where, strange as it may seem, a crocodile took him on his back and carried him to the other side. Wishing to show his gratitude to the beast for saving him, he founded a city near the place and named it City of the Crocodiles; and he commanded the natives of the

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<sup>219</sup> Houlihan 1996, 114

<sup>220</sup> N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi: Part II : Tomb of Zau and Tombs of the Northern Group Parts (London 1902) 23 f Pls. XVIII, XIX

<sup>221</sup> J. Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne, Tome V, Bas-reliefs et peintures, scènes de la vie quotidienne (Paris 1969) 104

region to sanctification these animals as gods and dedicated the lake to them for their sustenance; and in that place he also constructed his own tomb, erecting a pyramid with four sides, and built the Labyrinth which is admired by many.”<sup>222</sup>

It was also thought that the power of the crocodile god extended to create the world. Lake Moeris, in El-Fayoum, was regarded as the primeval water (*nun*) and the primordial mound appeared at Shedyet where life started. The crocodile that emerged from the water of the lake was considered to be linked to the primeval mound and got the power of creation.<sup>223</sup>

Herodotus confirms this belief and the ability of the crocodile to transform the human beings into something approaching the divine.

“When anyone, be he Egyptian or stranger, is known to have been carted off by a crocodile or drowned by the river itself, such a one must by all means be embalmed and tended as fairly as may be and buried in a sacred coffin by the townsmen of the place where he is cast up; nor may his kinfolk or his friends touch him, but his body is deemed something more than human, and is handled and buried by the priests of the Nile themselves.”<sup>224</sup>

The priests of the crocodile god at Karanis knew the myth and the power of this god. However, this power was not clear to the average person in the Graeco-Roman period. Accounts dating to the Roman period suggest that the crocodile god was understood in more concrete terms.<sup>225</sup>

Plutarch in his writings thought that the reasons of the deification are in the character and the habits of the crocodile itself. The crocodile was the highest mark of the Nile’s inundation, as the females sense the levels of the coming flood and lay their eggs beyond the anticipated water mark. They lay sixty eggs and hatch them in so many days and those who live longest live for this number of years, which is the primary measure for those concerned with heavenly phenomena.

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<sup>222</sup> Diodorus 1, 89

<sup>223</sup> Gazda 1983, 32 f

<sup>224</sup> Herodotus 2, 90

<sup>225</sup> Gazda 1983, 33

"It is said to be the only tongueless creature and thus a likeness of God. For the divine reason does not need a voice, and they say that the crocodile, alone of creatures that live in the water, has covering its eyes a smooth transparent membrane which comes down from its forehead, so that it sees without being seen to do so, which is true of the highest God. Whatever spot the female lays her eggs, people know to be the highest mark of the Nile's inundation. For since they are unable to lay their eggs in the wet, and are afraid to do so far away, they have such an accurate presentiment of the future that in laying their eggs they make use of the rise of the river, but in sitting on them keep them dry and unmoistened. They lay sixty eggs and hatch them in so many days, and those who live longest live for this number of years, which is the primary measure for those concerned with heavenly phenomena."<sup>226</sup>

Therefore, there were many cult centers in Egypt dedicated to its sanctification. According to Herodotus, El-Fayoum was one of the most important cult centers of the crocodile.<sup>227</sup> Therefore this city was known in the Ptolemaic period under the name of Krokodilopolis. The crocodile was sanctified in different shapes. It appeared in complete animal form in many scenes. This could be seen in the papyrus of Har-Wobn that dated back to the 21st dynasty (Fig.59)<sup>228</sup> and as a human-headed crocodile in a papyrus from the Book of the dead which belonged to Nefer-Renpet and dated back to the 18th dynasty (Fig. 60).<sup>229</sup> It appeared also as a crocodile-headed man on the temple of Sobek at Kom Ombo (Fig.61).<sup>230</sup>

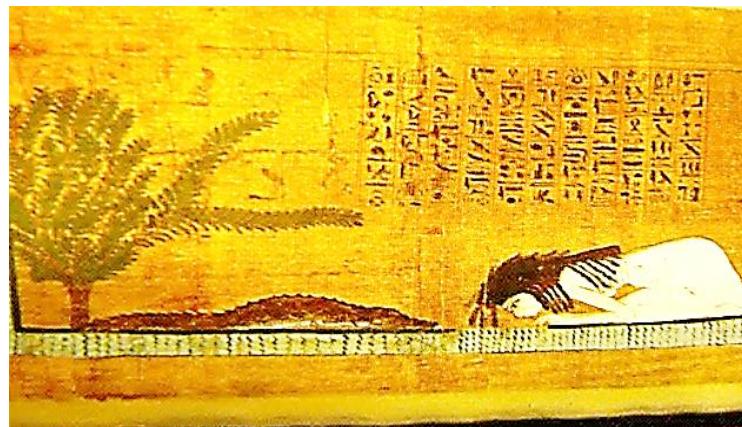


Fig.59

<sup>226</sup> Plutarchus De Is. et Os., 75

<sup>227</sup> Herodotus 2, 69

<sup>228</sup> M.C. Kuentz, Quelques Monuments du Culte de Sobk, BIFAO 28,1929, 162 Pl. II

<sup>229</sup> Kakosy 1963, Abb. 3

<sup>230</sup> Erman 2001, Fig. 34



Fig.60

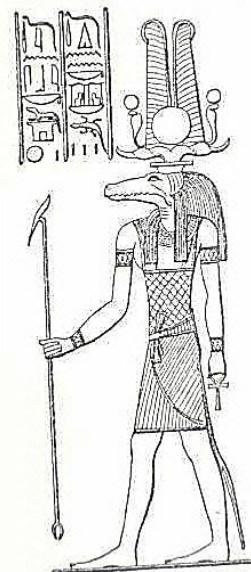


Fig.61

In the Graeco-Roman period many dedications to the crocodile were found in El-Fayoum, the name of Sobek was changed to Pnepheros, Souchos, or Sokopichonsis. In addition, El-Fayoum consisted of many areas such as Arsinoe, Soknopaiou Nesos, Theadelphia, etc (Fig.62).<sup>231</sup>

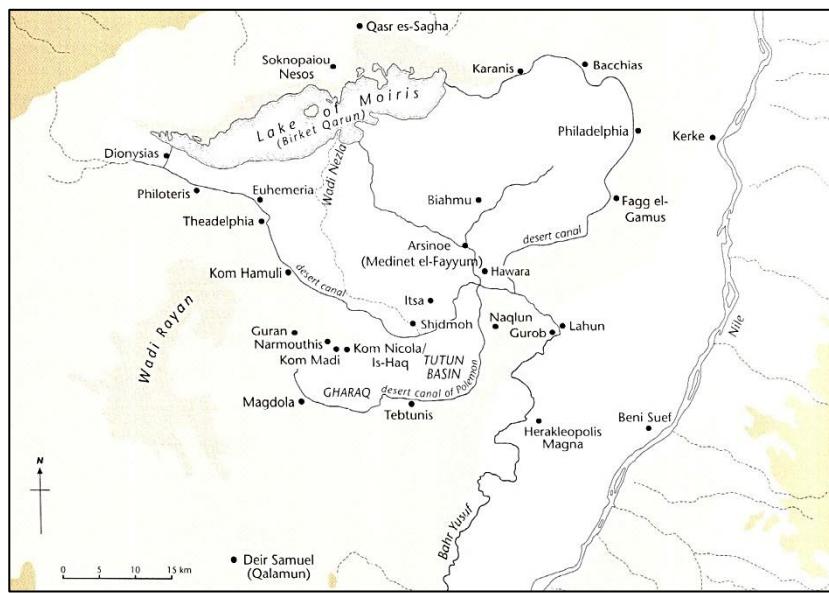


Fig.62

<sup>231</sup> Parlasca 1966, 35 Karte A; Bagnall — Rathbone 2004, 128 Fig. 5.1.1

The Greeks that lived in El-Fayoum region at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, named the crocodile god “Souchos”. The sanctification of Suchos flourished in the Graeco-Roman period in the cities of El-Fayoum region that were established by the Ptolemies. Among these, there was Crocodilopolis, the capital of the nome that was later known as “Arsinoe”, precisely during the reign of Ptolemy II, as it was named after his wife Arsinoe II. The crocodile god carried many names according to the location of the sanctification or according to a new epithet made after the merging occurred with other god such as Re. Therefore, the crocodile god was named “Sobek-Re” in the temple of Karoun palace. I will mention now some of the names that were given to the crocodile god:

The name Souchos appeared in Krokodilopolis, Arsinoe, Tebtynis, and Theadelphia. The name Petesouchos appeared in the temples of Karanis and Theadelphia. This name appeared at the end of the third century BC, while the name Pnepheros appeared in the temples of Karanis, Bachias, and Theadelphia.<sup>232</sup>

### 1. Dedication on Temples

One of those dedications was written on the lintel of the north Propylon of the temple of Pnepheros and Petesouchos in El-Fayoum “Karanis”. It dates back to year 20 of the reign of Ptolemy X (year 95 BC).<sup>233</sup> The dimensions are H. 16, 85 W. 50, 1 cm (Fig.63).



Fig.63

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<sup>232</sup> W. R. Rübsam, Götter und Kulte im Fayum während der griechisch- römisch-byzantinischen Zeit (Bonn 1974) 17; J. Toutain, Le culte du crocodile dans le Fayoum, RHR 71, 1915, 171

<sup>233</sup> B. P. Grenfell, Fayûm Towns and their Papyri (London 1900) 30 ff

The lintel carries dedication to Pnepheros and Petesouchos. This piece is considered the superior part of the inscription which part was found in 1923-1930 inside a house.<sup>234</sup> It is preserved in Kelsey Museum of archaeology Inv. 25918. The inferior part is lost and there is no photograph for it. The inferior part was found in 1900 to the south of the Propylon.

The inscription reads:

[*Ὑπὲρ βασι]λέως Πτολεμαίου*  
 [*τοῦ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρου θεοῦ*  
 [*Φιλομήτορ]ος καὶ βασιλίσσης*  
 [*Βερενίκης θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου καὶ*  
 [*τῶν τέκνων Τοθοῆς Ὁσιρ ... ἱερεὺς [Πε]-*  
 [*τ[εσ]ούχο[υ] τὸ πρόπυλον Πνεφερῶτι καὶ*  
*Πετεσούχαι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς*  
*μεγάλοις μεγάλοις ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς*  
*γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων εὐχήν .*  
 (*ἔτους*) *ιθ', Μεσορῆ κξ'.*

“For the king Ptolemy called also Alexander, the Philometor god, the queen (Berenice the Philadelphie godess, and their children, to Pnepheros, to Petesouchos and to the twice great gods that are in the same temple, for him , his wife and his children, an ex-voto, year 19, the 27<sup>th</sup> of Mesore.”<sup>235</sup>

There is another dedication on a large limestone block (H.38. W.169. Th. 36 cm) which was found in the southern temple of Karanis just to the south of the steps at the east end of the forecourt. It was broken into three major portions that were lying against the east wall of the forecourt. The block was very badly scaled and in some parts the lettering was all but obliterated, making decipherment extremely difficult. In each upper corner was carved the crude figure of a crocodile and in the center an incense altar. the block dates back to year 20 of Commodus 180 AD (Fig.64).<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Bernand 1975,173 f. No. 84

<sup>235</sup> Bernand 1975, 174

<sup>236</sup> Bernand 1975,183 f No. 88



Fig.64

The inscription reads:

(*"Ἐτους*) καὶ Λουκίου Α[ὐρ]ηλίου  
Κομμόδου Σεβαστοῦ  
[Μ]εσορὴ κατ' ἀρχαῖους ἵγειρας  
ὑπὲρ [τῆς] Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς Πετεσούχως καὶ Πνεφέρωτι θεοῖς μεγίστοις ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ.

“Year 20 of Lucius Aurelius Commodus Augustus, the 13<sup>th</sup> of Mesore according to the ancient Egyptian, for the fortune and everlastingness of Lucius Aurelius Commodus Caesar, our Master, (had consecrated this monument) to Petesouchos and Pnepheros; the very great, for the good.”<sup>237</sup>

There is also a dedication on the limestone lintel of the north portal of the north propylon of the sanctuary of Petesouchos and Pnepheros in Karanis made by Apollonios, and it dates back to year 30 of Commodus, month of Epiphi. 25 Jun-24 July 190 AD.<sup>238</sup>

The inscription reads:

‘Ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομόδου  
Αντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Εὐτυχοῦς Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
(ἐτους) (λ), Ἐπείφ., Πετεσούχως θεῶ μεγάλως καὶ Πνεφέρωτι τὸ προπύλαιον  
χρόνῳ [διαφθαρὲ]ν [ἀ]νώρθωσεν ἐκ τοῦ ἴδιου Ἀπολλώνιος  
ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι.

“For the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar, our Master, fortune, devoted, August, year (30), the Epiphi, in honor of Petesouchos, the great god, and of

<sup>237</sup> Bernand 1975,184

<sup>238</sup> Bernand 1975,185 f

Pnepheros, Apollonios had restored on his expenses the propylon damaged by the time, for the good.”<sup>239</sup>

These dedications gave us an idea about the way of sanctifying it through both the architecture of the North and South temples and the related sanctuaries at other towns in El-Fayoum (Fig.65).<sup>240</sup> In these sacred buildings, the god receives the invocations and appears to his devotees.<sup>241</sup>

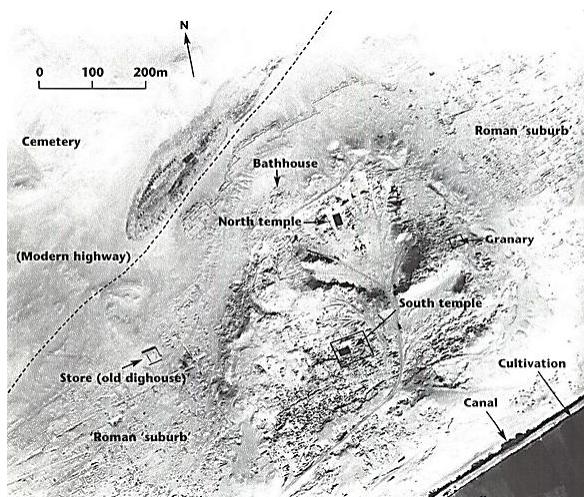


Fig.65

“The form of the temple building was prescribed by Egyptian religious tradition, and scholars of Egyptian architecture have interpreted its plan as a cosmic metaphor. Approached along a causeway, open air courts precede a series of enclosed rooms which gradually diminish in size, an arrangement which provided an ideal model symbolic of the universe at the beginning of time. Even in the use of stone for the temple walls, the permanence of this universe was proclaimed.”<sup>242</sup> This plan can be observed at the south temple of Karanis, as there is a paved walk leading to a colonnaded courtyard that symbolized the primordial marsh. The columns represent the plants of the marsh. Beyond the courtyard there is a large chamber leading to a smaller one which served as a vestibule to the innermost chamber which housed the sacred shrine. In this sanctuary, a high platform or altar represented the primeval mound.<sup>243</sup> In this dark place, the sacred rites were performed by the priests to invoke an epiphany of the god (Fig.66).<sup>244</sup>

<sup>239</sup> Bernand 1975, 186 No.89

<sup>240</sup> Bagnall — Rathbone 2004, Fig. 5.2.1

<sup>241</sup> Gazda 1983, 34

<sup>242</sup> Gazda 1983, 33 f

<sup>243</sup> Gazda 1983, 34 f

<sup>244</sup> Boak 1933, 51; Davoli 1998, 30 f. Fig. 27

The southern temple measures approximately 15 by 22 metres. The stone built is approached by a flight of steps and platform, moreover it consists of some small rooms that contain probably the library and the oracle. Also there were buildings for the priests and the visitors of the oracle or the interpretation of dreams or the sick.<sup>245</sup>

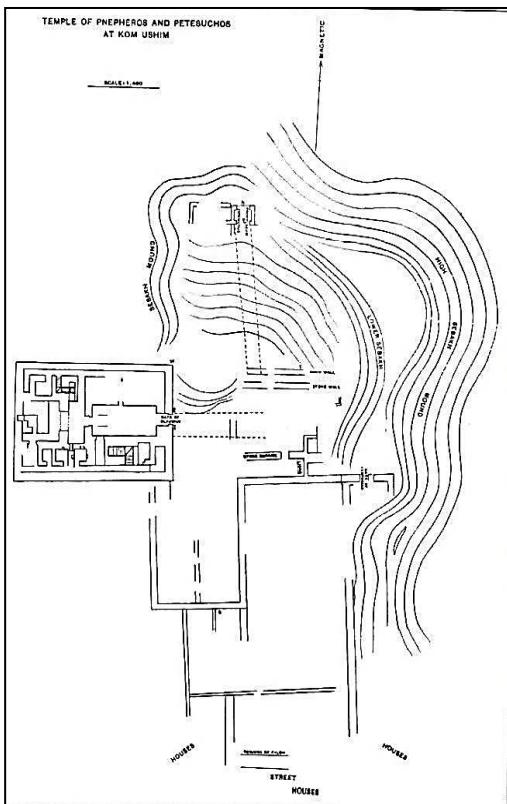


Fig.66

It is the biggest one that was built from limestone. It was built in the end of the first century AD on the site of an earlier temple that was built in the first century BC. The temple was dedicated to the crocodile gods Pnepheros and Petesouchos (Fig.67).<sup>246</sup> The god Petesouchos had a temple in this village and appeared as a crocodile as the text that mentioned the epiphany indicated. Near the temple, the reptile had been regarded in an enclosed place with water by people who were charged by the feeding. Strabon, in his Geography, and the Papyrus of Tebtynis of 112 AD, mentioned the tripe of the Roman senator Lucius Memmius and how the crocodile, who as Sobek at that time, every day in the village of Arsinoe had been fed by the offerings brought by the visitors.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Bowman 1986, 171 f.

<sup>246</sup> Boak 1933,51 Pl. X

<sup>247</sup> Bowman 1986, 172

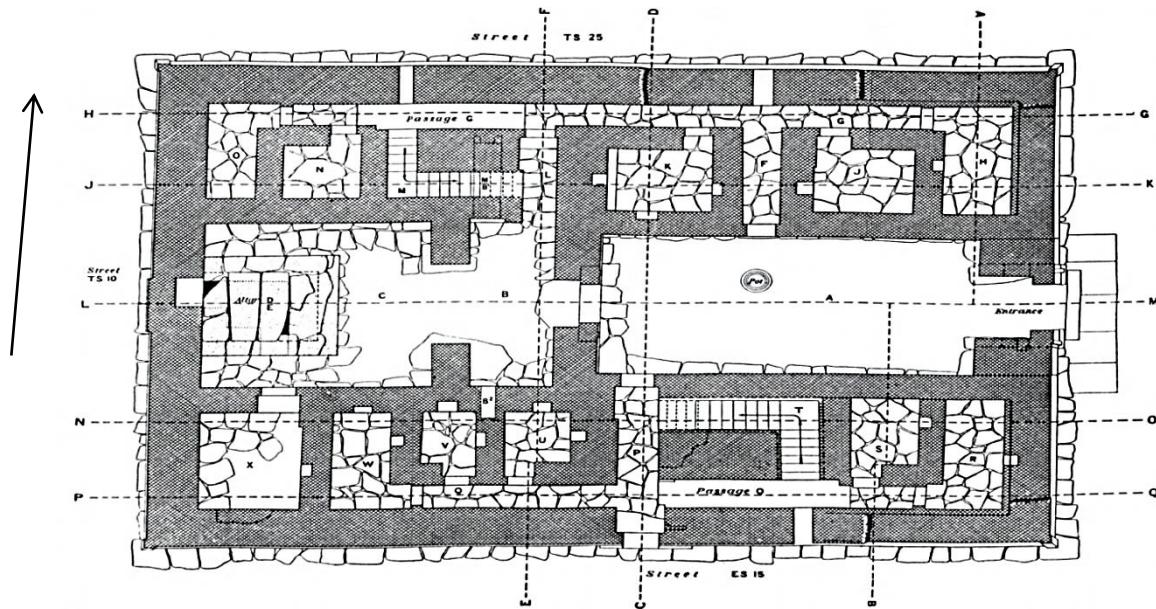


Fig.67

In front of it, facing north, is the gate of Vespasian. The entrance to the temple, which faces east is proceeded by the gate of Claudius, with an inscription on the lintel indicated the dedication of the temple by Nero. In the interior chambers of the southern temple in Karanis, we can see the platform of the high altar at the back (Figs.68-69).<sup>248</sup>



Fig.68

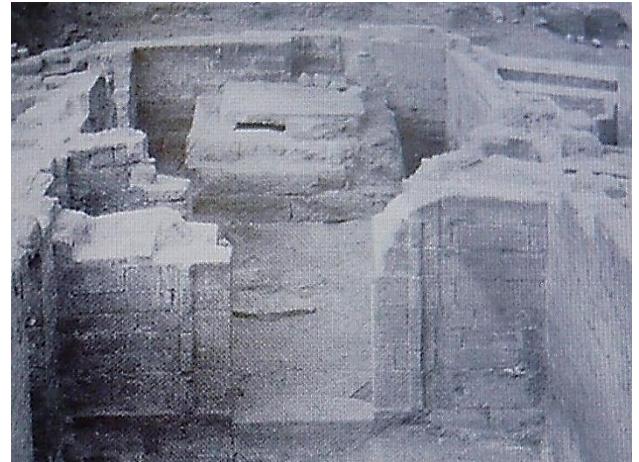


Fig.69

The environment that surrounded the people of Karanis reflects their religious preoccupations. The north and the south temples proclaimed the central role of the public cults in the life of the town.

<sup>248</sup> Hölbl 2005, Abb. 140; Bowman 1986, 172; Gazda 1983, 35

The names of many of the deities are recorded in papyrus documents, and a few are inscribed in stone.<sup>249</sup> In all, about twenty-seven divinities are known. Half of these names belonged to Egyptian gods, while the rest belonged to Greek gods. It was not until the late antiquity, that Christianity entered this land.<sup>250</sup>

In addition to the crocodile god and the divine triad of Isis, Sarapis, and Harpocrates, many other deities, both Greek and Egyptian, claimed devotees in the town, such as the Greek Eleusinian deities, Persephone, Demeter and Triptolemus. Aphrodite, a goddess who was honored particularly in the private sphere, either in purely Greek form or identified with Hathor, Isis or another Egyptian counterpart. Numerous statuettes of Aphrodite were found at Karanis, and it is tempting to think that these may have belonged to young brides. In Roman times, a typical dowry would have included an image of the goddess of love.<sup>251</sup> The cult of the crocodile god, Sobek, was the known cult in Karanis. The cult of this god is attested in El-Fayoum since the earliest dynastic times, when it was not sanctified in any other place in Egypt. His cult was centred in Shedyet (Krokodilopolis) but many locales in this region maintained temples in his honour.<sup>252</sup> In the two known temples of Karanis, Souchos was sanctified in three guises - as Pnepheros, Petesouchos and Soknopaios.

Dunand mentioned that there are many inscriptions from El-Fayoum dating back to the second and the first century BC that mentioned the consecration of various monuments to the crocodile god made by the Greeks. For example, the dedication of a propylon of the temple to the crocodile Pnepheros at Theadelphia "Batn Herit" in 137 BC by an Alexandrian man called Agathodoros, son of Agathodoros, and his wife Isidora, daughter of Dionysios (Fig.70).<sup>253</sup>

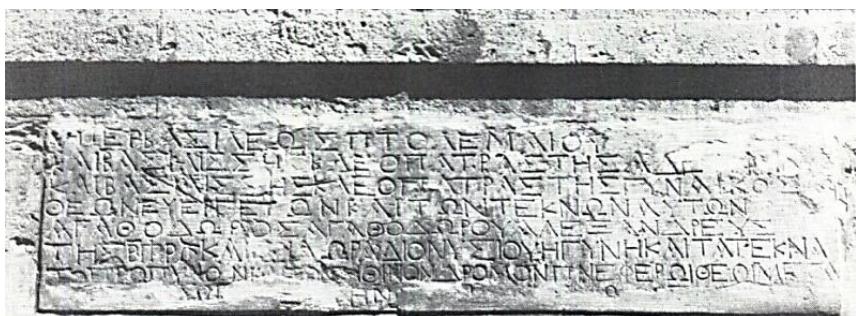


Fig.70

<sup>249</sup> Gazda 1983, 32

<sup>250</sup> Gazda 1983, 32

<sup>251</sup> Gazda 1983, 32

<sup>252</sup> Keuntz 1929, 169

<sup>253</sup> Dunand 1986, 63

The inscription reads:

Υπέρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου  
 καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς  
 καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικός,  
 θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν,  
 Ἀγαθόδωρος Ἀγαθόδωρου Ἀλεξανδροῦ  
 τῆς (δευτέρας) ιπ(πα)ρχ(ιας) καὶ Ἰσιδώρα Διονυσίου ή γυνή καὶ τὰ τέκνα  
 τὸ πρόπυλον καὶ τὸν λιθινὸν δρόμον Πνεφερῶ θεῶι μεγά-  
 λωι μεγάλῳ, εὐχήν· (ἔτοις) λδ, Θῶνθ θ.

“For the king Ptolemy, the queen Cleopatra his sister, the queen Cleopatra, his wife, the Euergetes gods and their children, Agathodoros son of Agathodoros, the Alexandrian, for the second time, and his wife Isidora daughter of Dionysios and their children (has dedicated) the frontal portal and the passageway that led to the (Temple) of Pnepheros, as an ex-voto, year 34 the 9th of Thot.”<sup>254</sup>

The temple dates back to the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. This can be confirmed through the former inscription found above the main portal of the temple that dates back to the 34 year, the 9th of Thot (the 4th of October 137 BC) from the reign of Ptolemy VIII. The ruins of this temple were transferred to the Graeco-Roman museum in Alexandria where it was reconstructed in the garden of the museum. It is a huge portal, and a *mastaba* inside the sanctuary (Fig.71).<sup>255</sup>



Fig.71

There is the huge wooden door of the frontal pylon in the same temple preserved in the Museum Inv. 19678. The door is 3.25 m high and 1.20 m wide. It carries a ten-line inscription in Greek representing a dedication from Agathodoros son of Agathodoros the governor of Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy VIII (Fig.72).<sup>256</sup>



Fig.72

<sup>254</sup> Bernand 1981a, 21 f. No.107

<sup>255</sup> Bernand 1981a, 21f

<sup>256</sup> Bernand 1981a, 23 No.108

The inscription reads:

Ὅπερ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου  
 καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας  
 τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασιλίσσης  
 Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυ[ν]αικό[ς], θεῶν  
 Εὐεργετῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν,  
 Ἀγαθόδωρος Ἀγαθοδώρου Ἀλεξανδρεύς,  
 ἵππαρχης ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν κατοίκων ἵππεων  
 καὶ οἱ γυνὴ καὶ τὰ τέκνα τ[ην] θύραν καὶ τὸ  
 κλεῖθρον Πνεφερῶ[ν] θε[ῶ]ν μεγάλως,  
 εὐχήν· [(ἔτους)..., Με]χεὶρ ἄ.

“For the king Ptolemy, and his sister the queen Cleopatra, and his wife the queen Cleopatra, the Euergetes gods and their children, Agathodoros son of Agathodoros, the Alexandrian, the leader of the knights, his wife and their children, (dedicated) the door to Pnepheros the Greet god, in year ..... the first of Mechir.”<sup>257</sup>

There are only the remains of the walls. The length of the temple is 26.30 m. The north-east side, opposite to the front, measures 17.15 m. and the facade itself 18.70 m. (Fig.73).<sup>258</sup>

Dunand mentioned that there is another inscription from Theadelphia showing a dedication of a Propylon to Pnepheros in the last years of the second century BC, by a Macedonian called Heliodoros, son of Ptolemaios, a rich colonist.<sup>259</sup>

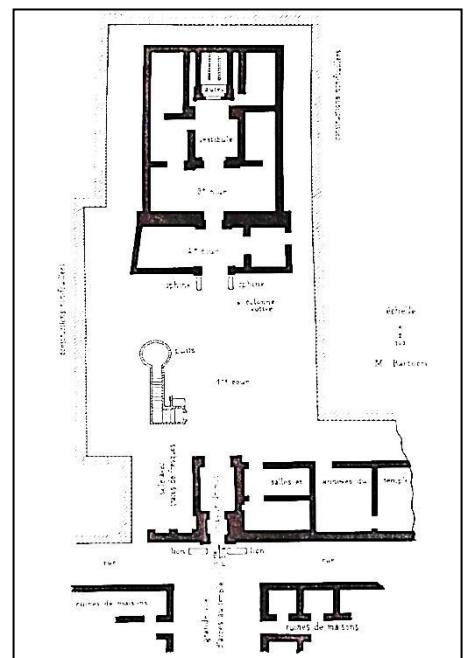


Fig.73

<sup>257</sup> Bernand 1981a, 24

<sup>258</sup> Lefebvre 1910, 167 Pl.III; Bernand 1981b, Pl. 2

<sup>259</sup> Dunand 1986, 63

Another dedication is written on a black granite stele. It is considered to be the foundation block of the temple of Soknopaios in El-Fayoum (Soknopaiou Nesos “Dime”). It dates back year 20 of the reign of Ptolemy X (year 95 BC) and is preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo Inv. 9245. The dimensions of the *stela* are H. 49 W. 27 cm.

It is very similar to the former *stela*; the material of this *stela* is also black granite, but in this case the lines are a little longer. (Fig.74)<sup>260</sup>

The Inscription reads:

Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου  
τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, θεοῦ Φιλο-  
μήτορος, καὶ Λυσανίου, τοῦ  
συγγένους καὶ στρατηγοῦ  
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ Ἀρ-  
σινοῖτου, (ἔτους) κ, Ἀθύρ ζ,  
ἐπ’ Ἀνικήτου οἰκονόμου σιτικῶν  
τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος κατηρ-  
τίσθη δίδοσθαι παρά τε ἑαυτοῦ  
καὶ τῶν ὑπασχολουμένων ἐν  
τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ διὰ τῆς μερίδος  
κατ’ ἔνιαυτὸν ἀπαρχὴν εἰς τὸ  
ἱερὸν τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ Σοκνο-  
παίου πυροῦ ἀρτ(άβας) ρπβ (ῆμισυ), ὡστε  
εἰς ἕκαστην ἡμέραν τοῦ ἔνιαυ-  
τοῦ πυροῦ (ῆμισυ) · οἱ δὲ μεταληφόμε-  
νοι τὴν χρέαν μετρήσουσι κα-  
τ’ ἔτος εἰς τὸ ιερὸν τὰς ἵσας ἐπι-  
λαμβάνοντες τὴν κατακειμέ-  
νην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνικήτου ἐν τῷ ιερῷ  
γραφὴν τοῦ κατ’ ἄνδρα.

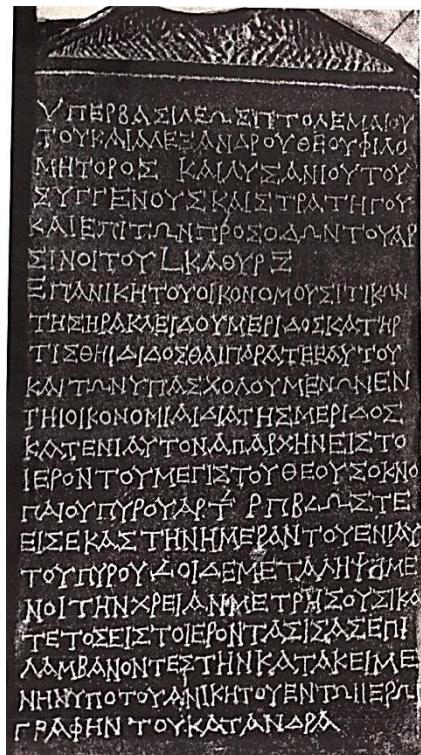


Fig.74

“For the king Ptolemy, called also Alexander, the Philometer god, and Lysanias “the royal parent”, strategist and employee of the revenues of the Arsinoite, year 20, the 7<sup>th</sup> of Halytys, under Aniketos, the savor of the wheat of the circumscription of Herakles. He agreed to give in his name and the names of those who work under his order in the bursary of the circumscription, every year, to the sanctuary of the great god Soknopaios, 18.5 artabes of wheat, or for every day of the year 0.5 artabe of wheat. Those that will follow them in the change will provide the sanctuary with the same number of artabes every year, in the following the list set by Aniketos in the sanctuary and fixed the part by the individual.”<sup>261</sup>

<sup>260</sup> Mahaffy 1896; 162; Bernand 1975, 135 No.71

<sup>261</sup> Bernand 1975, 135, No.71

It is well known that Alexander I reigned for 26 years. Therefore, 19 or 20 was not the last year of his life. A list of the officers had been written up in the temple by Aniketos. It seems that this gift was made under the official authority of Aniketos, who must have held the office of Pantaleon at an earlier period and perhaps years before. As long as there was no title following his name, it seems that he was dead at that time. The amount of wheat given is exactly the same. It is given to Soknopaios (not to Isis).<sup>262</sup>

Probably it is important to state that the northern side of Birket Karoun is the site of Soknopaiou Nesos (Dime), which can be reached by taking a boat from Shaksuk and then walking past the shell of the American mud brick dig-house of 1931/2). The excavations in this site revealed papyri and other antiquities. The temple enclosure (*temenos*) is in the north-west corner. It was built from mud brick with concave sag for stability. It is of 10m high. Inside there is the stone and the mud brick wall of a temple that was rebuilt more than once. (Fig.75).<sup>263</sup>

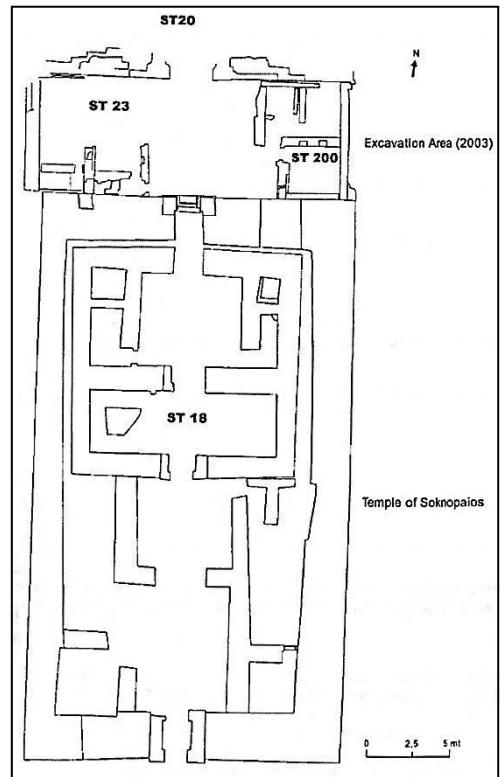


Fig.75

Inside the *temenos*, many statues of deities and priests, in addition to *stelae* with Greek inscriptions, were found. Some of these findings are preserved in the museums of Alexandria and Cairo. The temple is approached from the south end of the village through a long *dromos*, paved in sandstone. Its southern gateway was probably the only entrance to the village, which was ringed by walls, incorporating the backs of houses, as a defence against sandstorms. On both sides of the *dromos*, there are houses, mostly built from mud brick. In one of the two well-preserved houses there are cellars with domed ceilings. The houses and the papyri date back to the first and second centuries AD, but there is evidence of habitation from the third century BC, including Greek and demotic *ostraka* of the second century BC.<sup>264</sup>

<sup>262</sup> Mahaffy 1896, 161 f

<sup>263</sup> Bagnall — Rathbone 2004, 137; Davoli 2005, 39 Pl.3

<sup>264</sup> Bagnall — Rathbone 2004, 138 f. Figs. 5.3.1- 5.3.2

A dedication was built into the *mastaba* of a house adjacent to the temple of Pnepheros and Petesouchos in Karanis, dating back to year 5 of Vespasian, 25 February - 25 March 72 AD. Dimensions are: H. 42 cm, W. 53 cm, and preserved in Kelsey Museum of archaeology Inv. 25919. It is a rectangular limestone *stela* and it carries a dedication of the sanctuary of Pnepheros, Petesouchos and the gods that are in the same temple (Fig.76).<sup>265</sup>

During the excavations made by the University of Michigan at Karanis, two temples were uncovered. The southern temple was dedicated to two crocodile gods Pnepheros and Petesouchos. According to the epigraphy, the cult of those two divinities lasted over a period of at least 300 years.

The entrance to the precinct is on the east and constructed in 95 BC on behalf of Ptolemy Alexander. An inscription on the lintel of the main doorway of the temple is dated back to the reign of Nero; a banquet hall was dedicated on behalf of the Emperor Vespasian, and the forecourt and the restored north gateway were dedicated on behalf of Commodus.

The inscription on this *stela* is similar to the other dedicatory inscriptions from the area it begins with "for" followed by the name of the current ruler.<sup>266</sup> The inscription reads:

'Υπέρ Αὐτοκράτο[ρος]  
 Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασια[νοῦ]  
 Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος]  
 Τίτου Καίσαρος καὶ Δομετ[ιανοῦ]  
 Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ παντὸς οἴκου αὐτ[ῶν]  
 ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Ιουλίου Λούπου  
 ἡγεμόνος καθίδρυσις ἵερ-  
 [ο]ῦ Πνεφερῶτος καὶ  
 [Πετ]εσούχου καὶ τοῦ συννά-  
 [οις θεοῖς] μεγάλοις μεγάλοις  
 [μεγάλοις .. Φ]αμενώθ τοῦ ε (ἔτους)  
 [Αὐτοκράτορος] Καίσαρος  
 [Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβα]στο[ῦ].

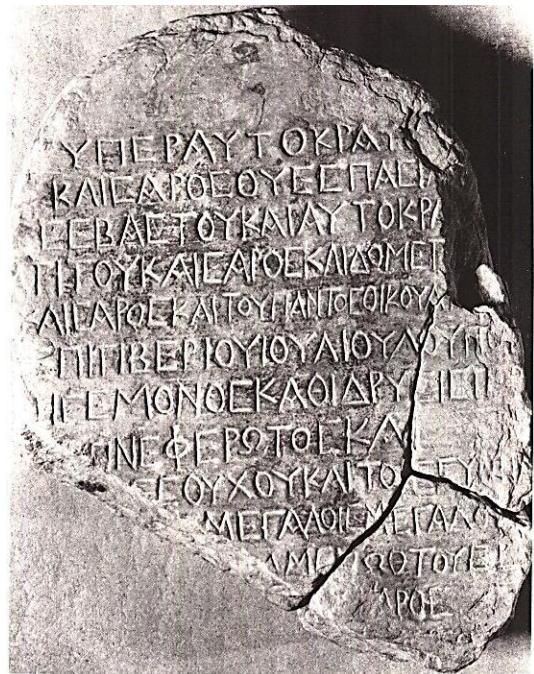


Fig.76

<sup>265</sup> Bernand 1975, No.86

<sup>266</sup> V. B. Schuman, A Greek Inscription from Karanis, CdE 37, 1962, 163

"For the emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus and the Emperor Titus Caesar and Domitian Caesar and all of their house. Under the praefectus Tiberius Julius Lupus (had made) the consecration of the sanctuary of Pnepheros and Petesouchos and the three times great gods that inhabit in the same temple, the..... Phamenoth of year 5 of the Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus."<sup>267</sup>

## 2. Dedications on *stelae* and statuettes:

There is a dedication to the god Petesouchos found in a sanctuary in the metropolis of El - Fayoum (Krokodilopolis). Wilcken indicates that the stone comes "with the greatest likelihood" from Krokodilopolis, Arsinoe. The statuette might have come from the ruins of Arsinoe. Actually, there is no more information about the location of the statuette.

The statuette (L. 35 cm) is preserved in Musée du Petit Palais (Paris), Collection Dut. Inv. 304, and dates back to year 23 of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos (Auletes) 117-51 BC. It was made from gray Granit as an ex-voto offered in year 23 of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos (Auletes) 117–51 BC (Fig.77).

The inscription reads:

(*"Ἐτους*) καγ, Φαρμοῦθι ἱβ, ὑπὲρ βασιλέως μεγάλου  
 Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ Νέου Διονύσου,  
 Πετεσοῦχον  
 θεὸν μέγαν,  
 τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ φανέντα Παῦνι ἱη, (κα) (ἐτους)  
 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου Ταλέσ(ε)ως.

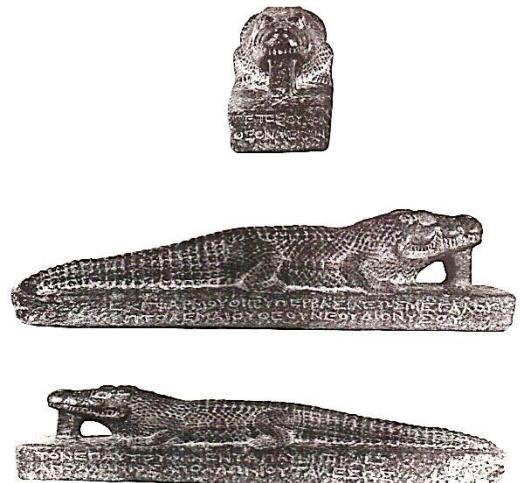


Fig.77

"Year 23, the 12 of Pharmouthi (16 April 58), for the great King Ptolemy, god Neos Dionysos (had consecrated the image of) Petesouchos, the great god, who had manifested under this king in 18 Payni of year 21 (21 June 60), by Apollonios, son of Apollonios, originally from Talesis."<sup>268</sup>

<sup>267</sup> Bernand 1975, 178

<sup>268</sup> Wilcken 1884, 136-139; Bernand 1975, 40, No.12; Musée du Petit Palais 1998, 197 Fig.142 ; Charron 2002, 174 Pl.74

Wilcken thought that the person was from a village near the city, named Talesis which seemed otherwise unknown.<sup>269</sup>

The god Petesouchos had a temple in this village and appeared in the shape of a crocodile as the text that mentioned the epiphany indicated. Near the temple, the reptile had been regarded in an enclosed place with water by people who were charged by the feeding.<sup>270</sup> Another dedication of Sitometers of Ptolemy Euergetes to the god Sokopichonsis was found in November 1909 at the north-east group of houses at Krokodilopolis, at some distance from the agricultural road that intersected the ruins. It is a rectangular *stela* (H. 53 W. 35 cm). The *stela* is preserved in the Graeco-Roman museum in Alexandria Inv. 18812. Unfortunately, it is very friable. The *stela* represents a crocodile surmounted by the sun-disc and the *Uraeus* accompanied with inscription (Fig.78).<sup>271</sup>

The use of the sitometers is in measuring the grains. There were various local measures used in Egypt during the sixth century BC including the sitometers. The name of the person that made the dedication is Greek.<sup>272</sup>

The dedication dates back to 21 Hathyr, year 14 of the reign of Ptolemy X, Alexander I and Bernice III (6 December 101 BC) The dimensions of the *stela* are H. 53 x W. 35 cm.

The inscription reads:

'Υπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολε-  
μαίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος καὶ  
βασιλίσ(σ)ης Βερενίκης  
τῆς ἀδελφῆς θεᾶς  
Φιλαδέλφου, οἱ ἐν Πτο-  
λεμαϊδι Εὐεργέτιδι  
σιτομέτραι Σοκοπιχών-  
σει θεῷ μεγάλῳ, δία  
Δεξιλάου Ἀρυώτου  
[προ]στάτου, εὐχήν,  
ἔτους ιδ, Ἀθύρ κα.

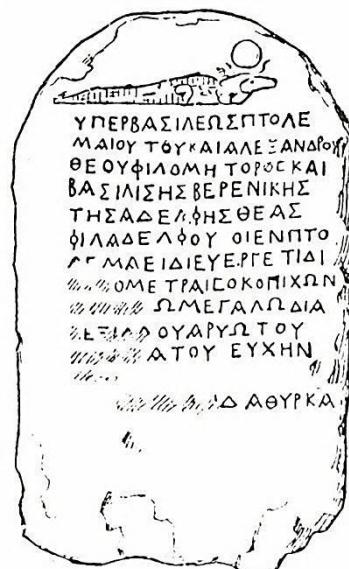


Fig.78

<sup>269</sup> Wilcken 1884, 138

<sup>270</sup> Charron 2002, 174 Pl.74

<sup>271</sup> Lefebvre 1910, 155, Bernand 1975, No.7

<sup>272</sup> Bernand 1975, 34

“ For the King Ptolemy called also Alexander, the Philometor god, and the Queen Berenice, his sister, the Philadelphe goddess, the sitometers of Ptolemy Euergetes (had consecrated this dedication) to Sokopichonsis , the great god, by the care of Dexilaos, son of Haryotes, their president , an ex-voto, year XIV the 21<sup>st</sup> of Hathyr.”<sup>273</sup>

One of those dedications of a *stela* was found in the village of Dime near the north-west bank of the Birquet Qarun, or lake of the Fayyum, located under the ruins of the temple of Soknopaios and Isis Nepherses. It is preserved in the Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum Inv. 11634, and dates back to year 19 of the reign of Ptolemy X (year 97-96 BC).<sup>274</sup>

The *stela* was made from black granite. The dimensions of the *stela* are H. 51 W. 22 cm. The *stela* has a pediment with *akroteria* (Fig.79).

The inscription contains 20 lines, and reads:

‘Υπέρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρού, θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος,  
Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰσχυρίωνος  
γραμματεύων Πανταλέοντι τῶν δμοτίμων τοῖς  
συγγενέσι καὶ οἰκονόμῳ σιτικῶν τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τὸ η (ἔτος)  
κατηρτίσατο δίδοσθαι παρά τε ἔαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν διὰ τῆς μερίδος ἀσχολουμένων ὑπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον κατ' ἔτος πυροῦ ἄρτάβας ρρβ (ῆμισυ), δ καὶ κατήρξατο ἀπὸ νοιμηνίας τοῦ Θωνθ τοῦ ιθ (ἔτους) εἰς τὸ ἄρτοκόπιν Σοκνοπαίων καὶ Νεφερσῆι, θεοῖς μεγίστοις.

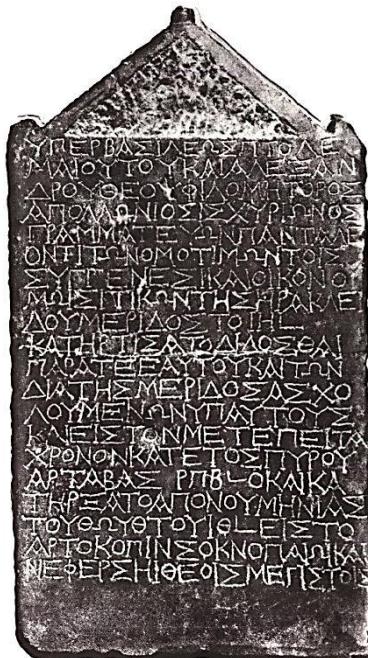


Fig.79

“For the King Ptolemy, called also Alexander, the Philometer god, Apollonios, son of Ischyron, secretary of Pantaleon, who is part of the honoured assimilation of the parents and who is saving the taxes on the wheat of the circumscription of Herakleides, year 18, agreed to give in his name and in the orders, and in the future, every year, 182,5 artabes of wheat, that

<sup>273</sup> Bernand 1975, 31 f. No.7

<sup>274</sup> Mahaffy 1896,161; F. Krebs, Ägyptische Priester unter römischer Herrschaft, ZÄS 31,1938, 31; Bernand 1975, 131 No.70

will began as the beginning of thoth in year 19 (by the gift of the bakery in favour of Soknopaios “Sobek” and Neferses “Isis”, the very great gods.”<sup>275</sup>

There is a dedication from El-Fayoum (Krokodilopolis). The *stela* was bought in Madenht El- Fayoum on February 27, 1905. There is no information as to the location where it was found. The *stela* dates back to the reign of Ptolemy XII Auletes, and carries a dedication to Isis Esenchebis and Pnepheros (Fig.80).<sup>276</sup>

Bernard's estimate of the dimensions is at H. 35 W. 23 cm, while Moret's are H.39. W. 24 cm. The *stela* is preserved in Musée du Louvre Inv. 14702. The *stela* was made from limestone in a very poor preservation. At the top, there are the winged sun disc and the *Uraeus*. Below, there is a scene representing goddess Isis sitting nursing her son Horus. She wears a long robe and a wig surmounted with the sun disc between the horns of the cow. In front of her, there is an altar of offerings. To the right, the Pharaoh stands surmounted with the Pschent offering to the goddess, the *wadjet* eye, with his right hand. The cartouches that preserved the names of the persons are empty.<sup>277</sup>

The inscription reads:

‘Υπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου μεγάλ-[  
ον] θεοῦ νέου Διονύσου Φιλοπάτορ-  
[ος καὶ] Φιλαδέλφου Ἰσιδεῖ Ἑσενχύ-  
[βει θε]ᾶ μεγίστῃ καὶ Πνεφερώ[τι] κ-  
[αὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς.

“For the King Ptolemy, the great god, the new Dionysius, Philopator and Philadelphe, to Isis Esenchebis, the very great goddess, to Pnepheros and to the gods that are in the same temple.”<sup>278</sup>

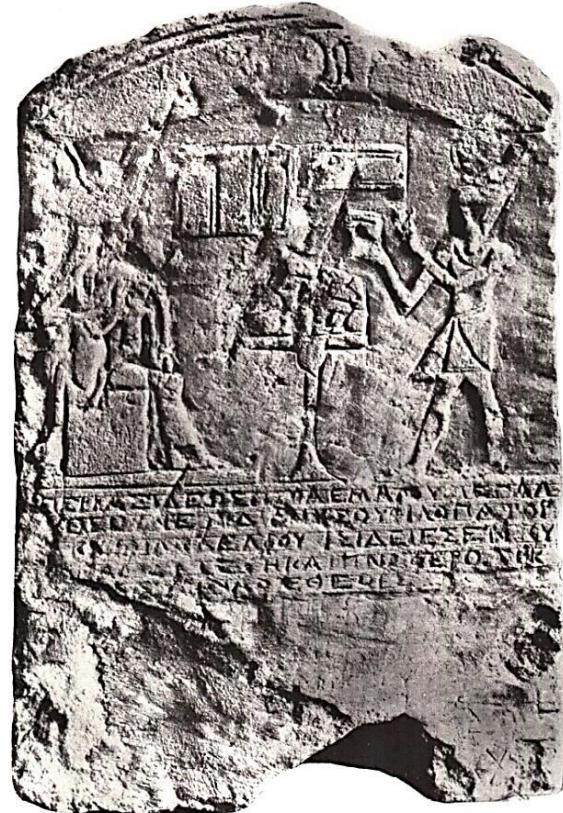


Fig.80

<sup>275</sup> Bernard 1975, 132

<sup>276</sup> A. Moret, Catalogue du Musée Guimet: galerie égyptienne, stèles, bas-reliefs, monuments divers (Paris 1909) 103 f.

<sup>277</sup> Bernard 1975, 37-39 No.11

<sup>278</sup> Bernard 1975, 38

In addition, a dedication from El-Fayoum was found at the north-east group of houses built into the *mastaba* of a house, dating back to the reign of Cleopatra VII and her son Ptolemy XV Caesarion (44-33 BC).<sup>279</sup>

The dimensions are H. 45 W. 31 cm, and the *stela* is preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo Inv. 40720. It is a small limestone *stela* carrying a dedication to the god Souchos. At the top, there is the winged sun-disc flanked by two *uraei*. Below, there is a *naos* with a human bust wearing the ceremonial Egyptian beard and the royal headdress with the *uraeus*. To the left of the *naos*, there is Souchos, the crocodile god, as a crocodile-headed man surmounted with the double crown, holding the *ankh* sign and the sceptre in his hands. To the right, there is a person presenting the offerings, wearing the royal headdress with the *uraeus*. This person could be Caesarion presenting the offering to his divine father, Caesar in the *naos* (Fig.81).

The inscription reads:

‘Υπὲρ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας θεᾶς Φιλοπάτορος καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Καισαρος θεοῦ Φιλοπάτ(ο)ρος καὶ Φιλομήτορος, καὶ τῶν προγόνων,  
Σούχῳ θεῷ μεγάλῳ μεγάλῳ πατροπάτορι,  
Αρτεμιδώρῳ[ος].



Fig.81

“For Queen Cleopatra, the philopator goddess, for the king Ptolemy, called also Caesar, the Philopator and Philometor god, and for their ancestors, to Souchos, the great god, great, father of their father, Artemidoros.”<sup>280</sup>

Moreover, a dedication was found in El -Fayoum, Soknopaiou Nesos built into the *mastabe* of a house and dating back to reign of Augustus, 16 March 24 BC. The dimensions are H. 52 W. 41 cm. It is preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo Inv. 9202. At Soknopaiou Nesos “Dime”, there was a temple of Soknopaios associated with Isis Nephreses.

<sup>279</sup> Lefebvre 1908, 240 ff.

<sup>280</sup> Bernand 1975, 45 No.14

This temple was the destination of the peasants of the whole district. The *stela* indicates the reconstruction of the precinct wall by the shepherds of Nilopolis, referring to Soknopaios as the god of the nome, and mentioning the decree of the Prefect, relating to the privileges of the priests. These priests were organized in five tribes, membership of which appears to have been hereditary. In the case of a woman, membership was not to have been changed by marriage and the affairs of the priesthood were placed in the general charge of a college of five elders, representing the five tribes. Those priests received a daily allowance of an artaba of corn throughout the year, and an extra amount of four artabas daily at feast times. They were not, however, free from taxes, as they had to pay for the lands that was cultivated for the interest of the temple. However, a certain number of priests at each temple were allowed to escape the poll-tax. The temples also had to pay taxes on their landed property, though the temple buildings themselves were perhaps exempt.<sup>281</sup>



Fig.82

The limestone *stela* represents the god Soknopaios in the form of a crocodile with head of a falcon.<sup>282</sup> This unity of the two gods Horus and Sobek could be related to the title “Horus son of Sobek”. At the top of the *stela*, there is the winged sun disc flanked with two *uraei*. Below, to the left, there is a crocodile with a falcon head surmounted with a crown and turning his head to the right. In front of it, there is a small figure of a person with the head of a ram holding in his right hand a long stick (Fig.82).<sup>283</sup>

The Greek inscription reads:

‘Ὑπὲρ Καισαρος Αὐτοκρά-  
τορος θεοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ ὁ οἰκοδομὴ  
τοῦ περιβόλου τῷ θεῶι καὶ κυρί-  
ῳ Σοκνοπαίῳ παρὰ τῷ(ν) ἐκ Νείλου  
πόλεως προβατοκτηνοτρόφῳ(ω)ν  
καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν τέκ-  
νων εὐχήν· (ἔτους) στ Καισαρος, Φαμ(ενώθ) κ.

<sup>281</sup> Milne 1898, 130 f.

<sup>282</sup> Milne 1905, No.9202 Pl.1

<sup>283</sup> Bernand 1975, 142

"For the Emperor Caesar, the descended god of the god, (had made) the construction of the enclosure wall in honor of the god and the lord of Soknopaios, by the care of the sheep breeders of Nilopolis, their wives and their children, an ex-voto, year 6 of Caesar, the 20<sup>th</sup> of phamenoth."<sup>284</sup>

There is another votive Limestone stele (H.53 W.37cm) from El-Fayoum, dating back to 95 BC, Feb. 14, and preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo Inv.9201.<sup>285</sup> There is no information about the location where the *stela* was found. The stele has an Egyptian shape, with rounded top; the curve of the top represents a winged solar disc; three rows of feathers represent the wings: the inner row is represented by crossed lines while the two outer rows are shown by single series only. There is an *uraeus* hanging on the disc's two sides. A scene appears below, bounded at each side by a column of papyrus form, above and below by a single line. On the left, there is a crocodile coronated with a double plume and seated to look to the right on a pylon-shaped altar. On the right, there is a male figure in an offering pose, holding a cup in his left hand and wearing the royal *uraeus* and garment. Between the male figure and the crocodile, there is a one-legged table which has three offerings on it.<sup>286</sup> There is an amphora and an alabastron-shaped vase beneath it at each side. There is a thigh on the table (Fig.83). This work is a poor and an incomplete one. The figures are intended to be in low relief, but the background has only been partially cut away round the outlines. The only figure that is represented in full detail is the crocodile. There is a twelve-line inscription below the scene. Shallow and irregular, the letters are 9-12 mm. high. The top of the stone is slightly damaged, and there are several chippings in the inscription.<sup>287</sup>

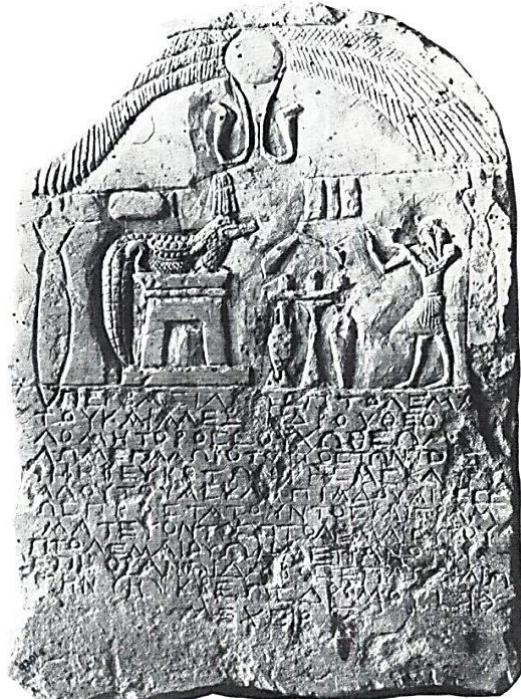


Fig.83

<sup>284</sup> Bernand 1975, 142 No.73

<sup>285</sup> Bernand 1981b, 126, No.201

<sup>286</sup> Milne 1905,24,No.9201

<sup>287</sup> Milne 1905, 24

The inscription reads :

Ὁπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος Σούχῳ  
 θεῷ μεγάλῳ μεγάλῳ δὲ τόπος τῶν τὸ  
 (ἔτος) εἰς ἡφηβευκότων τῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου  
 τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου αἱρέσεως, προστατοῦ-  
 ντος καὶ γραμματεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ  
 Πτολεμαίου, ὃν μέτρα νότου ἐπὶ βορᾶν  
 (πήχεις) ιδ', λιβ[η]δ' ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην (πήχεις)  
 καὶ ἔως δρόμου. (Ἐτους) ιθ', Μεχεὶρ κ'.

"For the king Ptolemy called Alexander, Philometor god, to Souchos, the twice great god, had consecrated the land of the ancient ephebes of year 7, of the Asklepiades class, son of Asklepiades, of which the president and the secretary is Ptolemy son of Ptolemy; with the following dimensions: from south to north are 14 cubits, from west to east are 22 cubits until the drier, year 19 of the 20 Mechir."<sup>288</sup>

The inscription proved the importance of the gymnasium in the life of the Greeks in Egypt.

The mention of Souchos in the inscription is not sufficient to decide whether the gymnasium that contained the ephebes is at Krokodilopolis or at all other villages of El -Fayoum that worshiped the crocodile god such as Euthemeria.<sup>289</sup>

The ephebia institution in Egypt was mentioned in eleven documents which date from the mid-second century to the first century BC. Most of these documents are from El-Fayoum, two from Philae, two from Alexandria and one from Gizeh. Many are dedicated by ephebes or former ephebes that stayed, probably through the army, in contact.<sup>290</sup> It is not surprising that many of them are dedications to Hermes and Herakles since they were the traditional gods of the gymnasium. In Thebes, they were associated with Amun, Pan and Apollon, but in Philae, Isis alone was honored. It is important to mention that Souchos and Soknebtunis, the local crocodile gods, were offered small land plots in El-Fayoum. The relevance between Egyptian

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<sup>288</sup> Bernand 1981b, 127

<sup>289</sup> Bernand 1981b, 127

<sup>290</sup> Bovet 2008, 279

gods and the gymnasium sustains the idea that it was necessary for the members of the gymnasium to encompass local gods into the gymnasium.<sup>291</sup>

Another dedication of a land was made by the ancient ephebes in the year 112/113 BC to god Souchos. The *stela* that carries the dedication is preserved in the Bibliotheca of the Trinity College of Dublin. The *stela* came from El-Fayoum. It is an arched *stela* made of limestone. At the top there is the decoration of a winged sun-disc between two *uraei*. Below there is a crocodile crowned with the *Pschent*, followed by inscription dates back to 11 Phamenoth of year 16 of the reign of Ptolemy X Alexander I; means 26 March 98 BC (Fig.84).<sup>292</sup>

The inscription reads:

Ὕπέρ  
βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ  
ἐπικαλουμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου  
Σούχωι θεῶι μεγάλῳ  
μεγάλῳ τέπο[s] τῶν  
τὸ β (ἔτος) ἐΦηβευκότων  
τῆς Ἀμμωνίου αἵρεσεως  
οὗ μέτρα νότου ἐπὶ βορρ[ᾶ]ν  
π(ήχεις) ιγ, λιβ[ος] ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην..  
ἔως ψυγμοῦ · (ἔτους) ίσ, Φαμ(ενάθ) ια.

"For the king Ptolemy called Alexander, to Souchos, the twice great god, had consecrated the land of the ancient ephebes of the second year, of the Ammonios class, with the following dimensions: from south to north are 13 cubits, from west to east are ..... until the drier, year 16 of the 11 Phamenoth."<sup>293</sup>



Fig.84

It's clear that this cult was spread among the ephebes (young men between 18 – 20 years old). The gymnasium was an institution in the Ptolemaic period referring to the existence of members who were called "those of the gymnasium". They constituted a society which is

<sup>291</sup> Bovet 2008, 280

<sup>292</sup> Bernand 1981b, 123 No. 200

<sup>293</sup> Bernand 1981b, 124

sometimes known as koinon in the documents. All the Greek members in the Egyptian poleis were citizens, or turned citizens upon being accepted as new members.<sup>294</sup>

All male citizens, when they became fourteen, were ephebes for a period of one year and they remained members of the gymnasium theoretically, even if they did not become soldiers.<sup>295</sup> Thus, the gymnasium in the poleis was a society constituted from both military and civilian citizens, i.e. it was not exclusively restricted to soldiers. It appears that the connection between the gymnasium and the army was more solid in the *chora*, since it was not linked to the concept of citizenship of one of the Greek poleis in Egypt.<sup>296</sup> It is speculated that, in the third century BC, all the Greek soldiers and some foreigners trained in the gymnasium; the closeness of this institution, and may be also the socio-economic status of the members—since the membership probably required a financial contribution, at least in the poleis—determined their involvement in the gymnasium after becoming ephebes. It is not known if all soldiers were trained militarily at the gymnasium, but probably only the wealthiest soldiers remained members, e.g. the officers and the cavalry-settlers.<sup>297</sup>

Smelik mentioned: “these inscriptions relate that former ephebes paid homage to "Souchos", the great, great god. In view of the exclusiveness of the ephebate we can confidently deduce that Greeks are meant.”<sup>298</sup>

In Alexandria, a small marble plaque was found at the garden of the ex-consulate of England. It is preserved in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, and dates back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The ibis is represented accompanied with a Greek inscription carrying dedication to Isis, Sarapis and Hermes, and clutching a beribboned *caduceus* in its claws.



Fig.85

The inscription reads:

Εἰσεις, Σαρ[άπιδι],  
Ἐρμῆν Θεο[ῖς],  
Λίβυς καὶ ἡ [γυνὴ]  
καὶ τὰ π[αιδία].

<sup>294</sup> Bovet 2008, 278

<sup>295</sup> Bovet 2008, 278

<sup>296</sup> Bovet 2008, 279

<sup>297</sup> Bovet 2008, 279

<sup>298</sup> Smelik —Hemelrijk 1984, 1889

“To the divinities Isis, Sarapis, Hermes, Libys, his wife and his children”<sup>299</sup>

This dedication confirms that the foreigners worshiped Hermes in the form of an Ibis which was a symbol of the Egyptian god Thoth.

This marble plaque shows the assimilation that happened in Graeco-Roman Egypt between the Greek god Hermes and the Egyptian god Thoth as the ibis was one of the manifestations of god Thoth (Fig.85).<sup>300</sup> The *caduceus* was the staff carried by the Greek god Hermes as engraved in a plate found in Abukir. This relief represents Hermes with his face in profile and his body in the attitude of walking with the left part of the body drawn backwards. The body is nearly naked, the *chlamys* is folded up and going down on the left shoulder (Fig.86). On the head there is the *petasos*, the right hand is lifted up to the shoulder while holding the caduceus which was also a recognized symbol of commerce and negotiation, the left hand is lowered down beside the body while holding the Lyra.<sup>301</sup>



Fig.86

In Luxor, a black granite statuette of a jackal (H. 44 W. 16 cm) was found. The statuette dates back to 200 BC. The jackal is sitting on its haunches. The base of the statuette (H.9 cm) bears a Greek inscription of two lines (Fig.87).<sup>302</sup>

The inscription reads:

Απόλλωνι Λυκαίῳ Θεόμυηστος Νικίου.

Milne published this statuette in 1905 without any information about the location where it was found or the current storage place, and also without English translation of the Greek inscription.

<sup>299</sup> Bernand 2001, 150

<sup>300</sup> Empereur 1998, 113

<sup>301</sup> Breccia 1926, 62 Tav. XXVII, 1

<sup>302</sup> Milne 1905, 42 f. Pl.IV

However, the inscription refers to a Greek person of a Greek father equating the god Anubis with the Greek god Apollo Lykeios.<sup>303</sup>



Fig.87



Fig.88

The Greek god Apollo Lykeios was linked to a wolf in the Greek religion. This can be detected in many Argive coins dating from the archaic period to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC which bear on the reverse a representation of a wolf between the dolphins of Apollo (Fig.88).<sup>304</sup> In addition, wolves were offered as a sacrifice to Apollo Lykeios at Argos.<sup>305</sup> A further evidence is that Apollo was born to Leto who had been transformed into the shape of a wolf.<sup>306</sup>

It is well-known that Horus was assimilated with the god Apollo in Egypt.<sup>307</sup> In this case, we are before a new representation of the god Apollo, as well as a new assimilation between the Greek gods on the one hand, and the Egyptian gods with their animal manifestation on the other, since the shape of the jackal is similar to the shape of the wolf.

<sup>303</sup> Smelik —Hemelrijk 1984, 1890

<sup>304</sup> H. N. Fowler— J.R. Wheele, A Handbook of Greek Archeology, Biblo & Tannen Publishers ( New York 1937) 361 Fig.273 ; Bailey 1982, 63

<sup>305</sup> Bailey 1982, 63

<sup>306</sup> R. D. Miller, The Origin and original nature of Apollo (Philadelphia 1939) 7

<sup>307</sup> I. S. Moyer, Egypt and the limits of Hellenism (Cambridge - New York 2011) 176

### 3. Figures of Egyptian Animal Headed Gods with Roman Military Insignia

#### 3.1. The Roman Army in Egypt

I will discuss in this part some military figures with animal heads from the Roman period to declare that the Romans sanctified the Egyptian sacred animals by offering those statuettes as ex-votos or kept them at home as private statuettes. They may also put such statuettes in their tombs as blessings and protection for the dead especially those of Anubis.

During the Graeco-Roman period, there was a foreign army in Egypt. This army consisted of officers and soldiers from many regions in the Hellenistic world and the Roman Empire. The literature and the papyri gave us detailed information about the Roman army in Egypt.<sup>308</sup>

The foreigners were limited to the officers and soldiers in the military during the Ptolemaic period. However, during the Roman period, there were the *tribuni*, horsemen, senior officers, junior officers and soldiers.<sup>309</sup>

Roman Egypt was an important province that was governed by a prefect and had a legionary garrison. As for the administrative system, it was driven from the Ptolemies. The Romans did not integrate the Egyptian currency with that of the rest of the empire (Fig.89).<sup>310</sup> The similarities between Egypt and any other province are that Egypt was governed by a Roman aristocrat<sup>311</sup> under the authorities of the emperor, and Egypt paid taxes to Rome. Although the administrative system was adapted from the Ptolemies, it was modified to match the Roman needs. Even the army was similar to that of other provinces as the officers who served in Egypt would also have served in other provinces and military units were transferred from province to province.<sup>312</sup> Hence, the *ala Vocontiorum* is regarded as one of the earliest and well-verified auxiliary units in Egypt. It may have been located in the Coptos region before 60 AD but evidence also shows that it may have been present in Babylon fort in 59 AD.<sup>313</sup> It may have been placed on the German borders during the Flavian period, and its return to Egypt may have occurred by 105 AD.<sup>314</sup> In 116 AD, it was moved to the Eastern Desert at Mons Porphyrites and then to the Nile Valley. There is no record for it since 179 AD. The units were also deployed in different locations within Egypt. For example, it is verified that the cohors II Ituraeorum was placed in Syene (Aswan) in 28 AD and 75 AD and then in other different places in the Syene region. It ended up at Mons Claudianus in 223-5 AD.<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>308</sup> Maxfield 2000, 407

<sup>309</sup> Ashour 2007, 383

<sup>310</sup> Alston 1995, 156 Map. 2; The map shows the sites of the Roman army in Egypt.

<sup>311</sup> Alston 1995, 156

<sup>312</sup> Alston 1995, 156 f; Devijver 1974, 453 f.

<sup>313</sup> Shaw 2000, 418

<sup>314</sup> Shaw 2000, 418

<sup>315</sup> Shaw 2000, 418



Fig.89

In other respects, Egypt differed from the other provinces, and so did Arabia, Syria, and Britain according to the local culture. Information about the provincial society is obtained from the papyri. Our information about the legions and the auxiliary troops comes also from the funerary *stelae* and the dedications of the soldiers. The funerary *stelae* used to adorn the tombs of the soldiers that used to be buried near their garrison, e.g. the *stelae* found around Alexandria.<sup>316</sup> The inscriptions on these *stelae* mentioned the unit of the soldier and his rank. For example, a *stela* belongs to the group of military representations from Alexandria. The dress, armour and inscription are indicating a Roman legionary.<sup>317</sup>

The Latin inscription specifies clearly the rank of Aurelius as a soldier, it reads as follows:

AVRELIVS SABIVS MI(les) LEG(ionis) II VIXI(t) ANNOS XXXV MILIT(avit) ANN(um)  
UN(um) NAT{I}(one) SVRVS SARA (pammon) POSVIT B(ene) M(erenti).<sup>318</sup>

The soldier Aurelius Sabius is dressed in the tunic-sagum costume. The tunic shows the ring-buckle belt, and the *sagum* is exceptionally arranged with elaborated folds patterned in successive triangular shapes on the left arm. Aurelius is armed in a sword hangs to a baldric placed on the right shoulder. His right hand holds two spears *hastae*, an oval shield is seen on the left side (Fig.90).<sup>319</sup>

<sup>316</sup> Willems —Clarysse 2000,74

<sup>317</sup> Ashour 2007, 420

<sup>318</sup> Schmidt 2003, No. 104; Ashour 2007, 464 Cat.No.198

<sup>319</sup> Ashour 2007, 420



Fig.90

“The environs of the legionary fortress at Nikopolis, near Alexandria in Egypt, has yielded up to 22 gravestones, mostly associated with the long-resident legio II Traiana fortis.”<sup>320</sup>

The military units that stationed among the people such as El-Fayoum, adorned the local gods such as Heron or another Egyptian gods.<sup>321</sup> Heron was a military god in Greco-Roman Egypt, apparently a fusion of the Thracian rider god and the Egyptian god Atum.<sup>322</sup> El-Fayoum was the main center of his cult; however, he was worshiped also in Alexandria.<sup>323</sup>

“There is a faint possibility that Heron should be connected with the Egyptian god Atum whose city was known as Heroonopolis but Atum was a creator god depicted in human form and not associated with the horse.”<sup>324</sup>

In the temple of Pnepheros at Theadelphia, there is a wall painting representing the god Heron riding the horse (Fig.91).<sup>325</sup> We can see also in the same painting the crocodile Pnepheros represented as a mummified crocodile, rolled up with decorated linen that covered all the body except the head which is surmounted by the *atef* crown and the sun disc. The mummy is placed on a stretcher.

<sup>320</sup> L. de Blois, Impact of the Roman Army (200 BC-AD 476): Economic, Social, Political, Religious, and Cultural Aspects: Proceedings of the Sixth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 200 B.C.-A.D. 476), Capri, March 29-April 2 (Leiden 2005) 537

<sup>321</sup> Willems — Clarysse 2000,74

<sup>322</sup> H. D. Betz , The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells (Chicago 1996) 105

<sup>323</sup> Kakosy 1995, 2987

<sup>324</sup> Alston 1995, 138

<sup>325</sup> Dunand 1986, 64 Pl.II

The cult of Heron who had been imported into El-Fayoum in the third century BC by Ptolemaic troops from Thrace reached its peak in the third century AD.<sup>326</sup>



Fig.91



Fig.92

"There is a temptation, therefore, to associate worship of the god with Roman troops of Northern Greek origin such as the horsemen of the *ala thracum mauretana*, but the spread of depictions of Heron throughout the Fayum and in areas which had no particular military connections suggests that Heron was a Ptolemaic importation."<sup>327</sup>

There is a painting on a small wooden tablet bought from El-Fayoum (H.24.5 cm), preserved in Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels Inv. E.7409. The tablet dates back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>328</sup> On the right, Heron is dressed as an officer. In his left hand, he holds a lance and a "volumen", in his right hand, a Roman offering dish to perform a libation on the small altar which is found at his feet. He has a head crowned by laurels. The other figure is dressed in a pair of checked trousers, a brightly coloured tunic and a cloak. He holds in his right hand a double-sided axe, in his left hand a spike and a lance around which a serpent entwines itself. He wears a "*kalathos*" (a basket) on the head.<sup>329</sup> The object is probably an ex-voto offered to the god Heron at El-Fayoum (Fig.92).

<sup>326</sup> Rathbone 2003, Internet-publication

<sup>327</sup> Alston 1995,138 f.

<sup>328</sup> Rathbone 2003, Internet-publication

<sup>329</sup> Willems —Clarysse 2000,172

“The same importance was granted to the Emperor in the religion of the Roman army. The Caesars were worshiped in the sanctuary that dominated every Legionary camp, together with the eagles and other military symbols. Likewise, the Emperors' statues were main elements on every Legion and thus, they were venerated. Furthermore, the troops were submitted to a strict religious regime, which made their community life revolve around Roman official gods, which had to be worshiped.”<sup>330</sup>

Veterans and soldiers have been seen as isolated from the local populations, as they lived in remote camps.<sup>331</sup> Contrary to this, some showed the soldiers and veterans as the leading lights of provincial society using their privileges and wealth to obtain high social status and to encourage social and economic change. Neither of these two views can be accepted.<sup>332</sup>

Many soldiers in the Roman army were not Egyptians. They came from different cultures. The continual involvement of the troops with civilian society and the forming of relationships with Egyptian civilians meant that soldiers spent many years in service mixing with locals. Friendly relations with the local population have considerably eased the lives of the troops.

The centurion was a direct communication between the ordinary people and the central authorities.<sup>333</sup> The centurions and the civilian security system made a powerful combination. The *strategoi* may have overseen the appointing of the village police but the centurions looked after the security of the *nomos*. Egypt was administered by the *strategoi* but ruled by the army.<sup>334</sup> The presence of the army inside the Roman provinces usually depended on the needs. Bohec mentioned the numbers of the Roman legions in Egypt during rule the Roman emperors as follow, Augustus: 3 legions, Tiberius: 2 legions, Claudius: 2 legions, Vespasian: 2 legions, Trajan: 2, Antoninus : 1 legion, Caracalla: 1 legion , and Aurelian: 1 legion.<sup>335</sup> Those legions used to be stationed in the strategic places.<sup>336</sup> One of the three legions was stationed at Alexandria in the Nikopolis camp, while the other two in the chora. One of the two legions of the chora was based at Babylon and the other at Thebes.<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> T. Kaizer— O. Hekster, Frontiers in the Roman World: Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire, Durham, 16-19 April 2009 ( Leiden 2011) 153

<sup>331</sup> Alston 1995,159

<sup>332</sup> Alston 1995,160

<sup>333</sup> Alston 1995,161

<sup>334</sup> Devijver 1974, 460 ff.

<sup>335</sup> Y. Le Bohec 2000, 177

<sup>336</sup> Stoll 2009, 421; Haensch 2012, 69

<sup>337</sup> Lloyd 2010, 453

Egypt lost one of its legions during its war with the Jews. This legion was either destroyed or dismissed.<sup>338</sup> Three auxiliary units of infantry were stationed at the southern frontier (Aswan).<sup>339</sup>

"Alexandria was so important strategically that the Romans treated it in a unique way. They did not deploy a defence system on an east-west axis, to protect the north from the south, as might be expected from our knowledge of the northern and eastern fronts. On the contrary, a totally different organization is discernible, that reflected the juridical and economic realities of the country."<sup>340</sup>

Octavian built a city on the same location where he conquered Antony and Cleopatra; he named it Nikopolis and granted it the same games he granted his earlier-built city at Actium. The new founded city looked at the sea, about 5 km. east of the center of Alexandria (Fig.93).<sup>341</sup> The buildings at Nikopolis, such as the amphitheater and the stadium where the quinquennial games took place, were constructed so magnificently that people forsook the Serapium and other ancient sacred locations in Alexandria.<sup>342</sup> We know from a bone token found in Alexandria that there were an obelisk and a temple in Nikopolis. The bone token bears the name of Nikopolis on its back (Fig.94).<sup>343</sup> It is believed that Nikopolis was intended to be an outskirt to Alexandria—in the same manner that Necropolis was, for instance—and not as a competitor to the Egyptian capital. Thus, it may have been built to be a holy place to celebrate the games and Octavian's victory, or as a place for the victor's cult.<sup>344</sup>

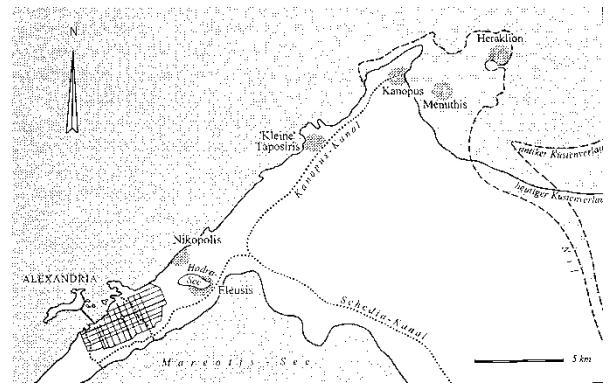


Fig.93



Fig.94

<sup>338</sup> Willems —Clarysse 2000, 72

<sup>339</sup> Haensch 2012, 71

<sup>340</sup> Bohec 2000, 173

<sup>341</sup> I. Shaw, *The Oxford history of ancient Egypt*, Oxford University Press (Oxford 2000) 417; Gurval 1995, 72

<sup>342</sup> Gurval 1995, 72

<sup>343</sup> McKenzie 2007, 190 Fig. 325

<sup>344</sup> Gurval 1995, 73; Bagnall —Rathbone 2004, Fig. 2.5.1

Babylon, situated at the peak of the Delta, was an important intersecting point of land and water transport.<sup>345</sup> The second legion was stationed there to defend the Delta.<sup>346</sup> It is one of the most well-known Egyptian fortresses. It had a south wall of 300 feet with four bastions and a north wall of 660 feet with no apparent towers; however, it should be noted that this part of the fortress was the most destroyed.<sup>347</sup> The length between the north and the south walls was 1.225 feet; there were two bastions at least in the east wall. With two huge towers guarding the gateway, the west wall aligned with the Nile (Fig.95). The thickness of the walls was 8 feet. The fortress dates nearly to 100 AD and is linked to Trajan who participated in the development of Babylon and the construction of the nearby canal which ran along the Wadi Tumilat to the Suez isthmus and the Red Sea. It may be the case that Trajan's aim of building a fortress in this place is to dominate the traffic in the canal.<sup>348</sup> In 283 AD, upon the death of Probus, the reign of the Roman empire moved to Carus and his sons, Numerianus and Carinus. Their names can be found on the Alexandrian coins; however, no traces of their short reigns in Egypt can be found. The name of Trajan's second Egyptian legion can be found on coins at that time also; the legion was based in Egypt at all times.<sup>349</sup>

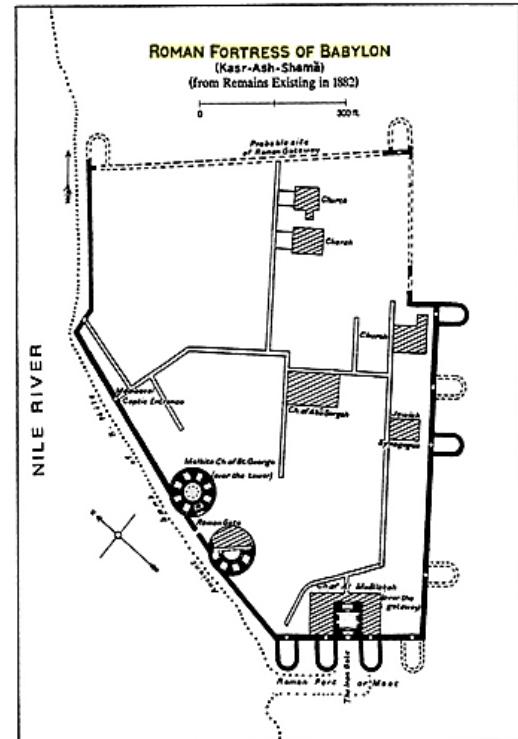


Fig.95

There were more than 100 Roman forts throughout Egypt; they were constructed and occupied during the period from the late first century BC to the sixth or early seventh century AD.<sup>350</sup> These forts and the Roman army in Egypt were intended to keep internal security; throughout most of the Roman period, major forces constituted little threat of invasion from outside the province. The role of the forts and their garrisons was to monitor the commercial, official-governmental and security activities of peoples living in and passing through

<sup>345</sup> Lloyd 2010, 453

<sup>346</sup> Maxfield 2000, 409; Stoll 2009, 421

<sup>347</sup> Alston 1995, 204

<sup>348</sup> Alston 1995, 204 ; A . Chugg , The Quest for the Tomb of Alexander the Great (Boston 2007) Fig.6.4; E. W. Murphy, The Antiquities of Egypt: A Translation With Notes of Book I of the Library of History of Diodorus Siculus, Transaction Publishers (1990) Pl.20

<sup>349</sup> S. Rappoport, History of Egypt, Vol. 11, Kessinger Publishing (2003) 169

<sup>350</sup> Bard –Shubert 2010, 832

locationary regions.<sup>351</sup> They also guarded important trans-desert roads and primary locations on the Nile and in the Delta from bandits and, from the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century AD on, bedouin marauders, e.g. the Nobatae and Blemmyes.<sup>352</sup>

Bases for smaller remote desert garrisons were supported by larger forts on the Nile and in the Delta. The Eastern Desert garrisons protected main roads which lead to quarries, ports and mines or, in some cases, they guarded the important quarries and mines themselves, like Semna, Barrimiyah, Mons Porphyrites, Mons Claudianus, Samut and Nakheil (Fig.96).<sup>353</sup>

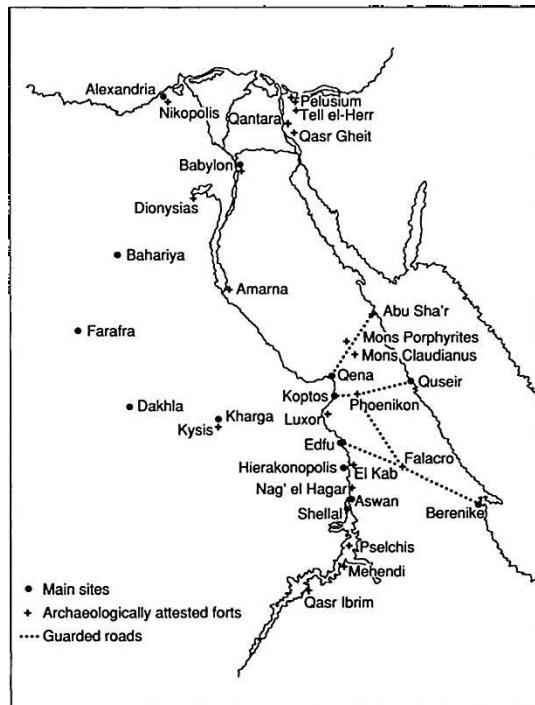


Fig.96

The garrisons in the Western Desert protected trade/invasion roads which come from Sudan to the south particularly along the Darb el-Arba'in, the primary oases, e.g Dakhla, Kharga, Fayum, Baharia and Farafra; and roads which lead to the Nile.<sup>354</sup> Forts in El-Fayum, for example those in Qasr Qarun, monitored areas of higher population. In Sinai, in Pelusium for instance, forts protected important urban areas or transportation roads, while other forts guarded mines and quarries.<sup>355</sup>

<sup>351</sup> Bard –Shubert 2010, 832

<sup>352</sup> Bard –Shubert 2010, 832

<sup>353</sup> G. K. Young, Rome's Eastern Trade: International Commerce and Imperial Policy, 31 BC-AD 305, Routledge (2001) 63; Alston 1995, 14, Map.2; The map shows the archaeologically attested forts and guarded roads of the Roman army in Egypt.

<sup>354</sup> Bard –Shubert 2010, 832

<sup>355</sup> Bard –Shubert 2010, 832 Fig. 94

Thebes was a location through which Upper Egypt could be controlled and the southern borders could be secured.<sup>356</sup> One legion was stationed at Thebes, because this area was controlled by the powerful priests that collaborate with the rebels.<sup>357</sup> When Upper Egypt witnessed peace, precisely in 23 AD, the Theban legion was dismissed and transported to the Rhine. Instead, infantry were sent to be spread in the vicinities of Thebes.<sup>358</sup>

One of the three legions dating back to the Augustan period was localized in Thebes where a military institution was established. Thebes has been chosen primarily because of the importance of the settlement established by the Romans and also, though in a lesser degree, because of its location as a frontline to enemies. Under the Ptolemies, Thebes, as a center of the dominant priesthood of Amun, had become the sparkle of resentment which escalated into a revolt under the reign of Gallus, the first Roman governor, 30-29 BC.<sup>359</sup> Presumably, after the harsh crushing of the revolt and Gallus's campaign behind the Southern borders, a legion was localized in Thebes. The number of legions was reduced to two and, thus, Thebes stopped being a legionary base. Whether the legion that has left was instantly substituted by an auxiliary unit is doubtful. Since there were no important mines in this location and it was not connected to the road nets in the Eastern Desert, it is assumed that the presented unit participated in domestic security maintenance and helped generally in outpost duty in Upper Egypt.<sup>360</sup>

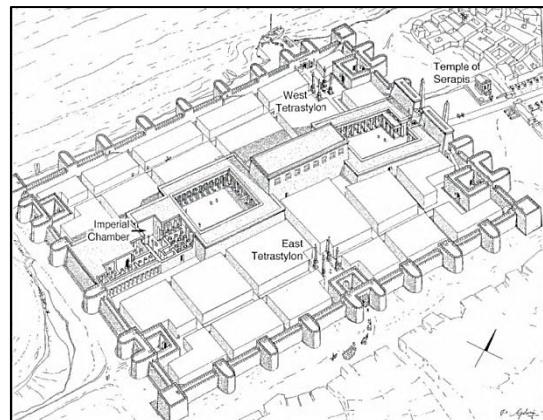


Fig.97

During the reign of Diocletian and his colleagues of the Tetrarchy, a Roman camp was placed in year 295-296 AD inside the temple of Luxor.<sup>361</sup> The whole camp was surrounded with large and high defensive wall with five doors flanked by two defensive towers in the shape of a horse. The pylon of the temple and the two obelisks became part of this enclosure wall (Fig.97).<sup>362</sup>

<sup>356</sup> Lloyd 2010, 453

<sup>357</sup> Maxfield 2000, 409; Stoll 2009, 421

<sup>358</sup> Willems — Clarysse 2000,72

<sup>359</sup> Maxfield 2000, 420

<sup>360</sup> Maxfield 2000, 421

<sup>361</sup> Moormann 2011, 146; M. El-Saghir , Le camp romain de Louqsor (Paris 1986) 21

<sup>362</sup> Bagnall — Rathbone 2004, Fig. 7.2.4 ; McKenzie 2007, Fig. 294

There were two large streets that used to cross the camp. At the crossing point, there were four columns supporting the statues of the emperor.<sup>363</sup> One of the halls of the temple leading to the sanctuary was transformed to be a place for the imperial cult dating from the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>364</sup>

The walls were decorated with paintings representing two emperors and their successors. These decorations have vanished.<sup>365</sup> However, Reconstructions to parts of the decorations are available due to the work of the British traveler, J.G Wilkinson, around 1852-1856 (Fig.98).<sup>366</sup> Moormann described the scenes: “The northern, western and eastern walls contain processions of dignitaries and officials on a white background above a dado with fancy opus sectile motifs. The south wall blocks the previous entrance to the original Egyptian cult room and possesses an apse decorated with portraits of the Emperor and his colleagues, and Jupiter’s eagle in the calotte. Large panels on its left and right showed figures in a procession beneath the images of two enthroned pairs of emperors in the upper part of the panels. The standing men in the apse can be regarded as substitutes for the cult statue (or statues), which were never erected.”<sup>367</sup>

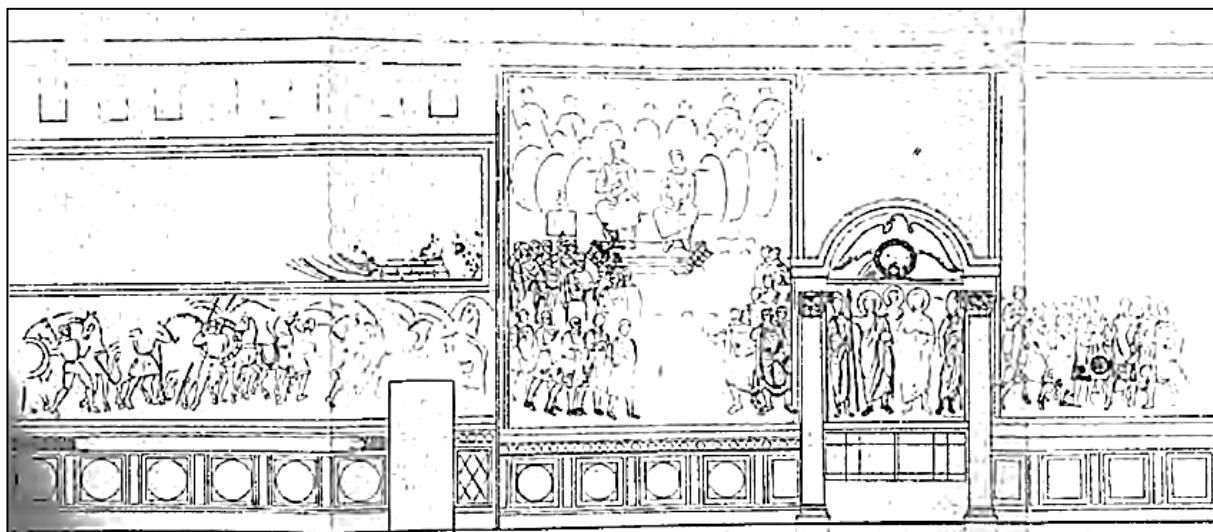


Fig.98

<sup>363</sup> Willems —Clarysse 2000,73

<sup>364</sup> D: Janes, God and Gold in Late Antiquity, Cambridge University Press (1998) 48

<sup>365</sup> Willems —Clarysse 2000, 74

<sup>366</sup> Moormann 2011, 46

<sup>367</sup> Moormann 2011, 146 Fig.73

Anyway, the chapel niche of the imperial cult still carries traces of standing figures of the emperors (Fig.99)<sup>368</sup>

Beside the Roman legions, there were also different auxiliary troops and cavalry that were used to observe the frontiers. Their role is similar to that of the police. Therefore, they were spread along the routes of the eastern and western deserts.<sup>369</sup>

“Egypt had revolted many times against the Greek occupants, who had badly controlled the south. After the Roman annexation, Augustus confined a great military force in the Nile valley under the authority of the prefect. From its 25 legions, only three camped in Egypt in the strategic places, sustained by the independent auxiliary troops. Approximately 24.000 soldiers resided in Egypt.”<sup>370</sup> Lloyd mentioned that it is quite possible that the late Roman army of Egypt was of similar size to that of the reign of Augustus, perhaps ca. 20,000 men strong.<sup>371</sup>

There was more diversity in auxiliary organization. Two main unit types existed: the *cohorts* (infantry units) and the *alae* (cavalry units).

The organization of auxiliary *cohorts* was similar to that of the legionary cohorts; the cohort consisted of six centuries of eighty men. Hence, the *cohorts* had paper strength of nearly 480 men.<sup>372</sup> The paper strength, however, with officers and various specialists, is conventionally reckoned at 500. Prefects commanded cohorts. The *alae* are also conventionally estimated as having strength of 500 and were commanded by prefects; however, they differed slightly in their internal organization.<sup>373</sup> Unlike the *cohorts* which were subdivided into six centuries, *alae* consisted of sixteen *lurmae* of about thirty men; each *lurma* was commanded by a decurion. Some *cohorts*, *cohorts equitalae*, consisted of a small number of cavalry, may be four *lurmae*, beside the six centuries. In addition, a unit of double strength which was called a *cohors* or *ala milliaria* existed; it was conventionally estimated at strength of 1,000 men, although actually it is strength may have been less than that.<sup>374</sup> *Humeri* were attested in the late second century. At the beginning, they may have been irregular units with slight official

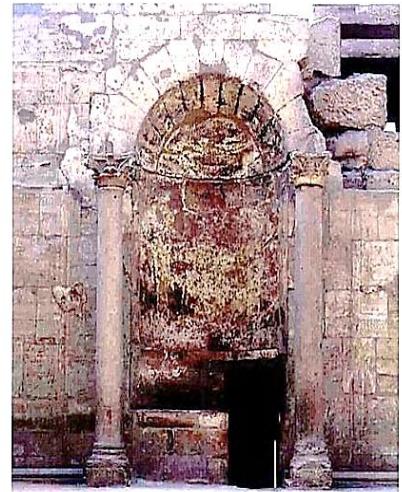


Fig.99

<sup>368</sup> Bagnall — Rathbone 2004, Fig. 7.2.5

<sup>369</sup> Willems — Clarysse 2000, 71 f

<sup>370</sup> Willems — Clarysse 2000, 72

<sup>371</sup> Lloyd 2010, 458

<sup>372</sup> Alston 1995, 21

<sup>373</sup> Alston 1995, 21

<sup>374</sup> Alston 1995, 21

organization; however, later on they developed into a systematic part of the army. There is not enough information about the theoretical organization and strength of these units. They were collected from allies and their local origins may have remained distinct until the late second century when the auxiliaries had lost in all but name.<sup>375</sup> At the end of the third century, the country was invaded by the Libyan tribes. Therefore, Diocletian reorganized the military force in Egypt. He separated Upper Egypt to form a province called Thebaid and provided it with two legions. Two other legions were placed in Middle and Lower Egypt.<sup>376</sup> Many auxiliary troupes were placed to defend the frontiers, in addition to a unit of cavalry at Dionysias (El-Fayoum) to prevent the incursions of the Libyan nomads.<sup>377</sup>

### **3.2. Figures of Egyptian Animal Headed Gods with Roman Military Insignia**

The animal-headed military figures that I will discuss here could be from Egypt because they represent Egyptian gods with animal heads. In addition, there are some statuettes in terrible condition from Egypt preserved in Egyptian Museum in Cairo and Amsterdam Museum representing military figure with bull and jackal heads.<sup>378</sup>

I realized that none of these military figures with animal heads were exactly the same as the Roman armoured statues. Therefore, it was difficult to date these statuettes. However, I have dated them with specific datings through comparing the details in each statuette such as the *cingulum*, *fibula*, *pteryges*, and *mulleus* with the same found in the Roman armoured statues. One of the bronze statuettes (H. 48.5 W 30.5 cm) I discuss here is preserved in the British Museum Inv. EA 36062.<sup>379</sup> The provenance of the statuette is unknown; however, it could be from Alexandria or Delta. Horus is represented in a frontal position wearing the *nemes* that was the striped head cloth worn by pharaohs in ancient Egypt. The right arm is missing and the left arm is raised. Horus is seen dressed in *cuirass*. The *cuirass* shows plain chest, one row of *pteryges* (Fig.100). Fischer mentioned that the *cuirass* related to the emperors or the high ranking military leaders.<sup>380</sup> In his feet, Horus is putting on the *mulleus*, long necked Roman footwear most known as emperors' footwear. The *calceus mulleus* is characterized by the decorative straps fastened in an interlaced way in X shape and similar to the *mulleus* of one of marble Roman statue (Fig.101,a - 101,b).<sup>381</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> Alston 1995 , 21

<sup>376</sup> Willems —Clarysse 2000,73; Maxfield 2000, 409

<sup>377</sup> Maxfield 2000, 409; Willems —Clarysse 2000,73

<sup>378</sup> M.J.Vermaseren, Apis, in: LIMC II,180 Fig.29; Bissing 1926,119; C.C.Edgar, Greek Bronzes. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Le Caire 1904) Nos. 27693-27696

<sup>379</sup> Hölbl 2000, 116, Abb.16 ; M.O.Jentel, Horos, in: LIMC, IV,1990, 539 Fig.18

<sup>380</sup> Th. Fischer, Die Armee der Caesaren : Archäologie und Geschichte (Regensburg 2012) 104

<sup>381</sup> Stemmer 1978,10,Taf.2,1

The *calceus* was usually made from soft leather, completely covered the foot and was fastened in front with thongs. The marble statue stands supported on the right leg. The arms and the left leg are missing; however, the shoe for the left foot still exists. It is made from marble with the height of 227 cm. The statue is dressed in *cuirass* that is divided into two rows; the chest is designed with a head of a bearded man (bust of Mars Ultor), while the lower part is designed with leather tabs.<sup>382</sup>

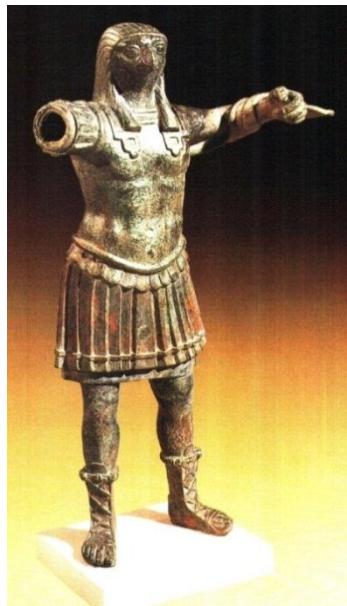


Fig.100



Fig.101, a



Fig.101, b

The right arm seems to be raised upwards. The foot is placed in *mulleus*. The shoe-tie was buckled five times in the shape of the x letter. The end of the shoe took the shape of a lion's head.<sup>383</sup> Vermeule dated the statue to the reign of Augustus or Trajan, while Landwehr dated it to the reign of Claudius. Anyway we can say that the statue dates back to the early Imperial period. If we compare the *mulleus* of this statue with the *mulleus* of Horus statuette, we can notice that the *mulleus* are represented in the same way. We cannot forget also the *nemes*, the official headdress of the pharaoh. We can assume that the artists wanted to make a statue that refers to the god as Emperor or general.

There is a bronze statuette (H.42 cm), preserved in Moscow, Pushkin Museum Inv. I,1a 2794.<sup>384</sup> Horus is represented here as Caesar or a general with a falcon head surmounted with the double crown of lower and Upper Egypt, in addition to the cobra, one of the attributes of

<sup>382</sup> Vermeule 1959,55

<sup>383</sup> H.R. Goette , Mulleus-Embas-Calceus. JdI 103, 1988, 401 ff. Abb.2; Ch. Landwehr, Die römischen Skulpturen von Caesarea Mauretaniae, Bnd.IV( Mainz 2008) 102 f. Taf. 62, a, 66, b ; Stemmer 1978,10,Taf.2,1; Vermeule 1959,55 Pl.XV,45

<sup>384</sup> Beck 2005,618, Abb.197

Egyptian rulers. Horus is depicted in a frontal pose, standing on a base, dressed in *cuirass*. The right leg carries the body weight, while the left is relaxed with bent knee. He wears a *cingulum*, a figure of medusa represented on the scale armour of the chest. We can see Horus depicted as a military commander in the Roman army. His right hand used to hold the spear that does not exist now (Fig.102).<sup>385</sup>



Fig.102



Fig. 103



Fig. 104

The spear or the harpoon was the tool that Horus used in his fight against his enemy Seth who is represented as a hippo on the wall of the temple of Edfu (Fig.103).<sup>386</sup> There is a statuette (H.16.6 cm), found in the Serapeion of Saqqara and preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo Inv. GG 39619, which dates back to the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty (Fig.104).<sup>387</sup> We can guess from the way in which the right hand is represented that it was holding a spear or a harpoon which does not exist now. On the other hand, many Roman soldiers were depicted holding the spears in the same manner of that *stela* with oval pictorial panel from Alexandria which depicts a Roman soldier (Fig.90).<sup>388</sup>

<sup>385</sup> Beck 2005,618; J.Aubert, Bronzes et or egyptiens ( 2001) 238; M.O. Jentel, Horos,in: LIMC, IV, 1990, 539 Fig.17

<sup>386</sup> Deurer 2010, Internet-publication

<sup>387</sup> Weiß 2012, 659 No.521

<sup>388</sup> Ashour 2007, 420 Fig.198; Schmidt 2003, No. 104

Comparing Figure 102 of Horus with a statue in the Vatican garden in Rome that has the head of Marcus Aurelius, we can see a strong similarity in the way of representation as the statue of Vatican garden rests on the right leg, while the left one bends a little bit backwards. The right arm is raised upwards. The statue wears the *cuirass* with a medusa represented on the chest. There is also *cingulum* with two knots. The mantle hangs on the left shoulder. The statue dates back to the late reign of Hadrian and the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius (Fig.105).<sup>389</sup>



Fig.105



Fig.106

We can see another similarity in the representation of the medusa on the chest and the *cingulum* between the statuette of Horus and a headless statue preserved in the New Museum at Berlin Inv. SK 1799 (Fig.106).<sup>390</sup>

Another bronze statuette (H. 0.50 cm), is preserved in National Archaeological Museum of Athens Inv.2571. Anubis is represented here as an Emperor or a general. He wears a military uniform. The posture of the god resembles that of the emperors. He is surmounted with an unclear crown, may be the *atef* crown. The figure is depicted in a frontal pose; standing on a base, dressed in *cuirass*.

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<sup>389</sup> Stemmer 1978, 17-18,Taf.8, 4

<sup>390</sup> Photographed by the researcher ; The registration card of the New Museum of Berlin describes this figure as a torso of one of the Caesars and dates it back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD !

The right leg carries the body weight, while the left is relaxed with bent knee. The muscled body is visible under the tight fitting armour. The feet are dressed in half necked boots *mulleus*, with decorative straps fastened in an interlaced way in X shape. He also wears a *cingulum* (Fig.107).<sup>391</sup>

There is a bronze statuette (H.7 W. 3.8 cm), preserved in Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Inv. F.1950/3-7. Anubis is represented with the head of a jackal as a fighter or an Emperor wearing military uniform.

The provenance is unknown; however, it could be Alexandria. Anubis played an important role in the Egyptian religion as he was associated with the world of the dead, through his participation in the mummification process. He was associated in the Graeco-Roman period with the god Hermes; therefore, he was called “Hermanubis”. In this statuette Anubis is surmounted with the *atef* crown. He wears a military uniform that is composed of the chest, shield and the mantle. The right leg of the statuette is missing while the left is broken. Anubis holds a sword in his left hand and probably a spear in his right hand which does not exist now (Fig.108).<sup>392</sup>



Fig.107



Fig.108

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<sup>391</sup> J. Leclant, Anubis, in: LIMC, Vol. I, 1981, 871 Fig 79

<sup>392</sup> Beck 2005, 615 Abb.194

The mantle on the left shoulder is heroic, and similar to heroic statue of a man, so-called Sextus Pompeius (Fig.109),<sup>393</sup> statue of Mars (Fig.110), and statue of Nerva (Fig.111).<sup>394</sup> That is why I think the two previous statuettes of Anubis date back, probably, to the early imperial period.



Fig.109



Fig.110



Fig.111

We can see in the most of the previous animal headed statuettes that the representation of the *mulleus*, the *cuirass*, and the *pteryges* is the indication of the types in Roman times.

There is a bronze statuette (H16, 9 cm), preserved in Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum Inv. 51100, dating back to the Roman period. Apis is represented as a Roman commander or Emperor wearing a military uniform. His ornament and the realistic posture generally have the Roman style. Apis is represented with a bull head surmounted with the *hemhemet* crown. He is depicted in frontal pose, dressed in *cuirass*. The right leg carries the body weight, while the left is relaxed with a bent knee. He wears also a *cingulum* and a *pteryges* (Fig.112).<sup>395</sup>

<sup>393</sup> F.S. Kleiner, A Heroic Funerary Relief on the Via Appia, AA 90, 1975, 253 Fig.3

<sup>394</sup> Stemmer 1978, Taf.1,3-4

<sup>395</sup> Beck 2005, 698 Abb.304

Another bronze statuette (H. 6, 7 W. 4, 1 Th. 2 cm) is preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin Inv. 22396, and dates back to the Roman period. Apis is represented as a Roman commander or Emperor wearing a military uniform. His crown consists of a sun disc between horns.<sup>396</sup> The legs of the statuette are destroyed or missing. The muscled body is visible under the tight fitting armor. He could have held a spear in his right hand (Fig.113).



Fig.112



Fig.113



Fig.114

These two previous figures of Apis seem to be dated back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, because the cuirass is Antonine, and the tasseled *pteryges* and one row of discs. The *cuirass* shows the imperial type with one row of *pteryges* and one row of discs, which conforms to the examples from Antonine period onwards (Fig.114).<sup>397</sup> Another torso of Antoninus Pius was excavated in 1980 in front of the third projection from the north of the Agora Gate (Fig.115).<sup>398</sup> The *pteryges* here is represented in one row and there is a layer of leather beneath it cushioning the body from them. A narrow floral design appears in the spaces between the *pteryges*.<sup>399</sup> The statue was found together with an inscribed base for Antoninus Pius.<sup>400</sup>

<sup>396</sup> S. Athanassopoulou, The Bull in the Mediterranean World: Myths & Cults (Paperback 2003) 161 Fig .29

<sup>397</sup> Vermeule 1959, 64 Cat.No. 257; Ashour 2007,474

<sup>398</sup> Smith 2006 126 Fig. 17

<sup>399</sup> Smith 2006, 127

<sup>400</sup> Smith 2006, 127



Fig.115

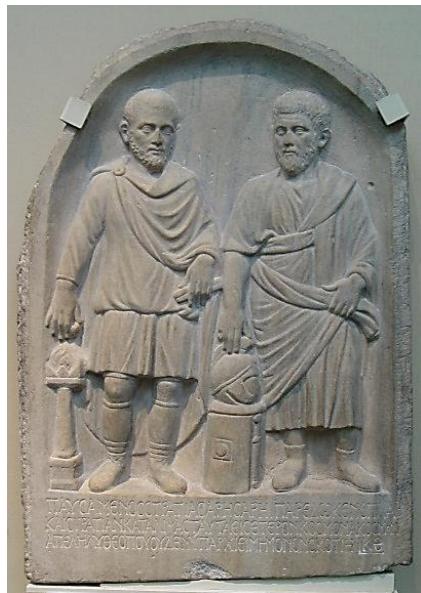


Fig.116



Fig.117

The *sagum* fastened with wide *fibula* on the right shoulder favors 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>401</sup> It is similar to that *fibula* of one of the left figure that is represented on one of the *stelae* of Alexandria which is currently preserved in the British Museum Inv. GR. 1974.-22-1, and dates back to 189 AD (Fig.116).<sup>402</sup> We can see other similar *fibula* and *ptegyes* in a torso dating back to the Antonine period (Fig.117).<sup>403</sup>

There is a limestone statuette (H. 54.5 W. 31, 8 cm), preserved in the British Museum Inv. EA 51100. Horus is depicted as a Roman general sitting on a throne, wearing the military clothes accompanied with the chest shield. The type of shield on the chest is known as „scale armour” customarily associated with low-ranking soldiers. There is a *sagum* as well fastened on the right shoulder. The mantel is fastened on the right shoulder and draped at the back. Horus wears the military sandal. The head was probably surmounted with the double crown, as there is a hole in it. Horus could also have held the sceptre in his left hand. The statuette shows Horus as the ruler of Egypt (Fig.118).<sup>404</sup>



Fig.118

<sup>401</sup> Ashour 2007, 431

<sup>402</sup> Ashour 2007,418 f ; Parlasca—Seemann 1999, Nr.159

<sup>403</sup> Vermeule1959, 59 Cat.No. 210

<sup>404</sup> Beck 2005, 617 Abb.196

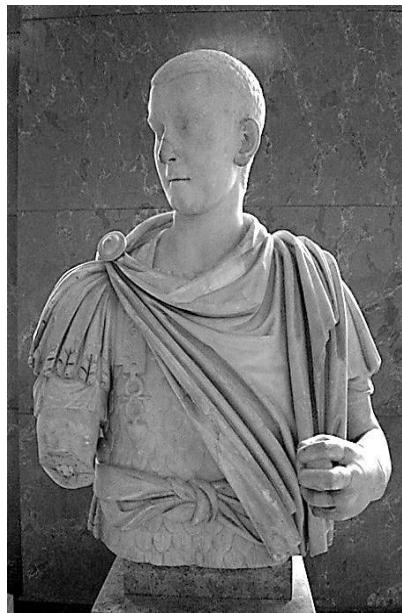


Fig.119



Fig.120

Comparing this figure of Horus with the bust of Gordien III (238 – 244 AD), we can see a similarity. Gordian III wears a short-sleeved *tunic* covered with a *cuirass* buckled to a large *cingulum* with a knot (Fig.119).<sup>405</sup> The *sagum*, fastened with round *fibula* on the right shoulder, is similar to that fibula of Horus. On a sarcophagus of Emperor Balbinus 238 AD in Rome, the deceased is represented standing, wearing the military uniform, and accompanied by his wife. We can see the breastplate, the tabs at the shoulders, the knotted *cingulum*, the figure of an eagle, and small *pteryges* enriched with rosettes. He holds an eagle-headed scepter and wears a pair of divus (or pantherskin) boots (Fig.120).<sup>406</sup>

This scale armour is represented on one of the *stelae* of the god Tutu (Tithoes) who was a widely-worshipped god in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods of the Egyptian history and whose origins date back to the earlier Egyptian religion. He provided protection against demons. The *stela* came probably from El-Fayoum (H.30 cm, W.36 cm), preserved in Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels Inv. A1505.

<sup>405</sup> K. Kersauson, Catalogue des portraits romains : De l'année de la guerre civile (68 - 69 après J.-C.) à la fin de l'Empire, Tome II (Paris 1996) 456 f

<sup>406</sup> Vermeule 1959, 26 Pl.XXII,70

The crown of Tutu consists of horns of ram and sun disc between two snakes. The god Tutu wears the royal *nemes* head dress and armour plate on the chest that is covered by a chlamys. His tail ends with a cobra. There is another snake (Agathos Daimon) under his paws. On his back, there is a representation of the griffon of Petbe/Nemesis, and a winged sun disc with two Cobras. There is a harpoon beside the third paw and an axe beside the fourth (Fig.121).<sup>407</sup>



Fig.121

These animal-headed figures could be either votive offerings presented to the sacred animals as they had animal heads, or they were private statuettes placed in the houses such as the houses of Pompeii and Rome that housed within the niches statuettes representing various deities and sometimes other small bronze utensils and commemorative tokens (Fig.122).<sup>408</sup> In the aedicular shrines at Pompeii, for example, along with the Lares, there are statuettes of Mercury, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, Anubis, Isis, Harpocrates, Venus, Priapus, and Eros, Minerva, Asculapius, Fortuna, and a Bacchant. In northern Italy and the Alpine provinces, there are the *lararium* that were decorated with paired statuettes on individual bases, a Juno and Genius and an Apollo and Sirona (a Gallic deity), Mercury, Amor, Victoria, Luna, Amor, Priapus, and Epona on horseback. In late antiquity, this form of private devotional expression only grew.<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>407</sup> Beck, 611 Abb.189

<sup>408</sup> Heinemann 1998, 184 f. Abb.164

<sup>409</sup> Olyan — Bodel 2008, 258 f.

Lararia deposits discovered in situ are rare after the early third century, but an elegant lararium shrine was found intact in the early 1880s in the courtyard of a private house of the late third or early fourth century on the Oppian hill in Rome housed within it a nearly life-sized Pentelic marble statue of Isis-Fortuna, a marble statuette and bust of Sarapis, a bust of Harpocrates, a magic *stela* of Horus on his crocodiles, statuettes of Zeus, Apollo, Aphrodite, Hecate, and Hercules (Fig.123).<sup>410</sup>

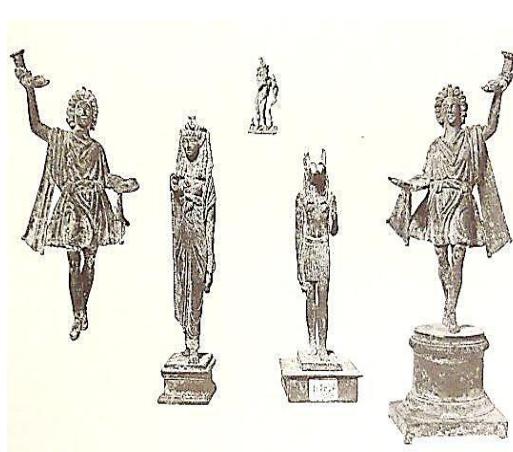


Fig.122

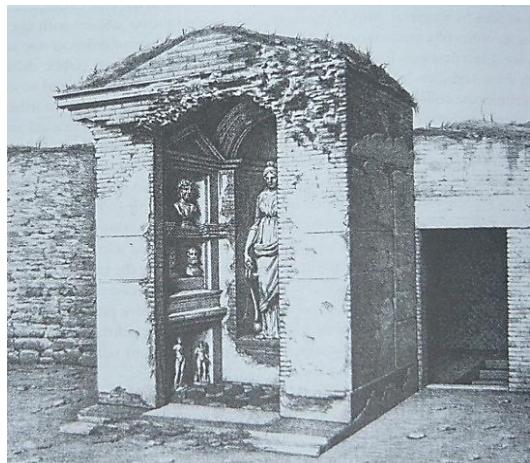


Fig.123

The provenance of these animal headed figures were unknown, however, I could assume that they were found in Egypt, precisely Alexandria or Delta, as there were representations in the tombs of Stagni and Kom El-Shouqafa of Anubis with the jackal head wearing military costume. The fresco in the tomb of Stagni in Alexandria depicted on the right side of the *naos*, represents Anubis in military Roman clothes holding a spear in his right hand (Fig.124).<sup>411</sup> At the entrance of the main tomb at Kom El-Shouqafa, there is a raised relief of Anubis as a jackal-headed man wearing military Roman clothes, surmounted with the sun-disc, and holding a shield in his right hand and a spear in his left hand (Fig.125).<sup>412</sup>

This raised relief of Anubis is similar to a limestone statuette of a Roman soldier (H.53 cm), preserved in Egyptian Museum in Cairo Inv. J.E. 66323, from Madinet Madi, that dates back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>413</sup> Head, right arm are broken away, chest and legs surface are chipped, and the base is rejoined to the statuette. The statue is depicted in a frontal pose, standing on a base, dressed in *cuirass* and blue mantle.

<sup>410</sup> Olyan – Bodel 2008, 258 ff. Fig. 14,5

<sup>411</sup> I. Kaplan, Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit Wechselwirkung zwischen der ägyptischen und griechisch-alexandrinischen Kunst ( Wien 1999) 74 Taf. 65, b; Venit 2002, 144 Fig. 124

<sup>412</sup> Venit 2002, 144, Fig.123

<sup>413</sup> Ashour 2007, 398



Fig.124

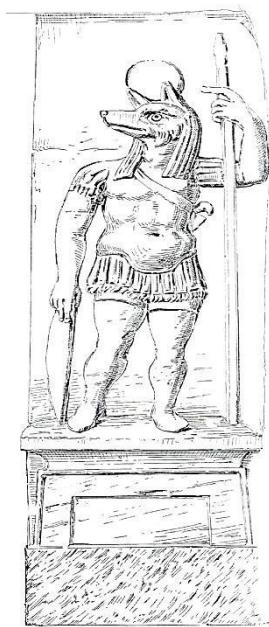


Fig.125



Fig.126

The right leg carries the body weight, while the left is relaxed with a bent knee. The legs are rendered in natural style, especially the bent knee; the left arm is bent starting from the elbow point and holds a sword in a most self-confident expression. The man is dressed in a *cuirass*, the feet are dressed in half necked boots. The upper side of these boots does not cover the toes (Fig.126).<sup>414</sup>

I think all of these animal-headed figures could be an indication to the strong relation between the Egyptian gods and their animal manifestations and the Roman soldiers. As a confirmation to this idea there is a limestone *stela* (H.29 W. 22 cm) from Luxor, preserved in Allard Pierson Museum Inv.7802. The *stela* was found in Luxor. In it, the soldier is represented accompanied by the falcon Horus. This emphasizes the idea that those soldiers sanctified the Egyptian sacred animals. As I mentioned before there was a military camp in Luxor at the end of the 3rd century AD. The soldier holds a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left hand. Next to his shoulders, there are two falcons surmounted with the double crown, symbolizing Horus. The hair is surmounted with a garland (Fig.127).<sup>415</sup>

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<sup>414</sup> Ashour 2007, 398 Fig.178

<sup>415</sup> Beck 2005, 694 f. Abb. 301

This *stela* dates back to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century AD, because of the dress type and the shield form and decorations.<sup>416</sup> The god Horus has many names like 'Horus the fighter' (*Aha*), 'Horus the strong' (*Djer*) or 'arm-raising Horus' (*Qaa*).<sup>417</sup> These names could indicate to the strong rapport between him and the soldiers.



Fig.127

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<sup>416</sup> Beck 2005, 694 f

<sup>417</sup> T. A. H. Wilkinson, Early Dynastic Egypt, Routledge ( 2001) 202

## IV. Representations of the Sacred Animals on the Tombstones

This chapter deals with the representations of the sacred animals accompanying the deceased on the tombstones during the Greco-Roman period. The aim of the chapter is to prove that these representations were an aspect of the animal sanctification.

Many *stelae* were found in several places such as Kom Abou Bellou, Alexandria, Oxyrhynchus, and Abydos. In this chapter, I study the *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou and compare them with similar *stelae* from Alexandria. Most of the other *stelae* that carried the Egyptian style carried representations of funerary rituals (the ritual of presenting the deceased to Osiris), such as that of Abydos or Upper Egypt. However, the *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou carry the Greek style, precisely the depicted figures and the depicted sacred animals that are considered unique in their representation as they differ from the Egyptian ones.

### 1. Topography

It is thought that this site was occupied during the Pre-dynastic period, as a cache of flint tools was discovered in the northern area of the present Tarana Bridge. This site was later known as Mafket, precisely during the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms. This Pharaonic site was probably located in the southern sector of the area, as Pharaonic cemeteries were found there. We should mention here that the old city of Terenuthis extended into this area.<sup>418</sup> This city continued to be inhabited during the Late Period as tombs of this date were found at the northern edge of the "High Place". During the Graeco-Roman period, this site became more important as it was considered a major trading center.<sup>419</sup>

The city of Kom Abou Bellou lies in El-Behera governorate, which is located on the western side of the Delta, about 2 km from the city of El-Tarana that was located 70 km north-west of Cairo (Fig.128).<sup>420</sup> The name "Bellou" is probably derived from god Apollo who had a temple in this city, precisely to the north of the necropolis.<sup>421</sup>

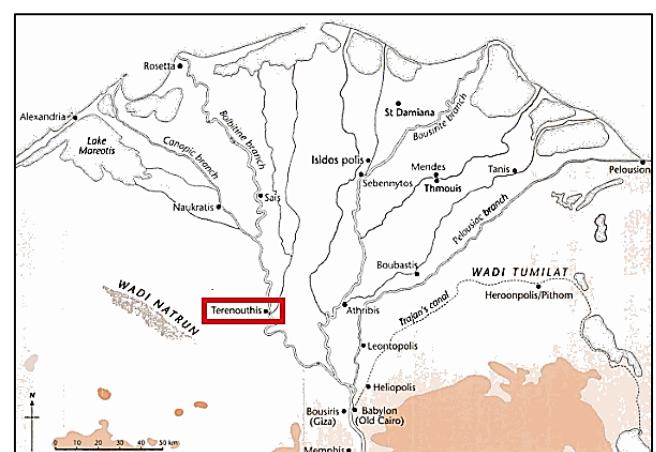


Fig.128

<sup>418</sup> Hawass 1979,76

<sup>419</sup> Hawass 1979,76

<sup>420</sup> El-Sawy 2008, 217 Fig.1 ; Bagnall — Rathbone 2004 ,79 Fig. 2.6.1

<sup>421</sup> Hawass 1979, 78 El-Sawy 2008, 216

The cemetery was excavated in 1935 by the University of Michigan, and the excavated objects were exhibited in the Kelsey Museum of Archeology, United States. After the construction of the Nasser Canal that crossed the necropolis, precisely in 1969, a second excavation occurred by the service of Antiquity of Egypt (Fig.129).<sup>422</sup> Through this excavation, we came to the knowledge that this cemetery was used till the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. The great number of tombs dated back to the Roman era.<sup>423</sup>

The *stelae* discovered in this area were located on the edge of the town, where there were ruined house walls. It could be noticed from the photographs that the tombs varied in their sizes and shapes, and did not follow a regular plan in their arrangement (Fig.130).<sup>424</sup>

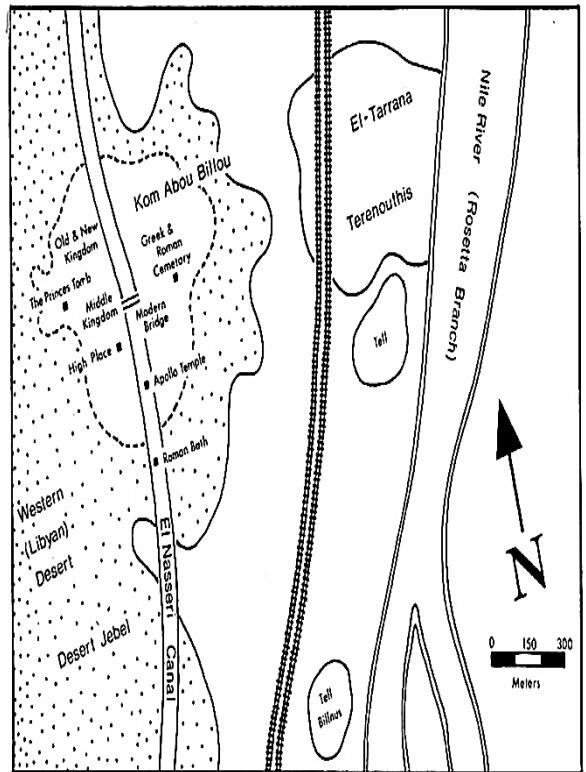


Fig.129



Fig.130

<sup>422</sup> El-Sawy 2008, 219 Fig.2; Gazda 1987, Internet-publication

<sup>423</sup> Vitali 1987, 246

<sup>424</sup> Hooper 1966, 2 Pl.I,a-b

On some of the tombs, some bricks projected to form a cornice above the arch. The stela used to be placed against the back wall of the niche. In front of the opening, an altar was placed for the offerings. The tombs used to rest on brick platforms resembling the temple podia that was used by the Romans (Fig.131).<sup>425</sup>

Some tombs were covered with white plaster and then decorated in green, red, yellow and black, with various paintings representing scenes from nature such as birds, animals and plants (Fig.132).<sup>426</sup>

A different burial was found in between two tombs and one meter from the surface. Here the head was turned to the west, while the body wrappings were covered with plaster and colored mainly in red and black (Fig.133).<sup>427</sup>



Fig.131



Fig.132

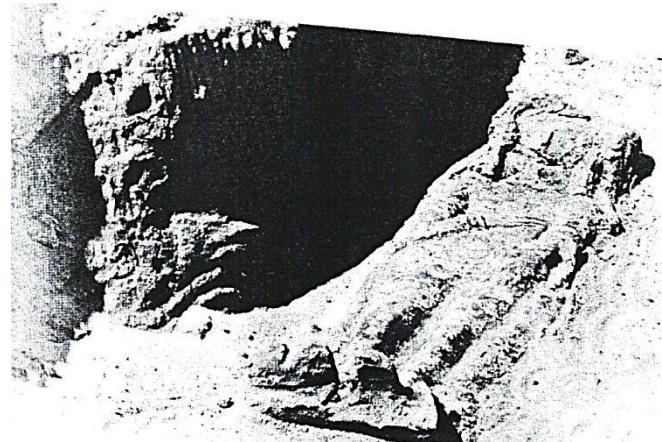


Fig.133

<sup>425</sup> El-Sawy 2008, 220; Hooper 1966, 2 f; El-Sawy 1977, Fig.1; Gazda 1987, Internet-publication

<sup>426</sup> Hooper 1966,3 Pl.III b -IV a

<sup>427</sup> Hooper 1966,3 Pl.II,b

The *stelae* were placed inside the niches (Fig.134), while another group of *stelae* was found between the debris of the tombs (Fig.135).<sup>428</sup>

There exists no information about the specific place for every *stela*. Unfortunately, the majority of them were found in a terrible condition.<sup>429</sup>

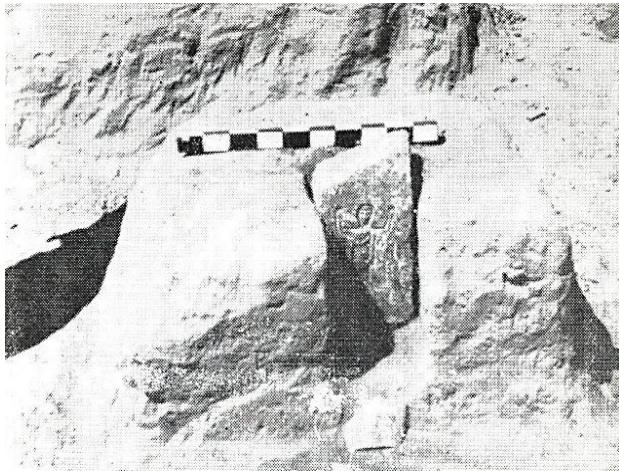


Fig.134

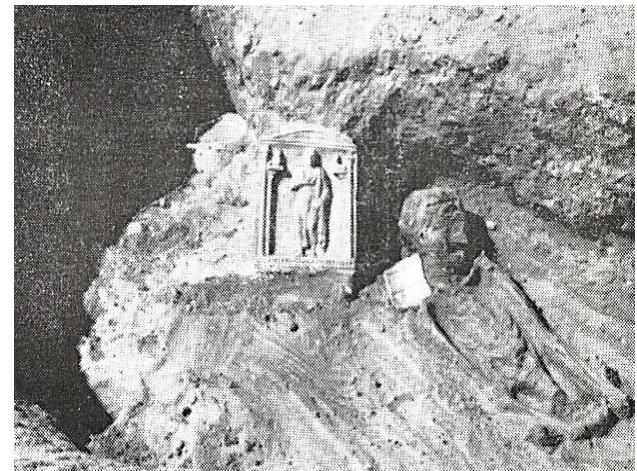


Fig.135

These tombs were made of mud bricks and their arrangement lacked any regular plan. Some of these tombs were located in three strata at the depth of 7 meters. Each tomb had an arched niche, usually placed at the eastern side; the tombs had a vaulted, pyramidal, octagonal, square or oblong shape (Fig.136).<sup>430</sup> Some were big enough to contain the corpses of a whole family. Parlasca described the tombs of Kom Abou Bellou as simple tombs because many burials were located between and beside the small tombs that were equipped with *stelae*. Therefore, he thought that the burials of Kom Abou Bellou dated back to the late roman period.<sup>431</sup>

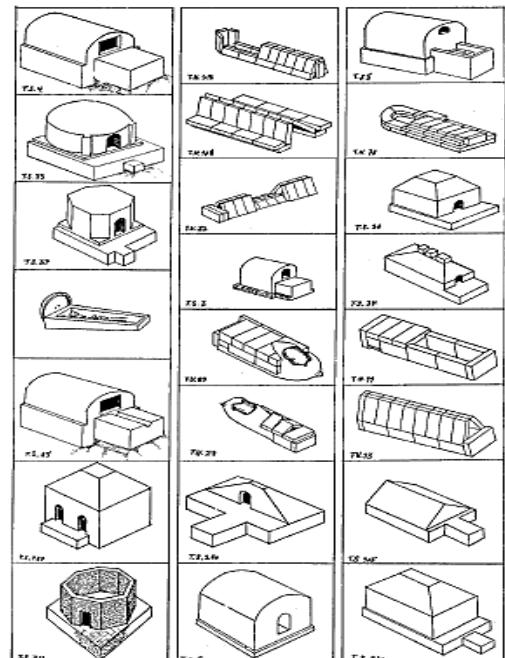


Fig.136

<sup>428</sup> El-Nassery — Wagner 1978, 231; El-Sawy 1977,78

<sup>429</sup> El-Nassery — Wagner 1978, 234; Abd el-Al 1983, Pl.VI,a-b

<sup>430</sup> Abd el-Al 1983, 74; El-Nassery — Wagner 1978, 234 Fig.2

<sup>431</sup> Parlasca 1970, 181

The reliefs in Terenuthis formed a part of tombs that were lined with bricks. The reliefs were equally used by different ethnic groups and classes of society (Egyptians and Greeks).<sup>432</sup>

Skeletons of men, children and women were found underneath the tombs, with the heads pointed to the west and the faces to the east. The arms were placed alongside the body or over the chest or the lap (Fig.137). A bronze coin was usually placed in the left hand of the deceased. That can be related to the custom of Charon's Obols. This Greek religious observance would have confirmed well with the Egyptian conception of the transition to the fields of the gods (*yaru*) as a journey by boat across the Nile to the western regions, where Osiris ruled and where traditionally Egypt's necropolises were sited.<sup>433</sup>

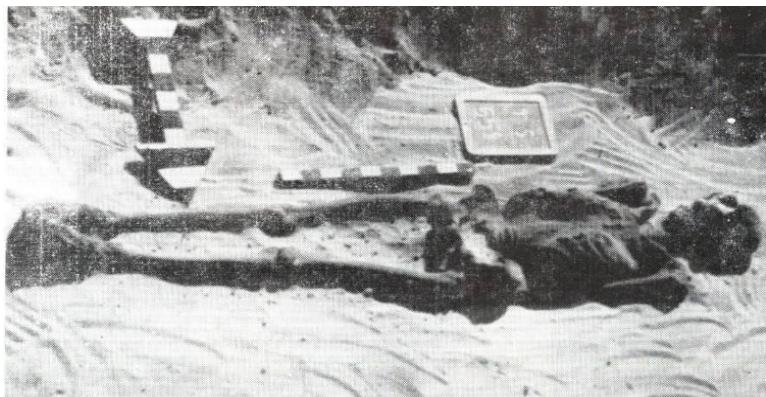


Fig.137



Fig.138

One of those coins was found in the burial of Sarapous (Cat.No.27). It is a bronze Roman coin dating to 297 AD. The coin has a picture of the Emperor Diocletian (Fig.138).<sup>434</sup> Various jewelry items, such as bracelets, necklaces, earrings and rings, were found in the tomb of women, in addition to some gold, silver, bronze, ivory, and precious stones.<sup>435</sup>

Large quantity of glass and pottery were also found in the tombs. The jars have different kinds and sizes, some of them were decorated with geometrical lines. Some jars were covered with thin layer of gold indicating the eyelid.

<sup>432</sup> Schmidt 2003, 77

<sup>433</sup> El-Sawy 2008, 222

<sup>434</sup> Kelsey Museum of Archaeology 1998, Internet-publication

<sup>435</sup> El-Nassery — Wagner 1978, 231-232, Fig.2; El-Sawy 2008, 221; Schmidt 2003, 57 Abb.52

The fingers of hands, toes of feet, mouths, breasts and organs of the female deceased were gilded.<sup>436</sup> It is worth mentioning that there is no information about the specific dating of those archaeological finds. These findings refer to the social class of the deceased. Some of them were well-to-do; the majority was so-to-speak- poor. Many figures of terracotta represent deities such as Bes, Isis-Demeter, Eros-Harpocrates, Aphrodite and a head of Khnum, the ram god. They were also found at a location similar to the one where the terracotta of Alexandria were found and dated back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>437</sup> The most outstanding tomb objects are the Aphrodite statuettes of Fiancé (Fig.139). In these statuettes, the goddess appeared at her birth from the shell, in an angry attitude, or with Horus and the sun – symbol of Hathor. In the latter examples, she used to carry a flute and an olive branch. All of these statuettes were found in the western end of the cemetery; to the west-south-west of Apollo temple and the Roman baths. Therefore, this area was known as "Aphrodite cemetery". All the tombs that contained these statuettes date back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>438</sup>



Fig.139

In comparison with the tombstones of Alexandria, we can say that although Alexandria is a great city, few tombstones were found there.<sup>439</sup> Few of the sacred animals were depicted on these *stelae* accompanying the deceased. However, there are some *stelae* found in the necropolises of Alexandria such as the *stela* that was found in Hadra cemetery in Alexandria (Cta.No.56). This tomb is considered one of the important tombs in the eastern necropolis of Alexandria. It consists of a staircase leading to a columned open-court. On the eastern and the western sides of the court, there are two rooms with *loculi*. The main room is in the northern side of the court. Instead of the *kline*, there is a niche decorated with the figure of the *kline* in raised-relief. In this tomb, there is a court and an *oikos*, with no sign of a *Prostas* (Figs. 140-141). The walls of the tomb are covered with plaster and painted. In the *oikos*, there are traces of the colors; however, we cannot decide the decoration style. No inscriptions or ruins were found in the tomb that could help in dating it. According to its style, it could be dated back to the early Ptolemaic period.<sup>440</sup>

<sup>436</sup> El-Sawy 2008, 221

<sup>437</sup> El-Nassery — Wagner 1978, 232

<sup>438</sup> Hawass 1979, 83, Fig.4

<sup>439</sup> Schmidt 1991, 4

<sup>440</sup> Venit 2002, 24 ff. Fig.7; Schmidt 2003, 20 ff. Abb. 22

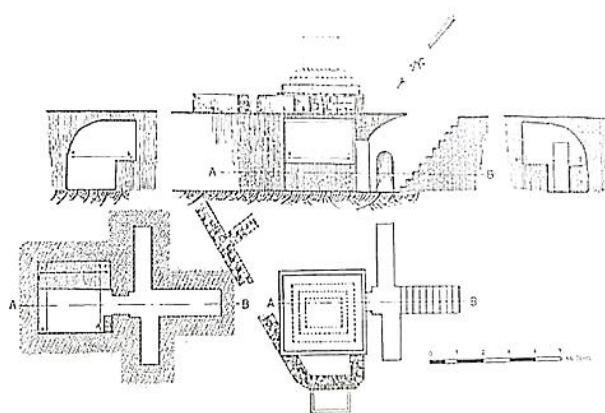


Fig. 140



Fig.141

There is also a *stela* found in Gabbary cemetery could be dated back to the Roman era according to the architectural elements that resembles that of the *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou (Cat.No.57).<sup>441</sup>

Another *stela* from Alexandria represents an old man sitting on a chair. In front of the man, there is a representation of beak of the ibis bird (Cat.No. 58). The location of this *stela* is unknown. Schmidt dated this piece to the first half of the second century BC, as the representation of the seated figures appeared on the *stelae* during the Hellenistic period.<sup>442</sup>

The seated figures on the tombstones are generally rare. We can notice in Cat.No.58, that the representation of the old man in this way indicates his wisdom. Therefore, there is a representation of a beak of the Ibis bird, the symbol of Thoth, the god of wisdom. In Brussels there is a similar *stela* representing an old man sitting on a chair (Fig.142).

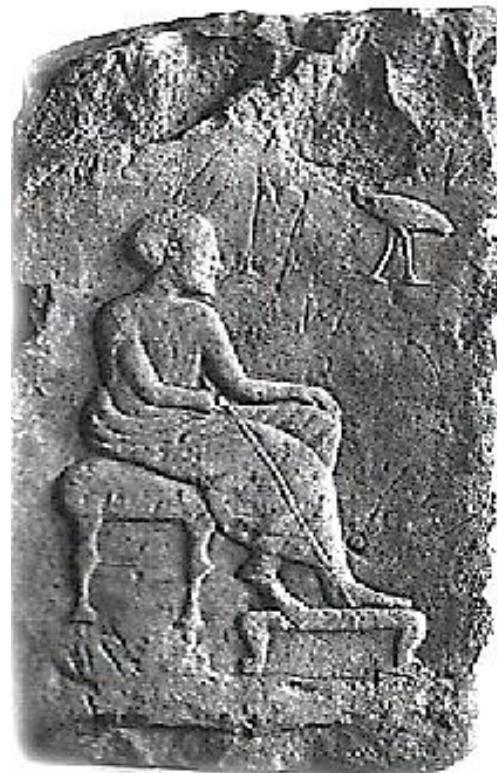


Fig.142

<sup>441</sup> Venit 2002, 152 Abb.134; Schmidt 2003, 106 Taf 23 Kat.Nr. 71

<sup>442</sup> Schmidt 2003, 94 f.

The man has a pointed chin. In front of the man there is a representation of the Ibis bird without a head. The man holds a long stick in his right hand.<sup>443</sup> I think this implies that the Greeks believed in the powers of the Egyptian gods.

## 2. Dating of the Tombstones

Through the excavations that occurred in certain burials in 1935, some coins were found that provide us with archeological evidence for the dating of the *stelae*. Some of these coins were found in the hands of the deceased; others were found beneath the skeleton or on top of the corpse. Many of these coins are defaced as only the name of the Emperor can be read. In other cases, the name of the Emperor was missing, although parts of the design provide us with a clue to the date. Most of these coins date from the reign of Emperor Tacitus (275-276 AD) till that of Constantine I (307-337 AD). Few coins date back to an earlier period, such as that of Claudius Gothicus (268-270 AD), and few date to a later period such as that of Constantine II, who ruled until 340 AD.<sup>444</sup>

It is difficult to give a specific dating for every stele of Kom Abou Bellou. However, many Archaeologists thought that the *stelae* date back to the roman period especially to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>445</sup> This dating can be related to most of the coins that were found in the necropolis of Kom Abou Bellou, which dated back to this age.<sup>446</sup>

I have given specific datings to some *stelae* according to the hairstyle. Some of the figures have hairstyle resembling that common during the reign of Emperor Severus, especially that of a statuette of a lady dating back to the early Severian Period and preserved in the Capitoline Museum, Hall 15 Inv. 636 (Fig.143).<sup>447</sup> The height of the statue without the pedestal is 1.81 cm. the face is well-defined and strong which is obvious at the end of the hair and the edges of the eyes. The hair is parted centrally and arranged in waves, which resembles the hair style of Julia Domna (Fig.144).<sup>448</sup>

However, in the first portrait the hair does not reach to the neck. Therefore, we can say that the hairstyle here is similar to the hairstyle of that found in Kom Abou Bellou (Fig.145) as the face framed by a mass of hair styled in waves on either side of a central parting (Cat.No.12).

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<sup>443</sup> Schmidt 2003, 27 Abb. 28

<sup>444</sup> Hooper 1966,3

<sup>445</sup> El-Sawy 1977,77

<sup>446</sup> Parlasca 1970, 181; Hooper 1961, 3 ; El-Nassery — Wagner 1978, 234; Hooper 1966, 3

<sup>447</sup> Fittschen —Zanker 1983, 97, Taf.168, Nr.141

<sup>448</sup> A. Alexandridis, Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses. Eine Untersuchung ihrer bildlichen Darstellung von Livia bis Iulia Domna (Mainz 2004) 201 Kat. Nr. 223 Taf.49, 2



Fig.143



Fig.144



Fig.145

There are other figures have hairstyle resembling the one that was common in the Flavian period (Fig.146), as the wig is high and expands in the shape of wrinkles forming many braids and it is arranged in curls.<sup>449</sup> We can say that the hairstyle here is similar to the hairstyle of that found in Kom Abou Bellou (Fig.147, Cat.No. 44).



Fig.146

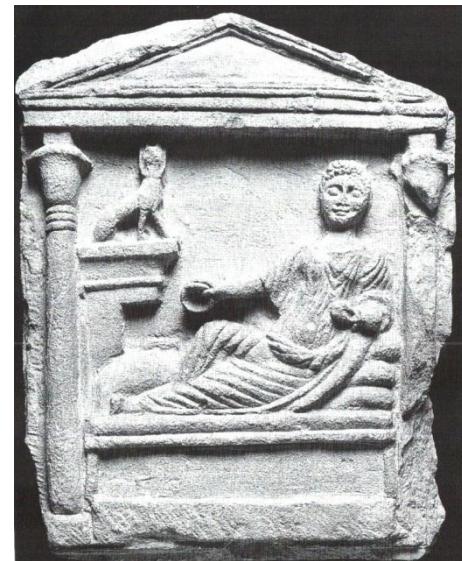


Fig.147

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<sup>449</sup> Fittschen — Zanker 1983, 49-50, Kat.Nr.63 Taf.80.

### 3. Stelae Typology

It is difficult to make a typology for the stelae of Kom Abou Bellou according to the architectural shape because of the mix between the classical and Egyptian elements which produced a unique architectural shape. In this context, one can understand why Hooper mentioned that it is logical to make a typology for the *stelae* according to the representation of the human figures<sup>450</sup>; however, I will make a typology for the *stelae* in the catalogue according to the architectural shape. I have included in my catalogue a number of *stelae*, most of which were not studied in detail before; however, they were published once or twice without adequate description or analysis especially, those which were published by S. El-Nassery and G. Wagner in BIFAO 78.

The *stelae* in the catalogue can be categorized into three types:

1. *Stelae* with an *aedicula* frame: this type can be divided into three subtypes:

A. *Stelae* with a triangular pediment and *akroteria* (Cat.No.1, 22, 23, 25, 26, 41, 42).

I think this shape is similar to the *stelae* of the eastern cities of Greece such as that gray marble *stela* (H.55 W. 30.5 cm) which came from Smyrna. The side is nearly complete, broken oft only at the bottom. The triangular pediment crowned by one central and two side *akroteria*. This *stela* dates back to 150 BC (Fig.148)<sup>451</sup>

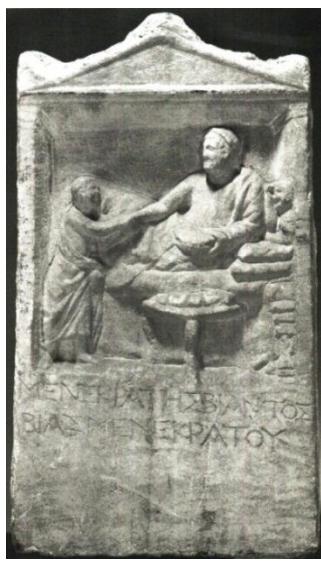


Fig.148

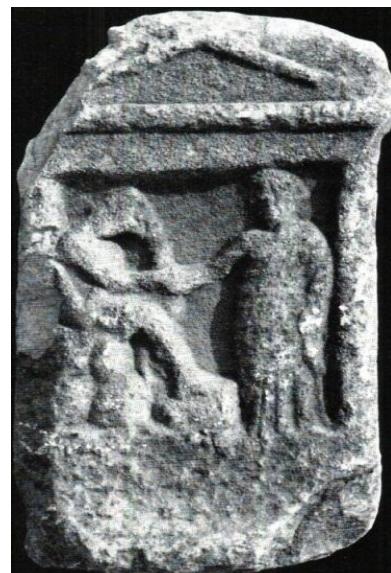


Fig.149

<sup>450</sup> Hooper 1961,8

<sup>451</sup> B.Grossman, Greek Funerary Sculpture: Catalogue of the Collections at the Getty Villa, Getty Publications (Los Angeles 2001) No.42; Pfuhl—Mobius 1979, 378 f. Nr. 1538

B. *Stelae* with a triangular pediment without *akroteria* (Cat.No.2, 5, 12, 29, 32, 38, 44, 45, 49).

This architectural shape used to be shown on the *stelae* of the eastern cities of Greece such as that gray marble stela which came from Ephesus (H.46 W.26). This *stela* dates back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and is preserved in Selcuk Museum Inv. 240 (Fig.149).<sup>452</sup> The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns supporting a triangular pediment.

C. *Stelae* with a rounded pediment without *akroteria* (Cat.No.9, 10, 11, 17, 18, 31, 37, 39, 40, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55).

I agree with Parlasca who mentioned that this type appeared only in Egypt during the Ptolemaic Roman periods.<sup>453</sup> (Fig.150).



Fig.150

The columns on both sides of all Kom Abou Bellou *stelae* of these previous subtypes usually have the Calyx, Corinthian, Papyrus, or Lotus forms.

2. Simple rectangular *Stelae* with a rounded top (Cat.No. 4, 6, 8, 15, 33, 34, 35).

This shape is rare to be found in the Graeco Roman art; however, there is a rounded top stela from Marintepe at Varna, dating back to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and preserved in Varna Museum Inv. III 502 (Fig.151).<sup>454</sup> The frame of this *stela* is similar to the frame of the *stela* No.28 in the catalogue. Despite that, I suggest that this shape is adapted from the Pharaonic art as it appears in many *stelae* such as the rounded-top limestone *stela*, dating back to the Middle Kingdom (Fig.152).<sup>455</sup>

<sup>452</sup> Pfuhl— Möbius1977, 228 No.879

<sup>453</sup> Parlasca 1970, 176

<sup>454</sup> Pfuhl— Möbius 1979, 316, No. 1295

<sup>455</sup> S. Bosticco, Le stele egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno, I (Roma 1959) 51 f. No. 49; The Global Egyptian Museum 2004g, Internet-publication



Fig.151

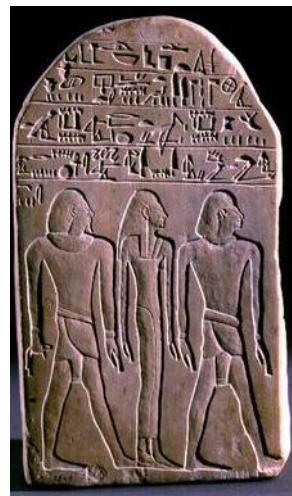


Fig.152

3. Simple rectangular *stelae* without decorative elements (Cat.No.7, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 24, 27, 30).

This simple architectural type used to be shown on the *stelae* of the eastern cities of Greece such as that gray marble rectangular *stela* which comes from Samos (H. 40 W. 20). This *stela* dates back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (Fig.153).<sup>456</sup> The same architectural shape used also to be shown on Egyptian *stelae* such as the rectangular limestone stela, dating back to the Middle Kingdom, and preserved in Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv.95 (Fig.154).<sup>457</sup>



Fig.153



Fig.154

<sup>456</sup> Pfuhl— Möbius 1977, 245 No. 958

<sup>457</sup> Satzinger 1987, 34 ; The Global Egyptian Museum 2004h, Internet-publication

The *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou have small dimensions (rarely over 50 cm). The technique used in most of the *stelae* is the sunken relief. Traces of colors can be seen. Therefore, we can say that the reliefs were originally painted.<sup>458</sup> In all the *stelae*, the figures were represented standing or lying down. Most of the *stelae* have one or two standing figures in the shape of *orans* flanked by two seated or crouched jackals, sometimes a jackal and a falcon. The inscription that accompanied the *orans* figure in some cases praises the conjugal devotion of the deceased and his love to his children.<sup>459</sup> The *stelae* of Alexandria have no columns except for the one (Cat. No. 56) that was decorated with side-columns consisting of composite capitals carrying abacus, surmounted with the architrave and decorated with the winged sun-disc (Cat.No.57).

#### 4. The Representations

The reliefs from the tomb of Kom Abou Bellou are more uniform than those from Alexandria. Those of Kom Abou Bellou are simple and used during the whole Imperial era. The main motives were the reclining people on *klinai* and the people raising their hands upward. The reclining figures can be found in the reliefs from eastern Greece that represent the funerary banquets.<sup>460</sup> The inscriptions of Kom Abou Bellou refer to the dead as "Died before their time". The inscriptions indicate also that the reclining figures refer to married people, as the inscriptions mentioned their love for their children.<sup>461</sup>

##### 4.1. Standing Figures

The representation of the standing figures, precisely those which raise the hands upwards, indicates the Egyptian influence and its mix with the Greek and the Roman civilizations. The figure stands in the center of the *stela*. The arms extend at the right angles of the body and are bent at the elbow with the forearms held upward in the *orans* position. The palms are generally turned to the front, but sometimes turn outward.<sup>462</sup>

There are four explanations for this type of figures: the first explanation and the most convincing one, in my point of view: these figures are adapted from the Pharaonic art that refer to the prayer or the happiness after passing the judgment of the deceased.

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<sup>458</sup> Vitali 1987, 246

<sup>459</sup> Vitali 1987, 247

<sup>460</sup> Schmidt 2003,76

<sup>461</sup> Schmidt 2003,76

<sup>462</sup> Hooper 1961, 8

The funerary procession through the Netherworld ends with the Osirian judgment of the deceased. The deceased had to be judged for his deeds in a divine judgment headed by Osiris. In the past this judgment was headed by Re.<sup>463</sup> This judgment was described in Chapter 30 and 125 of the book of the dead starting from the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty. The concept of this judgment had a great appeal starting from the New Kingdom. The ancient Egyptian knew that only few numbers of people would pass this judgment without guilt. Therefore, the rest of the people should be forgiven by the gods.<sup>464</sup> If the feather was found to be heavy, the deceased would be transformed into a god in the Netherworld. If the pans were equal, the deceased would serve Osiris-Soker in the Netherworld.<sup>465</sup> It is noticeable that the last case is usually represented in the Pharaonic scenes, as it characterized the greatest wish of the deceased.

At the beginning, the deceased had to declare his innocence, confirming that all he did was not against the rules and the instructions of Maat. Sometimes this confession was called “the negative confession.”<sup>466</sup>

Then, the deceased went to the forty-two judges to mention each one by his name, and defend himself from all guilt. The negative confession of the scribe Ani that was mentioned in his papyrus is considered the most famous one.<sup>467</sup>

Was the punishment limited only to the heart that was swallowed by Amam? Actually, there were also other punishments that were mentioned which were not related to the heart but rather to the body. Among these punishments are cutting the heads, tying the guilty to pillars in the presence of the guards, and placing the guilty in lakes and holes of fire. There were also punishments to the souls (*bA*) and the shadows (*shwt*), as they were placed in a fire cauldron.<sup>468</sup>

This judgment ceremony continued during the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods, and became stronger especially the idea of the punishment after death according to the behaviour during life. This is confirmed by the story of Satni that was written in a Demotic papyrus dated back to the first century AD. This story offers an accurate description to the world of the dead and the gods who lived there.

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<sup>463</sup> Seeber 1976 ,120

<sup>464</sup> Dunand —Zivie-Coche 1991, 183ff

<sup>465</sup> S.G.J. Quirke, Judgment of Dead, in: The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Vol.2 ( Oxford 2001) 211

<sup>466</sup> Dunand — Zivie-Coche 1991, 183 ff

<sup>467</sup> W.Budge, The Papyrus of Ani (New York 1960) 314

<sup>468</sup> Hornung 1968, 18 ff.

We can read: “they entered the fourth hall where Satni saw people made robes while there were donkeys eating behind them. Others with water and food and bread hanged above them, but when they stand to catch them, they couldn’t because others grabbed the earth upon which they stand with a shovel”. Satni continues his description saying: “then, they entered the fifth hall where Satni saw the noble souls in an isolated place while the people with sins stood at the door pegging. The pillar of the door of this hall was put in the right eye of a man who was pegging and screaming. They entered the seventh hall where they saw the great god Osiris sitting on a golden throne wearing the *atef* crown, while the great god Anubis stands on his left and the great god Thoth on his right. The gods of the Amente people stands on his right and left sides. The scale was placed in the middle before him. The great god Thoth was writing and Anubis announcing the result.”<sup>469</sup>

Then, Satni saw a rich man while he was being buried in a great ceremony accompanied by lot of mourners. He found him guilty in the judgment because of his bad deeds in life. He was the man that stood at the door while the pillar was placed in his eye. On the other hand there was a poor man who was buried wrapped in a mat with no mourners. He saw him wearing a royal linen cloth and accompanied by Osiris because of his good deeds in life.<sup>470</sup>

The inscriptions of Petosiris tomb at Tuna-el-Gebel state the following:

“The *Amente* is the place for those who didn’t commit sins. Hail to those who reached there where there is no difference between the poor and the rich during the judgment in front of the god of eternity.”<sup>471</sup>

On a painting on the eastern wall of the tomb of Petosiris at El-Mezawaqa, Dakhla Oasis, dated back to the late first and the early second centuries AD,<sup>472</sup> Petosiris is represented in a human form at the top of the scene raising the hands upwards, while being lead to the court by Maat. He got a pink body, yellow wig, yellow clothes, and dark grey belt. The goddess Maat got green body and head, grey wig, red clothes, and a green feather. Osiris is represented enthroned. His head and feet are colored green, while the wrapping of the body is red. He holds a green *was* scepter, and yellow *ankh*, flail, and *hka* scepter. He is crowned with grey horns, yellow cobras, a sun disc, and green feathers. The Amam beast is represented in front of Osiris with a yellow body and red legs. It is crowned with green feathers. There is a representation of a fire cauldron which is considered the first time that this cauldron appears

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<sup>469</sup> Dunand —Zivie-Coche 1991, 313

<sup>470</sup> Dunand —Zivie-Coche 1991, 313.

<sup>471</sup> Dunand —Zivie-Coche 1991, 313.

<sup>472</sup> Osing 1982, 68

in the judgment scene as sort of punishment. Thoth appears behind the Amam beast with green body, brown head, red wig, and yellow clothes. He is crowned with grey horns, a red sun disc, yellow feathers, and green feathers. Horus and Anubis are represented behind Thoth doing the weighting. Horus is represented with red body, wearing a green wig, and yellow clothes, while Anubis is represented with dark grey head, wearing a red wig, and yellow clothes. Petosiris is represented in front of Anubis in the shape of a *ba* bird with pink head, green wig, red wings, yellow feathers, and dark grey feet (Fig.155).<sup>473</sup>

On a shroud dating back to the roman period, we can see the deceased represented raising the hands upwards, being lead to the court by Anubis (Fig.156) .<sup>474</sup>



Fig.155

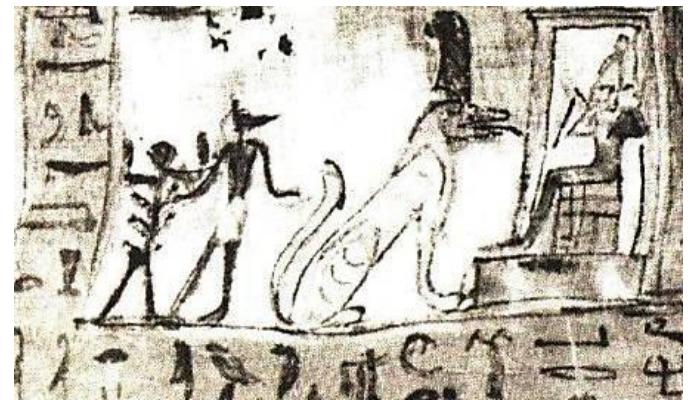


Fig.156

The tomb of Bakenrenef at Saqqara suffered from damage as the shafts and galleries of the various periods were stolen. However, the thieves were more interested in gold and jewels than they were with the canopic vases, the Ushabti, and the wooden statuettes. Therefore, the Mission of the University of Pisa discovered many hundreds of finds from different periods (wooden masks, mummy bandages inscribed with "The book of the Dead", and amulets).<sup>475</sup>

<sup>473</sup> Osing 1982, 86 Taf. 31,1

<sup>474</sup> Kurth 2010,77 Abb.5

<sup>475</sup> Bresciani 1996, 31

Among these finds, there are two large painted shrouds and funerary fragments. On one of these fragments there is a representation of the judgment of the dead. Here, the deceased is represented with his hands raised upwards while being lead to the court of Maat. (Fig.157).<sup>476</sup>

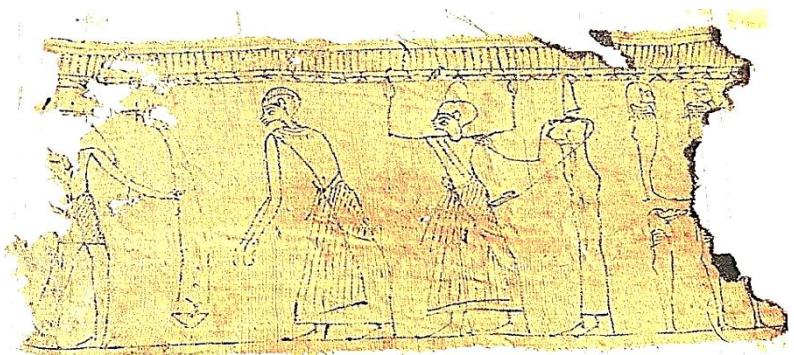


Fig.157

On another shroud dating back to the Roman period, we can see the deceased represented raising the hands upwards, being led by Anubis and the goddess Maat. The rest of the scene represents the ritual of judgment of the dead (Fig.158).<sup>477</sup>

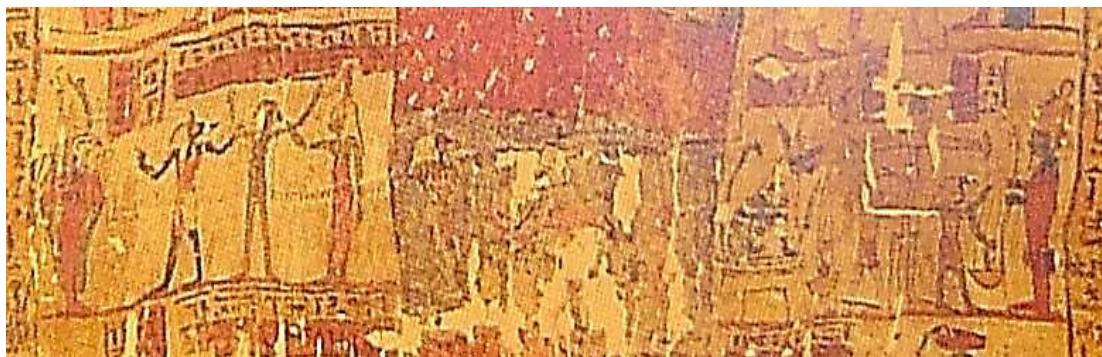


Fig.158

These scenes confirm the relation between that gesture and passing the judgment of the dead successfully, as this gesture was a symbol of happiness in the Pharaonic period (Fig.159).<sup>478</sup>

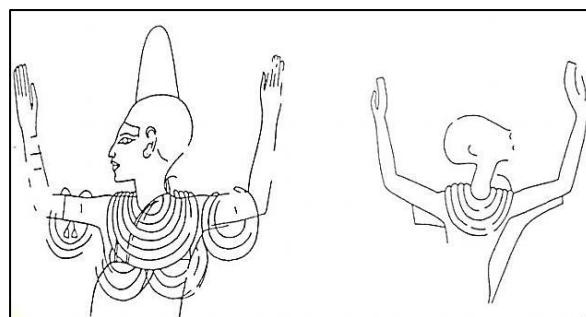


Fig.159

<sup>476</sup> Bresciani 1996, 31 Fig.29

<sup>477</sup> Kurth 2010, 18 Abb.1

<sup>478</sup> B. Dominicus, Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 10 (Heidelberg 1994) 59

The second explanation: This shape could also refer to the hieroglyphic sign *Ka* that symbolizes one of the elements of the human body that leaves the body after death but remains within the Netherworld. We see this in one of the statue of the king Au-ib-Ra Hor from the 13<sup>th</sup> dynasty (Fig.160).<sup>479</sup> However, the representation of the hands here is different from the representation of the hands on Kom Abou Bellou *stelae*.



Fig.160



Fig.161

The third explanation: these figures could be adapted from the Roman art as they can refer to the *pietas* or the prayer in early Christianity. This scene of *orans* was represented on a wide scale on the sarcophagi in Rome during the imperial period as a symbol of *pietas* (Fig.161).<sup>480</sup> “For the art historian, the form of prayer with outstretched arms so frequently described in the acta appears in iconography as the *orans* or *orant*, a figure dominant in Greco-Roman art before its adoption by Christians in the late antique period.”<sup>481</sup> It is related to the Roman tradition, as it symbolizes the piety and purity, regardless of the age of the deceased. The representation of the *orans* refers to the shape of a prayer as symbolizing a celestial accession of a solar type.<sup>482</sup> Parlasca and Walker describe the position of the standing figure as being an *orans*.<sup>483</sup> However, the early existence of Kom Abou Bellou *stelae* makes this explanation weak.<sup>484</sup>

<sup>479</sup> J. Assmann , Der Ka als Double, in: Das Double (Wiesbaden 2006) 215.

<sup>480</sup> T. Klauser, Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst III, JbAC Bd. 3, Münster 1960, 112 Taf.7, b

<sup>481</sup> C. R. Moss, The Other Christs : Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom, Oxford University Press (2010) 63

<sup>482</sup> Vitali 1987, 248

<sup>483</sup> Parlasca 1970, 179; Walker — Bierbrier 1997, 151.

<sup>484</sup> Schmidt 2003, 51

The fourth explanation: these figures could be adapted from the Minoan art because there are terracotta figures of a goddess with upraised arms from Gazi dating back to 1200-1100 BC (Fig.162).<sup>485</sup>



Fig.162



Fig.163

But we can assume that these figures reflect the Egyptian influence on the Minoan civilization as we can see the Egyptian goddess Nut, goddess of the sky, depicted on the coffins raising her arms up till the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (Fig.163).<sup>486</sup>

The standing figures of Kom Abou Bellou wear Ionic *chiton* with folds and vertical lines. The sleeves are usually short, and sometimes extend to the elbow. Rarely, we can see the figure wearing the *Himation* over the *chiton* that used to be draped as follows: one end is thrown over the left shoulder, usually from behind, and the rest of the garment is then brought across the back, under the right arm, across the chest, and finally over the left shoulder.<sup>487</sup> Most of the standing figures are represented in a frontal position till the waist, while the rest of the body in profile. In some *stelae*, the right foot appear in profile while the left in frontal (Cat.No.2, 4, 6, 8,9,13,16,17,18,25,29). In other *stelae*, both feet are represented either frontally (Cat.No.1, 3,5,10, 11,12,22,26) or in profile (Cat.Nos.7, 12, 14,15, 19,20,21, 23, 24, 27,28).

<sup>485</sup> S. L. Budin, *The ancient Greeks : An introduction* (New York 2009) 234 Fig.8.5

<sup>486</sup> Walker — Bierbrier 1997, 150 Fig. 166

<sup>487</sup> Hooper 1961, 8

On some *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou, curved shapes represented above the head of the standing figure can be observed (Cat.Nos.1,8,18). There is no similar shape in the Graeco Roman *stelae*, so, it can be assumed that it is a symbol of the Egyptian goddess Nut that used to be represented in this shape (Fig.164).<sup>488</sup>

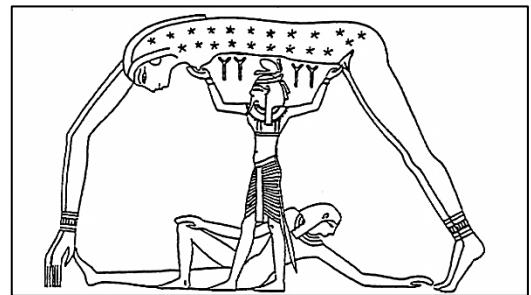


Fig.164

The goddess Nut was the mother of the gods Osiris, Seth, Isis, and Nephthys. The Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts, the Underworld Books, and the Book of the Dead from the New Kingdom, as well as the mythological papyri from the Third Intermediate Period all emphasize her close relation to Osiris.<sup>489</sup> The imagery is potent and persistent. Nut fills a role significant for the deceased sovereign, albeit for his afterlife.<sup>490</sup>

#### 4.2. Reclining Figures

The most popular representations on the *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou are these of the people who lie down or recline on a *kline*. According to Schmidt, this representation is adapted from the scene of the funerary banquets that used to be represented on the *stelae* of the eastern cities of Greece, precisely Samos, as the representation of the rounded table with three feet that end with the shape of the lion's paw was common there.<sup>491</sup> We can see those three feet that end with the shape of lions paw on some *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou (Fig.165).<sup>492</sup>

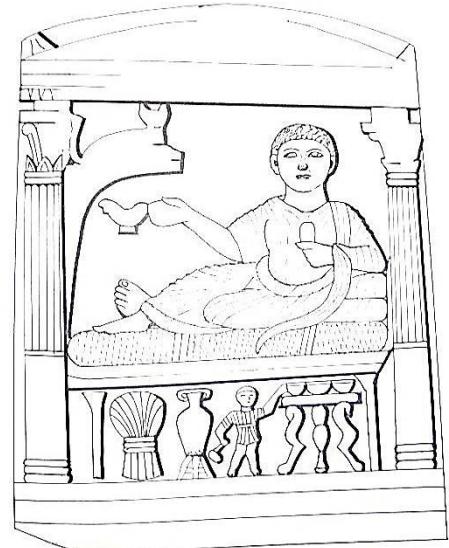


Fig .165

<sup>488</sup> J. E. Wright, The Early History of Heaven, Oxford University Press (Oxford 1999) 9 Fig.1.2

<sup>489</sup> Moon— Benard 2000, 226

<sup>490</sup> Moon— Benard 2000, 226

<sup>491</sup> Schmidt 2003, 49 Abb.45

<sup>492</sup> Hawass 1979, 79 Fig. 2

On one of the Egyptian *stelae* preserved in the Louvre Museum (Fig.166), there are two shapes that were only known in the *stelae* of Samos<sup>493</sup>: the reclining man that holds the *Cantharus* with his two hands, and the little boy, the waiter (Fig.167).<sup>494</sup>

The scenes that are depicted on the *stelae*, especially those that represent persons reclining on *kline*, resemble those that represent the Symposium that was common in the Hellenistic world. In the Symposium we can see persons reclining on *kline* and drinking wine, in addition to the existence of food.<sup>495</sup>



Fig.166



Fig.167

The influences of the art of the eastern Greek cities appeared also on one of the *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou that is preserved in Tübingen (Fig.168). It is made of local limestone and dates back to the end of the Hellenistic period. We can see here a man and a child reclining together on the *kline* and waited on by a little waitress.<sup>496</sup> The similar representation appeared on a *stela* from Samos (Fig.169).<sup>497</sup>

<sup>493</sup> Schmidt 2003, 49

<sup>494</sup> Schmidt 2003, 49 Abb.46 ; J. Fabricius, Die hellenistischen Totenmahlreliefs : Grabrepräsentation und Wertvorstellungen in ostgriechischen Städten , Studien zur antiken Stadt 3 (München 1999) Taf.7,b

<sup>495</sup> H. Matthäus, The Greek Symposium and the Near East. Chronology and Mechanisms of Cultural Transfer, in: F.Roald Docter and Eric M. Moormann (eds.), Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, July 12-17 (Amsterdam 1998) 256 f.

<sup>496</sup> Schmidt 2003, 49 f. Abb. 47

<sup>497</sup> Schmidt 2003, 51 Abb. 48

We can notice also on the *stela* of Tübingen a shape of a falcon surmounted with the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Schmidt supposes that this type of *stelae* continued to exist in Egypt till the Roman era.<sup>498</sup>

There are many *stelae* representing the scene of the funerary banquet (Cat.Nos.30, 33, 34). The scene usually represents a person reclining on a *kline*, while resting the left elbow on two cushions and holding in one hand a garland and a cup in the other hand.. Between the legs of the bed there is a representation of ritual objects or inscriptions. Beside the deceased there could be a representation of a jackal or a falcon.<sup>499</sup>



Fig.168



Fig.169

The scene of the banquet appeared in Greece at the end of the VII century on Corinthian vases, and continued till VI century in many reliefs that could be distinguished in two groups: votive (Heroes relief) between the VI and the III century BC, and funerary meal relief commonly between the III century BC till the late Roman period.<sup>500</sup>

<sup>498</sup> Schmidt 2003, 49 ff.

<sup>499</sup> Vitali 1987, 250

<sup>500</sup> Vitali 1987, 250 f.

Parlasca thinks that the deceased who is reclining on the *kline* of Kom Abou Bellou *stelae* while holding a cup in his hand, resembles the motive that was in the sixth century BC that show a kind of warning for the living not to forget to offer libations to the dead.<sup>501</sup>

In most cases, we can see on the table two drinking vessels and two cups or bowls. Beside the table there are an amphora and a bouquet of flowers in a vase. All of these items are related to the funeral meals. The figure holds in his hand a garland that means happiness after the judgment.<sup>502</sup>



Fig. 170

We can see this garland also in many representations of mummy portraits from El-Fayoum dating back to 50-70 AD such as a painted and gilded cartonnage mask of a woman named Aphrodite daughter of Didas, preserved in the British Museum Inv. EA 69020 (Fig. 170).<sup>503</sup>

The banquet scene is placed in front of the couch on which the central figure is reclining. The scene is Greek in character and complementary to the reclining figure, but the subject is not inconsistent with the Egyptian tradition.<sup>504</sup>

In Egypt, the funerary banquet appeared at the end of the Hellenistic period on a series of *stelae* where we can see the person lying down with a lady at his feet. In front of the *kline* there is an offering table. These *stelae* could be the origin of the banquet reliefs of Kom Abou Bellou. Therefore, we can say that the Greek influence appeared in the representation of the banquet while the Egyptian influence can be seen in the representations of the jackal and the falcon. There are also the representations of the traditional table in ancient Egypt with a bunch of wheat, and an amphora. These last elements probably relate to the ancient belief that the soul of the deceased needs the offering of food to maintain its existence into eternity.<sup>505</sup> The Egyptian tradition can be seen in the presentation of food offerings at the place of burial. In Egyptian graves, which date back to the pre-historic period, remains of dishes and jugs used in offerings were found. Later, the food used to be placed before the niches of the brick built mounds, before the false door inside the tomb chapel. The representation of food offerings on the stele itself may be observed consistently from the earliest examples onward.<sup>506</sup>

<sup>501</sup> Parlasca 1970, 176

<sup>502</sup> Parlasca 1970, 177

<sup>503</sup> Walker — Bierbrier 1997, 81 Fig.59

<sup>504</sup> Hooper 1961, 21

<sup>505</sup> Vitali 1987, 251

<sup>506</sup> Hooper 1961, 21

The representation of a figure in the attitude of sacrifice is the theme of some *stelae*. In this case, the person appeared standing near an altar while burning incense or pouring a libation (Cat.Nos.10, 11, 12). As for the deceased, he used to be shown reclining, with one arm outstretched while holding a cup or standing with one hand holding a patera over an altar to offer a libation or sprinkling incense. The scene of sprinkling the incense over an altar was a design frequently used on coins of that period. Hooper mentioned that the small altars shown on the *stelae* are similar to examples in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, which, although recovered from other areas, are certainly of the same type as those depicted by the stonecutters in this locality.<sup>507</sup>

Religious rituals were a familiar theme in the Greek art in the Archaic and the Hellenistic period. These Greek models were adapted to the ritual of the Roman cult. We found generally the official procession where the faithful servants participated in the scene of sacrifice to propitiate or thank the gods. The presentation of such theme on a funerary monument indicated the piety and the devotion of the deceased to the god. The reliefs from Kom Abou Bellou represent the shape of an altar that was used in ancient Egypt as an altar of libation, fire, or simply related to the offering table. The common characteristics in all the *stelae* are the representation of the person in a frontal side, and the presence of an architectural structure. The reclining figure used to hold a cup or dish in his right hand as offering a libation.<sup>508</sup>

#### **4.3. Sacred Animals**

The deceased is represented on the *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou flanked by two jackals or a jackal and a falcon. The representation of these sacred animals on *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou are different from that of the Pharaonic period as we see the ribs of the jackal are clearly shown as an unusual detail (Cat.No. 27). Their tails are unusually short. In addition, most of the reliefs of Kom Abou Bellou represent the sacred animals in front way especially the head which is different from that of pharaonic period that represent the sacred animals in profile. The jackal usually represented in the pharaonic period as reclining jackal but in reliefs of Kom Abou Bellou the jackal is represented in different positions reclining, sitting an standing that reflect the classical influence.

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<sup>507</sup> Hooper 1961, 21

<sup>508</sup> Vitali 1987, 252

On most of the *stelae*, the jackal and falcon are represented on pedestals or shelves; however, there are some *stelae* where the jackal and falcon are depicted on the ground line. Hooper mentioned that the falcon is never represented alone, but always paired with a jackal;<sup>509</sup> however, on one of the *stelae* of the catalogue, the falcon appeared alone (Cat.No. 2).

One needs to ask, why the jackal, the falcon, and the ibis were represented beside the deceased on tombstones?

I think that the reason could be due to the important role the funerary rituals play in the Egyptian religion in helping the deceased to pass the difficulties of the Underworld in peace. Anubis was the god of the mummification, and there are many representations of this ritual dating back to the Graeco-Roman period, but one of the most important of these is the scene of the mummification in the Catacomb of Kom el- Shougafa in Alexandria. It was represented in a raised relief in the main burial chamber in the Catacomb that dated back to the middle of the first century AD.

On the middle sarcophagus, there is a representation of a mummy in the Osirian form lying on a funerary bed with the shape of a lion. The front side of the funerary sarcophagus took the shape of a lioness surmounted with the Osirian crown (the *atef* crown), the sun disc and the Maat feather.<sup>510</sup> Anubis stands behind the funerary bed wearing Roman clothes and crowned with the sun disc flanked with two cobras. He holds in his left hand the natron jar flanked by two cobras. The right hand is placed over the mummy. Thoth stands at the head of the bed surmounted with a crown similar to the *atef* crown and wears a military Roman cloth. He holds in his left hand the *was* scepter, the *ankh* sign, and two another crossed objects that could be the lotus flower. He holds in his right hand a jar that probably contains the sacred Nile water. Horus stands at the end of the bed surmounted with the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. He holds in his right hand the *was* scepter, and in his left hand a jar contains a plant that could be a symbol of the Osirian resurrection (Fig. 171).<sup>511</sup>

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<sup>509</sup> Hooper 1961, 23

<sup>510</sup> Adriani 1966, 176

<sup>511</sup> A. Rowe, Kom el-Shukafa : in the Light of the Excavations of the Graeco-Roman Museum during the Season 1941-1942 (Alexandria 1942) 20 Pl.V; Corbelli 2006, 25 Fig.15



Fig.171



Fig.172

They played also an important role in judgment of the deceased as we see in scene on the western wall of a tomb at Akhmim that dates back to the second century AD. The scene here is considered unique and the most important judgment scene in the Roman period. Anubis and Horus are represented carrying the crossbar of the scale with one hand and holding the scale's pan in the other. A black human skeleton is represented between the gods (Fig.172).<sup>512</sup>

The existence of four skeletons in this scene refers to the Graeco-Roman influence. If we compare these skeletons with the purification scene in house 21 at Tuna el-Gebel where there is a representation of a black *ka*, we can say that

this type of art appeared also at Tuna El-Gebel (Fig.173)<sup>513</sup>. Bissing thought that the scene of Akhmim is a sort of the unusual Pharaonic scenes.<sup>514</sup> The same creature appeared in black color in the tomb of Seti I. according to the inscription that accompanied the scene, it was defined as being the ghost of the deceased (Fig.174).<sup>515</sup>

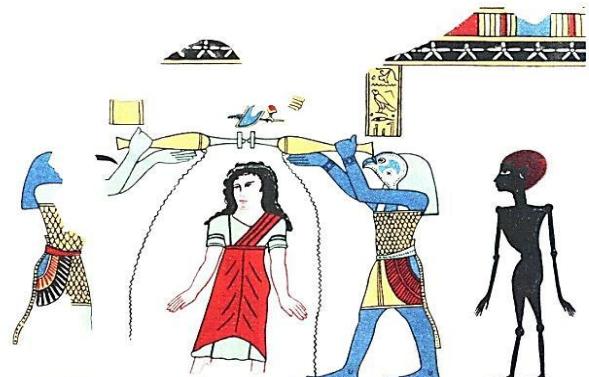


Fig.173

These black shapes appeared also on a coffin dating back to the Roman period accompanying the Amam beast that appears to be ready to swallow these three black shapes (Fig.175).<sup>516</sup>

<sup>512</sup> Bissing 1950, 570 Pl.I

<sup>513</sup> Gabra 1971, 96; Corbelli 2006, 28 Fig.27

<sup>514</sup> Bissing 1949, 2

<sup>515</sup> Bissing 1950, 270

<sup>516</sup> Ch. Seeber, Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Aegypten (Berlin 1976) 171 Fig.69

At the end of the judgment scene of Akhmim there is a representation of a skeleton inside a pot or fire cauldron. This confirms that punishment in fire was a common concept in the Egyptian funerary belief.



Fig.174



Fig.175

The fire cauldron appeared in the judgement during the Roman period in the tomb of Petosiris at Dakhla Oasis, and also in this scene of Akhmim (Fig.172). Others thought that the fire in the Akhmim scene is not a fire cauldron but a fire lake<sup>517</sup> because, according to the Egyptian funerary belief, the monster that swallows the deceased sleeps beside the fire lake, and at the corners sit the four monkeys. Moreover, it was in the fire lake that the remains of those who were judged in the court of Osiris were found.

There is a scene from El-Baharia Oasis, dating back to the Roman period.<sup>518</sup> If we compare this scene with the previous scenes containing the shapes of skeletons and shadows, we could say that this scene dated back between the middle of the second and the middle of the third century AD. In this scene, we can see below the scale two persons; one wears Greek clothes while the other looks like a skeleton. The scene is partly destroyed. However, we can notice the existence of two gods flanking the scale. This shape appeared only during the Roman period. Thoth is represented enthroned and recording the result. This is also a new representation of Thoth who used to be represented standing. Behind him, there is the Amam beast that looks here like a wild dog. A person, who could be Maat, is represented holding a human shape by hand.

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<sup>517</sup> Bissing 1950, 273

<sup>518</sup> Breccia 1970, 59, Pl.LVIII

The scale holds two shapes or pyramidal shapes that could be weights. The way of representation of the deceased below the scale could be also similar to that of the figures from Kom Abou Bellou. The representation refers to the happiness of the deceased at passing the judgment successfully (Fig.176).<sup>519</sup>

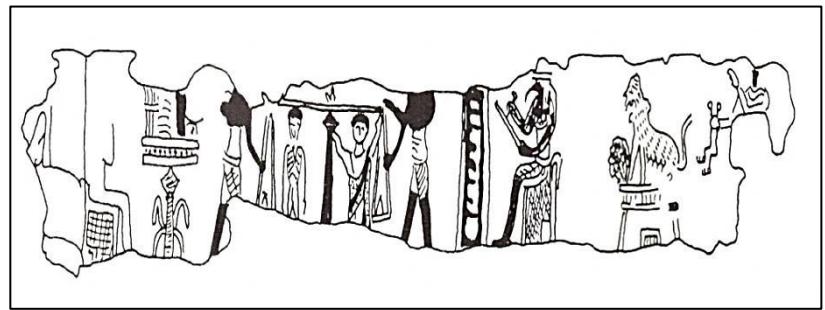


Fig.176

In the Roman tomb of Akhmim, we can see another scene depicting the deceased raising his arm up in front of the god Horus, while a woman is having sex with the god Anubis atop a Graeco-Roman style *kline* (Fig.177).<sup>520</sup> This scene is depicted beside the aforementioned scene of the judgment (Fig.172).



Fig.177

A unique representation of the deceased judgment can be seen on a coffin of a man dating back to the second century AD from Meir (Fig.178).<sup>521</sup> It seems that the second century AD carried great development in the funerary representations.

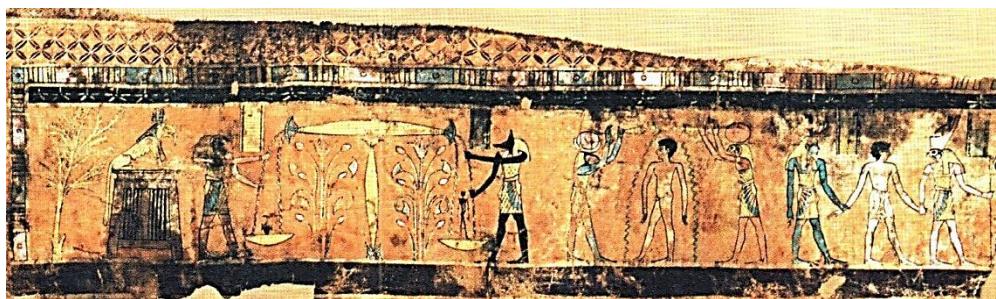


Fig.178

<sup>519</sup> Abd el-Al a. o. 1985, 84 Fig. 2.

<sup>520</sup> D. Klotz, The Lecherous Pseudo-Anubis of Josephus and the ‘Tomb of 1897’ at Akhmim, in: A. Gasse—Fr. Servajean—Chr. Thiers (eds.), CENiM 5 : Et in Ægypto et ad Ægyptum, Recueil d’études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier, CENiM, Vol. 2 (Montpellier 2012) 386 Fig.1

<sup>521</sup> Parlasca — Seemann 1999, 310 Taf. 206,e

On the left there is the Amam beast that looks here like a dog rather than a hippopotamus. It stands on a *naos*. Horus and Anubis are doing the weighing on the sides of the scale and not beneath it. Beneath the crossbar of the scale, we can see two trees that could be symbolic of paradise. In the left pan of the scale, there is the shape of a heart; however, it is strange to find in the other pan a black shape resembling a shadow rather than a skeleton. The shape is similar to the one found in the tomb of Seti I. This could indicate that the concept of judging the shadows began to be done during the Roman period. The black shape could also be interpreted as being one of the black mummies that started to appear commonly during the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods.

There are many scenes representing the ritual of presenting the deceased to Osiris which was part of the ritual of the judgment during the Pharaonic period. There are many representations from the roman period related to this ritual. In these representations, we can see the deceased accompanied by Anubis which, in turn, is represented in a Jackal-headed form. The scene represented in the tempera technique on a coffin from Saqqara, dating back to the middle of the second century AD, is a case in point (Fig.179).<sup>522</sup>

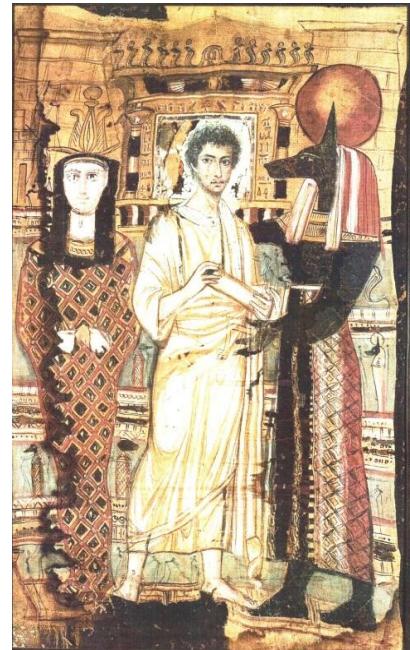


Fig.179

The deceased is represented in a Greek way either in the clothes or in the frontal position of the body. He holds a scroll of papyrus which could be the innocence declaration that was written by Thoth during the judgment. A renovation occurred also in the representation of Osiris, as he is not represented in the common profile way and didn't carry the Pharaonic features. The face of Osiris resembles that of the deceased, relating to the funerary concept that declares that the deceased is Osiris. This means that the religious concept started to be represented in the scenes during the Roman period. Anubis is represented in profile, surmounted with the sun-disc, and holds the deceased from the back side as if he is protecting him. He also holds the keys of the Netherworld, which is considered a Greek influence as these keys refer to the keys of Hades.

Osiris is thought to be crowned with the double crown; however, I think that he is crowned with the *atef* that is accompanied by the ram's horns. Kakosy represented a diagram of this coffin to declare the concept of judging the souls which is originally a Greek concept and then

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<sup>522</sup> Parlasca 1966 ,Taf.35, 1 ; Regen 2012, 631

started to be represented in Egypt during the Roman period. He confirms that this scene followed the judgment scene. He refers that the spirits are represented on this coffin in the shape of black shadows accompanying the deceased in his steps towards the Netherworld. The background of the scene takes that shape of an entrance of an Egyptian temple.<sup>523</sup>

Another scene is represented by the tempera technique on a coffin from Saqqara, dating back to 140-180 AD. The scene here resembles the same previous two scenes except that the deceased holds something in his left hand that could be bunch of wheat or a garland.<sup>524</sup> The deceased wears a white tunic covered by a white mantle. He got brown hair with rounded eyes. Anubis continued to be represented in profile with black color. Osiris is represented in a frontal way and resembling the deceased. The deceased is represented with bared feet and stands on a stone base which is considered a Greek influence. The three shapes (the deceased, Anubis, and Osiris) stand inside a boat (Fig.180).<sup>525</sup>



Fig.180

In another scene represented on a coffin from the same previous place dating back to the same previous period,<sup>526</sup> the female deceased is represented accompanied by a child that could be her son being presented to Osiris. We can notice that each of the deceased, the child, and Osiris are represented in a frontal way. Osiris is represented in a normal human shape, however, he continues holding his emblems. Everything in this scene is coloured white except Anubis who is coloured black. Behind Anubis there is the sun-disc. Anubis continued to be represented embracing the deceased from the backside. At the left top side of the scene there is a person raising his hand as if he is saying farewell to the family. The black shapes continued to be represented as referring to the souls (Fig.181).<sup>527</sup>

<sup>523</sup> Kakosy 1971, 95 ff

<sup>524</sup> Walker—Bierbrier 1997,110 Fig.105; Regen 2012, 633

<sup>525</sup> Walker—Bierbrier 1997,110 ; Doxiadis 1995, 187 Fig.13

<sup>526</sup> Regen 2012, 635

<sup>527</sup> Parlasca —Seemann 1999, 246 Taf.153

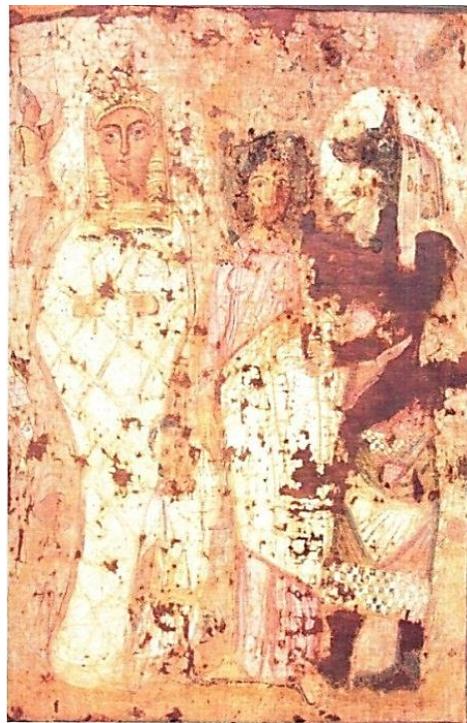


Fig.181

There are also many representations on *stelae* from Abydos showing the deceased accompanied by Anubis and being presented by him to Osiris.

One of these *stelae* which was dated back to the Roman period carries the shape of the sky sign (*pt*). The mummy is represented laying on a papyrus-shaped boat referring to the journey of the deceased to the Netherworld. Over the mummy there is a bird with a human face referring to the soul. This confirms that the souls also crossed to the Netherworld. In the central scene there is Anubis presenting the deceased to Osiris.

The deceased is represented in a frontal way that carries the Greek influence. He raises his right hand as it is common in the *stelae* from Kom Abou Bellou that date back to the same period. Before him there is an offering table surmounted with a large amount of food and surrounded with the lotus flower. Behind Osiris there is the shape of Isis (Fig. 182).<sup>528</sup>



Fig.182

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<sup>528</sup> Abdalla 1992, 37 Pl.26.c

Another scene depicted on a *stela* from Abydos dating back to the Roman period. The upper part carries the shape of the sky sign (*Pt*). The main scene represents Anubis in profile wearing a short kilt and presenting two women to Osiris. The women are represented in a frontal way, wearing Greek clothes that consist of a tunic covered by a mantle. Osiris is represented standing and crowned with the *atef*. The upper part of the *stela* is in raised-relief while the main part is in sunk-relief (Fig. 183).<sup>529</sup>

There is another representation for the jackal in the Tigran tomb in Alexandria which was found in 1952 in the Tigran street (currently known as Port Said street), located in the area of the eastern necropolis of Alexandria. It was discovered by chance during establishing a building. Therefore, decided decision was taken to move this tomb to the garden of the tomb of Kom el-Shouqafa.

This tomb was built underground, and was reached by a staircase that leads to a decorated room with *loculi*. In one of the scenes, we can see the deceased standing in a frontal way and wearing a short cloth with rhombic patterns.



Fig.183

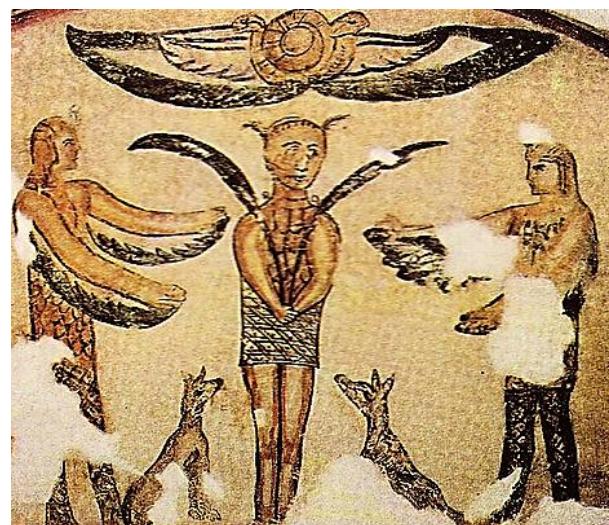


Fig.184

<sup>529</sup> Abdalla 1992, 39 Pl.28,b

The chest is naked. The deceased is bald with horns. He holds two feathers or palm leaves. This scene could represent Osiris in the shape of a mummy, as the rhombic pattern was used in the mummification bandages during the Graeco-Roman period. He is flanked by Isis and Nephtys that stretch their wings for protection. At the feet of the deceased, there are two jackals. Behind the deceased there is a representation of the winged sun-disc (Fig.184).<sup>530</sup> This scene confirms the concept that the Graeco-Roman society believed in the powers of the Egyptian gods and their sacred animals.

The painted shrouds that used for wrapping the mummy appeared in the period between the end of the Ptolemaic epoch and the II - IV century of the Vulgar age. The jackal appeared on the Roman shrouds beside the legs of the deceased in a position similar to that of most sacred animals on *stelae* of Kom Abou Belou. This can be noticed in the mummy of Thebes that was wrapped in decorated cloth (Fig.185).<sup>531</sup>

Another Scene depicted on the lower part of a panel carries the personal image of a mummy from Thebes dating back to the reign of Trajan (Fig.186).<sup>532</sup> Anubis is depicted in a caricatured way holding in his left hand a jar as he slightly bends head down. The mummy was represented as if it still alive with eyes wide open. The head is surmounted with the cobra. The bandages have lozenges shapes. The funerary bed takes the shape of a lion surmounted with the sun disc instead of the Osirian crown. On both sides of the sarcophagus, there are two jars which could be related to the Canopic jars. There are also two goddesses which could be Isis and Nephtys, surmounted with the sun disc. Both of the goddesses hold Anubis who sits with keys around his neck. Grimm mentioned that these keys are considered a Greek influence as they refer to the keys of Hades.<sup>533</sup>

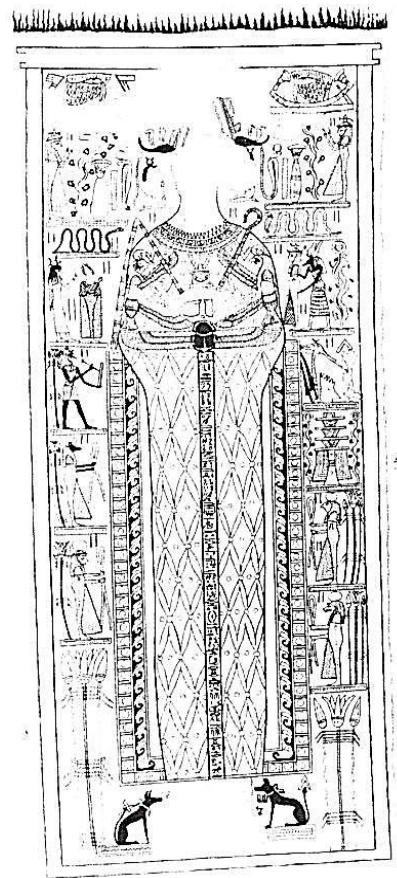


Fig.185

<sup>530</sup> Venit 2002, 146 ff Fig.133 ; <http://goo.gl/wV7iX>

<sup>531</sup> Bresciani 1996,15 Fig.5

<sup>532</sup> Grimm 1974 ,117

<sup>533</sup> Grimm 1974 ,117



Fig.186

We can see a representation of those keys on a scene depicted on a wooden funerary bed dating back to the second century AD. The scene starts from the right with the entrance of the deceased to the court in a Greek shape manifested in the hairstyle, the way of standing, and the clothes. Anubis leads him to the court. We can notice that Anubis holds the keys of the Netherworld which probably refer to the keys of Hades, the ancient Greek god of the Underworld.

In the middle of another scene representing the judgment of the dead, Horus and Thoth are shown flanking the scale. Beneath the scale, there is a rectangular shape carrying hieroglyphic inscriptions, on which there is an Osirian shape as a mummy. The two pans of the scale are equal, and empty. This confirms the idea of the symbolism and neglects the details. On the top of the scale, precisely on the edges, there are two shapes representing Maat and the deceased. Maat is coloured black, while the deceased is coloured white. The scene ends with the shape of Amam above a *naos*, and holds the Maat feather of a knife (Fig.187).<sup>534</sup>

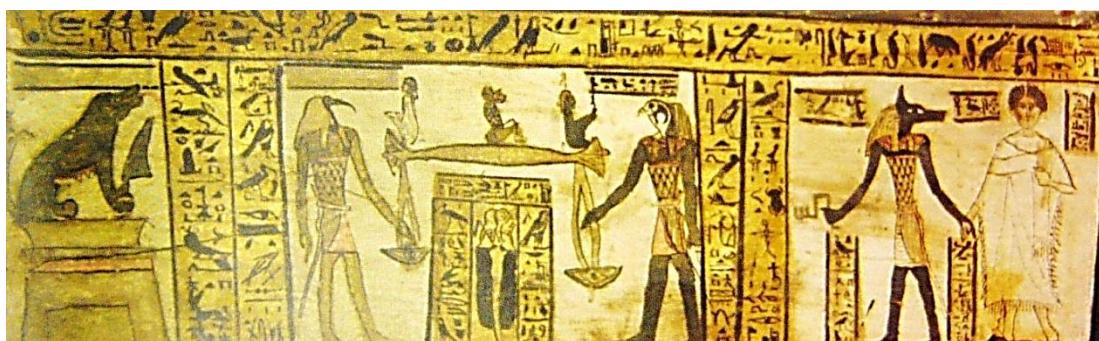


Fig.187

<sup>534</sup> Grimm 1974, 118 Taf.137,2 ; Kurth 2010, 159 Abb.31

Anubis was depicted also on the cartonnage of the mummy of a Greek man named Artemidoros (100-120 AD)<sup>535</sup> Anubis was represented wearing the usual Pharaonic kilt and holding the natron jar in his left hand. The funerary bed was depicted in the shape of a lion, however, it is supported on pedestals. The tail of the lion is raised in an exaggerated way. It is thought that the goddess standing at the head of the bed is Nephtys crowned with the sun disc, while the goddess standing at the end of the bed is Isis crowned with the cow horns.<sup>536</sup> Both of the goddesses hold a ribbon in the hand. It is notable that Anubis was painted in gold and not black as it was usually done in the Pharaonic period. There are no traces of the four Canopic jars (Fig.188).



Fig.188

Moreover, the jackal appeared on the Pharaonic tombstones. This can be seen for example in the limestone tombstone of Nephthys-Tekhti (28.8 x 22.5 x 3.5 cm). Below the winged sun-disc, there is the *nfr* sign flanked by the *wadjet* eyes and recumbent jackals. The main scene represents the owner in a standing position with his hands raised upwards in adoration, wearing a long garment and a short wig. In front of him, there is an offering table. The owner faces a falcon-headed god standing on a podium, crowned with the sun-disc and the *uraeus*, while holding the *was* scepter with both hands. In front of the god, there is a lotus flower placed on a *shen* sign and surmounted with the four sons of Horus. This *stela* dates to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (Fig.189).<sup>537</sup>



Fig.189

<sup>535</sup> Walker—Bierbrier 1997,56

<sup>536</sup> Walker—Bierbrier 1997, 56 Fig. 32

<sup>537</sup> W.K.Simpson, Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos (Philadelphia 1995) 88 Pl.28

## V. Summary

Sanctifying animals was one of the most important life aspects in ancient Egypt. It reached its peak in the Graeco-Roman periods. This study has spotted the light on the relationship between the Greeks, Romans and the sacred animals, as well as the classical elements in arts during the Graeco-Roman Period. It has provided artistic and archaeological proofs for the existence of this sanctification among the Greeks and Romans.

- The reasons for this sanctification vary; however, I suppose that the reason could be related to the belief of the ancient Egyptians that the soul of the god entered the body of the animal and transform it into a divinity. In other words, the sacred animal was a manifestation of the god. Therefore, the ancient Egyptians offered these divine animals a special care as a way of paying homage to the god.
- When the Greeks first came to the land of Egypt during the Saite period, the sanctification of the animals began to gain importance as an attempt to maintain the Egyptian identity. This occurred as a reaction to the foreign influence in the Egyptian public life.

Ancient Egyptians chose to return to their ancient beliefs especially animal worship. Despite attempts to maintain animal worship, it was inevitably influenced by the incoming foreign religions, such as: the Asiatic and Greek religion. This happened because the ancient Egyptian may have thought that assimilations between the anthropoid gods and the Greek divinities could easily occur. As for the sanctification of the animals, the Greeks and Romans considered it bizarre at the beginning. When the Greeks reached Tuna el-Gebel, they assimilated its main god, Thoth, with Hermes especially that their epithets are similar. The Greeks also named the city “Hermopolis” which means the city of Hermes. Therefore, the Greeks continued to sanctify the ibis and the baboon as manifestations of the god Thoth; in addition, the area of the ibis necropolis increased in the Ptolemaic period.

- The Greeks that lived in Egypt started to integrate with the Egyptian culture. The mutual influence between the Egyptians and the Greeks appeared in different fields. The Egyptians adapted from the Greeks some ways of the industry such as the industry of the oil, wine, and wool textile. Even The Greek divinities were associated with the Egyptian divinities: Zeus was associated with Amun, Apollo with Horus, Hermes with Thoth, and Demeter with Isis etc. This helped the Greeks in worshiping these gods in their animal forms, such as the falcon for Horus, crocodile for Sobek, the ibis for Thoth etc. The Greeks that lived in the Egyptian cities and villages such as Hermopolis Magna, Krokodilopolis, and Terenuthis began to lose

their Greek style. Several *temeni* or sacred enclosures were established by the Greeks for the Greek gods in Naucratis, and the Greeks lived in a Greek atmosphere both in life and religion, but they were affected by the Egyptian religion and culture. This can be obvious in the votive animal statuettes bearing Greek dedicatory inscriptions discovered around Lower Egypt, dating back to 400 BC (Fig.5).

- The effect of the ancient Egyptians on the Greeks and Romans led them into believing in this sanctification and participating in its rituals. This was proved through archeological evidences. The positive attitude of the Ptolemies towards animal sanctification probably supported this concept among the Greeks. Ptolemy I realized that he could not secure his rule in Egypt unless he reconciles the ancient Egyptians and the Greeks through appealing to a joint-religion that combines both the Greek and the Egyptian beliefs. They came with the Alexandrian triad, Sarapis-Isis-Harpocrates. The establishing of this triad that was derived from Egyptian divinities (Apis-Isis-Horus), was also accepted by the Greeks although it was originally an Egyptian concept. This also helped in convincing the Greeks to accept the Egyptian religion in general and precisely the sanctification of the animals.

- The Greeks created a new sacred animal in Egypt which is the Agathos Daimon, the protector god of Alexandria. According to the legend of its creation, this snake-god is related to the construction of the city, as Alexander the Great ordered to build a sanctuary for this snake. The importance of this god continued during the Roman era, as it appeared on many *stelae* (Figs. 28, 29). In addition to being the protector god of Alexandria, the Agathos Daimon played other roles.

It was considered the protector of the deceased; therefore it appeared in a painting decorating the second chamber in Tigran tomb which dates back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Fig. 30). It was also associated with Serapis; this can be seen in a terracotta from Kasr Daoud (Lower Egypt) which dates back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Fig. 21).

- I confirmed the sanctification of animals also through the dedications whether they were inscriptions engraved on the temples, *stelae*, or even statuettes. There are many inscriptions from El-Fayoum dating back to the Greco-Roman periods that mentioned the consecration of various monuments to the crocodile god made by the Greeks. The priests of the crocodile god at Karanis knew the myth and the power of this god, however, this power was not clear to the average person in the Greco-Roman period. Accounts dating to the Roman period suggest that the crocodile god was understood in more concrete terms.

In El-Fayoum, the crocodile god was named “Souchos” by the Greeks. The cult of Souchos flourished in El-Fayoum, precisely at Krokodilopolis (the capital of the *nome*) that was later known as Arsinoe. Thus, it seems that the name of the crocodile god varied according to the cult-place. The name could also change if the god was associated with another divinity such as: Sobek-Re in the temple of Kasr Qaroun.

Most of the dedications that were directed to the crocodile god came from El-Fayoum. Information about the crocodile cult can be driven from these dedications as well as the sanctuaries and the temples found in this place.

Few evidences of the animal-cult were found in Alexandria, as most of the dedications of this city were directed to Isis (the main goddess of the city). However, a dedication for the ibis was found on a small marble plaque from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. This plaque was found at the garden of the ex-consulate of England, and is preserved now in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria. The plaque carried a representation of an ibis clutching caduceus (attribute of Hermes) with its claws and accompanied by a Greek dedication directed to Isis, Sarapis and Hermes. This plaque informed us about the assimilation which occurred between Thoth (in the shape of ibis) and Hermes at that time. It also confirmed that the Greeks sanctified Hermes in the form of an ibis (Fig.85).

- I studied a group of military figures with animals' heads to confirm the existence of this sanctification among the Romans. These figures could be ex-votos presented to the Egyptian gods or placed in the houses for worship.

We can guess from the way in which the right hand is represented in most of these animal head figures that it was holding a spear or a harpoon which does not exist now. The spear or the harpoon was the tool that Horus used in his fight against his enemy Seth who is represented as a hippo on the wall of the temple of Edfu. On the other hand, many Roman soldiers were depicted holding spears. Horus is represented here as an emperor or a general with a falcon head wearing a nemes and surmounted by the double crown of Lower and Upper Egypt and the cobra, one of the attributes of Egyptian rulers. It seems that the artist wants to refer to the god as an emperor or a general.

This group of animal-headed military figures was carefully studied and compared with the Roman military statues. It is worth mentioning that these statuettes were published before but without adequate description, analysis and specific dating. Through the study, I have noticed that these statues never carried the same shape of any of the Roman armored statues. Although it was difficult to date these statuettes, I have supposed a ranging period. This was done by studying the small details in each statuette such as the *cingulum*, *fibula*, *Pteryges*, and *mulleus* and comparing them with the same details found in the Roman armored statues. They were made to be placed inside the temple or the house as an aspect of sanctifying the Egyptian gods. The artist tried to bond these statuettes with the Roman emperor whose cult spread among the soldiers, as his cult appeared in Luxor temple in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. I have also tried to relate these animal-headed statuettes to the Egyptian gods. For example: the falcon to Horus and the jackal to Anubis. Moreover, I have tried to relate the shape of the statuettes with the function of the god. For example, the jackal-headed warrior statuette could refer to Anubis as a protector of the deceased in the Netherworld. As for the falcon-headed warrior statuette, it refers to Horus the ruler of Egypt who got many names like 'Horus the fighter' (*aha*), 'Horus the strong' (*djer*) or 'arm-raising Horus' (*qaa*). There is a *stela* found in Luxor representing a soldier accompanied by the falcon Horus. This emphasizes the idea that the soldiers used to sanctify the Egyptian sacred animals. The origin of these statuettes is unknown, however, I concluded that they came from Egypt precisely the Delta or Alexandria, as a similar group in bad condition was found in Egypt and preserved in the Egyptian Museum. There are also representations in the tombs of Stagni and Kom El-Shouqafa of Anubis with the jackal head wearing a military costume. The fresco, in the tomb of Stagni in Alexandria depicted on the right side of the *naos*, represents Anubis in military Roman clothes holding a spear in his right hand. At the entrance of the main tomb at Kom El-Shoqafa, there is a raised relief of Anubis as a jackal-headed man wearing military Roman clothes, surmounted with the sun-disc, and holding a shield in his right hand and a spear in his left hand.

- Many tombstones were found in several places such as Kom Abou Bellou, Alexandria, Oxyrhynchus, and Abydos. In this dissertation, I have studided the *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou and compare them with similar *stelae* from Alexandria. Most of the other *stelae* that carried the Egyptian style carried representations of funerary rituals (the ritual of presenting the deceased to Osiris), such as that of Abydos or Upper Egypt.

However, the *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou carry the Greek style, precisely the depicted figures and the depicted sacred animals that are considered unique in their representation as they differ from the Egyptian ones.

- The representation of the sacred animals (the falcon and the jackal) on the *stelae* accompanied by the deceased was one of the aspects of this sanctification. One would like to ask, why many sacred animals especially the jackal “Anubis”, and the falcon “Horus” were represented beside the deceased? I think that the reason could be due to important role in the funerary rituals in the Egyptian religion, so, the deceased were expected to need their help and support to pass the difficulties of the underworld in peace. Therefore, I focused on studying the role played by Horus and Anubis in the Underworld and relating it with these representations on the *stelae*. Anubis was the god of the mummification, and there are many representations of this ritual dating back to the Greco-Roman period. But one of the most important is the scene of the mummification in the catacomb of Kom el-Shougafa in Alexandria. It was represented in a raised relief in the main burial chamber in the Catacomb and dated back to the middle of the first century AD (Fig.171).

Horus and Anubis played also an important role in judgment of the deceased as we see in many scenes (Figs.172, 178). There are many scenes representing the ritual of presenting the deceased to Osiris by Anubis which was part of the ritual of the judgment from the Pharaonic period till the Roman period (Figs.179-182).

In addition to the jackal, other sacred animals such as the Agathos Daimon appeared on the *stelae* of Alexandria and disappeared from the *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou. This could be due to the consideration of the Agathos Daimon as being one of the important gods of Alexandria. That god was associated with the foundation of the city and was sanctified by the Greeks as the protector of the city. The representation of the ibis on some *stelae* of Alexandria beside the old men could be due to the existence of a cult center of ibis in Alexandria as there was an ibis cemetery in Canopus. The deceased represented on the *stelae* of Kom abou Bellou were flanked by two jackals or a jackal and a falcon.

The representation of these sacred animals on the *stelae* of Kom Abou Bbelou are different from that of the Pharaonic period as we see the ribs of the jackal are clearly shown as an unusual detail (Cat.No.27). Their tails are unusually short.

- In addition, most of the reliefs of Kom Abou Bellou represent the sacred animals in frontal position (Cat.Nos. 1, 9, 11, 22, 26, 29, 32, 37, 38, 43, 44, 46) especially the head which is different from those belonging to the Pharaonic period that represent the sacred animals in profile. The Jackal is usually represented in the Pharaonic period as a reclining jackal but in reliefs of Kom Abou Bellou the jackal is represented in different positions reclining, sitting, and standing. This reflects the classical influence.

- Despite the difficulty in dating every *stela* of Kom Abou Bellou, many archeologists dated the cemetery back to the Roman era. They depended in their dating on the coins found there, such as the found in the burial of Sarapous (Cat.No. 27) that carried the portrait of Diocletian (Fig. 138). However, I gave a specific dating to some *stelae* according to the hairstyle. Some of the figures have hairstyle resembling that which was common during the reign of Emperor Severus, especially that of a statuette of a lady dating back to the early Severian Period. The hair is parted centrally and arranged in waves. Other figures have hairstyles resembling those common in the Flavian and Trajanic periods as the wig is high and expands in the shape of wrinkles forming many braids and the hair is arranged in curls.

- The representation of the standing figures, precisely those which raise the hands upwards, indicates the Egyptian influence and its mix with the Greek civilization. Some thought that this posture could have an Egyptian origin, while others refuse this origin. Some think that this shape could also refer to the hieroglyphic sign *ka* that symbolizes one of the elements of the human body that leaves the body after death but remains within the Netherworld. We see this in one of the statute of the King Auibre Hor from the 13<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

However, the representation of *ka* is different form the representation of the hands on Kom Abou Bellou *stelae*. Others think that these figures could be adapted from Roman art as references to the *pietas* or the prayer in the imperial period and early Christianity could be evident. The *orans* was represented on a wide scale on the *sarcophagi* in Rome during the imperial period as a symbol of *pietas*.

In my point of view, these figures are certainly adapted from the Pharaonic art and meant to refer to the prayer or the happiness after passing the judgment of the deceased. Therefore, I concentrated on the representation of the judgment of dead in ancient Egypt to compare the representation of raising arm with that of Kom Abou Bellou, as we see many similar representations in scenes of representation of the judgment of the dead. Here, the deceased is represented with his/her hands raised upwards while being lead to the court of Maat.

On some *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou, we can see a curved shape represented above the head of the standing figure (Cat.Nos.1, 8, 18). There is no similar shape in the Graeco Roman *stelae*, so it can be assumed that it is a symbol of the Egyptian goddess Nut that used to be represented in this shape (Fig.164).

- The most popular representations on the *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou are these of the people who lie down or recline on a *kline*. This representation is adapted from the scene of the funerary banquets that used to be represented on the *stelae* of the eastern cities of Greece, precisely Samos, as the representation of the rounded table with three feet that ends with the shape of the lion's paws was common there. We can see those three feet that end with the shape of lions paw on some *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou. In most cases, we can see on the table two drinking vessels and two cups or bowls. All of these items are related to the funeral meals. The figure holds in his hand a garland that means happiness after the judgment.

## VI. Catalogue

### I- Tombstones from Kom Abou Bellou “Terenuthis”

Some *stelae* were found at the southern eastern of the necropolis of Kom Abou Bellou during the excavation of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities (1970-1975), and others were found at the southern eastern side during the excavation of Michigan University (1935-1963).

The *stelae* were placed against the niche, while other groups of *stelae* were found between the debris of the tombs.

#### 1. Standing Figures

##### Cat. No. 1

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1158

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:**?

**Inscription below:**

Ἀπολλῶς ὁ ωρος (ἐτῶν) οὗτος (ετούς)

η Παῦνι

κη Εὐψύχει .....

Apollos 17 years old, died prematurely. The 8th year, the 28th of Payni, farewell!

(S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 239)

**Description:** Raised relief. A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with capitals supporting a triangular pediment with *akroteria*. The *stela* represents a man standing frontally and raising his arms up. He wears a short -sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The hair of the man is cut straight with waves at the front. Beside him at each side, there are a jackal and falcon. Below the standing human figure, there are incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXI No. 6.

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 239 Pl. LXXI No. 6.



## Cat. No. 2

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1051

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.35 W. 17 Th. 5

### Inscription below:

'Ιερακάμμων ἄωρος ὡς (ἐτῶν) κ  
(ἔτους) α Μεσορή κα Νεμαισοῦς  
ἡ ἀδελφὴ (ἐτῶν) ε Εἰψύχι.

Hierakammon 20 years old, died prematurely.

The 1<sup>st</sup> year, the 21<sup>th</sup> of Mesore, Nemesous, his daughter 5 years old, farewell!

(S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 240)

### Description:

Sunken relief. A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with capitals supporting a triangular pediment. The *stela* represents a man and his daughter standing frontally and raising their arms up as an indication of happiness since he is taken by Osiris in the hereafter. They wear a short -sleeved pleated tunics and their lower

body is cloaked in a shroud, folded at the waist and taken over their left shoulders. The right foot of both figures is represented in profile, while the body in frontal. The human figure was usually represented in Pharaonic art with the head in profile, the eye and shoulders in front view, and the pelvis, legs, and feet in profile. The hair of the man is cut straight with waves at the front. Beside them on the right side there is a falcon represented with a sun disc. Below the figures, there are incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXI No. 7.

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 240 Pl. LXXI No. 7.



### Cat. No. 3

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1481

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.17 W. 20 Th. 6 cm

**Inscription below:**

Πετεάρεμπις (ἐτῶν) ι (ἔτους) η

Petearempis, 10 years old, the 8th year.

(S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 241)

**Description:** Sunken relief. A rectangular stone. The *stela* is damaged from both sides; it represents a young man wearing a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The hair is represented as combed in incised lines from the forehead to the back of the head. There is a long lock falling behind the left ear on the shoulder. Beside him at each side there is a jackal.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXII No. 12.

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 241 Pl. LXXII No. 12.



**Cat. No. 4**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1111

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.27.5 W. 24.5 Th. 6.8 cm

**Inscription below:**

Ἀχιλλῆς (ἐτῶν) οὗτος ἀρπος (επούς) καὶ

Achilles, 17 years old, died, 20<sup>th</sup> year.

(S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 242)

**Description:** Sunken relief. A rectangular stela represents a man standing frontally and raising his arms up. This can be interpreted as a token of delight as he is received by Osiris in the afterlife. He wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The hair is represented as combed in incised lines from the forehead to the back of the head, ending in locks. The right foot is represented in profile, while the body in frontal. Beside him on the both sides there is a jackal. Below the standing human figure, there is only one incised line which was intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXII, No. 13.

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 242 Pl. LXXII, No. 13.



**Cat. No. 5**

**Storage place:** British Museum London. Inv. 57358

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:**?

**Inscription below:**

Tρύφων (ἐτῶν) Σ' ἀωρος

- = Αθύριος

Tryphon who died young, year 6, 12th of Athyr  
(S. Walker—M. Bierbrier, Ancient Faces:

Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt (London  
1997) 152)

**Description:** Raised relief. A rectangular *stela*.

The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with calyx capitals supporting a triangular pediment. The *stela* represents a man standing frontally and raising his arms up as a sign of joy for being accepted by Osiris in the afterlife. He wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The man's hair is cut straight with waves at the front. On both sides, there are two jackals sitting on two bases.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** K. Parlasca — H. Seemann , Augenblicke: Mumienporträts und ägyptische Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit (München 1999) Abb.161.

**Reference:** K.Parlasca , Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen, MDAIK 26 ,1970,Taf. LX1,c. ;  
S. Walker — M. Bierbrier, Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt (London  
1997) 152 Pl. 168; K. Parlasca — H. Seemann , Augenblicke: Mumienporträts und ägyptische  
Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit (München1999) 256 Abb.161.



## Cat. No. 6

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1254

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 26 W. 20 Th. 5 cm

### Inscription below:

Αἰδύμη (sic) ἡ καὶ Ἀμμωνία

(ἐτῶν) δ (or λ).

Didyme, also called Amonia, 4 or 30 years old.

(S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 242)

**Description:** Sunken relief. A rectangular *stela* represents a woman standing frontally and raising her arms up. This can be interpreted as a token of delight as she is received by Osiris in the afterlife. The woman wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over her left shoulder. The hair is represented as combed in incised lines from the forehead to the back of the head, ending in locks. The right foot is represented in profile, while the body is frontal. Beside her on both sides there is a jackal "Anubis", the companion and protector of the dead. Below the standing human figure, there are only three incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXIII No. 14.

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 242 Pl. LXXIII No. 14.



**Cat. No. 7**

**Storage place:** Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Inv. J.E. 65504

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:**?

**Inscription below:**

Τιθοητίων

ετῶν ν

Tithoetion, 50 years old.

(G.Wagner, Les stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (

BSAA 44, 1991, 169-200), ZPE 101, 1994, 114)

**Description:** Sunken relief. A rectangular stone with an unevenly rounded top. In the middle stands a female figure draped in *chiton* and himation drawn over her left shoulder. She is represented with upraised hands, and hair indicated with incised lines falling to the brow. The figure is frontal to the waist, while the lower part is in profile. She stands flanked by a falcon to the right, and a jackal to the left. The falcon is richly decorated with feathers and wears the double crown of upper and Lower Egypt. The jackal is carefully detailed with hair covering the neck, and ribs. Below the standing human figure, there are incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** H. Riad, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou-Bellou, BSAA 44, 1999, Fig. 5.

**Reference:** H. Riad, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou-Bellou, BSAA 44, 1999, 171 Fig.5 ; G.

Wagner, Les stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou ( BSAA 44, 1991, 169-200), ZPE 10,

1994, 114



**Cat. No. 8**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at Kom Abou

Bellou. Inv. T.S. 30

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:**?

**Inscription below:**

Θανεύτης ἄωρος (ἐτῶν) οζ

Thaneutis, who died prematurely (aged) 17 years old.

(G.Wagner, Les stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (BSAA 44, 1991, 169-200), ZPE 101, 1994, 114)

**Description:** Sunken relief.

An irregularly shaped-stone with a representation of a roughly rounded top frame which encloses a standing girl wearing *chiton* and himation. Both arms are raised upwards with palms to the front. Her hair, indicated by incised lines, is drawn behind the ears, and hanging to the shoulders. A painted black band is curved over the head ends in checkered design, suggesting a fringe .The figure is full frontal, with her right foot in profile, while her left foot is frontal with the heel raised. She stands between two jackals in profile. Below the standing human figure, there are only three incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** H. Riad, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou-Bellou, BSAA 44, 1999, Fig.7.

**Reference:** H. Riad, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou-Bellou, BSAA 44, 1999, 172 Fig.7; G. Wagner, Les stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou ( BSAA 44, 1991, 169-200), ZPE 10, 1994, 114



## Cat. No. 9

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1360

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:**?

**Inscription below:**

Πανίσκος (ἐτῶν) κα εὐψύχι.

Paniskos, 21 years old, farewell!

(S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 244)

**Description:** Raised relief. A rectangular *stela*.

The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with Papyrus capitals supporting a pediment. The *stela* represents a man wearing a tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. He holds something (may be a garland) in both hands. He is flanked with two reclining Jackals. Below the standing human figure, there incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription.



**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXIV No. 21

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 244 Pl. LXXIV No. 21; I. Vitali, Un contributo per l'interpretazione delle stele di Kom Abou Bellou, RSO 58, 1987, 253 Tav. XII.

**Cat. No. 10**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids.

Inv.1431

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:**?

**Inscription below:**

Ἀπόλλων (ἐτῶν) ζ

εὐψύχι.

Apollon, 7 years old, farewell!

(S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 246)

**Description:** Raised relief. A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with papyrus capitals supporting a pediment. The *stela* represents a man standing frontally. He wears a tunic and a mantle. There are long locks falling behind the ear on the left shoulder. He holds a cup or a libation dish “*patera*” in his right hand and a garland in the left. Beside him there is an altar. There is a reclining jackal on a shelf.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXV No. 24.

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 246 Pl. LXXV No. 24.



**Cat. No. 11**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1183

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.38 W. 25 Th. 5 cm

**Inscription below:**

Zoilos ια εὐψύχ ε(ι).

Zoilos, 11 years old, farewell!

(S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 246)

**Description:** Raised relief. A rectangular stela.

The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with papyrus capitals supporting a pediment. The *stela* represents a man standing frontally. He wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The man's hair is represented as incised lines brought back from forehead in locks. He holds a garland in the left hand. On the top right part of the stone, there is an altar, while on the bottom right part, there is a standing jackal on a shelf.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXVI, No. 26.

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 246 Pl. LXXVI, No. 26.



**Cat. No. 12**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1393

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.37.5 W. 22.3 Th. 5 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** Raised relief. A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with papyrus capitals supporting a pediment. The *stela* represents a woman standing frontally. She wears a tunic and a mantle. The hairstyle is similar to that of Severian period; her face is framed by a mass of hair styled in waves on either side of a central parting. She holds a cup or a libation dish “*patera*” in her right hand and a garland in the left. Beside her there is an altar and a standing jackal. On the shelves, there are a falcon and a vessel. Below the standing human figure, there are only two incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription.



**Dating:** Severian period (see Fig.143 in text)

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXVI, No. 27

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 246 Pl. LXXVI, No. 27; I. Vitali, Un contributo per l'interpretazione delle stele di Kom Abou Bellou, RSO 58, 1987, 252 Tav. IX.

**Cat. No. 13**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at Kom Abou Bellou. Inv. TS 1040

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 37.5 W. 17.5 Th. 7 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** Sunken relief. The *stela* represents a man standing frontally and raising his arms up. He wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The hair is cut straight with waves at the front. The figure is full frontal, with her right foot in profile, while her left foot is frontal with the heel raised. He is flanked by two jackals. Below the standing human figure, there are incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) Pl. 8, 29.

**Reference:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) 17 Pl. 8, 29.



**Cat. No. 14**

**Storage place:** Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Inv. J.E 22 -

2. 48-2

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 31.5 W. 22.3 cm

**Inscription below:**

*εὐψύχι*

Farwell

(Z. Aly, More Funerary Stelae from Kôm Abou Bellou,  
BSAA 40, 1953, 105)

**Description:** Sunken relief. The female figure wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over her left shoulder. The hair is arranged around the forehead in ridges and furrows and is drawn behind the ears into the shoulder. Beside her on the left side, there is a sitting jackal. The upper part of the body is full frontal, while the legs and feet are in profile. Below the standing human figure, there are incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** Z. Aly, More Funerary Stelae from Kôm Abou Bellou, BSAA 40, 1953, Fig.1.

**Reference:** Z. Aly, More Funerary Stelae from Kôm Abou Bellou, BSAA 40, 1953, 105 Fig.1

; I. Vitali, Un contributo per l'interpretazione delle stele di Kom Abou Billou, RSO 58, 1987

Tav.V.



**Cat. No. 15**

**Storage place:** Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Inv. J.E 22 2 .48-1

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 31 W. 21 cm

**Inscription below:**

Tιθοητίων .

Titheton.

(Z. Aly, More Funerary Stelae from Kôm Abou Bellou, BSAA 40, 1953, 104)

**Description:** Sunken relief. The *stela* which is damaged in the middle represents a woman standing frontally and raising her arms up. She wears a short-sleeved pleated *chiton* and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over her left shoulder. She wears a necklace and has a short hair arranged as a fringe around her head. She is flanked by two seated jackals. The upper part of the body is full frontal, while the legs and feet in profile. Below the standing human figure, there are four incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** Z. Aly, More Funerary Stelae from Kôm Abou Bellou, BSAA 40, 1953, Fig. 2.

**Reference:** Z. Aly, More Funerary Stelae from Kôm Abou Bellou, BSAA 40, 1953, 104 Fig. 2.



**Cat. No. 16**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at Kom Abou Bellou. Inv. TS 1082

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 26 W. 20 Th. 5 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** Sunken relief. The *stela* represents a man raising his arms up. The figure is full frontal, with his right foot in profile, while his left foot is frontal with the heel raised. He wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The hair is cut straight with waves at the front. He is flanked by two jackals. Below the standing human figure, there is only one incised line which was intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) Pl. 8, 30

**Reference:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) 17 Pl. 8, 30



## Cat. No. 17

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at Kom Abou Bellou. Inv. TS 1331

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 32. 5 W. 28 Th. 8 cm

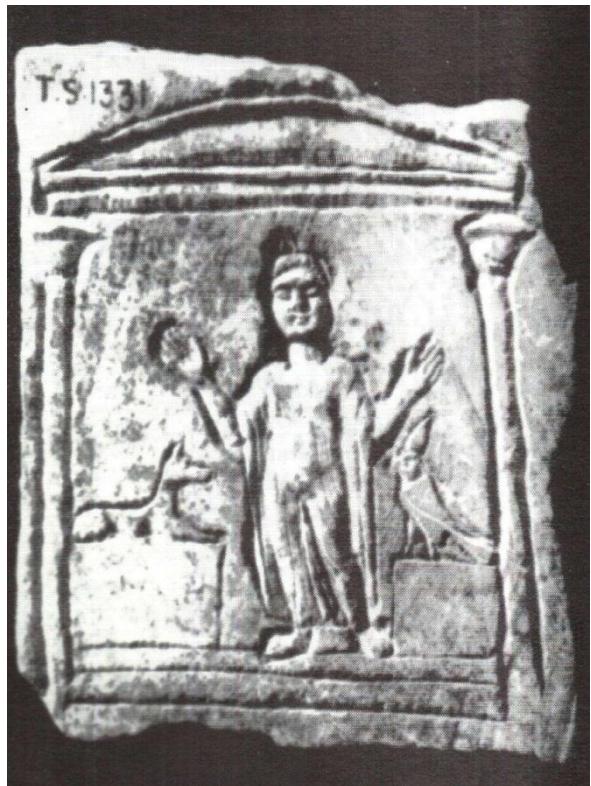
**Inscription:** None

**Description:** Sunken relief. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with Papyrus capitals supporting a rounded-top. He wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic. The figure is full frontal, with her right foot in profile, while her left foot is frontal with the heel raised. The hair is cut straight with waves at the forehead. He is flanked by a jackal and a falcon. Below the standing human figure, there are three incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) Pl. 12 49

**Reference:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) 19 Pl. 12 49



**Cat. No. 18**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at Kom Abou Bellou. Inv. TS 1156

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 36 W. 22.5 Th. 2.5 cm

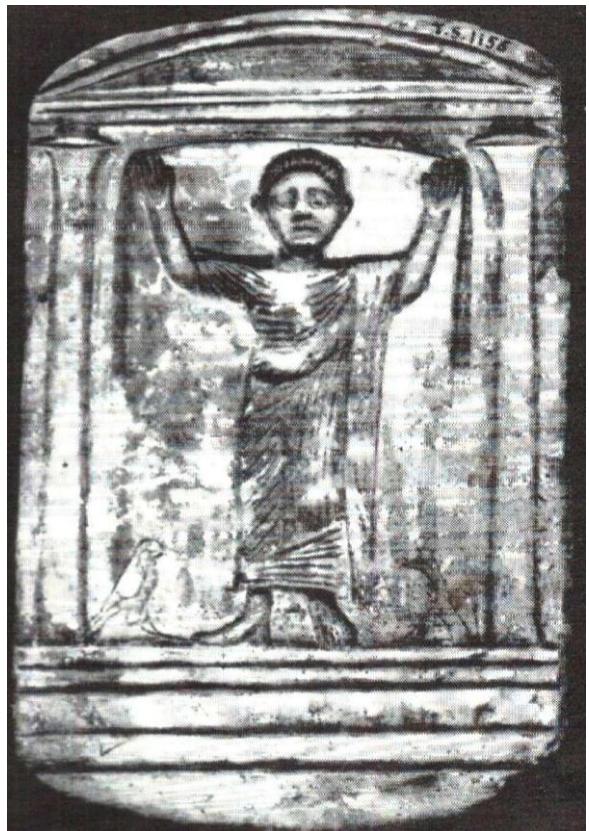
**Inscription:** None

**Description:** Sunken relief. A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with Papyrus capitals supporting a rounded-top. The male figure wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The figure is full frontal, with his right foot in profile, while his left foot is frontal with the heel raised. The hair is cut straight with waves at the forehead. He is flanked by a jackal and a falcon. Below the standing human figure, there are incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) Pl. 13, 51

**Reference:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) 20 Pl. 13, 51



**Cat. No. 19**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at Kom Abou Bellou. Inv. TS 225

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:**?

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** Sunken relief. The upper part of the female figure body is full frontal, while the legs and feet are in profile. She wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over her left shoulder. The *stela* is damaged on the right side. She is flanked with two jackals.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) Pl. 7, 27

**Reference:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) 16 Pl. 7, 27



**Cat. No. 20**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at Kom Abou Bellou.

Inv. TS 65

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 24 W. 23. 5 cm

**Inscription below:**

$\Delta\iota\sigma\kappa\omega\rho\sigma\ \dot{\omega}\varsigma\ (\epsilon\tau\hat{\omega}\nu)\ \kappa\theta$

Dioskoros, 29 years old.

(Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) 19)

**Description:** Sunken relief. A rectangular *stela*. The upper part of the body of the male figure is full frontal, while the legs and feet are in profile. He wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The man's hair is cut straight with wave at the front. He is flanked by two jackals standing on a *naos*.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) Pl. 11, 45

**Reference:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) 19 Pl. 11, 45



**Cat. No. 21**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at Kom Abou Bellou. Inv. TS 1315

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 38 W. 24 Th.10 cm

**Inscription below:**

Ἄπολλως ὡς (ἐτῶν) η

Apollos, 8 years old.

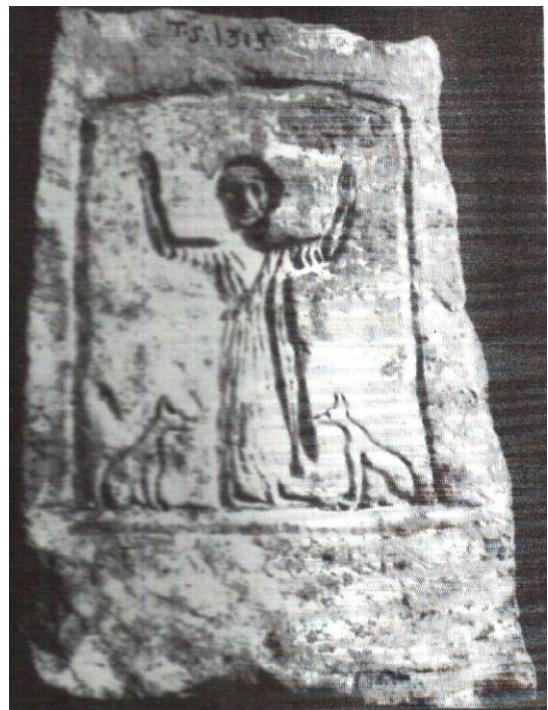
(Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) 18)

**Description:** Sunken relief. The male figure is represented within a frame of incised lines. He wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The hair is cut straight with waves on the front. The upper part of the body is full frontal, while the legs and feet are in profile. He is flanked by two jackals. The scene is enclosed by a rectangular frame.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) Pl. 10, 38

**Reference:** Abd. Abd el-Al— J. C. Grenier— G. Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) 19 Pl. 10, 38



**Cat. No. 22**

**Storage place:** Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Inv. 21055

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 37.2 W. 32.6 cm

**Inscription below:**

Hν(...)(ετῶν) κ [Α]θύρ

l

? aged 20, Hathour 1(.)?

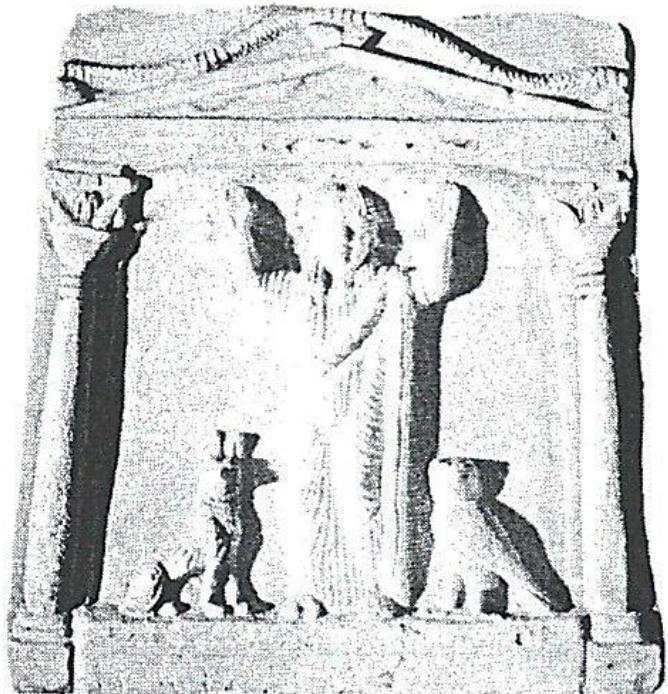
F. A. Hopper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou (Ann Arbor 1961) No. 73

**Description:** Raised Relief. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with Corinthian capitals supporting a triangular pediment with *akroteria*. There is an *uraeus* above the pediment. The *stela* represents a female figure standing frontally and raising her arms up as a sign of joy for being accepted by Osiris in the afterlife. The figure wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The hair is arranged above in a formal fringe. She is flanked by a jackal and a falcon. The jackal is seated at left in a half turned position, head in front, and the falcon at right in similar position.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** F. A. Hopper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou (Ann Arbor 1961) Pl.VIII, d

**Reference:** F. A. Hopper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou (Ann Arbor 1961) No.73 Pl.VIII, d; I. Vitali, Un contributo per l'interpretazione delle stele di Kom Abou Billou, RSO 58, 1987 Tav.IV



**Cat. No. 23**

**Storage place:** Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Inv. 21071

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.29 W. 28. 5 cm

**Inscription below:**

'Hράκ(λ)εια ἐτῶν ια

(ετούς) Θώθ ιβ

Herakleia, aged 11.

Year 11, Thoth 12

(F. A. Hopper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou (Ann Arbor 1961) No. 5)

**Description:** Sunken Relief. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with papyrus capitals supporting a Pediment with akroteria. The *stela* represents a woman standing frontally and raising her arms up as an indication of happiness since he is taken by Osiris in the hereafter. The upper part of the body is full frontal, while the legs and feet are in profile. The figure wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over her left shoulder. The hair is represented as combed in incised lines, brought back from fringe at forehead. She is flanked by a jackal and a falcon.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** F. A. Hopper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou (Ann Arbor 1961) Pl. VI, b

**Reference:** F. A. Hopper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou (Ann Arbor 1961) No. 50

Pl. VI, b



**Cat. No. 24**

**Storage place:** Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Inv.  
21042

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.32.4 W. 18.5 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** Sunken relief. A rectangular *stela* represents a man standing frontally and raising his arms up. He wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The hair is represented as combed in incised lines. He is flanked by two seated jackals.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** F. A. Hopper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou  
Bellou (Ann Arbor 1961) Pl. VI, d

**Reference:** F. A. Hopper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou  
Bellou (Ann Arbor 1961) No.20 Pl. VI, d



**Cat. No. 25**

**Storage place:** Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Inv. 21073

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:**?

**Inscription below:**

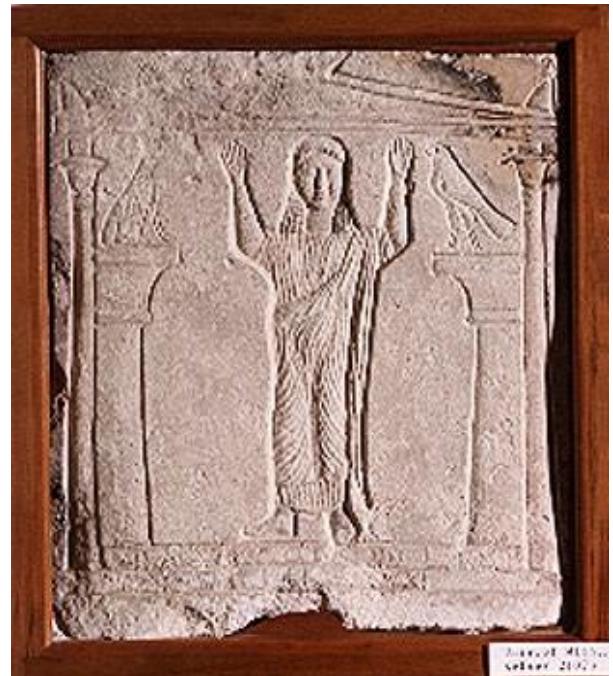
Ἄπια ἄωρος ἐτῶν ιθ (ετούς) κδ

Παρμοῦτι η εὐψύχι

Apia, who had died before her time, aged 19 year 24, Pharmouthi 8. Be of good cheer.

(F. A. Hopper, Funerary stelae from Kom Abou Bellou (Ann Arbor 1961) No.63)

**Description:** Sunken relief. A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with papyrus capitals supporting a pediment. The *stela* represents a woman standing frontally and raising her arms up as a sign of joy for being accepted by Osiris in the afterlife. She stands within a Graeco-Egyptian style portal. She wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over her left shoulder. The hair is represented as combed in incised lines from the forehead to the back of the head, ending in locks on the shoulders. The upper part of the body is full frontal, while right leg and foot are in profile. She is flanked by a falcon and a jackal sitting atop Egyptian kiosks. Below the standing human figure, there are incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription.



**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** E. Gazda, Portals to Eternity, The Necropolis at Terenouthis in Lower Egypt, published in 1987, <http://www.umich.edu/~kelseydb/Exhibits/PortalsToEternity/MainPortals.html> ( 4.4.2012)

**Reference:** F. A. Hopper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Bellou (Ann Arbor 1961) No.63 Pl. VII,d; K.Paralsca, Zur Stellung der Terenuthis Stelen - Eine Gruppe römischer Grabreliefs aus Ägypten in Berlin, MDAIK 26 ,1970 ,174Tav.LXVI,b.

## Cat. No. 26

**Storage place:** Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Inv. 21052

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 29.1 W.31.7 cm

**Inscription below:**

Nεμεσίων ὡς (ἐτῶν) κδ,

Ἄθυρ σ.

Nemesion, about 24 years old. Hathur 6.

F. A. Hopper, Funerary stelae from Kom Abou Bellou  
(Ann Arbor 1961) No.72

**Description:** Raised relief. A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with papyrus capitals supporting a pediment with *akroteria*. The *stela* represents a man standing frontally and raising his arms up as a sign of joy for being accepted by Osiris in the afterlife. He wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The hair is arranged in curls. He is flanked by two jackals. Below the standing human figure, there are incised lines which were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** F. A. Hopper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Bellou (Ann Arbor 1961) Pl. XVI, c

**Reference:** F. A. Hopper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Bellou (Ann Arbor 1961) No.72  
Pl. XVI, c



**Cat. No. 27**

**Storage place:** Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Inv. 21069

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** limestone

**Dimensions:** H.35.8 W. 24.6 cm

**Inscription below:**

Σαραποῦς Εὐάνθου ἄωρος ἄτεκνος φίλ{ο}ανδρος φιλάδελφος  
φιλόφιλος

ώς ἐτῶν ιδ, (ετούς) σ, Φαῶφι η.

Sarapous, daughter of Euanthes, died before her time, childless, devoted to her husband, fond of her sister, fond of her friends, about 14 years old. Year 6, Phaophi 8.

(F.A. Hopper, Funerary stelae from Kom Abou Bellou (Ann Arbor 1961) No. 58)

**Description:** Sunken relief. A rectangular *stela*, arched at the top. The female figure is represented within a frame of incised lines. She wears an Ionic *chiton*, covered with a Doric style *chiton* extending just below the waist and tied under the breast

with a belt. The hair arranged in incised lines, parted in the middle, brought back from forehead. The clothing is clearly Greek, but the representations of the hair and of the legs in profile are in an Egyptian style. She is flanked by two jackals. The ribs of the jackal on the right are clearly shown, an unusual detail. Their tails are unusually short, but this may be attributed to careless workmanship.

**Dating:** Period of Emperor Diocletian (see Fig. 136 in text)

**Figure:** Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Death on Display in the Ancient World, published in 1.6.1998, [http://www.umich.edu/~kelseydb/Exhibits/Death\\_on\\_Display/Text/coin.html](http://www.umich.edu/~kelseydb/Exhibits/Death_on_Display/Text/coin.html) (17.1.2013)

**Reference:** F. A. Hopper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Bellou (Ann Arbor 1961) No. 58 Pl. VII, c



**Cat. No. 28**

**Storage place:** Egyptian Museum in Cairo Inv.JE 66193.

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.30 W. 27 Th. 11 cm

**Inscription on the left side:**

'Ηρακλη

ἀωρ -(L) ιB

ος ἀτ-

εκνος

ώς (ἐτῶν) (..)

Heracl ... died prematurely; 12 years old  
childless; about.... years.

(H. Riad, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou-Bellou, BSAA. 44, 1991, 173)

**Description:** Raised relief. A rectangular *stela* with a rounded top a man standing frontally to the waist but the lower part is in profile. He wears a short tunic with a girdle around the waist and a mantle. The left hand holds the folds of the mantle and rests on the breast, while the right is extended. The head of the figure is damaged. The upper part of the body is full frontal, while the legs and feet in profile. There is a jackal to the right.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.

**Figure:** Photographed by the researcher in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo.

**Reference:** H. Riad, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou-Bellou, BSAA 44, 1991, 173 Fig. 11.



**Cat. No. 29**

**Storage place:** Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Inv. JE 65505.

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.34 cm, W. 26 cm Th. 7 cm

**Inscription below:**

*Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλείδου*

*ώς (ἐτῶν) (...)*

Ptolemaios, son of Herakleides, about? years old.

(H. Riad, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou-Bellou,  
BSAA 44, 1991, 172)

**Description:** Raised relief. A rectangular tombstone.

The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with papyrus capitals supporting a pediment. The stone represents a child wearing a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over his left shoulder. The hair is cut straight with waves at the front. He is flanked by two jackals represented in a frontal way.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** Photographed by the researcher in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo.

**Reference:** H. Riad, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou-Bellou, BSAA 44, 1991, 172 Fig.8.



## 2. Reclining Figures

### Cat. No. 30

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1052

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:**?

#### Inscription:

'Ηρακλᾶς ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ., (ετούς), ιβ̄ Ἀθύρ  
γ, εὐψύχι.

Heraklas, about 40 years old, the 12th year, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of Athyr.

(S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, *Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou*, BIFAO 78 , 1978, 248)

**Description:** The tombstone is damaged on both sides. The tombstone represents a man reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in his right hand. He wears a chiton and a mantle which draped over his left hand. The hair of the man is cut straight with waves at the front.

Beside him there is a reclining jackal. Under the *kline* there are on the table two drinking vessels and two cups or bowls, beside the table there is a small amphora and a long one. All those things related to the funeral meals.

There are incised lines below the banquet scene. These incised lines were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** <http://goo.gl/oD8Xf>

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, *Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou*, BIFAO 78, 1978, 248 Pl. LXXVII, No. 30; <http://goo.gl/oD8Xf>



**Cat. No. 31**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1060

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:**?

**Inscription below:**

Ἀχιλλᾶς (ἐῶν) λδ φιλότεκνος

(ἔτους) γ Τῦβι κε εὐψύχι.

Achilles, 34 years old, loves his children, the 3<sup>rd</sup> year, the 25<sup>th</sup> of Tybi, farewell!

(S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 249)

**Description:** A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with papyrus capitals supporting a rounded pediment. The *stela* is damaged on the right side. The *stela* represents a man reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in his right hand, while the left holds a garland. He wears a *chiton* and a mantle which drapes over his left hand. The hair of the man is cut straight with waves at the front. Beside him there is a reclining jackal. Under the *kline*, there are three drinking vessels or cups on the table. Beside the table, there is a small amphora and a long one. There are incised lines below the banquet scene. These incised lines were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century AD



**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXVII No. 32

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 249 Pl. LXXVII No. 32

**Cat. No. 32**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 242

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 51 W. 22 Th. 5 cm

**Inscription:** None.

**Description:** A rectangular *stela* is damaged on the right side. The tombstone represents a woman reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in her right hand. She wears a *chiton* and a mantle which drapes over her left hand. Her hair is parted centrally, and arranged in curls. Beside her there is a jackal on a shelf. Under the *kline*, there is a table bearing two cups, a big vessel (*amphora*), and a standing child.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXVIII No. 35.

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 250 Pl. LXXVIII No. 35.



**Cat. No. 33**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1164

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Dimensions:** H. 36 W. 36 Th. 6 cm

**Inscription below:**

Διδύμη φιλότεκνος (ἐτῶν) λε

(ετούς) οα Μεχείρ α, εὐψύχι.

Didyme who loves her children, 35 years old,  
the 11th year, the 1st of Mecheir, farewell!

(S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles

Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978,  
251)

**Description:** A rectangular limestone *stela*.  
The *stela* is damaged on the right side. The  
*stela* represents a woman reclining on a *kline*  
and holding a cup or a bowl in her right hand.  
She wears a tunic and mantle which drapes  
over her left hand. The hair is represented as  
combed in incised lines from the forehead to  
the back of the head, ending in locks falling  
behind the ears on the shoulders. Beside her  
there is a reclining jackal. Under the *kline*,  
there are on the table two drinking cups or  
bowls, beside the table there is an amphora.

All those things are related to the funeral meals.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978,  
Pl. LXXX, No. 39.

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78,  
1978, 251 Pl. LXXX, No. 39.



**Cat. No. 34**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1157

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:**?

**Inscription below:**

'Επιτυχεία (ἐτῶν) π,

(ἔτους) ιη, Μεχείρ β.

Epitychia, 80 years old.

(S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles

Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978,

251)

**Description:** A rectangular limestone *stela*.

The *stela* represents a woman reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup or a bowl in her right hand. She wears a tunic and mantle which drapes over her left hand. The hair is represented as combed in incised lines from the forehead to the back of the head, ending in locks falling behind the ears on the shoulders. Beside her there is a seated jackal. Under the *kline*, there is a rounded table with three feet that end in the shape of a lion's paw. Beside the table, there is an amphora. There are incised lines below the banquet scene. These incised lines were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXX No. 41

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 251 Pl. LXXX No. 41



**Cat. No. 35**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 247

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:**?

**Inscription below:**

ἐνθάδε κεῖται γυνή πανυ σώ-

φρων, Ἀρτεμιδώρα

εὐψύχει (ἐτῶν) λ.

Here lies a very wise woman; Artemidora, 30 years old, farewell!

(S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 253)

**Description:** The *stela* is damaged on both sides. Probably there were two columns supporting a pediment. The *stela* represents a women reclining on a *kline*. She holds a cup or a bowl in her right hand and a garland in the left; the legs are crossed. The hair is parted centrally and arranged in waves. She wears a *chiton* and himation. There is a jackal beside her on a shelf but part of the body is damaged.

**Dating:** Severian period (see Fig.143 in thext)

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles

Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXXII, No. 47

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 253 Pl. LXXXII, No. 47.



**Cat. No. 36**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids.

Inv. 239

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.41 W. 37 Th. 6 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with calyx capitals supporting the rounded-top. The *stela* represents two figures reclining on a *kline*. They hold a cup or a bowl in their right hands and a garland in the left. The folds of the *chiton* and himation are not shown; the legs are crossed; the pillows and mattress are undecorated. The hair is arranged in curls. There is a jackal beside them on a shelf.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXXII, No. 48.

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G.Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 254 Pl. LXXXII, No. 48.



**Cat. No. 37**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1137

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 33 W. 27 Th. 8, 5 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with capitals supporting the rounded top pediment. The *stela* represents a man reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in his right hand, while the left holds a garland. He wears a chiton and mantle which are draped over his left hand. Beside him there is a seated child and a jackal which is represented in a frontal way. Incised lines appear below figures. These incised lines were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXXIII No. 50.

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 255 Pl. LXXXIII No. 50.



**Cat. No. 38**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1079

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 45 W. 39 Th. 7 cm.

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with capitals supporting the rounded top. The *stela* represents a woman reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in her right hand, while the left holds a garland. She wears a *chiton* and mantle which drapes over her left hand. Her hair is arranged in curls with long locks falling behind the ears down to the shoulders. Beside her, there is a seated man wearing a *chiton* and mantle, his hair is arranged in curls. There is a jackal and a falcon between them represented in a frontal way. There are incised lines below the figures. These incised lines were intended to contain the funerary inscription.



**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, Pl. LXXXIV No. 52.

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 255 Pl. LXXXIV No. 52.

**Cat. No. 39**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at Kom Abou Bellou. Inv. TS 222

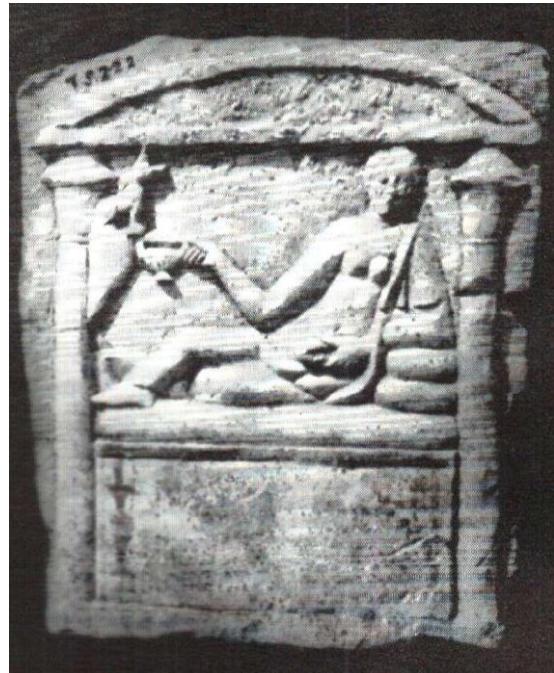
**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.30 W. 24 Th. 6,6 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with calyx capitals supporting the rounded top. The *stela* represents a woman reclining on a *kline*. She holds a cup or a bowl in her right hand and a garland in the left. The folds of the *chiton* and himation are not shown; the legs are crossed; the pillows and mattress are undecorated. Her hair is arranged in curls in a style that was fashionable in Rome in the late Flavian and early Trajanic period. There is a jackal beside her on a shelf.



**Dating:** Flavian period (see Fig. 146 in text)

**Figure:** Abd. Abd el-Al — Grenier— Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) Pl. 35, 136

**Reference:** Abd. Abd el-Al — Grenier— Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) 31 Pl. 35,136

## Cat. No. 40

**Storage place:** Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Inv. 29011

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.32, 5 W. 23, 3 cm

**Inscription:** none

**Description:** A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with calyx capitals supporting the rounded top. The *stela* represents a man reclining on a *kline*. He holds a decorated bowl in his right hand and a folded wreath in the left. The folds of the *chiton* and himation are not shown; the legs are crossed; the pillows and mattress are undecorated. There is a jackal beside him on a shelf. Evidence of paint beneath the couch suggests amphora and a table. An incised ground line for an architectural setting and presumably a banquet scene can be noticed.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD



**Figure:** A. F. Hooper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Bellou (Ann Arbor 1961) Pl. XVI, d.

**Reference:** A. F. Hooper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Bellou (Ann Arbor 1961) No. 173  
Pl. XVI, d

**Cat. No. 41**

**Storage place:** Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.

Inv. 21158

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone.

**Dimensions:**?

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** Sunken relief. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with Corinthian capitals supporting a pediment with akrotoria. The rectangular *stela* represents a man reclining on a couch and holding a cup in his right hand and a garland in the left. The folds of the *chiton* and himation are not shown; the legs are crossed; the pillows and mattress are undecorated. There is a seated jackal beside him on a shelf. Under the couch there is an amphora, a squat jug, a round table with three feet, each ending with the shape of a lion's paw. On the table there four cups.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** A. F. Hooper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Bellou (Ann Arbor 1961) Pl. IX, c.

**Reference:** A. F. Hooper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Bellou (Ann Arbor 1961) No. 135

Pl. IX, c.



**Cat. No. 42**

**Storage place:** Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Inv. 21180

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.28.7 W. 42.2

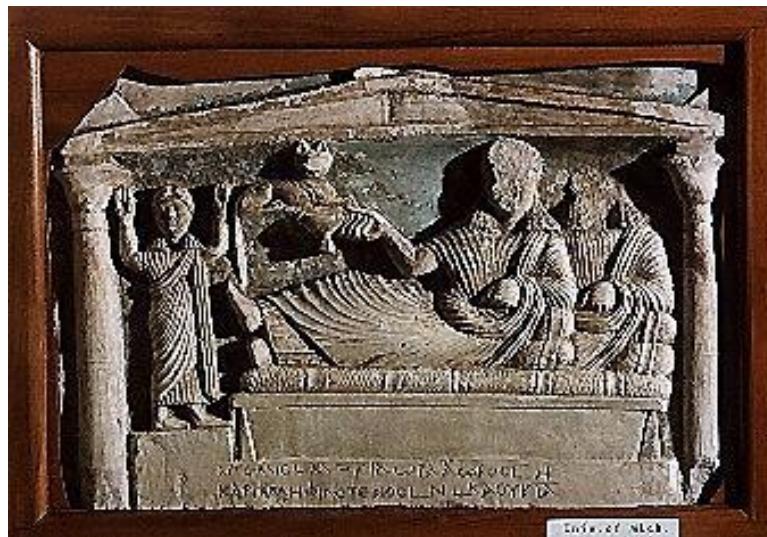
**Inscription below:**

"Ἄρτεμις (ἐτῶν) μὲν, Ἰσιδώρα ἄρπος (ἐτῶν) η Καρπίμη  
φιλότεκνος (ἐτῶν) ν, (ετούς) κ Ἀθύρ ια.

Artemis, aged 47. Isidora, who has died before her time, aged. Karpime, devoted to her children, aged 50. Year 20, Hathour 11.

(A.F. Hooper, Funerary stelae from Kom Abou Billou (Ann Arbor 1961) No.171)

**Description:** A rectangular *stela* used along horizontal axis to accommodate three figures. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with calyx capitals supporting a pediment with *akroteria*. The *stela* represents two female figures reclining on a *kline*. One of them holds a cup in her right hand. Heads of both figures are damaged. They wear a *chiton* and a mantle draping over their left hands. Pillows and mattress are decorated with designs, more elaborate than usual, indicated by incised lines and grooves. To the left of the couch there is a female figure standing frontally, with her feet in profile and raising her arms as a sign of joy for being accepted by Osiris in the afterlife. She wears a short-sleeved pleated tunic and a mantle drawn across the lower body, folded at the waist and taken over her left shoulder. Beside her on a molded console or a shelf there is a jackal. Under the *kline*, there is no sign of the banquet.



**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** E. Gazda, Portals to Eternity, The Necropolis at Terenouthis in Lower Egypt, published in 1987, <http://www.umich.edu/~kelseydb/Exhibits/PortalsToEternity/MainPortals.html> ( 4.4.2012).

**Reference:** A. F. Hooper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Bellou (Ann Arbor 1961) No.171 Pl.XII, d ; I. Vitali, Un contributo per l'interpretazione delle stele di Kom Abou Bellou, RSO 58, 1987, 252 Tav. IX.

### Cat. No. 43

**Storage place:** Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Inv. 21150

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.50.1 W. 35.1

#### Inscription below:

'Ηρᾶς ὡς ἐτῶν νδ (ετούς) ιζ Φαμενὼθ γ εὐψύχει φιλότεκνος.

Heras, devoted to his children, about 54 years old. Year 17, Phamenoth 3.

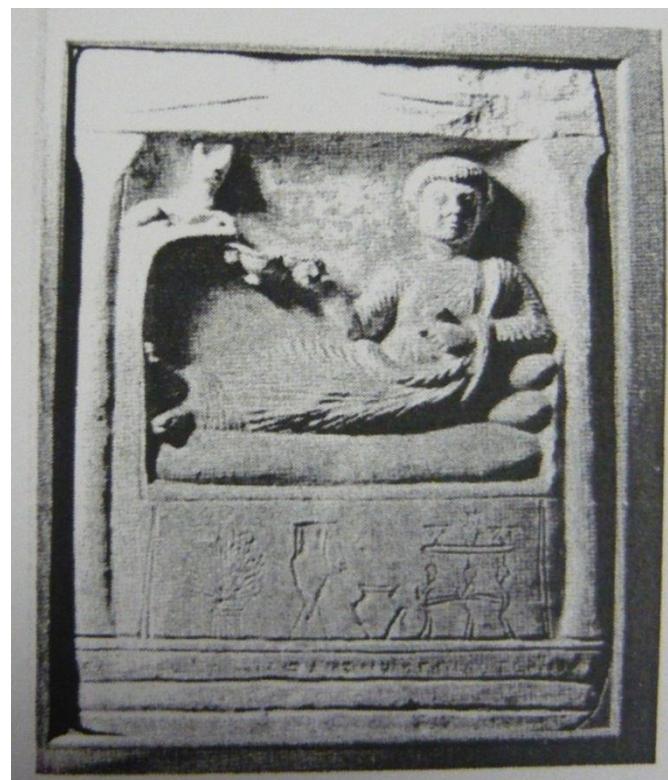
A.F. Hooper, *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Bellou* (Ann Arbor 1961), No.175

**Description:** A rectangular stela. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with calyx capitals supporting a pediment. The *stela* represents a man reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in his right hand, and a garland in his left hand. Both legs in more relaxed position than customary, right foot turned slightly toward front, left foot hangs over edge of mattress. He wears a *chiton* and mantle which drapes over his left hand. The man's hair is cut straight with wave at the front. Beside him on a molded console or a shelf, there is a reclining jackal represented in profile except head which is to the front. Under the *kline*, there is a rounded table with three feet that end in the shape of a lion's paw. On the table, there is a small jar between two cups. Beside the table, there is a small amphora and a long one, in addition to a bouquet of flowers in a vase. All those things are related to the funeral meals. Incised ground line for the couch can be noticed in the banquet scene and architectural setting. The hair of the man is cut straight with waves at the front. There are incised lines below the banquet scene. These incised lines were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** I. Vitali, Un contributo per l'interpretazione delle stele di Kom Abou Billou, RSO 58, 1987 Tav. XX

**Reference:** A. F. Hooper, *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Bellou* (Ann Arbor 1961) No.175, Pl.XII,c



**Cat. No. 44**

**Storage place:** British Museum. Inv. EA

59870

Presented by Sir Robert Mond in 1930

**Provenance:** Unknown, Maybe Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Sandstone

**Dimensions:** H.32 W. 26 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with capitals supporting a pediment. The *stela*, which is damaged on the right side especially the column, represents a woman reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in her right hand, and a garland in her left hand. She wears a *chiton* and mantle which drapes over her proper left hand. Her hair is arranged in curls in a style that was fashionable in Rome in the late Flavian and early Trajanic periods. Beside her, there is a jackal on a molded console or shelf placed on a pillar.

**Dating:** Flavian period (see Fig. 146 in text).

**Figure:** S. Walker — M. Bierbrier, Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt (London 1997) Pl. 169.

**Reference:** S. Walker — M. Bierbrier, Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt (London 1997) 152 Pl. 169.



**Cat. No. 45**

**Storage place:** British Museum. Inv. EA 65337

**Provenance:** Unknown, maybe Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Sandstone

**Dimensions:** H.38, 1 W. 27.3 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with calyx capitals supporting a pediment. The *stela* represents a woman reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in her right hand, and something like garland in her left hand. She wears a *chiton* and mantle draped over her hips. She rests on three cushions piled on a bed. Her hair is parted centrally, and arranged in curls with long locks falling behind the ears to the shoulders. Beside her, on a shelf there is a reclining jackal.

**Dating:** Walker thinks that this *stela* dates back to 100-120 AD due to the style of hair which looks like the female Egyptian hairstyle, especially those seen in the painted portraits and the plaster masks of the very early second century AD.

**Figure:** S. Walker — M. Bierbrier, Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt (London 1997) Pl. 170

**Reference:** S. Walker — M. Bierbrier, Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt (London 1997) 153 Pl. 170



**Cat.No. 46**



**Storage place:** : Recklinghausen, Ikonen-Museum . Inv. 564

**Provenance:** Unknown, maybe from Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.25, 5 W. 44 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** The limestone stela represents a man reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in his right hand. He wears a *chiton* and mantle which drapes over his left hand. On the left side, there is a standing woman holding a rattle in her right hand and wearing a *chiton* and a mantle. Beside her, there is a seated child praying. The hair of the man is arranged in curls, while the hair of the woman is parted centrally and arranged in waves falling behind the ears to the shoulders in locks. In the background there is a falcon and a jackal represented in a frontal way.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** K. Parlasca — H. Seemann, Augenblicke : Mumienporträts und ägyptische Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit (München1999) 254 Abb.158.

**Reference:** M. von Falck, Ägypten, Schätze aus dem Wüstensand ( Wiesbaden 1996) 113 Nr. 59; K. Parlasca — H. Seemann, Augenblicke : Mumienporträts und ägyptische Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit (München1999) 254 Abb.158.

**Cat. No. 47**

**Storage place:** Egyptian Museum in Berlin. Inv. 24150

**Provenance:** Unknown, maybe Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 41 W. 31 cm

**Inscription below:**

Taaι(μαΐ)s (ἐτῶν) η, Σοναιροῦς

φιλότεκνος εὐψύχειται.

Taaimais, died at the age of 8 years,  
children's love Souairous, farewell.

(K.Parlasca, Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-  
Stelen, MDAIK 26, 1970, 192)

**Description:** A limestone rectangular stela.

The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with papyrus capitals supporting a rounded top. The stela is damaged on the top and bottom. It represents a woman reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in her right hand, while the left hand carries a child. She wears a *chiton* and mantle which drapes over her hips.

She rests on three cushions piled on a bed. Beside the woman on a shelf there is a reclining jackal.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** Photographed by the researcher in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin.

**Reference:** K. Parlasca, Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen, MDAIK 26 ,1970 ,192 Taf.  
LXIX,a.



**Cat. No. 48**

**Storage place:** Egyptian Museum in Berlin. Inv. 24143

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 28 W. 20 cm.

**Inscription below:**

Μελανοῦς (ἐτῶν) καὶ (ετούς) οὐχι  
κε εὐψύχι.

Melanous, who died at the age of 21 years in the 6th year, on the 25<sup>th</sup> Choiach, farewell!

K.Parlasca, *Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen*,  
MDAIK 26 ,1970 ,191

**Description:** Sunken relief. A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by incised arched frame. The stela represents a woman reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in her right hand, and a garland in her left hand. She wears a *chiton* and mantle which drapes over her left hand. She rests on two cushions piled on a bed. Her hair is parted centrally and arranged in curls with long locks falling behind the ears to the shoulders. Beside her on a molded console or a shelf there is a seated jackal. Under the *kline*, there is a table bearing two cups, an *amphora* and a bouquet of flowers in a vase. All those things are related to the funeral meals. There are incised lines below the banquet scene. These incised lines were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** Photographed by the researcher in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin.

**Reference:** K. Parlasca, *Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen*, MDAIK 26, 1970, 191 Taf. LXIX,c.



**Cat. No. 49**

**Storage place:** Egyptian Museum in Berlin. Inv. 24147

**Provenance:** Unknown; Maybe from Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 48 W. 24 cm.

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** Sunken relief. The rectangular *stela* is broken on the left side. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with papyrus capitals supporting a pediment without *aktroteria*. The *stela* represents a man reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in his right hand, and a garland in his left hand. He rests on two cushions piled on a bed. He wears a *chiton* and mantle which drapes over his left hand. The hair of the man is cut straight with waves at the front. Beside him on a molded console or a shelf there is a seated jackal.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** Photographed by the researcher in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin.

**Reference:** K. Parlasca, Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen, MDAIK 26, 1970,193 Taf. LXVIII, a.



**Cat. No. 50**

**Storage Place:** Egyptian Museum Berlin. Inv. 24148

**Provenance:** Maybe from Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 29 W. 28.5 cm.

**Inscription below:**

Νείκων ἐτῶν λβ

εὐψύχι.

Neikon, died at the age of 32 years, farewell!

(K.Parlasca, Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen, MDAIK  
26, 1970, 196)

**Description:** Raised relief. A rectangular stela represents a man reclining on a *kline* and holding a *kantharus* in his right hand, and a garland in the left. He wears a *chiton* and mantle which drapes over his left hand. Beside him on the left side there is a seated jackal.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** K. Parlasca, Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen, MDAIK 26, 1970, Taf. LXVII, d.

**Reference:** M.von Falck, Ägypten, Schätze aus dem Wüstensand (Wiesbaden 1996) 114 Nr.

60; K. Parlasca, Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen, MDAIK 26 ,1970, 196 Taf. LXVII, d



**Cat. No. 51**

**Storage place:** Egyptian Museum in Berlin. Inv. 24142

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 43 W. 34 cm.

**Inscription below:**

Ἀπλωνᾶριν (ἐτῶν) μὲν ψ-

Λυσίμαχος (ἐτῶν) αὐτῷ τε.

Aplonarin (died at the age of 40 years),  
Lysimachos (died at the age of 1 year) farewell!  
(K.Parlasca, Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen,  
MDAIK 26 ,1970, 193)

**Description:** Sunken relief. A rectangular *stela*.

The scene is within a frame flanked by columns with calyx capitals supporting a rounded top. The *stela* represents a woman reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in her right hand, and a garland in the left hand. She wears a *chiton* and mantle which drapes over her left hand. She rests on two cushions piled on the bed. The hair is parted centrally and arranged in waves. Beside her on a console a shelf there is a seated jackal. There are incised lines below the banquet scene. These incised lines were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

**Dating:** Severian period (see Fig.143 in text)

**Figure:** Photographed by the researcher in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin.

**Reference:** K. Parlasca, Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen, MDAIK 26 ,1970,193 Taf.

LXV, a.



**Cat. No. 52**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at Kom Abou Bellou. Inv. TS 1477

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.32, 5 W. 29, 5 Th.5.5 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** Sunken relief. A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with papyrus capitals supporting a rounded top. The *stela* represents woman reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in her right hand, and a garland in the left hand. She wears a *chiton* and mantle which drapes over her hips. She rests on two cushions piled on the bed. The hair is parted centrally and arranged in waves. Beside the woman on a shelf there is a seated jackal.

**Dating:** Severian Period (see Fig.143 in text)

**Figure:** Abd. Abd el-Al —Grenier— Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) Pl. 35, 138

**Reference:** Abd. Abd el-Al— Grenier— Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) 19 Pl. 35, 138



**Cat. No. 53**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at Kom Abou Bellou. Inv. TS 1477

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.32, 5 W. 29, 5 Th.5.5 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** Raised relief. A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with calyx capitals supporting a rounded top. The stela represents woman reclining on a *kline* and holding a garland in her right hand. The folds of the *chiton* and himation are not shown. She rests on three cushions piled on the bed. The hair is parted centrally and arranged in waves. Beside the woman on a shelf there is a seated jackal.



**Dating:** Severian period (see Fig.143 in text)

**Figure:** Abd. Abd el-Al —Grenier— Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) Pl. 36, 139

**Reference:** Abd. Abd el-Al —Grenier— Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) 19 Pl. 36, 139

**Cat. No. 54**

**Storage place:** Archaeological store at Kom Abou Bellou.

Inv. TS 1081

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H.47 W. 23 Th.7 cm

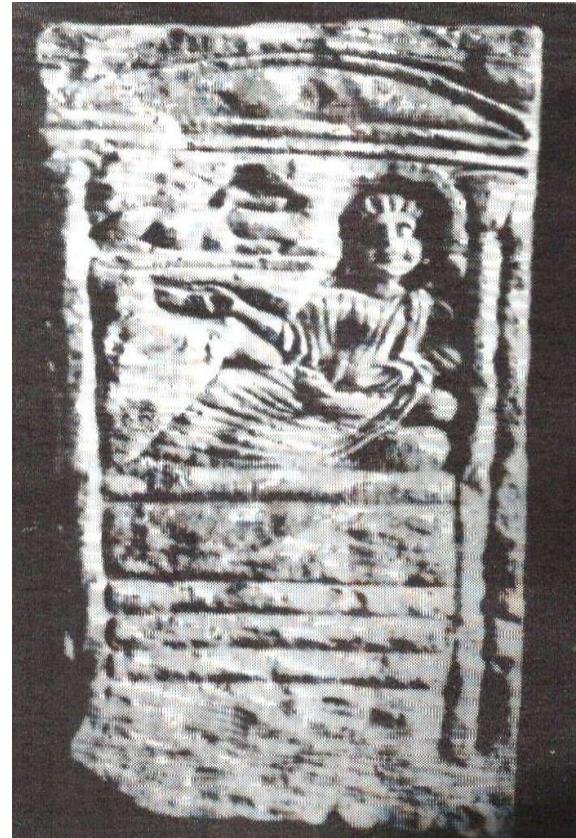
**Inscription:** None

**Description:** Sunken relief. A rectangular *stela*. The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns with papyrus capitals supporting a rounded top. The stela represents a woman reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in her right hand, and a garland in the left hand. She wears a *chiton* and a mantle which drapes over her hips. She rests on two cushions piled on the bed. The hair is parted centrally and arranged in waves. Beside the woman on a shelf there is a seated jackal, the companion and protector of the dead. There are incised lines below the reclining figure. These incised lines were intended to contain the funerary inscription.

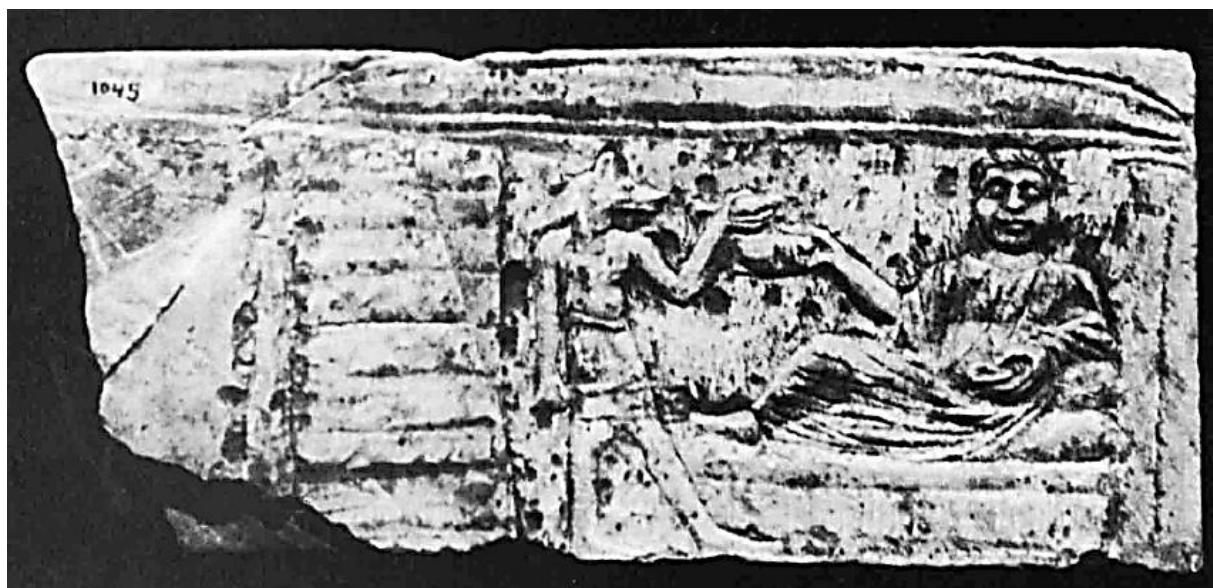
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**Reference:** Abd. Abd el-Al —Grenier— Wagner, Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou (Paris 1985) 19 Pl. 35, 137



**Cat. No. 55**



**Storage place:** Archaeological store at the Pyramids. Inv. 1045

**Provenance:** Kom Abou Bellou

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 24 L.53 Th. 6 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** The scene is within a frame flanked by two columns supporting the rounded top. The *stela* represents a man reclining on a *kline* and holding a cup in his right hand, while the left holds a garland. He wears a *chiton* and mantle which drapes over his left hand. In front of him there is a figure of Anubis with jackal head in profile holding a knife in his right hand and a vessel in the left. As we can observe here the face of the deceased is represented frontally as a classical influence while Anubis is represented in profile as usual in the Egyptian art.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> century AD

**Figure:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 255 Pl. LXXIX, No. 38.

**Reference:** S. El-Nassery — G. Wagner, Nouvelles Stèles de Kom Abu Bellou, BIFAO 78, 1978, 255 Pl. LXXIX, No. 38.

## II. Tombstones from Alexandria:

### 1. Standing Figures

#### Cat. No. 56

**Storage place:** Graeco Roman Museum in Alexandria. Inv.152; this *stela* used to lock one of the *loculi*.

**Provenance:** Hadra necropolis, Alexandria

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 32 W. 40 cm

**Inscription :** None

**Description :** Raised relief. The *stela* depicted with the figure of the deceased as a mummy inside a *naiskos*, flanked by two jackals sitting on two bases. We can date the stone according to the place of finding (Hadra cemetery) that dates back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. We can also compare it with Cat.Nr.56 that represents the shape of the *naiskos* and dates back to the Roman era. The figure of the two sitting jackals is very common in the *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou that date back to the Roman era.

**Dating:** 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC

**Figure:** S. Schmidt, Grabreliefs im Griechisch-Römischen Museum von Alexandria (Berlin 2003) Taf. 23 Kat. Nr. 72

**Reference:** S. Schmidt, Tradition und Assimilation. Grabreliefs im Griechisch-Römischen Museum von Alexandria, in: H. Felber – S. Pfisterer-Haas (Hrsg.), Ägypter – Griechen – Römer: Begegnung der Kulturen. Kanobos 1 VHWKS (Leipzig 1999)16 Abb.10; S. Schmidt, Grabreliefs im Griechisch-Römischen Museum von Alexandria (Berlin 2003) 106 Taf. 23 Kat. Nr. 72



**Cat. No. 57**

**Storage place:** Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria. Inv. 3215

**Provenance:** Elgabbary necropolis, Alexandria. This *stela* used to lock one of the *loculi*.

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 83 W. 53 cm

**Inscription :** None

**Description :** Raised relief. The *stela* takes the shape of a *naiskos*. We can see the deceased depicted standing flanked by two jackals. The side-columns had composite capitals carry abacus surmounted with the architrave that is decorated with the winged sun-disc. Inside the *naiskos*, we can see an Egyptian-style door decorated also with the winged sun-disc. The door is flanked by two small Egyptian-style bases carrying a seated jackal. Between the bases stands the deceased wearing the *chiton* and a mantle. The hair took the shape of short braids. The representation here is similar to those of Kom Abou Bellou, so that, it could date back to the same time of Kom Abou Bellou *stelae*.



**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD

**Figure:** M. S. Venit, Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: The Theater of the Dead, Cambridge University Press (2002) Abb.134

**Reference:** E. Pfuhl , Alexandrische Grabreliefs, AM 26, 1901, 294 f No.38 ; S. Schmidt, Tradition und Assimilation. Grabreliefs im Griechisch-Römischen Museum von Alexandria , in: H. Felber – S. Pfisterer-Haas (Hrsg.), Ägypter – Griechen – Römer: Begegnung der Kulturen. Kanobos 1 (VHWKS (Leipzig 1999) 16 Abb.9; M. S. Venit , Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: The Theater of the Dead, Cambridge University Press (2002) 152 Abb.134 ; S. Schmidt, Grabreliefs im Griechisch-Römischen Museum von Alexandria (Berlin 2003) 106 Taf .23 Kat.Nr. 71

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### Cat. No. 58

**Storage place:** Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria.

Inv. 97

**Provenance:** Alexandria, This *stela* used to lock one of the *loculi*.

**Material:** Limestone

**Dimensions:** H. 35 W. 23 cm

**Inscription:** None

**Description:** The *stela* represents an old man sitting on a chair. The man has a pointed chin. The upper part of the body is represented in a frontal way, while the head is represented in a profile. In front of the man there is a representation of the Ibis head rest. The man holds a long stick in his right hand. He wears a short sleeved-*chiton* and a mantle. The left leg is missing.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC

**Figure:** S. Schmidt, Grabreliefs im Griechisch-Römischen Museum von Alexandria (Berlin 2003) 94 Taf 10.

**Reference:** G. Botti, Catalogue des monuments, exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie (Alexandrie 1900) 181, No.15; E. Pfuhl, Alexandrische Grabreliefs, AM 26, 1901, 283f No.23; E.Breccia, Alexandria ad Aegyptum (Bergamo 1922)135; S. Schmidt, Tradition und Assimilation. Grabreliefs im Griechisch-Römischen Museum von Alexandria , in: H. Felber – S. Pfisterer-Haas (Hrsg.), Ägypter – Griechen – Römer: Begegnung der Kulturen. Kanobos 1 VHWKS (Leipzig 1999)13 Abb.6; S. Schmidt, Grabreliefs im Griechisch-Römischen Museum von Alexandria (Berlin 2003) 94f Taf 10



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Ref. McKenzie 2007, Fig. 325

**Fig.95**

Plan of the Roman fortress of Babylon.

Ref. A . Chugg , The Quest for the Tomb of Alexander the Great (Boston 2007) Fig.6.4; E. W. Murphy, The Antiquities of Egypt: A Translation With Notes of Book I of the Library of History of Diodorus Siculus, Transaction Publishers (1990) Pl.20

**Fig.96**

Map showing the forts and guarded roads of the Roman army in Egypt.

Ref. Alston 1995, 14, Map.2

**Fig.97**

Plan showing the Roman camp placed inside the temple of Luxor.

Ref. Bagnall — Rathbone 2004, Fig. 7.2.4 ; McKenzie 2007, Fig. 294

**Fig.98**

Reconstruction showing a part of the Roman camp decorations of Luxor temple.

Ref. Moormann 2011, Fig.73

**Fig.99**

Chapel niche of the imperial cult of Luxor temple.

Ref. Bagnall — Rathbone 2004, Fig. 7.2.5

**Fig.100**

Bronze statuette represents Horus wearing Roman military uniform.

London, British Museum Inv. EA 36062.

Hölbl 2000, 116, Abb.16

**Figs.101,a – 101,b**

Marble Roman armoured statue.

Cherchel, Musée Archéologique.

Ref. Stemmer 1978, Taf. 2,1

**Fig.102**

Bronze statuette of Horus.

Moscow, Pushkin Museum Inv. I,1a 2794

Ref. Beck 2005, Abb.197

**Fig.103**

Horus represented on the wall of the temple of Edfu.

Ref. Deurer 2010, Internet-publication

**Fig.104**

Statuette found in the Serapeion of Saqqara.

Cairo, Egyptian Museum Inv. CG 39619

Ref. Weiß 2012, No. 521

**Fig. 105**

Roman armoured statue of the Vatican garden in Rome.

Ref. Stemmer 1978,Taf. 8, 4

**Fig. 106**

Headless Roman armoured statue.

Berlin, Neues Museum Inv. SK 1799

Ref. Photgraphed by the reasercher

**Fig.107**

Bronze statuette of Anubis.

Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv.2571.

Ref. J. Leclant, Anubis, in: LIMC, Vol. I, 1981, 871 Fig 79

**Fig. 108**

Bronze statuette of Anubis.

Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Inv. F.1950/3-7.

Ref. Beck 2005, 615 Abb.194

**Fig.109**

Heroic statue of the man, so-called Sextus Pompeius.

Paris, Musée du Louvre Inv. Ma 1251

Ref. F.S. Kleiner, A Heroic Funerary Relief on the Via Appia, AA 90, 1975, 253 Fig.3

**Fig.110**

Statue of Mars.

Naples, Museo Nazionale Inv. 6124

Ref. Stemmer 1978,Taf.1, 3

**Fig.111**

Statue of Nerva.  
Parma, Museo Nazionale Inv. 827  
Ref. Stemmer 1978,Taf.1, 4

**Fig.112**

Bronze statuette of Apis  
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum Inv. 7976  
Ref. Beck 2005, 698 Abb.304

**Fig.113**

Bronze statuette of Apis.  
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Inv. 22396  
Ref. S. Athanassopoulou, The Bull in the Mediterranean World: Myths & Cults (Paperback 2003) 161 Fig .29

**Fig.114**

Statue of Antoninus Pius.  
Dresden, Albertinum Museum.  
Ref. Vermeule 1959, 64 Cat. No. 257

**Fig.115**

Torso of Antoninus Pius.  
Rome, Palazzo Senatorio.  
Ref. Smith 2006 126 Fig. 17

**Fig.116**

Military figures represented on one of the *stelae* of Alexandria.  
London, British Museum Inv. GR. 1974.-22-1.  
Ashour 2007,418 f ;Parlasca—Seemann 1999, Nr.159

**Fig.117**

Torso dating back to the Antonine period.  
Guelma, Musée de Guelma.  
Ref. Vermeule 1959, 59 Cat. No. 210

**Fig.118**

Limestone statuette represents Horus sitting on a throne, and wearing Roman military clothes.  
London, British Museum Inv. EA 51100.  
Ref. Beck 2005, 617 Abb.196

**Fig.119**

Bust of Gordien III.  
Paris, Musée du Louvre Inv. Ma 1063.  
Ref. K. Kersauson, Catalogue des portraits romains: De l'année de la guerre civile (68 - 69 après J.-C.) à la fin de l'Empire, Tome II (Paris 1996) 456

**Fig.120**

Sarcophagus of Emperor Balbinus.  
Rome, Praetextatus Catacomb Museum.  
Ref. Vermeule 1959, 26 Pl.XXII, 70

**Fig.121**

God Tutu (Tithoes) represented on a stele wearing Roman scale armour.  
Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Inv. A 1505  
Ref. Beack, 611 Abb. 189

**Fig.122**

Animal-headed figures placed in the houses as private statuettes.  
Ref. Heinimann 1998, 184 f. Abb.164

**Fig.123**

Drawing of a *lararium* shrine.  
Ref. Olyan – Bodel 2008, Fig. 14, 5

**Fig.124**

Fresco in the tomb of Stagni in Alexandria representing Anubis in military Roman clothes.  
Ref. I. Kaplan, Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit Wechselwirkung zwischen der ägyptischen und griechisch-alexandrinischen Kunst (Wien 1999) 74 Taf. 65, b; Venit 2002, 144 Fig. 124

**Fig.125**

Anubis represented on the entrance of the main tomb of Kom El-Shouqafa.  
Ref. Venit 2002, 144, Fig.123

**Fig.126**

Limestone statuette of a Roman soldier.  
Cairo, Egyptian Museum Inv. J.E. 66323.  
Ref. Ashour 2007, 398 Fig. 178

**Fig.127**

Limestone *stela* from Luxor.  
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum Inv.7802.  
Ref. Beck 2005, 694 f. Abb. 301

**Fig.128**

Map showing the location of Kom Abou Bellou.  
Bagnall — Rathbone 2004, 79 Fig. 2.6.1.

**Fig.129**

Plan showing the location of Kom abou Bellou cemetery.

Ref. Gazda 1987, Internet-publication

**Fig.130**

Tombs of Kom Abou Bellou.

Ref. Hooper 1966, 2 Pl.I,a-b

**Fig.131**

Reconstruction of one of Kom Abou Bellou tombs.

Ref. Gazda 1987, Internet-publication

**Fig.132**

Painting representing scenes from nature on one of Kom Abou Bellou tombs.

Ref. Hooper 1966,3 Pl.III, b -IV a

**Fig.133**

Burial found between two tombs of Kom Abou Bellou.

Ref.El-Sawy 1977, Fig.1; Hooper 1966, 3 Pl.II, b

**Fig.134**

One of Kom Abou Bellou *stelae* placed inside the niche of the tomb.

Ref. Abd el-Al 1983, Pl. VI, a

**Fig.135**

One of Kom Abou Bellou *stelae* placed beside the deceased.

Ref. Abd el-Al 1983, Pl. VI, b

**Fig.136**

Reconstruction of the types of Kom Abou Bellou tombs.

Ref. El-Nassery — Wagner 1978, Fig.2

**Fig.137**

Skeleton of a man found underneath one of Kom Abou Bellou tombs.

Ref. Abd el-Al 1983, Pl. XIII

**Fig.138**

Coin found in one of Kom Abou Bellou tombs dating back to the reign of Diocletian.

Ref. Kelsey Museum of Archaeology 1998, Internet-publication

**Fig.139**

Terracotta of Aphrodite found in Kom abou Bellou cemetery.

Ref. Hawass 1979, 83, Fig.4

**Fig.140**

Plan of Hadra cemetery in Alexandria.

Ref. Venit 2002, Fig.7

**Fig.141**

Hadra cemetery in Alexandria.

Ref. Schmidt 2003, Abb. 22

**Fig.142**

Stele represents an old man sitting on a chair beside a headless ibis.

Brussels, Muséeroyaux. Inv. E. 5289

Ref. Schmidt 2003, 27 Abb. 28

**Fig.143**

Portrait of a lady dating back to the early Severian Period.

Rome, Museo Capitolino Inv. 636

Ref. Fittschen —Zanker 1983, 97, Taf.168, Nr.141

**Fig.144**

Portrait of Julia Domna.

Ostia, Museo Ostiense Inv. 21.

Ref. A. Alexandridis, Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses. Eine Untersuchung ihrer bildlichen Darstellung von Livia bis Iulia Domna (Mainz 2004) 201 Kat. Nr. 223 Taf.49

**Fig.145**

Stele found in Kom Abou Bellou cemetery.

Cairo, Archaeological store at the Pyramids Inv. 1393

El-Nassery— Wagner 1978, Pl. LXXVI, No. 27; Vitali 1987, 252 Tav. IX.

**Fig.146**

Portrait dating back to the Flavian period.

Rome, Museo Capitolino Inv. 436

Ref. Fittschen — Zanker 1983, 49-50, Kat.Nr. 63 Taf. 80.

**Fig.147**

Stele probably found in Kom Abou Bellou cemetery.

London, British Museum Inv. EA 59870

Walker — Bierbrier 1997, 152 Pl. 169.

**Fig.148**

Stele from Smyrna.

Malibu, Collections of the Getty Villa Inv. 77.AA.376

Ref. B.Grossman, Greek Funerary Sculpture: Catalogue of the Collections at the Getty Villa, Getty Publications (Los Angeles 2001) No.42; Pfuhl—Mobius 1979, 378 f. Nr. 1538

**Fig.149**

Gray marble stele from Ephesus.

Selçuk, Selçuk Museum Inv.240

Ref. Pfuhl— Möbius 1977, 228 No.879

**Fig.150**

Stele found in Kom Abou Bellou cemetery  
Cairo, Archaeological store at Kom Abou Bellou Inv. TS 1331  
Ref. Abd el-Al a. O. 1985, 19 Pl. 12 49

**Fig.151**

Rounded-top stele from Marintepe at Varna.  
Varna, Archaeological Museum Inv. III 502  
Ref. Pfuhl— Möbius 1979, 316, No. 1295

**Fig.152**

Rounded-top limestone *stela*.  
Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Inv. 2547  
Ref. The Global Egyptian Museum 2004g, Internet-publication

**Fig.153**

Stele from Samos.  
Samos, Tigani Museum Inv. 351  
Ref. Pfuhl— Möbius 1977, 245 No. 958

**Fig.154**

Rectangular limestone *stela* dating back to the Middle Kingdom.  
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Inv.95.  
Ref. The Global Egyptian Museum 2004h, Internet-publication

**Fig.155**

Painting on the eastern wall of the tomb of Petosiris at El-Mezawaqa, Dakhla Oasis.  
Ref. Osing 1982, 86 Taf. 31,1

**Fig.156**

Shroud dating back to the Roman period in Egypt.  
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Inv. 91251  
Ref. Kurth 2010, 77 Abb.5

**Fig.157**

Piece of a mummy found in the tomb of Bakenrenef at Saqqara.  
Ref. Bresciani 1996, 31 Fig. 29

**Fig.158**

Shroud dating back to the Roman period in Egypt.  
Moscow, Pushkin Museum Inv. I.1a 5763  
Ref. Kurth 2010, 18 Abb.1

**Fig.159**

Drawing showing the gesture of happiness in the Pharaonic period.  
Ref. B. Dominicus, Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches,  
Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 10 (Heidelberg 1994) 59

**Fig.160**

Statue of the king Au-Ib-Ra Hor from the 13<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

Ref. J. Assmann , Der Kaals Double, in: Das Double (Wiesbaden 2006) 215.

**Fig. 161**

Scene of *orans* represented on a sarcophagus in Rom.

Rome, Museo Torlonia.

Ref. T. Klauser, Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst III, JbAC Bd. 3, Münster 1960, 112 Taf.7, b

**Fig.162**

Goddess with upraised arms from Gazi dating back to 1200-1100 BC .

Ref. S. L. Budin, The ancient Greeks: An Introduction (New York 2009) 234 Fig. 8.5

**Fig.163**

Goddess Nut, goddess of the sky.

London, British Museum Inv. EA 6950

Ref. Walker — Bierbrier 1997, 150 Fig. 166

**Fig. 164**

Goddess Nut represented as taking a curved shape.

Ref. J. E. Wright, The Early History of Heaven, Oxford University Press (Oxford 1999) 9

Fig.1.2

**Fig.165**

Drawing of one of Kom Abou Bellou *stelae*.

Hawass 1979, 79 Fig. 2

**Fig. 166**

Stele probably from Kom Abou Bellou.

Paris, Musée du Louvre Inv. MA 1673

Ref. Schmidt 2003, Abb.45

**Fig.167**

Stele from Samos.

Samos, Museum of Vathy Inv. 206

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**Fig.168**

One of the *stelae* of Kom Abou Bellou.

Tübingen, Tübingen Museum Inv. 5200

Ref. Schmidt 2003, Abb. 47

**Fig.169**

Stele from Samos.

Samos, Pythagorion Museum Inv. 350.

Ref. Schmidt 2003, 51 Abb. 48

**Fig.170**

Mummy portrait from El-Fayoum.

London, British Museum Inv. EA 69020.

Ref. Walker — Bierbrier 1997, 81 Fig.59

**Fig.171**

Scene of the mummification in the Catacomb of Kom el-Shougafa.

Ref. A. Rowe, Kom el-Shukafa: in the Light of the Excavations of the Graeco-Roman Museum during the Season 1941-1942

**Fig.172**

Scene of the deceased judgment on the western wall of a tomb at Akhmim.

Ref. Bissing 1950, 570 Pl.I

**Fig.173**

Purification scene in house 21 at Tuna el-Gebel.

Ref. Gabra 1971, 96; Corbelli 2006, 28 Fig.27

**Fig.174**

Black *ka* in the tomb of Seti I.

Ref. Bissing 1950, 270

**Fig.175**

Black shapes represented beside the *amam* beast.

Ref. Ch. Seeber, Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten (Berlin 1976) 171 Fig.69

**Fig.176**

Scene of the deceased judgment.

Abd el-Al a. o. 1985, 84 Fig. 2.

**Fig.177**

Scene from the Roman tomb of Akhmim.

Ref. D. Klotz, The Lecherous Pseudo-Anubis of Josephus and the ‘Tomb of 1897’ at Akhmim, in: A. Gasse— Fr. Servajean— Chr. Thiers (eds.), CENIM 5 : Et in Ægypto et ad Ægyptum, Recueil d’études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier, CENIM, Vol. 2 (Montpellier 2012) 386 Fig.1

**Fig.178**

Representation of the deceased judgment on a coffin.

Paris, Musée du Louvre Inv. E 32634b

Ref. Parlasca — Seemann 1999, 310 Taf. 206,e

**Fig.179**

Scene represented by the tempra technique on a coffin from Saqqara.  
Moscow, Pushkin Museum Inv. 5749  
Ref. Parlasca 1966, Taf.35, 1; Regen 2012, 631

**Fig.180**

Scene represented by the tempra technique on a coffin, dating back to 140-180 AD.  
Paris, Musée du Louvre Inv. N 3076  
Ref. Doxiadis 1995, 187 Fig.13

**Fig.181**

Scene represented by the tempra technique.  
Moscow, Pushkin Museum Inv. 5747  
Ref. Parlasca —Seemann 1999, 246 Taf.153.

**Fig.182**

Representation on a stele from Abydos showing the deceased accompanied by Anubis.  
Ref. Abdalla 1992, 37 Pl.26,c

**Fig.183**

Scene depicted on a stele from Abydos.  
Ref. Abdalla 1992, 39 Pl.28,b

**Fig.184**

Scene in the Tigran tomb in Alexandria.  
Ref. Venit 2002, 146 ff Fig.133 ; <http://goo.gl/wV7iX>

**Fig.185**

Painted shroud used for wrapping the mummy.  
Ref. Bresciani 1996,15 Fig.5

**Fig.186**

Scene of mummification.  
Turin, Museo Egizio Inv. 2265  
Ref. Grimm 1974 ,117

**Fig.187**

Representation of the deceased judgment.  
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Inv. 12442  
Ref. Grimm 1974, 118 Taf.137, 2; Kurth 2010, 159 Abb.31

**Fig.188**

Anubis depicted on the cartonnage of a mummy.  
London, British Museum Inv. EA 21810  
Ref. Walker— Bierbrier 1997, 56 Fig. 32

**Fig.189**

Limestone tombstone dating back to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.  
Cairo, Egyptian Museum Inv. JdE 91251  
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