Anubis and the Embalming Scene: Tradition and Innovation in a New Kingdom Funerary Scene at Kom el-Shoqafa, Alexandria

Bethany Jensen

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.memphis.edu/etd

Recommended Citation
https://digitalcommons.memphis.edu/etd/3406

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by University of Memphis Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of University of Memphis Digital Commons. For more information, please contact khggerty@memphis.edu.
ANUBIS AND THE EMBALMING SCENE: TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN A NEW KINGDOM FUNERARY SCENE AT KOM EL-SHOQAFA, ALEXANDRIA

by

Bethany Jensen

A Thesis
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

Art History

The University of Memphis
May 2022
For my parents, Ray and Nancy Jensen,
who have supported me every step of the way on this wild journey

For Dr. Kerry Muhlestein,
I wouldn’t have gotten here without you
Acknowledgements

First, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to Dr. Lorelei Corcoran for all of her expertise, knowledge, and assistance as well as her patience and understanding. I encountered Dr. Corcoran’s work for the first time as an undergraduate student in 2011, which in part sparked my interest in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. It is an honor to have her as my advisor.

I would also like to extend my thanks to my committee members, Dr. Joshua Roberson and Dr. Suzanne Onstine for their expertise and willingness to be a part of my committee.

I am grateful to my team members from the Brigham Young University Egypt Excavation Project. Enormous thanks to Kristin South for taking, sending, and allowing me to use her fabulous pictures from Kom el-Shoqafa. Also, thanks to Dr. R. Paul Evans for his photographic assistance as well. Without this team I never would have gone to Alexandria, and I am grateful to get to work on this project with such fantastic people.

Thank you to Dr. Kerry Muhlestein, to whom this work is in part dedicated. There is not enough space to adequately express my gratitude for the mentorship, friendship, and everything else he has assisted me with over the past decade. I truly would not be where I am without his support and encouragement.

I want to recognize Mark Trumpour, who sent me a pre-publication copy of his article and assisted me in the beginning stages of my research for this thesis. His work inspired mine.

Special thanks to fellow University of Memphis Art History student, Andrea Courtway, for being a sounding board, suggesting references, and never ceasing in her faith in my abilities.

Last, but not least, thank you to my family and friends, who are too numerous to name individually. Their love, support, and encouragement has helped me to persist through many challenges in the course of pursuing this degree. Thanks to them for never letting me fall.
Abstract

Focusing on the scene of Anubis embalming the mummy in the main tomb at Kom el-Shoqafa in Alexandria, Egypt, this thesis demonstrates how it is both a continuation of the funerary motif that first appears in Dynasty 18 of the New Kingdom (ca. 1425 BC) and an innovative version unique to the early Roman period (first to second centuries AD). Background information regarding Alexandria, the site of Kom el-Shoqafa, and a description of the tomb are provided. This is followed by a history of the scene, its origins in Spell 151 of the Book of the Dead, and a comparison of the scene to those in other tombs and contexts (papyri, coffins, etc.) which show adherence to tradition while simultaneously allowing for modification. The thesis argues that the Alexandrian scene preserves earlier iconography and departs from it in its conflation of the embalming scene with a funerary scene of purification.
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Plates</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter 1: Introduction</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tombs in Alexandria</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outline</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter 2: The Architecture and Design of the Main Tomb</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomb Façade and Pronaos</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naos</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left Sarcophagus Niche</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right Sarcophagus Niche</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Sarcophagus Niche</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter 3: Book of the Dead Spell 151</strong></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter 4: A Visual History and Analysis of the Spell 151 Vignette</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sennefer, TT 96 – Sheikh Abd el-Qurna</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sennedjem, TT 1 – Deir el-Medina</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siptah, KV 47 – Valley of the Kings</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tausret/Setnakht, KV 14 – Valley of the Kings</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nefertari, QV 66 – Valley of the Queens</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheshonq III - Tanis</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bannantiu – Bahria Oasis</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siamun – Siwa Oasis</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuna el-Gebel M 21 – Tuna el-Gebel (the cemetery of ancient Hermopolis)</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigrane Tomb – Alexandria</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomb 2, Hall of Caracalla – Alexandria</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Media</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter 5: Conclusion</strong></td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bibliography</strong></td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Appendix A</strong></td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plates</strong></td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# List of Plates

1. Street Entrance to the Catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa 90
2. The Main Tomb of Kom el-Shoqafa 91
3. Central Scene of the Main Tomb, Anubis with the Mummy on a Lion Bed 92
4. Cutaway Diagram of the Catacombs 93
5. Plan of the Catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa 94
6. Covered Entrance to the Catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa 95
7. Funerary Shaft 96
8. Spiral Staircase 97
9. Cistern 98
10. Vestibule 99
11. Vestibule Niche 100
12. Rotunda 101
13. Triclinium 102
14. Triclinium, 1900 Excavation 103
15. Reconstruction of Funerary Meal 104
16. “Prompter’s Box,” View towards the Rotunda 105
17. Scallop Shell Motif above Main Tomb 106
18. Façade of Main Tomb 107
19. Temple of Dendur, 68.154 108
20. Column Capital 109
21. Pilaster 110
22. Statue of a Woman, Left Niche 111
23. Statue of a Man, Right Niche 112
24. Ka statue of Mereruka, Saqqara 113
25. Statue of a Woman 114
26. Statue of a Man 115
27. Plan of the Main Tomb with Reliefs Numbered 116
28. Agathodaemon, Left Side of Pronaos 117
29. Agathodaemon, Right Side of Pronaos 118
30. Interior Tomb Entrance, Anubis Reliefs 119
31 A. Anubis Soldier Relief, Photo 120
31 B. Anubis Soldier Relief, Drawing 120
32. Anubis, Inv. 22840 121
33 A. Anubis Serpent Relief, Photo 122
33 B. Anubis Serpent Relief, Drawing 122
34. Left Sarcophagus Niche 123
35 A. Central Relief, Left Niche, Photo 124
35 B. Central Relief, Left Niche, Drawing 124
36 A. Left Relief, Left Niche, Photo 125
36 B. Left Relief, Left Niche, Drawing 125
37 A. Right Relief, Left Niche, Photo 126
37 B. Right Relief, Left Niche, Drawing 126
38. Stucco Mummy, Coptic Museum, Inv. 4124 127
39. Antinous as Osiris, Inv. 22795 128
40. Right Sarcophagus Niche 129
41. Right Sarcophagus Niche

42. Central Relief, Right Niche

43 A. Left Relief, Right Niche, Photo

43 B. Left Relief, Right Niche, Drawing

44 A. Right Relief, Right Niche, Photo

44 B. Right Relief, Right Niche, Drawing

45. Central Sarcophagus Niche

46 A. Right Relief, Central Niche, Photo

46 B. Right Relief, Central Niche, Drawing

47 A. Left Relief, Central Niche, Photo

47 B. Left Relief, Central Niche, Drawing

48 A. Central Relief, Central Niche, Photo

48 B. Central Relief, Central Niche, Drawing

49. Book of the Dead of Methetepty, EA10010,5

50. Magical Bricks, E A41544, EA41545, EA41546 and EA 41547

51. Purification of Amenhotep II

52. Portrait Mummy of a Girl, CG 33216

53. Register 2, CG33216, Embalming Scene

54. Mummy Mask of a Young Man, EA63841

55. Tomb of Sennefer, Spell 151 Vignette

56. Tomb of Sennedjem, Embalming Scene

57. Tomb of Siptah, Spell 151 Vignette

58 A. Tomb of Tausret and Setnakht, Spell 151 Vignette, Photo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58 B.</td>
<td>Tomb of Tausret and Setnakht, Spell 151 Vignette, Drawing</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 A.</td>
<td>Tomb of Nefertari, Spell 151 Vignette</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 B.</td>
<td>Tomb of Nefertari, Spell 151 Vignettes</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Tomb of Sheshonq III, Embalming Scene</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 A.</td>
<td>Tomb of Bannantiu, Outer Chamber, Embalming Scene, Photo</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 B.</td>
<td>Tomb of Bannantiu, Outer Chamber, Embalming Scene, Drawing</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62 A.</td>
<td>Tomb of Bannantiu, Inner Chamber, Embalming Scene, Photo</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62 B.</td>
<td>Tomb of Bannantiu, Inner Chamber, Embalming Scene, Drawing</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 A.</td>
<td>Tomb of Siamun, Embalming Scene, Photo</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 B.</td>
<td>Tomb of Siamun, Embalming Scene, Drawing</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64 A.</td>
<td>House Tomb 21, Embalming Scene, Photo</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64 B.</td>
<td>House Tomb 21, Embalming Scene, Drawing</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>House Tomb 21, Lustration Scene</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>Tigrane Tomb, Embalming Scene</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67 A.</td>
<td>Tomb 2, Hall of Caracalla, Sarcophagus Tomb Niche</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67 B.</td>
<td>Tomb 2, Hall of Caracalla, Central Scene “Resurrected”</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>Section from the Interior of the Coffin of Djedhorefankh, 238</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69 A.</td>
<td>Coffin of Irthorru, A. 1910.97</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69 B.</td>
<td>Coffin of Irthorru, Embalming Scene, A. 1910.97</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 A.</td>
<td>Coffin of Nedjemankh</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 B.</td>
<td>Coffin of Nedjemankh, Embalming Scene</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.</td>
<td>Mask of Crates, E 14542 TER</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72.</td>
<td>Stela of Neferabu, EA305</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Stela for Pachomalal, Son of Peteharsomtous, 98.4.60</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Book of the Dead of Ani, Frame 33 and 34, E A10470,33 and EA10470,34</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Book of the Dead of Nesishutefnut (Papyrus Ryerson), E97871</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Amulet Showing Anubis Standing over Mummy on Bier, 17.194.2518</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Hematite Intaglio: Mummy of Osiris, 10.130.1393</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1: Introduction

The Catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa\(^1\) in Alexandria, Egypt (Plate 1) are home to a Roman-era tomb with a fascinating decorative program. The reliefs carved into the walls express continuity with traditional Egyptian motifs while also incorporating innovation from the Greek and Roman worlds (Plate 2). This thesis analyzes the motif of the central relief on the back wall of the tomb (Plate 3), which depicts the jackal-headed god Anubis with a mummy on a bed with a lion’s head. This scene originates in the New Kingdom, and the purpose of this thesis is to situate the scene as depicted in Kom el-Shoqafa into a wider Egyptian context and to explore how it has changed over time. This analysis supports the argument that the motif is unquestionably Egyptian in its preservation of pharaonic period iconography while simultaneously incorporating modifications to the traditional depiction, including the idea that this relief is a combination of two different rites—the embalming ritual and the lustration ritual.

Alexandria

Alexandria was founded in 331 BC by Alexander the Great. It was intended to be a Greek city from its inception and traditional features of Greek cities (an agora, for example) could be found there. Although Alexandria came under Roman rule after Octavian’s invasion in 30 BC, the Greek culture of the city still persisted.\(^2\) At this time, Greek identity was somewhat fluid and did not necessarily indicate that a person was from the geographic region of the Greek Isles or

---

\(^1\) There are variant spellings for the name of the site due to different transliterations from Arabic into English. The spelling in this thesis is “Kom el-Shoqafa,” although variants will appear from cited sources.

mainland. It seems that a major characteristic was the ability to speak Greek and whether or not an individual had adopted aspects of Greek culture.³

Alexandria essentially functioned as a bridge between east and west. It was an important center for trade that allowed access to the many resources Egypt had to offer, like papyrus, wheat, and flax, as well as access to various places throughout the known world. The international nature of Alexandria that was introduced through shipping also permeated other areas of life, as evidenced by the diversity of its population. The city attracted individuals from all over the Greek world as well as Syrians, Bactrians, Persians, Gauls, Jews, and others.⁴

The cosmopolitan nature of the city is also seen in the cemeteries at Alexandria. Inscriptions on urns that include information about where deceased individuals originated point to locations throughout the Mediterranean, although Egyptians are absent. One explanation for the lack of Egyptian place names on cinerary urns is that cremation was anathema to the Egyptian belief regarding the body and conceptions about the afterlife.⁵ Venit argues that the absence is likely due to intermarriage between Greeks and Egyptians with Egyptians assimilating to the new context. “Intentional assimilation, expedient adaptation, and a conscious dual identity were characteristic of Alexandria, possibly the most cosmopolitan city in the ancient world.”⁶ In the same way that Egyptians adopted elements from the Greek world, ethnic Greeks also adopted features from Egypt, like religious practices tied specifically to death and the afterlife, ideas that


⁵ Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram, The Tomb in Ancient Egypt: Royal and Private Sepulchres from the Early Dynastic Period to the Romans, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2008), 293.

⁶ Venit, Monumental Tombs, 10.
were expressed in the design and decoration of Alexandrian tombs. Within the cemeteries it can be difficult to identify the ethnicity of deceased individuals, especially in regard to differentiating Greeks and Egyptians. Nevertheless, as Abdelwahed concluded:

In Roman Egypt, different and interconnected levels of identity assertion were articulated visually through funerary architecture and iconography. The patrons used their tombs to emphasize aspects of their personal and social identities such as gender and wealth, but rarely profession. The combination and blending of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian cultural traditions suggests that funerary architecture and iconography were not intended to reflect the patrons’ self-conscious adherence to particular group identity. However, they have the potential to convey the culture in which the patrons lived.

Tombs in Alexandria

The tomb complexes in Alexandria are unique. They are neither fully Egyptian nor fully Greek and no parallels have been found in Egypt or in areas under Greek influence. Tombs in Alexandria employ classical architecture incorporating such elements as columns, friezes, and altars. In addition to the Greek architecture, the tombs also make use of Egyptian iconography. While the tombs are rock-cut, similar to tombs from pharaonic Egypt, the addition of Greek ornamentation and other features sets them apart from other tombs in Egypt.

The types of interment present include both Egyptian practices, like mummification, Greek practices, like cremation, as well as religious traditions associated with Jews and

---


9 Roger S. Bagnall and Dominic W. Rathbone, eds., *Egypt: From Alexander to the Copts*, (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2008), 70.


Christians.\textsuperscript{12} The tombs are also organized in a way that reflects both Egyptian and Greek practices in terms of the burial ceremony itself, which consists of three major components—preparing the body for burial which was accompanied by mourning, transporting the body to the tomb, and deposition of the body and feast for the family of the deceased.\textsuperscript{13}

Ptolemaic-era tombs, such as Hypogeum A in the Chatby Necropolis\textsuperscript{14} are underground, cut vertically into the rock, and accompanied by a rock-cut staircase to reach the tomb. Around the staircase was an open court where burial rites or commemorative ceremonies were held. An altar and well were also features of the court. These underground tombs are also called hypogea.\textsuperscript{15} The burial chamber of the tomb contained a \textit{kline}, which is a type of furniture from ancient Greece similar to a couch or bed, on which the dead were laid to rest. Around the main burial chamber were other rooms containing loculi, long niches cut into the wall that were used for interment. These tombs were decorated with carved architectural elements and painted.\textsuperscript{16}

Roman period tombs exhibit more variety in architectural style than Ptolemaic tombs and are thus difficult to characterize in simple terms. While there is a general type, some tombs feature more rooms than others or incorporate different architectural features.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{12} Bagnall and Rathbone, \textit{Egypt}, 69.

\textsuperscript{13} Bagnall and Rathbone, \textit{Egypt}, 69–70.

\textsuperscript{14} Chatby is located north of the eastern wall of Alexandria and is the earliest Alexandrian necropolis. Venit, \textit{Monumental Tombs}, 192.

\textsuperscript{15} Venit, \textit{Monumental Tombs}, 15.

\textsuperscript{16} Venit, \textit{Monumental Tombs}, 15.

\textsuperscript{17} Venit, \textit{Monumental Tombs}, 16.
incorporating Egyptian and Graeco-Roman traditions was also a more prominent feature of Roman tombs than Ptolemaic tombs.\(^{18}\)

In general, Roman-era tombs, such as the main tomb at Kom el-Shoqafa, are modeled after Ptolemaic tombs with a few differences. One change is that they no longer used *kline* chambers.\(^{19}\) Another is that the well that was present in the court around Ptolemaic-era tombs was replaced by the use of large cisterns located nearby. Loculi were a common feature and, in contrast to Ptolemaic tombs where loculi were cut into tomb walls as needed, appear to have been preplanned. More luxurious burials included freestanding sarcophagi or rock-cut sarcophagi set into arched niches (*arcosolia*). Sometimes, these niches were set in a *triclinium* formation (i.e., forming three sides of a square).\(^{20}\)

Visual narratives depicted in Roman-era tombs in Alexandria are not as varied as in the comparable nonroyal tombs of the pharaonic and Ptolemaic periods. Whereas those tombs incorporated secular and religious scenes, images adorning the walls of Roman-era tombs focus solely on religious aspects. Abdelwahed argues that what appears as a more limited corpus may be due to a desire to condense funerary narratives to address larger themes: “the lack of diversity may be explained by the perception of a need, by most patrons and their commissioned artists, to condense the diverse and complex traditional funerary repertoire in tombs into a number of scenes, acting as archetypes or synecdoche and addressing the major concerns of the religion.”\(^{21}\)

---

\(^{18}\) Abdelwahed, *Egyptian Cultural Identity*, 130.

\(^{19}\) Venit, *Monumental Tombs*, 15.


\(^{21}\) Abdelwahed, *Egyptian Cultural Identity*, 104.
The most common scene found in these tombs is of Osiris on the lion-headed funerary bier.\textsuperscript{22}

The motif featuring Isis and Nephthys with outstretched wings in a protective manner over Osiris is also frequently depicted, the idea being that just as these goddesses protect Osiris, so too will the deceased also be protected.\textsuperscript{23}

Use of Egyptian elements in Ptolemaic and Roman tombs reflects a broader trend of “Egyptianizing” occurring in the early Roman period. It is perhaps one reason why mummification was widespread among ethnic Greeks and why the mysteries of Isis vied for attention alongside rites associated with Demeter and Dionysus.\textsuperscript{24} According to Venit:

The Egyptianizing tombs sum up the appropriation of Egyptian religious imagery to serve the interests of these inhabitants of Roman-ruled Alexandria and, at the same time, demonstrate the endurance and preservation of Greek modes of visual communication. Most strikingly, however, these tombs demonstrate how Egyptian and Greek (and Roman) style, content, and belief can intermingle to produce something that is wholly identifiable with the culture of neither one nor the other ethnic groups and how these elements can interact to create an entirely new visual semantic system.\textsuperscript{25}

Images in Roman-era tombs incorporate Egyptian religious iconography in a number of ways. Some faithfully replicate scenes in an Egyptian style or with Egyptian subjects though the setting is clearly not Egyptian. Some depict Egyptian deities in a Hellenized manner that was unique to Alexandria. Others reinterpret Egyptian iconography and attach new meaning to the symbols.\textsuperscript{26} Scenes frequently include Isis, Horus in the form of a falcon, Nephthys, Serapis in the

\textsuperscript{22} Abdelwahed, \textit{Egyptian Cultural Identity}, 108.

\textsuperscript{23} Abdelwahed, \textit{Egyptian Cultural Identity}, 110.

\textsuperscript{24} Venit, \textit{Monumental Tombs}, 119.

\textsuperscript{25} Venit, \textit{Monumental Tombs}, 166.

\textsuperscript{26} Venit, \textit{Monumental Tombs}, 119.
form of the Apis bull, Anubis, and Osiris.\textsuperscript{27} Egyptian deities typically retain their original form rather than taking on a syncretic Hellenized Egyptian form or being depicted in a Graeco-Roman style. One exception seems to be Anubis, who frequently appears in armor or garments more associated with Hellenistic and Roman traditions rather than Egyptian ones.\textsuperscript{28}

**The Catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa**

Kom el-Shoqafa, (“mound of sherds,” in Arabic) is located in a part of Alexandria that was known as Rhakotis. It is southwest of the nearby Serapeum, where Pompey’s Pillar stands today. The catacombs at the site are cut into a semi-circular rock plateau which in antiquity stood approximately fifty feet above the surrounding neighborhood.\textsuperscript{29} The site began to be investigated by Giuseppe Botti in 1892. Discovery of the catacombs came a few years later.\textsuperscript{30}

The catacombs at Kom el-Shoqafa are the largest catacombs in Alexandria.\textsuperscript{31} The site was discovered by Es-Sayed Aly Gibarah on September 28, 1900 when he was quarrying for stone.\textsuperscript{32} In his digging, he broke open the vault of an underground passage, whereupon he sought out Giuseppe Botti, founder and first director of the Graeco-Egyptian Museum in Alexandria, so that the antiquities, if any, could be removed, and quarrying could resume. Botti noted that on

\textsuperscript{27} Venit, *Monumental Tombs*, 120.  
\textsuperscript{28} Venit, *Monumental Tombs*, 166.  
\textsuperscript{32} There is also an apocryphal story about a donkey falling into a hole being the impetus for discovering the tomb, see Jean-Yves Empereur, *A Short Guide to the Catacombs of Kom el Shoqafa Alexandria*, (Alexandria: Sarapis Publishing, 1995), 1.
that particular day, a Friday, the museum was busy and he could not get away. He sent Silvio Beghé and Abdou Daoud to look at the site and report back that evening. The following day Botti visited the site. He recorded his reaction upon seeing the tomb, “Ma joie, cette fois-ci ne connût pas de bornes!” In the same report, he wrote, “J’en pris possession au nom du Musée d’Alexandrie, heureux et fier que notre chère ville possédait enfin un monument absolument unique dans son genre, monument dont elle peut maintenant à bon droit s’enorgueillir et se targuer vis-à-vis des personnes qui crient, à toute occasion, qu’il n’y a rien de bien intéressant à voir à Alexandrie.”

The next day, the German Ernst Sieglin expedition arrived; Botti erroneously recorded the date as September 30, 1901 (which is a year later). The Sieglin expedition worked in Alexandria from 1898–1902 and the results of these efforts were published in 1908.

Excavations at the catacombs were also conducted in 1941–1942 by British Egyptologist and curator at the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alan Rowe. The report from these excavations will be used throughout this thesis due to its importance as an early publication of the tomb, but it should be noted that some of his observations are now outdated. Rowe’s excavations uncovered a funerary road around the base of the plateau, a children’s cemetery on the south-east side, and a


34 Botti, Le Musée, 8. “I took possession of it in the name of the Museum of Alexandria, happy and proud that our dear city finally possessed a monument absolutely unique in its kind, a monument of which it can now be justly proud and pride itself with regard to the people who cry, at every opportunity, that there is nothing very interesting to see in Alexandria.”

35 Botti, Le Musée, 8.

36 Ernst Sieglin, Die Nekropole von Kôm-Esch-Shukâfa: Ausgrabungen und Forschungen, (Leipzig: Giesecke and Devrient, 1908), VII.
chamber on the south side with hundreds of ceramic vessels. He also completed clearing the catacombs discovered in 1900.37

The catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa consist of three main levels (Plate 4). Scholars do not always label the same floor with the same number (for example what one calls the first level may be the third level by someone else or vice-a-versa). The numbering system this thesis uses numbers the levels from lowest to highest. The lowest level is level one, which was typically flooded in the past; level two is the principal tomb; and level three consists of the rotunda, vestibule, and triclinium. It seems likely that there may have been a fourth level, a possible superstructure. This suggestion is based on the discovery of a mosaic near the spiral staircase entrance.38 Breccia hypothesizes that this fourth story would have been open to the elements.39

In addition to the previously named features, there are also additional passages in the catacombs. Rowe dates the three-storied rock-cut structure to the first or second century AD, and notes that it was gradually enlarged until it was abandoned at the beginning of the fourth century AD. (These dates are based on coins that have been found in the catacombs spanning the time of Trajan, AD 98–117 to the time of Licinius II, AD 317–324.)40 These enlargements consist of various passages containing loculi. A modern passage off of the rotunda opens into the so-called Hall of Caracalla having broken through the wall of one of the tombs in that suite of catacombs. These two burial complexes were, however, separate in antiquity.

---

38 Sieglin, Die Nekropole, 80.
Rowe believed that the principal tomb of the Kom el-Shoqafa complex was a modified Serapeum. He identifies the lowest level (level one), which his expedition was able to drain, as the lower part of a “supposed Serapeum” with the upper part consisting of the vestibule, rotunda, main tomb, and passages around the main tomb (levels two and three). He suggested that an inner sanctuary containing a statue of Serapis was located in a space behind the tomb, and that there may have been a statue of the Apis bull on the lowest level (level one) at the base of the central shaft which is connected to the rotunda (level three). Although there is no evidence for a statue in either location, Rowe makes this connection on account of the reliefs inside the main tomb, some of which feature an Apis bull. An additional connection to Serapis is made based on the underground nature of the tomb being similar to the underground portions of the nearby Serapeum, where a statue of Apis was found. Rowe suggests that the supposed Serapeum was one of the oldest parts of the tomb and it was likely abandoned after it became partially flooded. It was at this point, he suggests, that the upper parts of the proposed Serapeum were converted into a tomb. 41 Aside from the reliefs and the potential parallel to the Serapeum, there is little to suggest that the catacombs were originally a Serapeum.

From October 12, 2017 to March 13, 2019, USAID (United States Agency for International Development) funded the Kom el-Shuqafa Groundwater Lowering Project to address the flooding problem on the lower levels. The water posed a conservation threat and efforts were made to mitigate this risk and improve the site overall. An archaeological

assessment prior to the implementation of the project\textsuperscript{42} and a final report following the conclusion of the project\textsuperscript{43} document the process.

In addition to these excavation efforts, several scholars have studied the iconography of the tomb and contributed their interpretations to understanding the site. Venit’s \textit{The Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: The Theater of the Dead} (2002)\textsuperscript{44} and \textit{Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt} (2016)\textsuperscript{45} are both influential and important works that include studies of Kom el-Shoqafa among her nearly comprehensive examination of Alexandrian tombs. Abdelwahed’s \textit{Egyptian Cultural Identity in the Architecture of Roman Egypt 30 BC–AD 325} (2015)\textsuperscript{46} includes the site in his analysis of Roman tombs. Guimier-Sorbets, Pelle, and Seif el Din’s \textit{Resurrection in Alexandria: The Painted Greco-Roman Tombs of Kom al-Shuqafa} (2017)\textsuperscript{47} focuses more on the painted tombs from the Hall of Caracalla, but their relation to the main tomb is a discussion point. Empereur’s \textit{Alexandria Rediscovered} (1998)\textsuperscript{48} and \textit{A Short...

These sources, as well as the reports from excavations are essential in understanding and interpreting the main tomb at Kom el-Shoqafa. The decorative program which highlights the cultural interactions between the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman world are a microcosm for the contemporary cultural context that was present in Alexandria at the time. In the words of Venit, “Although the official language of Alexandria was Greek, its mortuary iconography was

---


bilingual.” That said, the preservation and perseverance of the pharaonic tradition in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods is readily apparent in the iconography, and the imagery in the main tomb of Kom el-Shoqafa has precedents which comfortably attribute that imagery to the legacy of pharaonic Egypt.

Outline

This thesis is organized in the following manner. Chapter 2 describes the context for the central relief of the tomb. It describes the architecture of the main tomb complex in detail. The decorative program of the tomb itself is also a focus and the various images that surround the central scene are examined, offering possible identifications and interpretations of them. This analysis shows that the tomb is not an Egyptian tomb nor a Roman tomb, rather, it is a blend of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman elements, the description of which indicates how those styles are combined to form a culturally syncretic design.

Chapter 3 is a history of the embalming scene beginning with its origins as a vignette for Book of the Dead Spell 151. The essential elements of the vignette are examined. A partial list of tombs in which the vignette is depicted are included, selected from studies of the Theban tombs of New Kingdom officials by Mohamed Saleh, Barbara Lüscher’s investigation of Spell 151, and research regarding tomb paintings and reliefs in the Roman period by Irene Kaplan. One


innovation in the Roman period is the inclusion of Thoth and Horus in the embalming scene. As these two gods are traditionally associated with the lustration scene, a discussion regarding the possibility that the Roman-era embalming scene is a conflation of the two different rites is presented.

Chapter 4 is a corpus of descriptions and images that trace the visual history of the embalming scene from its New Kingdom inception through the Roman period. The main discussion focuses on eleven tombs dating from the New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period, Late Period, Ptolemaic period, and Roman period. This is followed by an overview of material culture which shows how the scene is depicted on coffins, stelae, papyri, and amulets representative of the time periods corresponding to those of the motif’s usage as a tomb scene, although this overview is in no way intended to constitute a comprehensive corpus of everything on which the embalming scene has been depicted. From this visual and chronological progression, one can trace how the scene has changed over time and yet how the essential elements remained consistent.

These chapters provide the supporting evidence that the central relief from the main tomb of Kom el-Shoqafa is a Roman rendering of a New Kingdom funerary scene. It is Egyptian and Roman, an illustration of the multicultural context that existed in ancient Alexandria.
Chapter 2: The Architecture and Design of the Main Tomb

Entrance to the catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa is achieved through descent via a spiral staircase oriented around a central shaft (Plate 5, letter A). Today, that entrance is covered with a conical roof (Plate 6). In antiquity, there may have been a superstructure. The shaft is approximately six meters in diameter and served several purposes (Plate 7). Through the shaft, bodies of the deceased were lowered before being interred and remnants of construction and debris were removed. The shaft also provided ventilation and some degree of natural light. The staircase consists of about one hundred steps, the upper portion of which is reconstructed (Plate 8). It should be noted, that the catacombs do not correspond well to cardinal points, and that the literature published regarding the tomb uses relative directions. Therefore, relative directions will be used in this thesis. The map provided as Plate 5 will aid in orientation.

Three-quarters of the way down the stairs is a cistern (Plate 9) that was used to collect water so as to prevent the tomb from being flooded. At a later point, loculi were cut into the walls of the cistern, converting it into a burial chamber. The terminus of the stairs opens to what has been called the vestibule (Plate 5, letter B; Plate 10). On either side of the vestibule are semi-

1 I thank Kristin South for the use of her photos which are included throughout this chapter to illustrate the descriptions of the tomb.

2 The description of the tomb is augmented by my personal visit to the tomb in March 2018.


6 It is unclear when this occurred, other than “Some time after the cistern was made.” Alan Rowe, “Excavations of the Greco-Roman Museum at Kom el-Shukafa during the season 1941-42,” Bulletin de la Société d’Alexandrie 35, (1942): 12.
circular arched niches with a low bench and topped by a scallop shell vault (Plate 11). This shell motif is traditional in the Greek world but was unknown in pharaonic Egypt.\textsuperscript{7} There are traces of alabaster in the flooring, perhaps indicating a high social status for the owners and/or inhabitants of the tomb.\textsuperscript{8} Two inscriptions were found in the area. On the right side of the left niche\textsuperscript{9} is an inscription in red, which says, “Hermogenes, his soul is good (died) at 15.”\textsuperscript{10} (The second digit may be a 0, it is uncertain.\textsuperscript{11}) Near the niche on the right in black is a partially erased inscription of a man who died at the age of 27.\textsuperscript{12}

Just beyond the vestibule is the rotunda (Plate 5, letter C), a circular chamber that provides access to the rest of the catacombs (Plate 12). It is 8.5 meters in diameter. In the center is a shaft leading to the lowest level of the catacombs. Surrounding the shaft are six pillars connected by a parapet (low wall) at five of the intervals. An opening between the pillars opposite the entrance provides entry to the shaft. The pillars are connected with a domed interior. The structure measures 3.15 meters in diameter.\textsuperscript{13} On the outside of the structure the tops of the pillars connect in a fluted design that blends with the ceiling. Rowe’s excavations in this area


\textsuperscript{8} Empereur, \textit{Short Guide}, 3.

\textsuperscript{9} It is not specified which niche is on the right or left; however, context seems to indicate that this is the niche on the viewer’s left if their back is to the staircase.

\textsuperscript{10} Sieglin, \textit{Die Nekropole}, 348. The untranslated quote reads: “Hermogene, son âme est dans le bien. (Mort) à quinze ans.” English translation in text above provided by this author.

\textsuperscript{11} Sieglin, \textit{Die Nekropole}, 348.

\textsuperscript{12} Sieglin, \textit{Die Nekropole}, 84, 348.

\textsuperscript{13} Sieglin, \textit{Die Nekropole}, 84.
discovered five sculptural pieces at the bottom of the shaft: a female bust, two male busts, a head of a youth, and a head of a child.\textsuperscript{14}

To the left of the vestibule is a large room containing a triclinium (Plate 5, letter D; Plate 13). The chamber is 8.5 meters wide and 9 meters deep.\textsuperscript{15} Inside the room are three raised platforms in a squared U-shape that form the beds of the triclinium. The beds are 2 meters wide and 0.6 meters high, with enough room for three people on each bed.\textsuperscript{16} The open side of the triclinium faces the entrance to the room. Four Doric columns support the room, reaching up to the ceiling, though there is a square recess in the ceiling on the inner sides of the columns, extending the height of the ceiling and creating a more spacious feel. The four columns are at the four points of the square. As it relates to the triclinium, there are two columns along the front, open ends of the triclinium, and two where the two parallel sides meet the back platform, perpendicular to the two sides. The three beds are attached to each other and to the columns. There are traces of red paint on the carved surfaces of the architecture, for example, on the grooves of the capitals. It is thought that in the low light the red paint would have enhanced the architectural lines of the space.\textsuperscript{17} The triclinium would have been used for meals associated with honoring the deceased. Empereur notes that these meals would have occurred forty days after a death, on the deceased’s birthday, and during festivals.\textsuperscript{18} These festivals included the “Day of

\textsuperscript{14} Rowe, “Excavations,” 13.

\textsuperscript{15} Empereur, \textit{Short Guide}, 4.

\textsuperscript{16} Sieglin, \textit{Die Nekropole}, 85.

\textsuperscript{17} Sieglin, \textit{Die Nekropole}, 85.

\textsuperscript{18} Empereur, \textit{Short Guide}, 5.
Roses,” the “Day of Violets,” and Parentalia or All Soul’s Day. An image from Botti’s excavations in 1900 shows the remains of vessels and bones on the platforms, indicating usage of the room for meals (Plate 14). A plausible reconstruction of one of these meals can be found in Rowe’s publication of his excavations in 1941–1942 (Plate 15).

As one exits the triclinium and turns to the left there is a staircase leading to the principal tomb (Plate 5, letter E; Plate 2). Its location is directly across from the base of the spiral staircase and vestibule. The fifteen-step staircase splits toward the bottom to go around a feature that is known as the “prompter’s box,” due to its resemblance to the prompter’s box on the stage of a theater (Plate 16). In reality, it is the covering for an entry into the lowest level of the catacomb. Above the staircase, on the ceiling, is another scallop shell motif (Plate 17), similar to the vaults of the niches in the vestibule.

**Tomb Façade and Pronaos**

The architectural layout of the tomb is often described in terms usually associated with temples, as the tomb is designed in a similar manner, with a pronaos and naos (Plate 5, letters F and G; Plate 18). The two-columned façade recalls, for example, the temple of Dendur (Plate 19), which was built around the end of the first century BC. The upper part of the façade (Plate 18) is an arched cornice with torus molding around the edge of the arch. A solar disc in raised relief appears centered beneath the arch and above a row of dentils. Below the dentils is a frieze with a winged solar disc, also in raised relief, centered beneath the independent solar disc and

---


between the two columns. The disc of the winged solar disc is surrounded by two uraei and two layers of feathered wings. On either side of the feature is a falcon, likely representing Horus, a sky god associated with divine kingship,²² facing inward toward the winged solar disc.

Supporting the cornice and frieze are two cylindrical columns with composite capitals (Plate 20), identified by McKenzie as Type III Alexandrian capitals with Egyptian papyrus motifs instead of Greek-themed acanthus leaves.²³ The design incorporates elements depicting papyrus, lotus, and acanthus buds. Beneath the floral design are five horizontal ring bands. The base of the column is decorated with papyrus leaves. On the lateral walls of the tomb and in line with the columns are raised relief carvings of columns (Plate 21) designed similarly to the supporting columns but they do not reach the ceiling and the relief extends only a few centimeters. Empereur describes these as pilasters.²⁴

Next to these pilasters and closer to the entrance of the tomb are two short doorways (Plate 5, letter F; Plates 22–23). They are traditionally Egyptian in style, topped with cavetto cornices and framed with torus molding. Rowe suggests that sometime after they were constructed, they were bricked up to be used as niches, one for a statue of an unidentified woman, the other for that of a man.²⁵ The niche on the left side (when facing the entrance to the tomb) contains a limestone statue of a woman with an obelisk-shaped back support (Plate 22). She stands in a pose familiar from pharaonic Egypt, facing frontally with her arms at her sides.

---


There is negative space between the arms and the body, and there are contours indicating the breasts, pubic triangle, and delineation between her legs. Her right foot is slightly forward, which is atypical, but otherwise her stance is similar to \textit{ka} statues, like the statue of Mereruka in his mastaba at Saqqara (Plate 24). Another feature of antiquity is her clothing. She is wearing a tight sheath dress, as indicated by the neckline and hemline of the garment. Where the statue diverges from traditional Egyptian sculpture is from the neck up (Plate 25). Riggs has discussed the idea of naturalistic representations originating in Greek culture being placed in Egyptian contexts, showing the “deceased as in life,” which could take on a meaning of transfiguration.\textsuperscript{26} Some scholars, like Empereur and Rowe, have considered this statue (as well as the male statue) as examples of true portraiture.\textsuperscript{27} The individualized faces are compelling evidence for this argument.\textsuperscript{28} The woman’s face is round with a rather youthful appearance. The eyes are carved widely with deep eyelids. There is a row of curls around her hairline, which Borg suggests indicates a Tiberian date (AD 14–37), though the style of the carving of the eyes is uncommon for that time period.\textsuperscript{29} Her hair is wavy, parted in the center and pulled back in a style Empereur calls a “melon coiffure” and suggests a later date around the end of the first century AD.\textsuperscript{30} The niche on the right contains a statue of a man (Plate 23). In contrast to the statue of the woman, he stands in a traditional Egyptian pose: his body faces frontally in a rather rigid stance,


\textsuperscript{27} Empereur, \textit{Alexandria}, 159. Rowe, “Excavations,” 18–19.


\textsuperscript{30} Empereur, \textit{Alexandria}, 159.
and his left foot is slightly forward. His legs are separated from one another; however, both are engaged to the back pillar. His arms, which are now missing, would have presumably been at his sides. He wears a kilt with a belt around his waist. His navel and some contours of the chest and neck are visible. The face is rather square, with a strong jaw line and pronounced cheekbones (Plate 26). The brows are carved and raised, and the eyes are wide with prominent lids. The irises and pupils have also been carved. The forehead has several wrinkle lines. His hair is curly, short, and deeply carved. Scholars are divided as to the date of the statues and subsequently the date of the tomb. Venit suggests that the hairstyle is from the time of Vespasian, AD 69–79. Borg suggests a second century date for the statues due to Antonine parallels.31 Based on the style of the statues, Venit dates the tomb to the Flavian period, AD 69–98.32 and Empereur dates the statues and the tomb to between the reigns of Domitian and Hadrian, AD 81–138.33 These suggestions provide a date range for the tomb spanning the mid-first century to the mid-second century AD.

The final architectural feature before entering the tomb itself is the façade of the naos, or the back wall of the pronaos (Plate 18). In the center is the rectangular doorway into the naos which is outlined with torus molding. Above the horizontal line of the doorway is another winged solar disc with two uraei. It is similar to the winged solar disc on the main frieze. Above the winged solar disc is a frieze of uraei34 which extends just beyond the length of the torus

31 Borg, “Portraits,” 617.
33 Empereur, Short Guide, 7.
34 Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram, The Tomb in Ancient Egypt: Royal and Private Sepulchres from the Early Dynastic Period to the Romans, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2008), 300.
molding around the door. On either side of the doorway are coiled snakes atop pedestals (Plate 27, number 1; Plates 28–29). They are cut in deep raised relief. The snakes are bearded and wear the double crown on their heads which are turned toward the entrance to the naos. On the side closest to the entrance is a *thyrsus*, a pinecone-topped staff associated with Dionysus. On the side close to the lateral walls is a *caduceus*, a winged staff featuring entwined serpents associated with Hermes. These snakes represent Agathodaemon, a protector deity of Alexandria. Their presence here may be related to the fact that snakes are sacred to Osiris and Dionysus, gods of the dead, as well as Hermes, guide of the dead. Above each snake is the head of a Gorgon on a shield. Specifically, Rowe suggests that this could be the head of Medusa on Athena’s shield. Behind the face is a scale-like pattern in the shape of an X. Use of the Gorgon’s head, which is not an Egyptian motif, was for protective purposes. They were used here to keep evil away from the tomb or, specifically, to magically turn grave robbers into stone.

**Naos**

The naos is laid out in triclinium fashion with a niche above a sarcophagus on each of the three sides (Plate 5, letter G). The faux sarcophagi are rock cut with lids that do not open. Bodies were interred through openings on the back walls of the tomb. Each side is framed with an

---

35 All of the tomb reliefs can be located on the diagram numbered as Plate 27. When a new relief is introduced, the location will be given followed by the plate number corresponding to its image.


38 Rowe, “Excavations,” 19.


arched pediment containing a sun disc with a *uraeus* on either side. Below the sun disc is an egg and dart molding, a Greek motif.\(^{42}\) Square columns complete the framing around the sarcophagi. The columns located where the lateral sides meet the medial side consist of a column for each direction, creating an L-shaped column. The columns have floral capitals, below which are five horizontal bands, and papyrus leaf decoration at the base. The fourth side of the tomb, where the entrance is located, also has an arched pediment with a sun disc and egg and dart molding.

According to Rowe, “The sarcophagi are Roman in type while the accompanying wall scenes are of that peculiar debased style of native religious art prevailing at the time when the sculptures were executed.”\(^ {43}\)

The inside of the entrance to the tomb (Plate 5, letter G) is flanked on either side by an Anubis figure (Plate 27, numbers 2–3; Plate 30\(^ {44}\)). On the right side (if one is standing in the tomb and facing the entrance) is Anubis with the head of a jackal and the body of a man (Plate 27, number 2; Plate 31). He is in the garb of a soldier, wearing a cuirass,\(^ {45}\) an armored breastplate, and a short sword attached to a bandoleer.\(^ {46}\) In his left hand, he holds a spear vertical to his body with his arm forming a right angle. His right arm hangs at his side and he appears to be balancing a circular shield on its edge. Anubis stands in contrapposto pose\(^ {47}\) on a small

---


\(^{43}\) Rowe, “Excavations,” 20.

\(^{44}\) For all of the relief images in the tomb there is a photograph and a drawing. There are some elements of the depictions that are not visible in the photographs and the drawings help to render these details.

\(^{45}\) Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, 326.


\(^{47}\) Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb in Ancient Egypt*, 301.
platform in the shape of an Egyptian shrine with his body in frontal view and his head in profile looking over his right shoulder to the doorway of the tomb. On his head is a solar disc above a tripartite wig. According to Rowe, the weapons are Roman, and this manner of depicting of Anubis follows a preference for armored deities observed by C. C. Edgar. Though not in armor, there is a parallel for the Romanized Anubis at Kom el-Shoqafa in the Vatican Museums (Plate 32). The Anubis statue from Villa Pamphili, Anzio (Inv. 22840) dates to the first to second century AD, a similar time period as the construction of the tomb. The statue shows Anubis with the head of a jackal and the body of a man wearing a tunic and cloak. On his head is a small solar disc. While not an exact parallel, it is an additional testament to the Roman and Egyptian hybridization taking place at this time.

On the left side of the entrance is a second Anubis figure (Plate 27, number 3; Plate 33). The relief shows a being with the head of a jackal, the body of a man, and the tail of a serpent. The figure rests on a pedestal in the shape of an Egyptian shrine with the tail coiling on top. Anubis wears a cuirass with a cloak draped over his left shoulder. The cloak is secured with a circular fibula on the right side. Like the figure on the right side of the entrance, he holds a spear on the side of his body furthest from the entrance, in this case, it is in his right hand. His left hand holds what may be an Isis knot, which was called tyet by the Egyptians and was a sacred symbol associated with Isis, or possibly a simple bolt of cloth. Also like the other figure, the

---


49 For additional examples of Anubis in Roman dress, see Grenier, Anubis Alexandrin et Romain, (Leiden: Brill, 1977).

50 Rowe, “Excavations,” 25.

51 Shaw and Nicholson, Dictionary of Ancient Egypt, 337.
body is frontal, and the head is in profile, looking over the left shoulder to the entrance. There is a headdress or crown on his head which has been identified as potentially an *atef* crown,\(^{52}\) which is the white crown of Upper Egypt with feathers on each side and a small disc at the top.\(^{53}\) This is a possibility, however, given the placement of what look like horizontal twisted ram’s horns, perhaps this is actually the *hemhem* crown, which is a triple *atef*\(^ {54}\) crown with ram’s horns and *uraei*. Although in order for the crown to stand above the jackal ears, the twisted portions appear to extend vertically from the scalp and then bend horizontally over the ears. Breccia identified this figure as Set-Typhon or Makedon from Greek mythology, stating that the figure had the head of a wolf and the body of a dragon.\(^ {55}\) Rowe disputes this attribution since the head of this figure does not look like the head of the god Seth.\(^ {56}\) Cummins connects this figure to Serapis through the association between Anubis and Osiris as underworld deities as well as the syncretic relationship of Osiris and Serapis. Additionally, she associates the figure with the Agathodaemon, which is also connected to Serapis through the association of both deities with Alexandria.\(^ {57}\)

---


54 Goebs, “Crowns,” 324.


Left Sarcophagus Niche

The niche on the left side of the tomb (Plate 27, numbers 4–6; Plate 34) is composed of two main elements, the sarcophagus, and the niche with three relief panels. Along the top of all of the relief panels in the tomb is an egg and dart frieze. The sarcophagus has a slightly arched, convex lid with horns on the corners (acroteria) and a meander, or wave-like, pattern along the top horizontal edge. On the front of the sarcophagus is a garland with leaves and ribbons forming a loose W-shape. Bundles of grapes hang from the drooping segments, above which are what appear to be heads of Gorgons.\(^{58}\) The face on the viewer’s right side is cracked vertically through the center. In the middle of the garland is an ox skull hanging from a ring with ribbons on either side.\(^{59}\)

On the back wall of the niche above the sarcophagus (Plate 27, number 4; Plate 35) is a scene with a bull on a low platform. The bull, identified by scholars as the Apis bull, has a sun disc between its horns and a horizontal crescent on its side. It also wears a naos-shaped pendant around its neck.\(^{60}\) Above the bull is a garland of amulets\(^ {61}\) which are shown in the drawing of the relief (Plate 35 B) but are no longer visible (Plate 35 A). The garland consists of geometric shapes. Directly in front of the bull is a small altar with lotus buds, their stalks projecting from the base of the altar. Behind the bull is a winged female figure with a solar disc on her head and uraeus on her brow. She wears a striated wig and broad collar as well as a patterned dress with the hem at her ankles. Her left arm and wing extend straight forward and a feather, representing

---

58 Rowe says there is “the head of Medusa and also another skull.” Rowe, “Excavations,” 23.

59 Rowe, “Excavations,” 23.

60 The crescent is no longer visible but can be seen in older drawings.

Maat, meaning truth, justice, and order, is clasped in her hand. Her right arm and wing are extended at a forty-five-degree angle from her body. She has been identified as Isis or Nephthys. Because of the syncretization that occurs with Apis and Serapis, and due to the fact that Isis is the consort of Serapis, it seems that this figure is likely Isis. According to myth, Apis is thought to be the son of a virgin cow who was worshiped as a manifestation of Isis. This also lends support to the idea that the goddess depicted is Isis. In front of the bull is a male figure wearing the double crown with a uraeus on his brow. Given this iconography, this is clearly the pharaoh. In the Roman era, Roman emperors were depicted in reliefs as pharaohs primarily in a cultic manner as a means to maintain Egyptian religion. He wears a broad collar and a triangular-fronted, pleated kilt, and a garment that extends above the waist to just below the armpits. He is presenting a collar to the bull. It should be noted that the headdresses of the male and female figures cut into the border of the scene. This is perhaps due to poor planning, although there is evidence of the use of gridlines, as horizontal red lines are present on the ceiling of the niche.

Various interpretations have been offered for the narrative of this scene and for the identity of the male figure. Rowe identifies the figure as a Roman emperor. Empereur adds that

62 Shaw and Nicholson, Dictionary of Ancient Egypt, 186.

63 Mark Trumpour, “The King in the Catacombs: Why Does He Appear on the Walls at Kom el-Shoqafa?” Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities 46, (2019–2020): 32. Trumpour further defends this identification based on Egyptian art where the female is typically in position behind her husband, as is seen frequently with Isis and Osiris.


65 Shaw and Nicholson, Dictionary of Ancient Egypt, 38.


only the pharaoh could stand face-to-face with a god. In her initial analysis, Venit identified the king as Vespasian and thought the scene was related to a historical event. Thompson suggests that this scene is possibly a record of Titus attending the installation of a new Apis bull. Marković summarizes some of the prevailing theories in his article, and adds that while it is possible that the pharaoh in this scene is Titus, it could also be a representation of a “cultic pharaoh.” Venit later amended her previous interpretation and stated that the identity of the figure was less important than the role of the figure. The most recent argument, put forth by Trumpour in a forthcoming article, is that the scene is a pictorial form of the offering formula. As only the king could make offerings to the gods, it stands to reason that the king in this scene could be making offerings on behalf of the deceased. The offering formula, frequently translated as “an offering which the king gives” or perhaps more accurately, “an offering which the king gave” is expressed pictorially showing the king presenting an offering of a *wesekh* collar, a U-shaped collar with bands across the curve of the U, to the god Apis, on behalf of the

---


73 Trumpour, “King in the Catacombs,” 33.


deceased. Trumpour’s article presents evidence for a precedence of the king appearing in non-royal tombs of the pharaonic era.\textsuperscript{76} Rather than this image being simply a Roman-era creation, it shows the continuity of pharaonic tradition. “The fact that traditions such as the divinity of the king and the king as chief priest and intermediary with the gods was consistent with the beliefs surrounding the Roman emperor, may have helped ensure that related practices endured.”\textsuperscript{77}

On either side of the main scene are two smaller panels above both short ends of the sarcophagus. On the left side (Plate 27, number 5; Plate 36) is a depiction of two mummiform figures facing one another. Both figures are in full profile. The figure on the viewer’s left, facing toward the right is female. She wears a tiered wig with a sun disc on her head and \textit{uraeus} on her brow. Both hands emerge from her wrappings to hold a staff or pole of some kind.\textsuperscript{78} There is a decorative cloth hanging from her front (visible beneath the hands, but likely starting higher than that), and broad collar visible on her shoulder. The figure on the right is a falcon-headed figure with a striated, tripartite wig. On the head of the figure is the double crown, but instead of the spiral element, which is usually seen on the front, a \textit{uraeus} seems to be in its place. Like the female figure, the falcon-headed figure is holding a staff or pole, and there is a decorative cloth hanging from the front, as well as a broad collar visible on the shoulder. Between the figures is an altar with a vase and two bread cakes. Above the altar is a panel with pseudo-hieroglyphs. Rowe identified the figures as a goddess, likely Isis, and the falcon-headed figures as

\textsuperscript{76} Trumpour, “King in the Catacombs,” 36.

\textsuperscript{77} Trumpour, “King in the Catacombs,” 42.

\textsuperscript{78} Rowe identifies the object as a “conventional lotus-bouquet sceptre,” but it is not clear where the attribution comes from given the lack of decoration. See Rowe, “Excavations,” 25.
Qebehsenuef, one of the four sons of Horus.\textsuperscript{79} Corcoran suggests that this is Osiris and a mummiform Re-Horakhty.\textsuperscript{80}

On the right side of the left niche (Plate 27, number 6; Plate 37) is another scene with two figures. On the viewer’s left is a mummiform figure with rhomboidal wrappings. The wrappings are covered with images of people, flowers, stars, and other designs which are possibly amulets or religious motifs. A potential parallel for these wrappings can be seen on a stucco mummy in the Coptic Museum, Inv. 4124 (Plate 38).\textsuperscript{81} The mummiform figure wears a solar disc on his head, a ribbed collar around his neck, and a short beard. His hair is either cropped close or covered with a skull cap. His head is in profile, his body is facing frontally, and the feet are also in profile. On the viewer’s right is a figure of the pharaoh. He is standing with his head in profile, his muscular torso facing frontally, and his legs and feet in profile. His right arm is extended straight forward and in his fist is the feather of Maat, which nearly touches the face of the mummiform figure. His left arm is straight at his side, and he appears to be holding a cylinder-shaped object, reminiscent of ancient Egyptian statuary\textsuperscript{82} (this hand is now missing, see plate 37 A). He is wearing a short, pleated shendyt kilt and a nemes headdress. The lappets of the nemes partially obscure a broad collar. On his head is the hemhem crown. The depiction of the pharaoh, with the exception of the crown, is very similar to the statue of Antinous as Osiris (Plate 39) found at Hadrian’s Villa in Tivoli and now in the Vatican Museums (Inv. 22795). The statue of

\textsuperscript{79} Rowe, “Excavations,” 25.

\textsuperscript{80} Lorelei Corcoran, personal communication, March 20, 2022.

\textsuperscript{81} Lorelei H. Corcoran, Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I–IV Centuries A.D.) with a Catalog of Portraits Mummies in Egyptian Museums, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), Plate 23. I thank Lorelei Corcoran for this suggestion.

Antinous is also bare chested, wearing the *nemes* headdress and short *shendyt* kilt. He also holds cylindrical objects in both hands. Between the figures on the relief is an altar with a vase on top containing bread cakes. Some type of vegetation (possibly lilies?) appears to be extending from the base of the altar. The mummified figure has been identified as Osiris, or perhaps the deceased as Osiris. The scene of the pharaoh offering *Maat* to a god is common in Egyptian art. Rowe connects the scene to a relief at the temple of Dendur, which dates to a similar, though slightly earlier, time period.

*Right Sarcophagus Niche*

The niche on the right side of the tomb (Plate 27, numbers 7–9; Plates 40 and 41) is almost identical to the niche on the left, except the side panels in the niche are slightly different. The sarcophagus is similarly carved, but both faces on the front are fully intact. The scene with the Apis bull is practically a mirror image, with the bull facing the viewer’s left (Plate 27, number 7; Plate 42). In fact, the similarities of the scenes are a part of why Trumpour believes the depiction is not a historical event. Why would it appear twice in an almost identical manner if the scene is attempting to preserve an event that really happened? Rowe offers a plausible interpretation which shall be returned to after describing the side panels of the niche.

---


86 One difference, for example is that the solar disc on the head of the winged goddess is surrounded by *uraei*, rather than a single *uraeus* on the brow as seen in the other niche. Another is that the string of amulets above the bull is missing in this scene.

87 Trumpour, “King in the Catacombs,” 34.
The scene on the left side of the right niche (Plate 27, number 8; Plate 43) is similar to the scene on the right side of the left niche (Plate 27, number 6; Plate 37). It shows the pharaoh offering the feather of *Maat* to a mummiform figure. The king stands on the left side of the scene but is otherwise depicted in a manner similar to that on the other panel. One difference here is that the king has a solar disc with *uraeus* over the nemes headdress rather than the *hemhem* crown. The figure on the viewer’s right is in mummiform with designs on the outer wrappings. His hands, just visible outside the bandages are holding a short staff. There is a solar disc on his head. Rowe identifies the figure as Ptah, and notes the connection between Apis and Ptah, who is sometimes considered to be the father of Apis. 88 Between the two figures is an altar with lotus blossoms extending from the sides, on top of which is a vase.

The scene on the right side of the right niche (Plate 27, number 9; Plate 44) is similar to the scene on the left side of the left niche (Plate 27, number 5; Plate 36). In this scene there are two mummiform figures, both in profile. On the viewer’s left is a figure of a man. He has a sun disc on his head and there is a string of what appear to be amulets wrapped twice around his body. His hands protrude from the wrappings to hold a staff. Below his hands is a hanging piece of decorative cloth. 89 The other figure is posed similarly, also holding a staff with a decorative cloth hanging below his hands. The figure is baboon-headed, with horizontal and vertical striations in his wig. On top of the head is a solar disc. Between the figures is an altar with a vase.

---

88 Rowe, “Excavations,” 24. See also Nenad Marković, “Apis is Ptah, Apis is Ra, Apis is Horus, son of Isis: the solar aspects of the divine Apis Bull and the royal ideology of the Late Period (664–332 BCE),” in Massimiliano Nuzzolo and Jaromír Krejčí, eds., *The rise and development of the solar cult and architecture in Ancient Egypt* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021), 235–251.

and a plant, above which is a panel of pseudo-hieroglyphs. Rowe identifies the two figures as Imsety, the human-headed Canopic deity, and Hapy, the baboon-headed Canopic deity.\footnote{Rowe, “Excavations,” 23.}

Cummins suggests that the figures Rowe interprets as Qebehsenuef (from the left niche) and Hapy (from this niche) could be Horus and Thoth.\footnote{Cummins, “Iconography,” 30–31.} Venit suggests that the mummiform man from this relief (Plate 27, number 9; Plate 44) and woman from the relief in the left niche (Plate 27, number 5; Plate 36) may correspond to the statues found in front of the tomb. A correlation that seems plausible given that the relief of the mummiform woman is on the same side of the tomb as the female statue (the left side). Likewise, the relief of the mummiform man is on the same side of the tomb as the male statue (the right side).\footnote{Venit, Monumental Tombs, 142.}

It seems then that one reason for the repetition of the scene is that it is present for the female and male owners of the statues. Another suggestion, provided by Rowe, is that the tomb owner lived under two reigns with the two reliefs each reflecting a different reign. The scene with the king wearing the hemhem crown shows the living pharaoh, and the scene with the king wearing a solar disc indicates a deceased pharaoh.\footnote{Rowe, “Excavations,” 24.} Given Venit’s suggestion of the correlation between relief and statuary, and Trumpour’s connection of the scene to the offering formula, it seems that the most compelling argument for the repetition can be found in the idea that the scene is in place as a stand-in for the offering for males buried in the tomb and for females buried in the tomb.
Central Sarcophagus Niche

The final portion of the decorative program in the tomb is found in the central niche (Plate 27 numbers 10–12; Plate 45). The sarcophagus is similarly shaped to the other two, slightly arched with horns (acroteria) on the corners. The front edge of the sarcophagus is decorated with leaves. The front panel features a garland of leaves and flowers that hangs in an M-shape. From the peak on the left side, the face of Medusa hangs from a ring. On the right, it is the face of the satyr Silenus.\(^{94}\) In the center is an image of a woman reclining on her death bed, of whom Rowe says, “she is obviously the deceased.”\(^{95}\) On the ceiling of the niche are a series of painted red lines that run vertically across the ceiling and extend slightly downward to the top of the central relief.

As the back wall of this niche is of particular importance to this thesis, it will be described after the side panels. On the right side of the central panel (Plate 27, number 10; Plate 46) are the figures of a man and a woman facing one another. Both are shown with their heads in profile, bodies in three-quarter view, and legs and feet in profile. On the viewer’s left is a priest, wearing a long garment with a panther’s skin over it. On his head are two feathers. Rowe identifies him as belonging to the class of priests called Pteroforai, or “Bearers of Feathers.”\(^{96}\) In his right hand is a closed lotus blossom and in his left is what appears to be a ewer\(^{97}\) in a dish.\(^{98}\) On the viewer’s right is a woman wearing a long dress with a fringed edge of fabric that falls

\(^{94}\) Rowe, “Excavations,” 20.

\(^{95}\) Rowe, “Excavations,” 20.

\(^{96}\) Rowe, “Excavations,” 21.

\(^{97}\) This type of ewer is related to the cult of Isis. See Corcoran, Portrait Mummies, 149–150. I thank Lorelei Corcoran for the suggestion.

from her arm. She is wearing a tiered wig with a solar disc on top of her head. Her arms are raised in front of her to cover her face, likely in a position of mourning.\textsuperscript{99} Between the two figures is an altar with lotus blossoms on the side and a vase with an open lotus flower and a bud at each side of it, and two cakes on top. Behind the head of the woman is another panel of pseudo-hieroglyphs.

The left side of the central panel (Plate 27, number 11; Plate 47) is similar to the right side (Plate 27, number 10; Plate 46). On the right side is an image of a priest wearing a panther skin over a long, decorative garment. He is holding a scroll in his hands. Rowe identifies the figure as a lector-priest\textsuperscript{100} and suggests that he may be reading from the Book of Breathings.\textsuperscript{101} Facing him is a figure wearing a long garment wrapped around the waist and extending to the ankles. Rowe identifies the figure as a man,\textsuperscript{102} Empereur suggests it is another goddess.\textsuperscript{103} Given that the figure is bare chested and the wig\textsuperscript{104} appears more masculine in style, it seems best to interpret the figure as a man. The man wears a short wig with a sun disc on top. His left hand is held up in front of his face and his right hand is extended and holding a pointed object that may be a cornucopia or a torch.\textsuperscript{105} Behind the man is a panel of pseudo-hieroglyphs. Between the two

\begin{footnotes}{99}Rowe, “Excavations,” 21.\end{footnotes}

\begin{footnotes}{100}Corcoran, “A Case for Narrativity,” 62. I thank Lorelei Corcoran for this reference.\end{footnotes}

\begin{footnotes}{101}Rowe, “Excavations,” 22.\end{footnotes}

\begin{footnotes}{102}Rowe, “Excavations,” 22.\end{footnotes}

\begin{footnotes}{103}Empereur, A Short Guide, 11.\end{footnotes}

\begin{footnotes}{104}Corcoran suggests that this could be the \textit{afnet} head covering. Lorelei Corcoran, personal communication, March 20, 2022.\end{footnotes}

\begin{footnotes}{105}Rowe, “Excavations,” 22.\end{footnotes}
figures is an altar with lotuses sprouting from the sides, and a vase with what looks like a plant on top.

The central scene of the tomb shows a mummy on a lion bed (Plate 27, number 12; Plate 48). The mummy is in profile with a mask over the face and shoulders. The hair is made to look like a striated, tripartite wig with a band around the crown and a uraeus over the brow. A false beard is also present. The side of the bed under the mummy is decorated with a geometric motif of lines and circles. The head of the mummy is near the head of the lion, both oriented towards the viewer’s right side of the panel. The head of the lion is rather large and robust. On its head is an atef crown. Under the lion’s front paw is a large ostrich feather probably representing Maat.

Beneath the lion bed are three canopic jars next to Anubis’ legs. The first (from viewer’s right to left) is Qebehsenuef, the falcon-headed god who protects the intestines, Imsety, the human-headed god who protects the liver, and Duamutef, the jackal-headed god who protects the stomach. Hapy, the baboon-headed god who protects the lungs is missing.106 Given the placement of the jars and Anubis’ legs, the missing jar can probably be attributed to lack of space. While there could be another reason, this is the simplest explanation for excluding Hapy.

Standing behind the lion bed is Anubis, with jackal head and human body. The long, draped garment he is wearing is neither Egyptian, Greek, nor Roman, but rather a sort of generic outfit that according to Venit represents contemporary Alexandria.107 It has also been suggested that the pleated, ankle-length robe with short sleeves is a liturgical robe.108 On his head he wears

---

107 Venit, Monumental Tombs, 137.
a short, striated, tripartite wig, and a sun disc with uraei at either side. His right hand is placed on the body of the deceased. His left arm is raised and holding a cup with serpentine handles. Abdelwahed suggests that the cup is filled with Nile water, symbolizing “the discharge of the corpse of Osiris.”

The cup could also be filled with funerary oils related to the mummification ritual. At the foot of the lion bed is Horus as a falcon-headed man, facing toward the viewer’s right. He wears a triangular-fronted pleated kilt, a draped, sleeveless, upper garment, a broad collar, and a striated, tripartite wig. On top of his head is the double crown. In his right hand he holds a was scepter and in his left hand, which is slightly raised, he holds a potted plant. At the head of the lion bed is Thoth as an ibis-headed man, facing toward the viewer’s left. He wears a short, pleated kilt, the upper part of which has a scaled or feather pattern, a broad collar, and a striated, tripartite wig. On top of his head is a crown that resembles the hemhem crown. In his left hand he holds a was scepter, an ankh, and two crossed lotuses. His right arm, which is slightly elevated holds a vessel.

According to Venit, the scene of a mummy on a lion bier with Anubis standing behind is the most frequently depicted scene in Alexandrian Roman-period tombs. It is also a scene rooted in pharaonic Egypt. Although there are Greek and Roman influences in this scene, and in the tomb in general, it must be understood that the genesis for the image is purely Egyptian.

Regarding this phenomenon, Riggs said:

---


110 Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt*, 58. Corcoran also suggested Nile water as a possibility.


112 Venit, *Monumental Tombs*, 136. It is unclear how Venit determined the fact behind this statement, though her work aims to be comprehensive in its assessment of Alexandrian tombs.
Continuity, innovation, and regional variation thus characterize trends in both the textual evidence for funerary rituals and the pictorial and material remains associated with ritual performances, such as mummy and tomb decoration. Although there are distinctive traits and developments in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, shaped in part by wider social trends, funerary rituals retain many of the themes, structures, and practices of earlier periods, and may have been more resistant to change than other areas of Egyptian culture.\textsuperscript{113}

Regardless of the changes to Egyptian iconography that are implemented at the time of the decoration of the main tomb at Kom el-Shoqafa, the individuals involved in its creation knew enough to care about perpetuating elements from the pharaonic period. Comparisons of this scene from different times and places in Egypt will show variation in design and style, but also consistency in symbolism. This tomb may have been created in the Roman period, but this scene is Egyptian.

Chapter 3: Book of the Dead Spell 151

The Book of Going Forth by Day, commonly called the Book of the Dead, is a collection of funerary texts which first appeared in the New Kingdom and remained in use until the Roman period.¹ This collection of at least 192 magical spells was known to the Egyptians as “Utterances for Going forth by Day.”² There was no set order nor requirement for which spells were included in a copy of the Book of the Dead, making each individual collection unique.³ Quirke identifies five major themes in the text: physical preservation of the body, nourishing the body, freedom of movement, judgement, and transfiguration.⁴ Hornung suggests that the primary purpose of the text was to provide assistance and protection to the deceased after their death.⁵ The spells allowed the deceased to navigate the afterlife with as little resistance as possible from the guardians at the borders of the different regions of the afterlife.⁶ Rather than an entirely new creation, the Book of the Dead is a continuation of earlier funerary literature, such as the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom and the Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom.⁷

---


⁴ Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight*, xiv–xv.


The Book of the Dead was typically written on papyrus, but the text may occur on other media, such as on tomb walls and burial equipment or on other writing supports, like linen and vellum. The earliest attestations for spells from the Book of the Dead are found on the Dynasty 17 coffins of queen Montuhotep and prince Herunefer from Thebes. While the earliest known depictions appear on coffins, this is not a common medium for the spells in Dynasties 18 and 19 with the exception of sarcophagi for royalty. In the Third Intermediate Period, however, particularly Dynasty 25, the tradition of reproducing spells on coffins became common and continued into the Ptolemaic period.

Depictions of the Book of the Dead on royal tomb walls first occur in the tomb of Ay. Starting with the reign of Merenptah in Dynasty 19 spells from the Book of the Dead appear in the tombs of kings throughout the Ramesside period. Use of the spells seems to fall out of favor between Dynasty 22 and Dynasty 26. From Dynasty 26 and into the Roman period, a

---

8 Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 13

9 Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight*, vii.


resurgence of the spells occurs along with the creation of new spells and a canonical order.\textsuperscript{17} This establishment of canonical order is frequently called the Saite recension.\textsuperscript{18} During this time spells also reappear on tomb walls and coffins.\textsuperscript{19} In the late Ptolemaic period there was a decline in the production of Book of the Dead manuscripts, perhaps due to the usage of spells on coffins, and by the first century BC, the use of the Book of the Dead came to an end.\textsuperscript{20} However, this did not prevent Book of the Dead motifs from appearing in later periods.\textsuperscript{21}

Images accompanying the text, called vignettes, represented the spells in pictorial form and were initially for special emphasis.\textsuperscript{22} For example, Theban Tomb 87 (TT 87), from the time of Tuthmose III, has thirty-five spells, but only two illustrations. As time progressed, more vignettes were subsequently added, and by the Ramesside period only a few spells were unaccompanied by a vignette.\textsuperscript{23} Later still, in Dynasty 21 and in the Late Period, the vignettes came to stand for the spells themselves, and appeared as images without the text of the spell.\textsuperscript{24} This can be seen in papyri from the Third Intermediate Period, which are composed almost

\textsuperscript{17} Hornung, \textit{Books of the Afterlife}, 14.


\textsuperscript{19} Hornung, \textit{Books of the Afterlife}, 14.

\textsuperscript{20} Munro, “Evolution of the Book of the Dead,” 59.

\textsuperscript{21} Munro, “Evolution of the Book of the Dead,” 59.


\textsuperscript{23} Hornung, \textit{Books of the Afterlife}, 14.

\textsuperscript{24} Hornung, \textit{Books of the Afterlife}, 14.
entirely of images. The vignettes consisted of the essential elements of the spell and were seen as being as efficacious as the text alone.

Spell 151 from the Book of the Dead is a visual composition accompanied by text for the various figures in the scene. In contrast to other spells, the image is rather large, typically extending the full height of the papyrus, and is surrounded by smaller images. Each depiction of the vignette for Spell 151 is unique, with no two copies being identical. According to Faulkner, it “is one of the most variable of all chapters of the [Book of the Dead] in respect to its texts and vignette.” Quirke considers it, “more a captioned picture than an illustrated passage of writing.” Hornung describes it as “display[ing] the most important elements of the funeral, with Anubis standing by the bier in the center.” The vignette and the text work together to assure the preservation of the body of the deceased.


30 Quirke, Going Out in Daylight, 375.

31 Hornung, Books of the Afterlife, 21.

Naville segmented the text into thirteen parts and assigned each a letter. Part $a$ consists of words spoken by Anubis regarding the mummy mask. Parts $b$ and $c$ are the words of Isis and Nephthys, the sisters who protect their brother Osiris. Parts $d$ through $g$ are protective objects that were inserted into mud bricks: a figure, a $djed$ pillar, a torch, and a jackal figure. Part $h$ is the words of the $ba$. Part $i$ relates to the $shabti$ figure. Parts $k$ through $n$ are the words spoken by the four sons of Horus. The text of the spell, reproduced from Quirke’s translation of the Papyrus of Senhotep (Dynasty 18, ca. 1400 BC) can be found in Appendix A.

The Book of the Dead of Methetepty (Plate 49) contains a detailed example of Spell 151 and will be used to describe what is depicted in the vignette. The scene represents the embalming chamber showing a canopy above Anubis who is standing over a mummy lying on a bed. This is the central element of the composition. The legs of the bed resemble lion’s legs and paws. A lion’s tail curves up and over the feet of the mummy. In other illustrations the bed also has a lion’s head, but it is absent in this rendering. The mummy is wrapped in bandages, with a painted mask over the face. A long false beard is attached to the mask. Anubis is wearing a kilt and a wig. He is bent over the body of the deceased with his far hand placed over the chest of the mummy and his near hand placed near the hip. Depicted beneath the bed is the $ba$ of the deceased represented by a human-headed bird. Isis and Nephthys, identified by their respective headdresses (or hieroglyphic emblems in place of crowns), kneel at the head and foot of the bed.


34 This spell is entitled the “spell for the head of mystery,” see Taylor, “Mummy in the Tomb,” 109.

35 Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight*, 368–370.

36 Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight*, 368–370.

37 Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight*, 375.
Isis is on the viewer’s left, at the feet and Nephthys, is on the viewer’s right at the head. The goddesses are wearing red dresses and white wigs (or a form of the *afnet*). With the exception of their headdresses, they are identical in appearance. In front of each goddess is a *shen* ring, on top of which their hands are placed. The *shen* ring signifies eternity and protection.38 Around the scene are four protective elements. Above the embalming scene is a *djed* pillar, which signifies endurance,39 to the right is a torch,40 below is a reclining jackal, and to the left is a mummiform figure. These elements are amulets attached to mud bricks which would have been placed into niches in the walls of a tomb to guard the tomb at the four cardinal directions (Plate 50).41 The torch guards the south, the mummiform figure guards the north, the *djed* pillar guards the west, and the jackal of Anubis guards the east.42 The presence of the amulets and the bricks was more important than exactness in placement.43 Also around the embalming scene are depictions of the four Sons of Horus,44 all of which are facing inward towards Anubis and the mummy. At the upper left is the falcon-headed Qebehsenuef. The upper right is baboon-headed Hapy. The lower left is jackal-headed Duamutef. The lower right is human-headed Imsety. To the left of


Qebehsenuef and to the right of Hapy are human-headed *ba* birds with their arms raised, facing away from the central embalming scene. The raised arms indicate that they are worshiping *Ra*, as indicated by the text.\textsuperscript{45} To the left of Duamutef is a *shabti* figure and to the right of Imsety is a mummiform jackal-headed figure. Both are accompanied by the text of the *shabti* spell in two variations.\textsuperscript{46}

The earliest attestations for the embalming scene from BD 151 are from mid-Dynasty 18 papyri and tombs, however, portions of the spell have been found in earlier contexts.\textsuperscript{47} Part *a*, which is about the mummy mask has been found on masks dating to the Middle Kingdom from Meir as well as a Dynasty 13 coffin fragment from Dahshur.\textsuperscript{48} Part *d* of the spell is the “shabti formula”\textsuperscript{49} which is also found in the Middle Kingdom.\textsuperscript{50}

Depictions of the scene in tombs are found throughout Egypt. From Dynasty 18, these include the tomb of Sennefer in Thebes (TT 96), from mid-Dynasty 18, the tomb of Sobekmose\textsuperscript{51} at Rizeiqat and the tomb of Maya at Saqqara, both from late Dynasty 18.\textsuperscript{52} From the Ramesside period, these include the tomb of Anhurmose at Mashayikh, the tomb of Pennut at Aniba, and the

\textsuperscript{45} Taylor, “Mummy in the Tomb,” 109.

\textsuperscript{46} Taylor, “Mummy in the Tomb,” 114.

\textsuperscript{47} Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight*, 375.

\textsuperscript{48} Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight*, 375.

\textsuperscript{49} Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight*, 375.

\textsuperscript{50} Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight*, 22.

\textsuperscript{51} Quirke transliterates this name as Sobekmes. The spelling of the names of the tomb owners and sites is not consistent in the various sources, but they have been standardized here for easier reference.

\textsuperscript{52} Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight*, 375.
tomb of Meh at Thebes. In the Valley of the Kings, the spell occurs in the tombs of Dynasty 19 royals, Merenptah (KV 8), Siptah (KV 47), Tausret (KV 14), and Dynasty 20, Ramesses III (KV 11). The spell is also included in the tombs of Seti I (KV 17) and Ramesses II (KV 7). It is the “most frequently encountered spell” in the Valley of the Kings.

Lüscher’s investigation of Spell 151, which created a synoptic edition of the text, included a number of tombs in her corpus. The tombs included in her study are: the tomb of Anhurmose, a Ramesside era tomb from El-Mashayikh; TT 290 from Dynasty 19; the tomb of Pennut, a Dynasty 20 tomb from Amada; the tomb of Mahou, a Dynasty 18 tomb from Qurnet Murai; the tomb of Maya, a Dynasty 18 tomb from Saqqara; KV 8 the tomb of Merenptah from Dynasty 19; KV 47 the tomb of Siptah from Dynasty 19; the tomb of Sobekmose a Dynasty 18 tomb from el-Rizeiqat; TT 96 from Dynasty 18; and the tomb of Shoshenq III a Dynasty 22 tomb from Tanis.

Saleh documented the texts and vignettes of approximately 130 Theban tombs belonging to New Kingdom officials. The embalming vignette appears with the text of Spell 1 in seventeen tombs in the Theban area, sixteen of which are in Deir el- Medinah: TT 323, 292, 1, 2, 3, 211, 218, 219, 265, 290, 298, 335, 336, 356, 360, 214, 286. All of the tombs, with the exception of

53 Quirke, Going Out in Daylight, 375.
54 Roberson, “Royal Funerary Books,” 318.
57 Some of these tombs have been previously mentioned.
58 Lüscher, Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151, 6–7.
TT 214 and 286 are dated by Saleh to Dynasty 19. The other two are dated to Dynasty 20.\footnote{Saleh, Das Totenbuch, 10.}

According to Saleh, the vignette only occurs once with the text of Spell 151, in TT 96.\footnote{Saleh, Das Totenbuch, 84.}

After the New Kingdom, the scene is mostly found on stelae and coffins. In Dynasty 26 it is again represented on tomb walls, but the examples are primarily found in the oases, such as the Bahria Oasis.\footnote{Irene Kaplan, Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit: Wechselwirkung zwischen der ägyptischen und griechisch-alexandrinischen Kunst, (Vienna: Afro-Pub, 1999), 25.}

In the Ptolemaic period, the scene is found primarily on the outskirts of Egypt.\footnote{Kaplan, Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit, 25.}

Kaplan’s research, which looks at reliefs and paintings in the Roman era, includes a Ptolemaic-era example, the tomb of Siamun from the Siwa Oasis, which dates to the third century BC.\footnote{Kaplan, Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit, 25.}

Tombs from the Roman period, most of which date to the end of the first century AD, feature decoration that is almost exclusively ancient Egyptian, with the motif of the deceased on the lion bier occupying the most important place in the tomb—the back wall of the central niche.\footnote{Kaplan, Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit, 26.}

Kaplan identified the scene in several tombs from the Roman era. This scene is found at Kom el-Shoqafa in the principal tomb, as well as three scenes from the so called, “Hall of Caracalla.” Elsewhere the scene is found at the Tigrane, Gabbari,\footnote{Kaplan indicates that Gabbari and Ramleh are now destroyed. See Kaplan, Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit, 145, 153.} and Ramleh tombs from Alexandria;
House Tombs 20 and 21 from Tuna el-Gebel; three tombs from Akhmim,\textsuperscript{67} Antaepolis,\textsuperscript{68} and the tombs of Petubastis and Petosiris from the Dakhleh Oasis.\textsuperscript{69}

Kaplan notes that one feature unique to the embalming scene as depicted in the Roman period is the inclusion of Horus and Thoth\textsuperscript{70} which occurs in the main tomb of Kom el-Shoqafa and in the tomb from Ramaleh.\textsuperscript{71} Kaplan notes that Horus is connected with the scene in private tombs as early as Dynasty 26 and on stela in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.\textsuperscript{72} Thoth is not known to be associated with the scene in the pharaonic period and is rarely seen in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.\textsuperscript{73} He was, however, associated with Osiris and Horus beginning in the Old Kingdom and he appears in scenes related to the resuscitation of the dead in the New Kingdom.\textsuperscript{74} These ideas may have led to his inclusion in the embalming scene.\textsuperscript{75}

Additionally, there may be a possible connection with the lustration scene or so-called “Baptism of the Pharaoh.” In this scene, two gods, usually Horus and Thoth (Plate 51), pour a

\textsuperscript{67} Tombs 1, 4, and 6. Tomb 1 is identified as Bissings “Grab von 1897,” the other two are not provided with further identification. See Kaplan, \textit{Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit}, 166, 171, and 175.

\textsuperscript{68} Very little information is provided about the tomb. Kaplan cites a report from 1840 by Nestor L’Hôte as support for including the tomb on her list, but she indicates that the tombs were badly damaged even at that time. See Kaplan, \textit{Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit}, 179.

\textsuperscript{69} Kaplan, \textit{Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit}, 26–28.

\textsuperscript{70} Kaplan, \textit{Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit}, 28.

\textsuperscript{71} Kaplan, \textit{Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit}, 29.

\textsuperscript{72} Kaplan, \textit{Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit}, 28.

\textsuperscript{73} Kaplan, \textit{Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit}, 29.

\textsuperscript{74} Kaplan, \textit{Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit}, 28.

libation over the pharaoh. Gardiner interpreted the scene as a symbolic purification, hence the analogy to Christian baptism. Corcoran states that while there is an element of ritual cleansing, there is also an aspect of rebirth to this cultic act. The scene is common on the body coverings of Roman period mummies, showing that its use had extended beyond its usage for the king.

A stucco mummy from Hawara that is now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, CG 33216 (Plate 52), features a register with a scene that is similar to the relief from Kom el-Shoqafa, and dates to a similar time frame, ca. AD 125–150. Register two (Plate 53), as labeled by Corcoran, shows Anubis holding a jar standing behind a lion bier bearing the deceased. Towards the head of the deceased stands Horus and towards the feet is Thoth. While not identical to the relief from Kom el-Shoqafa (there are no canopic jars in this scene and there is a mumiform figure behind Thoth), there are a number of similarities that suggest this scene could be a possible parallel. Both scenes include Thoth and Horus, instead of the traditional inclusion of Isis and Nephthys, although in the Kom el-Shoqafa relief, Horus stands at the foot rather than the head of the bier.

---


77 Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies*, 59.

78 Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies*, 59.

79 Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies*, 59. Corcoran notes that, “The earliest representation of a non-royal person by the gods on coffins is in fact from the Twenty-first Dynasty.”


81 Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies*, 175.
In both scenes, Anubis holds up a jar in his left hand. This could be connected to embalming or lustration\(^{82}\) or perhaps it is a combination of both scenes.\(^{83}\)

Another Roman period example which seems to support the idea of the merging of the two scenes is found on a cartonnage mask also from Hawara, presently located in the British Museum. EA 63841 (Plate 54) dates to approximately 30–10 BC.\(^{84}\) The lowest register of the mask depicts a scene with Anubis behind the lion bier. Anubis and the deceased are in the center of the scene with several other deities on either side of them. Anubis holds a cup or jar that has a vertical element extending from the top of the jar and a small circular object to either side of that element (perhaps incense)\(^{85}\) in his left hand which is raised above the body of the deceased. The mummy is oriented with its head to the viewer’s right. Next to the mummy’s head stands Isis, and by the mummy’s feet is Nephthys. Both goddesses hold the same type of vessel as Anubis in their far hands, and a *hes* vase in the other. From each vase a stream of liquid pours out that ends at the groundline. Behind Isis is Thoth and behind Nephthys is Horus. Both Horus and Thoth are holding the same type of vessel as the other deities do in their far hands, and perhaps a loop of embalming cloth\(^{86}\) in their other hands. Horus, Thoth, and Anubis are all dressed similarly, with long red kilts and broad collars. The goddesses are also similarly dressed, both wearing long dresses and collars, although Nephthys wears a red dress and Isis wears a white dress. In relation

\(^{82}\) Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies*, 58.

\(^{83}\) Elizabeth Ann Cummins, “The Iconography of the Serapis Cult in the Main Catacomb of Kom el Shoqafa, Alexandria,” MA thesis, (University of Memphis, 2003), 27. Cummins also suggests that this could be a possibility.


\(^{85}\) Lorelei Corcoran, personal communication, March 20, 2022. I thank Lorelei Corcoran for this suggestion.

to the embalming scene, the presence of Isis and Nephthys as guardians is expected. In a lustration scene, Horus and Thoth are usually the ones pouring the libation. In this register, it seems that both scenes are occurring at once, though the roles are not as expected. Gardiner does suggest that four gods were involved in the lustration ritual, but he lists Horus, Thoth, Seth, and Dwen-'away. 87 Isis and Nephthys are not listed as attested examples in his publications about the motif. 88

The central relief in the main tomb at Kom el-Shoqafa is certainly a derivative of the vignette of Spell 151 from the Book of the Dead. There is a precedence for the use of the embalming vignette on the walls of tombs in Egypt from the New Kingdom onward, showing a desire for continuity; however, “Changes in Egyptian funerary religion during the Roman period were part of an organic development marked by reinterpreting, and perpetuating, a number of earlier features.” 89 Among these changes and reinterpretations appears to be the conflation of the embalming and lustration scenes. In the scene at Kom el-Shoqafa there is both a persistence of tradition and an incorporation of new features. Comparisons with earlier examples of the embalming scene will be explored in the next chapter which will show how the scene from Kom el-Shoqafa fits into a larger narrative that is striving toward a simultaneous desire for continuity and tradition, as well as for innovation and reinterpretation.


Chapter 4: A Visual History and Analysis of the Spell 151 Vignette

After its initial appearance in Dynasty 18, the embalming scene featured in the vignette of Spell 151 of the Book of the Dead continues to appear well into the Roman period in tombs and other media. The below discussion is not a comprehensive list of every tomb or artifact featuring the scene, rather it is a representative sample to show how the scene was used throughout time in ancient Egypt. The examples chosen illustrate variation while simultaneously perpetuating tradition—although there are alterations, the vignette remains recognizable.

Sennefer, TT 96 – Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

The tomb of Sennefer (Plate 55) is likely the earliest known example of the embalming vignette depicted in a tomb. Sennefer was a Theban official during the reign of Amenhotep II in Dynasty 18 (ca. 1427–1400 BC). The vignette and text of Spell 151 is painted on the wall in his burial chamber, the style of which is very similar to how it appeared on contemporary papyri with different parts of the vignette separated into smaller rectangles and squares demarcated with

---


2 For a discussion about the motif in the Roman period, see Lorelei H. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (1–IV Centuries A.D.): with a Catalog of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 56 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University Chicago, 1995), 58.

3 Some of the examples were found with the help of “Das altägyptische Totenbuch: Ein digitales Textzeugenarchiv,” Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Künste, 2022, http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de.

4 See Winifred Needler, “An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period in The Royal Ontario Museum,” in *Occasional Paper 6*, (Toronto: The University of Toronto, 1963), 34. Needler states that this is the earliest example she has found.


yellow lines outlined in black.\textsuperscript{7} The whole scene is marked with this boundary line, and within that is a smaller rectangle around the central embalming motif, with additional vertical lines separating the goddesses from Anubis and the mummy. It seems that these lines are in place to separate the different parts of the spell from one another. While there is some damage due to loss and in places the paint is fading, much of the scene remains intact. In the center is Anubis, wearing a kilt, standing behind a lion bed\textsuperscript{8} with the mummified deceased lying on top. The head of the deceased is on the viewer’s left, and a false beard is present. Just behind the head of the mummy is a small lion’s head that is part of the bed. At the feet, the tail of the lion curls upward, and the legs of the bed are shaped like lion’s legs ending in paws that are separated from the floor by short risers. Anubis faces to the left, toward the face of the mummy. Below the bed is a\textit{ba} bird. It and Anubis appear to be standing on a sledge. Within the frame of this section are two vertical poles on either end of the lion bed and above is a slightly angled roof that forms a canopy. The poles are striped in an alternating black and yellow pattern.

Nephthys and Isis kneel at either side of the bed, with\textit{shen} rings beneath their hands. The goddesses are nearly identical in red dresses, collars, and white\textit{khat} headdresses with red headbands. Isis, identified by her hieroglyphic headdress, is on the left, kneeling near the feet of the mummy. Nephthys is on the right, near the head. Around the scene are the four protective elements: a\textit{djed} pillar above, a mummiform figure to the right, a recumbent jackal on a pedestal below, and a torch to the left. Each of the elements is in its own square, separated from other portions of the vignette. The four sons of Horus are in place near the four corners of the inner

\textsuperscript{7} Hodel-Hones, \textit{Life and Death}, 127.

\textsuperscript{8} For a fuller discussion of the lion bed in ancient Egypt and beds in a funerary context, see Elizabeth Cummins, “Word, Object, Image: The Bed as a Sign in New Kingdom Egyptian Art,” PhD diss., (Emory University, 2013), 113–156.
rectangle, all of whom are facing inward toward the embalming scene. Hapy and Qebehsenuef are above, at the upper left and right, respectively. Imsety and Duamutef are below, at the lower left and right, respectively. To the lower left of Hapy and the lower right of Qebehsenuef are human-headed ba birds facing away from the embalming scene with their arms raised in a gesture of praise. The final elements are the shabti figures which stand behind Imsety on the left and behind Duamutef on the right. The vignette as it appears in the tomb of Sennefer includes all of the expected elements of Spell 151. In other examples, elaborated on below, it will become apparent that parts can stand for the whole and the vignettes are not always produced in their entirety.

**Sennedjem, TT 1 – Deir el-Medina**

Sennedjem was a necropolis worker who lived during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II in Dynasty 19 (ca. 1294–1213 BC). In the burial chamber of his tomb (Plate 56) is the motif of Anubis with the mummy. In this case, the text accompanying the vignette is Spell 1, not 151, however, the vignette can belong to both. In Saleh’s study of the tombs of Theban officials, he indicates that this combination occurs in several Theban tombs. The motif in Sennedjem’s tomb shows a vibrantly colored depiction of the mummy on the lion bed with Anubis standing behind. Anubis is wearing a yellow pleated kilt with a white apron and a green and black patterned garment around his lower chest and abdomen. He is bent at the waist with his hands

---


10 Spell 1 is the “Beginning of the formulae for going out by day,” and is typically accompanied by an image of the funeral. Stephen Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight: prt m hrw the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead translation, sources, meanings* (London: Golden House Publications, 2013), 5.


placed on the chest of the mummy. The mummy is lying with its head at the viewer’s left. The face of the mask is red and features a false beard and wig painted blue and tied in place with a floral fillet. There are braces in place on the body, one running along the side and three crossing transversely across it. Cradling the head of the mummy is the head of a lion that is part of the lion bed. The head and mane are painted yellow, while the legs and tail are painted black. The tail is near the feet of the mummy, and it curls inward as it extends upward. Around the figures is a canopy consisting of yellow and black striped poles on the sides with a multicolored design above forming the top of the canopy, above which is another yellow and black striped pole. This enclosure is reminiscent of what was seen around the mummy and Anubis in Sennefer’s tomb. While this iteration of the vignette is not specifically associated with the text of Spell 151, it utilizes the motif of Anubis and the mummy on a lion bed from Spell 151, showing a different form of the familiar motif.

**Siptah, KV 47 – Valley of the Kings**

Siptah ruled as pharaoh in Dynasty 19 (ca. 1194–1188 BC). In the second corridor of his tomb (Plate 57) is the motif from Spell 151. Anubis stands behind the mummy on the lion bed; in this depiction the head of the mummy faces the viewer’s right. Anubis is dressed similarly to how he appears in the tomb of Sennedjem, and the lion bed and the mummy are not remarkably different either. In this depiction the tail of the lion is painted yellow with a black tuft at the end. On either side of the lion bed are Isis and Nephthys. They are similar in appearance to their portrayal in the tomb of Sennefer. They are kneeling and wearing red dresses and white head

---


coverings with red headbands. Isis is at the foot of the mummy and Nephthys is at the head. Both goddesses have a shen ring in front of them with their hands extended over, but not touching, the rings. In the register below the embalming scene is a jackal with a scepter and flail on its back. This version of the vignette, with only Anubis, the mummy, and the two goddesses, is a fairly common, abbreviated form, which will be seen in other examples moving forward.

**Tausret/Setnakht, KV 14 – Valley of the Kings**

KV 14 (Plate 58) was initially built as a tomb for Queen Tausret, wife of Seti II who ruled as regent in Dynasty 19 (ca. 1188–1186 BC), but it was later remodeled by Ramesses III for his father Setnakht who reigned in Dynasty 20 (ca. 1186–1184 BC). The embalming motif is present on the south wall of the side chamber Ga. The scene is damaged, and the description will rely on a combination of photograph and line drawing of the scene. Anubis’ depiction here resembles that of the depictions in the tombs of Sennedjem and Siptah, specifically his clothing, although in this scene he is also wearing a collar and the upper garment appears to have a one-shouldered tie. The mummy and the lion bed are also similarly rendered as those in the tomb of Siptah. One exception is found at the foot of the lion bed which has a footboard that extends about twice the height of the mummy’s footcase. In the tomb of Siptah, the board and the footcase are the same height. Anubis and the bed are on a raised platform with black and yellow striped poles on either side. The poles do not appear to support a canopy or roof. The head of the mummy faces the viewer’s right. Beneath the lion bed are a set of canopic jars with the identifying heads of the sons of Horus, the faces of which are oriented toward the viewer’s right.

---


The order of the jars from left to right begins with Qebehsenuef followed by Duamutef, Hapy, and Imsety. They are placed on top of their respective canopic boxes. Outside of the striped poles are Isis and Nephthys. The goddesses are standing with their arms crossed over their chests. They are wearing white dresses with red sashes and collars. The photograph (Plate 57 A) shows that the damaged wall was plastered over obscuring the heads of the goddesses. The drawing in Hornung’s publication (Plate 57 B) provides the details of the goddess’s heads and headdresses and shows that Nephthys is positioned at the head and Isis is at the foot.

**Nefertari, QV 66 – Valley of the Queens**

Nefertari was the wife of Ramesses II who ruled during Dynasty 19 (ca. 1279–1213 BC).\(^1\) Her tomb (Plate 59) contains imagery related to Spell 151, but the traditional vignette is instead replaced with parts that stand in place for the whole (a type of synecdoche). Lüscher refers to this as the royal “ideogram,” in which Anubis is depicted in jackal form on a shrine with Isis or Nephthys kneeling beneath.\(^2\) This abbreviated form is also found in the tombs of Seti I, Ramesses II, Merenptah, and Ramesses III.\(^3\) In Nefertari’s tomb, the images are located on both sidewalls of the stairway that connects the antechamber and the sarcophagus room, with Isis on

---


\(^2\) For further discussion on the concept of pars pro toto (part for the whole), see Andrzej Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1989).

\(^3\) Lüscher, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151*, 35.

\(^4\) Lüscher, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151*, 22.
the west side and Nephthys on the east. On the east side, Anubis in jackal form lies on a pedestal with the flail on his back. Beneath the pedestal is a kneeling Nephthys in a red dress wearing a white headdress with a red headband. She is identified by her hieroglyphic headdress. She is kneeling on the hieroglyph for gold and her hands are placed on a *shen* ring in front of her.

On the opposite side of the stairway, Isis is depicted in identical fashion, with the exception of her hieroglyphic headdress. Although this scene does not depict the Anubis and mummy motif that is expected for Spell 151, this example shows that other images associated with the text of the spell could be selected to accompany it.

**Sheshonq III - Tanis**

Sheshonq III was pharaoh during Dynasty 22 (ca. 945–715 BC) of the Third Intermediate Period. A line drawing of a relief from his tomb (Plate 60) shows that the embalming motif was present. In the center is Anubis behind the mummy. While the image is fragmentary, presumably the mummy is lying on a lion bed as we see the rear foot of a lion to the right of the feet of Anubis. The head of the mummy is towards the viewer’s left. Isis is kneeling by the head of the mummy. She is identified by the hieroglyphs above her head. Her hands are stretched before her and are resting on an unidentified object. Although the drawing shows this object to have an irregular shape, parallels with other scenes make it likely that the object is a *shen* ring. By the feet of the mummy is Nephthys, who is positioned in the same manner as Isis and also identified by hieroglyphs above her head.

---


**Bannantiu – Bahria Oasis**

The tomb of Bannantiu is located in the Bahria Oasis and dates to Dynasty 26 (ca. 664–525). There are two images of the embalming motif in the tomb, one is on the east wall of the outer chamber (Plate 61), the other is in the inner chamber (Plate 62). The scene in the outer chamber shows Anubis in a long yellow garment behind the body of the mummy on the lion bed. Anubis faces the viewer’s left and has his near hand on the mummy while his far hand is extended above the body holding a jar or cup. The mummy’s head, which is not wearing a mask, is also oriented to the viewer’s left with the head of the lion bed serving as a headboard. The lion bed is painted yellow and looks similar to those that have already been described, the legs of the bed look like lion’s legs with paws at the end and the lion’s tail curls over the footcase of the mummy. Below the lion bed are four canopic jars, differentiated by the heads on the jar. The faces look toward the viewer’s right, and they are ordered, from left to right: Duamutef, Qebehsenuef, Hapy, and Imsety. The jars alternate in color with Duamutef and Hapy painted reddish-brown and the other two painted yellow. On either end of the lion bed are the two goddesses. A rectangle containing hieroglyphs above the goddess on the viewer’s left, near the head of the mummy, identifies her as Isis. She is wearing a white sheath dress and black wig and holds her far hand in front of her face. The figure on the right is presumably Nephthys. The figure is slightly larger in scale than Isis and she wears a red dress. The paint on her wig has faded, but there are traces of blue in the photograph. Nephthys holds her far hand in front of her face. Above the figures is a human-headed *ba* bird with outstretched wings. In each of the talons is a small *shen* ring.

---

The second embalming scene is similar to the first. Anubis is again behind the lion bed, but instead of holding a vessel in his far hand, his palm is turned toward the face of the mummy. Anubis’ skin is blue, which may have been the case in the depiction from the outer chamber, but due to the condition of the paint, this was not as clear. The body of the mummy has a crosshatch pattern on the wrappings, which may indicate a bead net or rhombic bandages. Isis is again on the viewer’s left, identified by hieroglyphs in a text box above her head. She is wearing a red dress and black wig and is kneeling on a pedestal. Her far arm is raised in front of her face. On the viewer’s right is presumably Nephthys. She is wearing a white dress and black wig and is standing at the foot of the mummy. Below the lion bed are four canopic jars in the same order as the first scene. A human-headed ba bird is shown above the scene holding shen rings in its talons. The details in the second scene appear to be more expertly rendered. The first scene from this tomb is the first example I have noted which shows Anubis holding a jar or cup in his hand over the body of the mummy. This is an element that appears later on in renderings of the embalming scene.

**Siamun – Siwa Oasis**

The tomb of Siamun (Plate 63) in the Siwa Oasis dates to between 400 and 200 BC. The embalming scene is located on the lower register of the west wall. Anubis and the head of the mummy face the viewer’s right. Anubis is painted black and wears a white kilt and a collar. His hands are stretched out over the torso of the mummy. The mummy is painted red with a

---


25 Marjorie Susan Venit, *Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), Plate XXI.
multicolored collar. There is a crosshatch pattern over the body, perhaps indicating a bead net. The head of the lion on the lion bed wears a blue mane, and while the painting is damaged, it seems that the body is painted yellow. Above the mummy, and to the right of Anubis are five columns of text, which are an inscription to Osiris on the bier, and an additional column with an inscription to Anubis. At the head of the bed, to the viewer’s right, is Isis kneeling on a plinth decorated with *djed* pillars and geometric designs. Isis is wearing a red dress with a multicolored strap across her chest, a collar, and a headcover with a headband. Her headdress identifies her, as does a column of hieroglyphic text above her head. Her far arm is elevated, bent at the elbow, with her palm directly in front of her face. Nephthys is depicted in the same manner as Isis, however, either due to damage or lack of completion, her dress is unpainted. The palm of her near hand is in front of her face. She is identified by her headdress. According to Fakhry (and visible in Plate 62 B), the four sons of Horus stand behind Nephthys. They are depicted in mummiform and differentiated by their heads. All of the figures are facing the embalming scene. Although the date of the tomb suggests a potential for Hellenistic influence, the scene fits within the traditional depictions expected for the embalming scene. Siamun’s father was Greek and there are other elements in the tomb which show the influence of Greek culture but they are not present in this illustration.

---

26 Venit, *Visualizing the Afterlife*, 143.


28 Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis*, 143.

29 Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis*, 143.

30 Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis*, 134.
Tuna el-Gebel M 21 – Tuna el-Gebel (the cemetery of ancient Hermopolis)

House Tomb 21 at Tuna el-Gebel\(^\text{31}\) is thought to date to the first century AD.\(^\text{32}\) The tomb consists of five rooms and was built for a woman or a girl.\(^\text{33}\) The embalming scene (Plate 64) is located on the south wall of the burial room.\(^\text{34}\) Anubis stands behind the mummy on the bed and is facing the viewer’s right. His skin is black, and he is wearing a kilt and an additional garment which covers the lower chest and abdomen. What looks like a black and yellow striped tail is extending from his mid-thigh to mid-calf, following the line of his back leg. Anubis also wears a collar and a blue wig. His arms are extended with his hands facing palm down over the chest and face of the mummy. The mummy is painted red with a beaded net over the top. The mummy mask consists of a blue wig with a green face and false beard. The lion bed is yellow with a red mane. The tail curls upward and meets the footcase of the mummy. Lines indicating muscle definition are visible on the legs of the bed, with the back leg being about twice as robust. Isis kneels on a plinth shaped like a naos by the head of the mummy on the viewer’s right. She is wearing a red dress, collar, and black wig with a red headband. On top of her head is her identifying headdress. Her far arm is slightly raised so that her palm covers her face. Nephthys, who is near the foot of the mummy, is a mirror image of Isis with the exception of the headdress, which identifies this goddess as Nephthys. Behind the goddesses are two figures which have been identified as apes, with the figure on the viewer’s left (behind Nephthys) being specifically


\(^{33}\) Riggs, *Beautiful Burial*, 129.

\(^{34}\) Venit, *Visualizing the Afterlife*, 129.
noted as a Hamadryas baboon, associated with the god Thoth. The figure on the viewer’s left has a red face, arms, penis, and feet, while the rest of the body is light grey with darker grey spots. There is also a bluish circle covering the side of the head approximately where an ear would be expected. The figure on the viewer’s right is wearing a blue wig and has a grey face, arms, and feet and a red penis. The rest of the body is the same shade of grey as the face and limbs, but is also covered with darker grey spots, (the color and pattern are similar to the figure on the left). While the figure has been identified as an ape, the face appears more jackal-like, with a long snout and pointed ears. These creatures have human arms, hands and feet, so perhaps they are humans in ape costumes. Both figures have their arms raised with their palms facing away from themselves, suggesting a gesture of praise. These additional figures in their attitude of praise recall the human-headed ba birds which are found in more complete versions of the Spell 151 vignette. The potential connection to Thoth is curious though, and perhaps this is related to Thoth’s appearance in the embalming scene in the Roman period.

Although it is not an embalming scene, another important scene from this tomb is the lustration scene (Plate 65) located in the upper register of the western wall in the first room. In this scene Thoth and Horus are pouring a libation over the deceased. Thoth stands to the viewer’s left and Horus to the viewer’s right. Each is holding a hes vase horizontally as streams of liquid flow out and around the female figure of the tomb owner. The scene is one of rebirth and


36 Lorelei Corcoran, personal communication, March 20, 2022. I thank Lorelei Corcoran for this suggestion.

37 Riggs, Beautiful Burial, 134.
purification located near the tomb entrance, perhaps marking the place between life and death. This scene is mentioned here to show a precedent for the lustration motif, which occurs elsewhere seemingly in combination with the embalming motif.

Tigrane Tomb – Alexandria

The Tigrane Tomb dates to the first or second century AD. Adriani, the excavator of the tomb, dated the tomb to the second half of the first century AD. Venit dates the tomb to the second quarter of the second century AD. The scene on the back wall of the tomb (Plate 66) contains the now familiar motif. In the center is a mummy on a bed. The legs of the bed feature two knobs and are topped by a triangular shape where they meet the horizontal plane of the bed. Beneath the bed are two swaths of green, red, and yellow striped fabric (or perhaps one swath cinched in the center). The mummy is wrapped in rhomboidal fashion, which was common in the Roman period. The wrappings cover the face and there is no portrait or mask over the head. The nose and chin are articulated in the wrappings and are the only features, aside from the feet, that protrude from the wrappings. Beneath the head is some type of support which Venit labeled “a Roman fulcrum decorated with a bird’s head.” Two women flank the head and foot of the mummified body. They are presumably Isis and Nephthys, though they are lacking identifying

38 Riggs, Beautiful Burial, 135. See also Corcoran, Portrait Mummies, 59–60.


41 Venit, Monumental Tombs, 196.

42 See Corcoran, Portrait Mummies, 7.

43 Venit, Monumental Tombs, 151.
characteristics. The woman by the head stands with her body facing the viewer. Her left foot is in profile while her right foot faces outward. She is wearing a feather-patterned dress that is red near her neck, green at her torso and green and white with a diagonal line at her legs. The dress ends with a sort of fringe mid-calf and the sleeves are elbow-length. Her arms are bent at the elbow and raised to chest level, the lines running parallel to the ground. Her fists meet together in the center of her torso. In each hand, she is holding a palm branch which extends from her fists in an outward diagonal line over her shoulders, forming a V-shape that frames her head. The face of the woman is in profile. She wears a nemes headdress with uraeus and a line from her chin may be indicative of a false beard.

The woman at the foot of the mummy stands in profile with her chest turned toward the viewer, similar to the canonical Egyptian style. She wears a green feather-patterned dress similar in style to the other woman. Both of her feet face toward the deceased and her arms are also extended in the same direction. She holds palm fronds in her outstretched hands and there are wings beneath her arms. She also wears a nemes headdress with what appears to be a double uraeus, and a small line at her chin indicates a false beard. Behind each goddess is a falcon on a pillar. On the viewer’s left the falcon is wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, on the viewer’s right the falcon is wearing the double crown. Both are facing the deceased. In the top center of the arch is a winged solar disc. Just below that is a red, curved garland that forms a canopy of sorts. On either side of the scene, niches for loculi have been cut into the rock. In front of those niches are depictions of an anthropomorphic jackal-headed Anubis, who is seated and facing outward. The scene of the goddesses flanking a mummy on a bed is a common motif in both the Roman period and in earlier Egyptian iconography. What sets the version of it in the Tigrane 44
Tomb apart are the Roman details—the style of the furniture and the pattern of the bandages. In this scene we also note the lack, with in the frame, of Anubis and canopic jars that typically accompany an embalming scene.45

**Tomb 2, Hall of Caracalla – Alexandria**

Tomb 2 from the Hall of Caracalla is located in the catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa in Alexandria (Plate 67). The tomb dates from the end of the first century AD to the middle of the second century AD.46 Initially the tombs in this section were separated from the main tomb of Kom el-Shoqafa and were accessed from a separate staircase, however that staircase is now blocked, and access is granted through a hole made through the wall of Tomb 1.47 To the naked eye, the painted decoration of Tomb 2 is nearly invisible but through experimental photographic techniques, including the use of ultraviolet light, the images became visible.48 The tomb consists of an undecorated sarcophagus carved out of a rock niche featuring decoration on three walls.49 The illustrations on the back wall of the niche are divided into two registers. The upper register is the embalming scene in traditional Egyptian style. The lower register is Hellenistic in style and depicts Artemis, Athena, Aphrodite, and Eros, as well as the abduction of Persephone by Hades.50

---


The upper register shows Anubis behind a mummy on a lion bed in the center of the scene. He is standing on a small plinth with a cavetto cornice. Anubis faces the viewer’s right, with his far hand on the torso of the mummy while his near arm, which is bent at the elbow, is raised so that his palm is level with his eyeline. In his flat, open palm is a vessel. Anubis is wearing a garment that is similar to that of Anubis in the central scene in the main tomb at Kom el-Shoqafa. The garment is pleated with elbow length sleeves and extends to the ankles. He is also wearing a collar, a striated, tripartite wig, and the double crown. The mummy is wrapped in a crosshatch pattern reminiscent of the rhomboidal wrappings found in the Roman period.51 There is a mask over the face of the deceased which includes a false beard. On the mummy’s head is the atef crown. The lion bed has a rather large head and robust legs. The tail extends upward with a slight curve back on itself at the very end. A heqa scepter and renpet palm rib52 are held in the lion’s front paw. The portion of the bed on which the mummy rests is decorated with a geometric pattern. Below the bed are four canopic jars with the distinctive heads of the four sons of Horus, facing the viewer’s right, each topped with a solar disc. Imsety is to the viewer’s right, on the right side of Anubis’ feet, while the other three are on the other side of Anubis. From right to left, there is Hapy, Qebehsenuf, and Duamutef. In front of Imsety is a canopic chest for the jars which has a small red crown on top of it.53 The lion bed, canopic jars, and plinth under Anubis all rest on top of a low platform decorated with stars. Over Anubis’ right shoulder is a falcon with an ankh and a curved scepter in its talons.54

---

51 See Corcoran, Portrait Mummies, 7.

52 Guimier-Sorbets et al., Resurrection in Alexandria, 60.

53 Guimier-Sorbets et al., Resurrection in Alexandria, 60.

54 Guimier-Sorbets et al., Resurrection in Alexandria, 60.
bed are two winged goddesses, Isis, and Nephthys. There are no features to distinguish them from one another. The goddesses face Anubis and the mummy with their far arms raised and their near arms lowered, forming a ninety-degree angle. In their upraised hands they hold a heqa scepter, renpet palm rib, and flail.\textsuperscript{55} In their lowered hands they hold a feather of Maat. They are wearing ankle-length dresses with collars and striated, tripartite wigs. A headband tied behind the head holds a uraeus on the brow. The crown they both wear is a solar disc surrounded by cow’s horns and topped with two ostrich feathers.\textsuperscript{56} Between the goddesses and the lion bed, and in between their outstretched wings are small, winged, solar discs. Two additional figures complete the scene. The two male figures stand behind the goddesses and both are dressed similarly with triangular, pleated kilts, feather-patterned tunics, collars, and the double crown. Each holds his near arm positioned across his chest with the hand raised and palm facing away from himself. Each far arm is extended and raised slightly and, in this hand, is held a heqa scepter, flail, was scepter (figure on the viewer’s left only), and renpet palm rib (figure on the viewer’s right only). The figure on the viewer’s left is human-headed and has a small false beard. The figure on the viewer’s right is falcon-headed. The have been interpreted as representing the king and Horus or Re-Horakhty.\textsuperscript{57} There is a column of pseudo-hieroglyphs in front of each of the two male figures. This scene has some overlap with the scene from the main tomb of Kom el-Shoqafa. Given the likely overlap in time period as well as the proximity to one another, this is unsurprising. What is more remarkable about the scene is the contrast with the register below it. The juxtaposition of the Egyptian and Greek techniques is striking and speaks to the cultural

\textsuperscript{55} Guimier-Sorbets et al., \textit{Resurrection in Alexandria}, 64.


\textsuperscript{57} Guimier-Sorbets et al., \textit{Resurrection in Alexandria}, 64.
diversity of Alexandria. It also shows that there were capable artists who could work in both artistic conventions and that the Egyptian style was not supplanted by the Greek, rather the two could, and did, coexist.

**Other Media**

In addition to tombs, the embalming scene appears on a variety of objects, like coffins and cartonnage, stelae, papyri, and amulets. There is also variation in the amount of detail included. Some scenes contain multiple elements of the vignette from Spell 151, others have simplified to just a few components. The coffin of Djedhorefankh (Plate 68) in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, dating to Dynasty 22, depicts an embalming scene on the interior. Anubis is standing in front of the bed with the mummy on top. The bed has lion’s paws but no head or tail. Four canopic jars are under the bed, with the heads of the four sons of Horus. A canopy surrounds the figures and marks the boundaries of the scene.

Different elements are a focus for the coffin of Irthorrū in the National Museum of Scotland (Plate 69). This coffin dates to the Late Period, likely Dynasty 26 or 27. On the front of the coffin is the familiar motif. The mummy lies on a lion bed with four canopic jars below. On either end of this lion bed are the gods Horus, at the head of the mummy, and Anubis, at the foot of the mummy. Though this scene differs from previous examples in the above corpus, especially with the replacement of Horus and Anubis for Isis and Nephthys, it is still recognizable as the embalming motif. The decoration of Nedjemankh’s coffin (Plate 70), dating to the Ptolemaic period, and now on display in the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization, also includes an embalming scene. Anubis stands behind the mummy on a lion bed with canopic jars beneath it, and Thoth stands at the head of the mummy, while Horus stands at the foot. Behind Thoth is a

---

58 An inventory item for this coffin could not be located and is not on the object label in the museum.
kneeling Nephthys and behind Horus is a kneeling Isis. This may be another example of combining the embalming and lustration scenes as seen on the mask from the British Museum, EA 63841 (Plate 54), mentioned in the previous chapter. At the very least, it is yet another example attesting to a precedent for Horus and Thoth’s presence in the embalming scene.

A mummy mask belonging to Crates (Plate 71), dating to the High Empire of the Roman period (ca. 150–199 AD), and now housed in the Louvre, shows a rather simple form of the scene. Anubis is present behind the mummy on the lion bed, and the two goddesses are sitting at either end. The three deities are holding vessels in their hands. Two similar containers are below the bed. The main elements are present, though the style of the artwork seems more abstract than earlier depictions of the scene. What all of these examples show is that just as the tomb decoration changes over time, so does the decoration on coffins. The level of detail and the quality of the craftsmanship aside, there is a continuity expressed in continued use of the scene.

This can also be seen in stelae from two different time periods. The stela of Neferabu (Plate 72) in the British Museum, dates to Dynasty 19. Looking at the scene, carved in sunk relief, of the image of Anubis behind the mummy on the lion bed under a canopy, it is evident that there are parallels to tomb paintings from this time period. The wrappings on the mummy are similar to what is seen in the tomb of Sennedjem; in fact, the entire scene looks similar to the painting in Sennedjem’s tomb. The scene in the register above the embalming motif is a depiction of the Opening of the Mouth with women mourners at the tomb. This stela can be compared with one from the early Roman period, now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The stela of Pachomalal (Plate 73) shows Anubis behind the mummy on a lion bed. It differs from the older stela in a number of ways. One is that Anubis is holding a vessel in his hand above the body of the mummy. Another is that the lion is much more robust. Indeed, it
seems almost like the deceased in on the back of an actual lion, rather than a lion bed. With these two examples, one can compare the embalming scene as it was presented in the Roman period with its counterparts in the pharaonic period (New Kingdom, Dynasty 19). While both are showing the same scene, the differences indicate how the scene has been modified over time.

In papyri, the vignette also changes over time. In the Book of the Dead of Ani, Dynasty 19 (Plate 74), now in the British Museum (EA10470) the vignette used for Spell 151 illustrates all of the expected components. (Unfortunately, the scene was cut in half when it was framed, but it can be digitally reconstructed.) Anubis is in the center with the mummy on the lion bed, Isis and Nephthys are on either side, the four sons of Horus are present at the four corners (although they all have human heads), the four protective elements are around the scene (although there are two torches instead of one torch and one mumiform figure), the two human-headed ba birds are included, and so are the two shabti figures. This detailed version is quite different from the simplified version found in the Book of the Dead of Nesishutefnut (also known as Papyrus Ryerson, E9787I) which dates to the Ptolemaic period and is located in the Oriental Institute Museum (Plate 75). Here, the scene shows Anubis in front of the mummy on the lion bed with Nephthys and Isis kneeling on either end with small shen rings. This seems to indicate that a portion of the vignette can stand for the whole, showing that by the Ptolemaic period the essential part was the embalming scene with protective deities.

As a final material example, two small objects in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, show yet another implementation of the embalming scene. A multicolored amulet from the Ptolemaic period (Plate 76) shows Anubis behind the mummy on a lion bed. Anubis is holding his arm up and it appears that he is holding something in his palm. Likely it is a vessel which has been seen in other media from the same time period. A hematite intaglio
(Plate 77) from the Roman period shows Anubis behind a mummy carried on the back of a realistically rendered lion. The mummy’s face/mask is indicated, but its body consists only of a crosshatch design. At either side of the central scene are two winged goddesses that are similar in appearance to the winged goddesses from Tomb 2 in the Hall of Caracalla. There is also a three-pronged element over Anubis’ shoulder that may perhaps be a candelabrum. These examples provide yet another witness to the use of the embalming scene in material culture. Modifications from early depictions of the scene have been made, such as a lion in place of a lion bed, but the imagery of the pharaonic original persists.

Analysis

The above examples trace the iconography of the vignette that accompanied Spell 151 of the Book of the Dead from its inception in the New Kingdom through the Roman period. Some elements remain consistent, the most prominent of which is Anubis with the mummy on a bed. Frequently, Isis and Nephthys are present on either end of the bed, but they are not always included. Other deities may join or replace them, but, with the exception of Anubis and the mummy, there does not seem to be consistency regarding who must be in the scene and where they are in relation to other figures. There also seems to be a lack of consistency regarding which way the mummy faces. In terms of orientation of the mummy, there are as many examples among the tomb painting depictions for the head facing the viewer’s left as for facing the viewer’s right. Canopic jars are not always depicted but are included in the tombs of Tausret and Setnakht, Bannantiu, and Tomb 2 from the Hall of Caracalla. They are also present in all of the scenes on coffins. When considering the media other than tomb walls, orientation toward the

---

viewer’s right is much more common. While much variation is occurring, it seems that the most important element was to convey that the embalming had taken place, which remains the consistent element across the various examples.

One feature of the depictions in New Kingdom tombs that does not seem to be present in later periods is the use of a canopy. Canopies appear in the scene from the New Kingdom tombs of Sennefer, Sennedjem, and Tausret and Setnakht, and they are all of a similar style, incorporating striped black and yellow poles. A canopy is also present in the depiction within the Dynasty 22 coffin of Djedhorefankh, which is approximately 200 years later than the New Kingdom tomb paintings.

Another feature of the New Kingdom depictions is the use of external braces or bandages to bind the mummy. In the tomb paintings, papyri, and stela from the New Kingdom, all of the mummies depicted have one long bandage running along the side of the body and three crossing the body perpendicularly to the long bandage. These bandages are also in place on the mummy from the coffin of Djedhorefankh. In later depictions, these bandages disappear. In even later periods they are replaced by a crosshatch pattern that may represent a bead net or rhomboidal wrappings. From the selected examples, this change is first noticed in the tomb of Bannantiu.

In the later dated examples there are additional features that are not present in earlier illustrations. One example is the lion bed. As time progresses, the lion becomes more robust. In some cases that means that the head gets bigger, in others there is an increase in muscle mass and definition on the legs, and in some, both enlargements are occurring. In the latest example, the intaglio (MMA 10.130.1393), the bed has become an actual lion.

Another example of modification is the inclusion of a cup in Anubis’ elevated, open palm. In the given examples, this first occurs in the scene from the outer chamber of Bannantiu’s
tomb in the Bahria Oasis and is also found in the scene from Tomb 2, Hall of Caracalla in Alexandria. The cup can also be seen on Nedjemankh’s coffin (NMEC), Crate’s mask (Louvre E 14542), the Roman mask (BM EA 63841), the Roman period stela (MMA 98.460), Roman Portrait Mummies like EMC 33216, and the Ptolemaic period amulet (MMA 17.194.2518). This seems to be a feature that is closely aligned with the Roman period, and while it could be part of the embalming ritual, it seems possible that it could be linked to a lustration ritual. The vessel is not the hes vase that is traditionally used in these scenes, but the inclusion of these vessels is curious, especially when held by deities other than Anubis. This suggests that it is more than the embalming ritual alone, otherwise it seems odd that deities not associated with embalming would be holding embalming equipment.

When this corpus of scenes is compared with the scene from the main tomb at Kom el-Shoqafa, it is clear where it fits in the chronology of iconography. Clearly it is hearkening back to the motif from the pharaonic period, but it incorporates some of the traits found in the Roman period. Traits like the robustness of the lion bed, the vessel in the hands of Anubis, the inclusion of Thoth and Horus, and the inclusion of deities other than Isis and Nephthys. The scene is a legacy of the traditions of pharaonic Egypt and the innovations of the Roman period.
Chapter 5: Conclusion

Studies related to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods in Egypt frequently remark on how past scholarship has left these time periods rather understudied, that it was a time too Greek and Roman for the Egyptologists and too Egyptian for the Classicists. While this may have been the case at some point in time, it seems to be a problem now relegated to the past thanks to the work of scholars who have redressed this misconception.\(^1\) The Ptolemaic and Roman periods in Egypt were also Egyptian. Various influences may have played different roles, and there certainly were external influences at play, but the Egyptian context also exerted a powerful influence.

Alexandria, the location for the catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa, was originally built as a Greek city, along with Naucratis and Ptolemais. However, if the city were only Greek, then the catacombs should not exist. Instead of a foreign monoculture, we see in ancient Alexandria a vibrant cultural exchange. The Hellenistic influence on the artistic program of the main tomb at Kom el-Shoqafa has been noted in Chapter 2. What is just as important, if not more important, however, is that the Hellenistic elements have not superseded the Egyptian iconography, rather they exist in the same space. The reliefs in the tomb are rooted in pharaonic tradition, and this is evident in the embalming scene in the central relief especially given that mummification was an Egyptian practice rooted in native Egyptian funerary beliefs, cultic acts, and funerary texts.

Looking at the origins of the embalming scene in the New Kingdom and tracing its development over time shows continuity alongside change. This relief was not a strange creation of Roman foreigners. There were deliberate acts of perpetuation and preservation that passed down the traditions of pharaonic Egypt. While some elements may look a little different, or there

\(^1\) Works like Lorelei H. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I–IV Centuries A.D.) with a Catalog of Portraits Mummies in Egyptian Museums*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) were foundational in regard to correcting this bias.
are unexpected figures added, or expected figures removed, the core of the vignette of Spell 151 remains—Anubis attending to a mummy. The image of Anubis with the deceased on a lion bier stretches back millennia, and the later incarnations are just as recognizable as the scenes from the New Kingdom.

While the continuity of the motif has been established, there must also be recognition of the innovation that occurred over its approximately 1500-year history. The relief from Kom el-Shoqafa exhibits tradition and innovation. The presence of Horus and Thoth in the scene is initially unexpected. It is not, however, without precedent, but it was not part of the initial rendering of the embalming scene. Their presence seems to indicate an appeal to antiquity in a different way. Rather than perpetuating the embalming scene on its own, it appears that a new scene has been created by combining the embalming scene with a scene of purification. This is not to say that this combination began at Kom el-Shoqafa. Rather, our examination of the Kom el-Shoqafa tomb scene has afforded us the opportunity to explain their presence.

The presence of Thoth and Horus and the absence of Isis and Nephthys show that this is not the same embalming scene that was found in earlier time periods. Certainly, the later scene derives from the earlier scenes and there are overlaps between the scene from Kom el-Shoqafa and the tomb of Sennefer but there are also modifications. Some of those modifications seem to be superficial, like the way the lion bed evolves over time, or the change in the way the mummy on the lion bed was wrapped, which reflected contemporary choices (bandages, bead nets, rhombic wrappings, etc.). Other changes, like the cup in Anubis’ hand and in the hands of other deities in the scene seems to indicate that this is more than simply a cosmetic difference. The vessels had a purpose, suggested by some to contain Nile water for purification and renewal.² If

---
² See Chapter 2 fn. 109 and 110.
the purpose were simply embalming, it seems odd that other deities besides Anubis would also hold the vessels. The suggestion that the rite of preparing and preserving the body of the deceased could be combined with a ritual of purification and renewal is in line with themes such as the preservation of the body and transfiguration, found in the Book of the Dead from which the embalming vignette originates.

Examples of innovative changes to the motif of “Anubis and the Embalming Scene” from coffins, masks, and tombs show that the modifications to the scene at Kom el-Shoqafa were occurring elsewhere and in other media. The depiction of the scene in this tomb is not an aberration, rather, it is a testament to the innovation present in later periods of Egyptian history and to the adherence to tradition which underlies the whole scene.
Bibliography


Bissing, Friedrich Wilhelm. La catacombe nouvellement découverte de Kom el Chougafa. Munich: J. B. Obernetter, 1890.


_____ Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I–IV Centuries A.D.) with a Catalog of Portraits Mummies in Egyptian Museums. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.


Hodel-Hoenes, Sigrid. Life and Death in Ancient Egypt: Scenes from the Private Tombs in New


Marković, Nenad. “Apis is Ptah, Apis is Ra, Apis is Horus, son of Isis: the solar aspects of the divine Apis Bull and the royal ideology of the Late Period (664–332 BCE).” In The rise and development of the solar cult and architecture in Ancient Egypt, ed. Massimiliano Nuzzolo and Jaromír Krejčí, 235–251. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021.


Riggs, Christina. “Funerary Rituals (Ptolemaic and Roman Periods). *UCLA Encyclopedia of*


_____ *The Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: The Theater of the Dead*. 84


Appendix A


Part a – Anubis and the mummy-mask
Words spoken by Anubis foremost of the divine tent when he unties the offering (?) of your head when he has placed his hands over you, alive, awakened for them, your head of the mound (?), when he has wrapped it by his craft of power -

the swallows (?) are gone, at the burial procession.¹

Hail beautiful one, lord of sight, lord of vision (?), bound by Ptah-Sokar forever, raised high by Anubis, to whom have been caused to be given the pillars of Shu, whose face is beautiful face among the gods; your <right> eye is the Night Boat

Illumine me, as you open my eye - words spoken by Geb. Your arms are behind me - words spoken by the West.²

your left eye the Day Boat, your eyebrows are the Nine Gods, your brow is Wepwawet, your neck is Horus, your fingers <Thoth>, your tress is Ptah Sokar, you are at the fore of Amun, so he may see by you. May you guide him to the fair ways, that he may smite Seth, that he may fell his enemy beneath him, before the great Nine Gods that are in Iunu.

Part b – Isis
Words spoken by Isis I have come to serve as your protection, Osiris. I have driven breath to your nose

¹ Line of additional phrasing in the Senhotep version.

² Two lines of additional phrasing in the Senhotep version.
from the north wind that comes from Atum
I gather your neck for you,
I have caused you to exist as a god,
your enemies overthrown beneath your sandals,
justified in Nut, mighty,
joined in the knot, at its cut (?),
I cause you to go, illuminator of Nut
My eye is opened for me,
that I may go as Horus true of voice

Part c – Nephthys
Words spoken
I have circled my brother Osiris,
I have come to serve as your protection.
Your protection is behind you, eternally.
I have heard your call.
You are justified over what was done against you.
Ptah has overthrown your enemies
Action is commanded against the one who acts against you,
with the peace of Osiris,
with your name, son of Hathor.
<there will never be removed, by any action (?).³

Part d – figure
I have come to wrestle,
O one who comes to attack me in bowing down,
I will be your wrestler, for you, and (I will be) attacker,
I am your protection Osiris.

Part e – the djed pillar
O one who comes eternally, in search of the approach,
veiled one who illuminates his veil as he goes out,
I am the one who stands behind,
I am indeed the one who stands behind the djed pillar,
on the day of repelling slaughter
I am the protection.

Part f – the torch
I am the one who snares the sand at the step of your procession,
I have forcefully repelled the one repelling the flame of the bearer.
I have deflected their way.

³ Other versions say “Your head is not to be taken from you for eternity.”
I am the protection of Osiris

Part g – the jackal figure
Wake, watch, Osiris of the mountain,
your moment is repelled
I have repelled the moment, aggressor,
<I am> the protection of Osiris.

[Part h – two ba-soul figures
Words spoken by the living ba-soul
worshipping Ra as he sets in life
in the western horizon of the sky,
in the course of every day.]

Part i – shabti figure
The illumined, he says:
O this shabti, if you are counted in
for any work done there in the god’s land,
To plant the marshes, to water the riverbanks,
To ferry sand of east to west,
‘It is I, I am here’, you should say.

Part k – Qebehsenuef
Words spoken by Qebehsenuef:
I have come as your protection, I am Qebehsenuef.
I have passed, I have come to be your protection,
I have united your bones for you,
I have assembled your limbs for you,
I have brought you your heart,
and placed it for you in its place in your body.
I have strengthened your house after you, as you live, eternally

Part l – Hapy
Words spoken by Hapy:
I have come as your protection,
Binding your head and limbs for you.
I have placed you [sic] enemies beneath you for you,
after you, as you live, eternally.

Part m – Duamutef
Words spoken by Duamutef:

---

4 Not in the Senhotep version, the contemporary version of Amenhotep is quoted here.
I am Duamutef, I am your son, Horus, your beloved.
I have come to save your condition, my father Osiris,
from the one who inflicted his wound.
I set him under your legs, as you live, eternally.

Part n – Imseti
Words spoken by Imseti:
I am Imseti, I am your protection.
I the son have illuminated your house, Osiris,
enduring, enduring,
as Ptah decreed, as Ra himself decrees.
Plate 1
Street Entrance to the Catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2018
Plate 2

The Main Tomb of Kom el-Shoqafa

Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2018
Plate 3
Central Scene of the Main Tomb, Anubis with the Mummy on a Lion Bed
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2018
Plate 4
Cutaway Diagram of the Catacombs
Drawing from Ernst Sieglin, *Die Nekropole von Kôm-Esch-Shukafa: Ausgrabungen und Forschungen*, (Leipzig: Giesecke and Devrient, 1908), Tafel VI.
Plate 5

Plan of the Catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa
Plate 6
Covered Entrance to the Catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2018
Plate 7
Funerary Shaft
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 8
Spiral Staircase
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 9
Cistern

Plate 10
Vestibule
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 11
Vestibule Niche
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2018
Plate 12
Rotunda
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2018
Plate 13
Triclinium
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2018
Plate 14
Triclinium, 1900 Excavation
Photo Credit: Ernst Sieglin, Die Nekropole von Kôm-Esch-Shukâfa: Ausgrabungen und Forschungen, (Leipzig: Giesecke and Devrient, 1908), Tafel XXXVI.
Plate 15
Reconstruction of Funerary Meal
Plate 16
“Prompter’s Box,” View towards the Rotunda
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 17
Scallop Shell Motif above Main Tomb
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 18
Façade of Main Tomb
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2018
Plate 19
Temple of Dendur
68.154
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Dendur; completed by 10 BC
Photo Credit: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547802
Plate 20
Column Capital
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 21
Pilaster
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 22
Statue of a Woman, Left Niche
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plast 23
Statue of a Man, Right Niche
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 24
*Ka* statue of Mereruka, Saqqara
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2021
Plate 25
Statue of a Woman
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 26
Statue of a Man
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 27
Plan of the Main Tomb with Reliefs Numbered
Plate 28
Agathodaemon, Left Side of Pronaos
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2018
Plate 29
Agathodaemon, Right Side of Pronaos
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2018
Plate 30
Interior Tomb Entrance, Anubis Reliefs
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2018
Plate 31 A (left)
Anubis Soldier Relief, Photo
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022

Plate 31 B (right)
Anubis Soldier Relief, Drawing
Drawing from Friedrich Wilhelm Bissing, La catacombe nouvellement découverte de Kom el Chougafa, (Munich: J. B. Obernetter, 1890), XII.
Plate 32
Anubis
Inv. 22840
Vatican Museums
Villa Pamphili, Anzio; 1st–2nd century AD
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2019
Plate 33 A
Anubis Serpent Relief, Photo (left)
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022

Plate 33 B
Anubis Serpent Relief, Drawing (right)
Drawing from Friedrich Wilhelm Bissing, *La catacombe nouvellement découverte de Kom el Chougafa*, (Munich: J. B. Obernetter, 1890), XIII.

122
Plate 34
Left Sarcophagus Niche
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 35 A
Central Relief, Left Niche, Photo
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022

Plate 35 B
Central Relief, Left Niche, Drawing
Drawing from Friedrich Wilhelm Bissing, *La catacombe nouvellement découverte de Kom el Chougafa*, (Munich: J. B. Obernetter, 1890), IX.
Plate 36 A
Left Relief, Left Niche, Photo
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022

Plate 36 B
Left Relief, Left Niche, Drawing
Drawing from Friedrich Wilhelm Bissing, *La catacombe nouvellement découverte de Kom el Chougafa*, (Munich: J. B. Obernetter, 1890), XI.
Plate 37 A
Right Relief, Left Niche, Photo
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022

Plate 37 B
Right Relief, Left Niche, Drawing
Drawing from Friedrich Wilhelm Bissing, *La catacombe nouvellement découverte de Kom el Chougafa*, (Munich: J. B. Obernetter, 1890), X.
Plate 38
Stucco Mummy, Coptic Museum, Inv. 4124
Plate 39
Antinous as Osiris
Inv. 22795
Vatican Museums
Hadrian’s Villa, Tivoli; Reign of Hadrian (AD 117–138)
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2019
Plate 40
Right Sarcophagus Niche
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 41
Right Sarcophagus Niche
Drawing from Friedrich Wilhelm Bissing, *La catacombe nouvellement découverte de Kom el Chougafa*, (Munich: J. B. Obersetter, 1890), II.
Plate 42
Central Relief, Right Niche
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 43 A
Left Relief, Right Niche, Photo
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022

Plate 43 B
Left Relief, Right Niche, Drawing
Drawing from Friedrich Wilhelm Bissing, *La catacombe nouvellement découverte de Kom el Chougafa*, (Munich: J. B. Obernetter, 1890), IV.
Plate 44 A
Right Relief, Right Niche, Photo
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022

Plate 44 B
Right Relief, Right Niche, Drawing
Drawing from Friedrich Wilhelm Bissing, *La catacombe nouvellement découverte de Kom el Chougafa*, (Munich: J. B. Obernetter, 1890), III.
Plate 45
Central Sarcophagus Niche
Photo Credit: Kristin South, 2022
Plate 46 A
Right Relief, Central Niche, Photo

Plate 46 B
Right Relief, Central Niche, Drawing
Drawing from Friedrich Wilhelm Bissing, *La catacombe nouvellement découverte de Kom el Chougafa*, (Munich: J. B. Obernetter, 1890), VII.
Plate 47 A
Left Relief, Central Niche, Photo

Plate 47 B
Left Relief, Central Niche, Drawing
Drawing from Friedrich Wilhelm Bissing, *La catacombe nouvellement découverte de Kom el Chougafa*, (Munich: J. B. Obernetter, 1890), VIII.
Plate 48 A
Central Relief, Central Niche, Photo
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2018

Plate 48 A
Central Relief, Central Niche, Drawing
Drawing from Friedrich Wilhelm Bissing, *La catacombe nouvellement découverte de Kom el Chougafa*, (Munich: J. B. Obernetter, 1890), VI.
Plate 49
Book of the Dead of Methetepty
EA10010,5
The British Museum
Thebes; Third Intermediate Period
Photo Credit: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10010-5
Plate 50
Magical Bricks
EA41544, EA41545, EA41546 and EA 41547
The British Museum
Egypt; New Kingdom

Photo Credit: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA41544
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA41545_1
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA41546_1
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA41547
Plate 51
Purification of Amenhotep II
National Museum of Egyptian Civilization
Thebes; New Kingdom, Dynasty 18, Reign of Amenhotep II
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2021
Plate 52
Portrait Mummy of a Girl
CG 33216
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
Hawara; 2nd century AD (ca. AD 125–150)
Plate 53
Register 2, CG33216, Embalming Scene
Drawing from Lorelei H. Corcoran, Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (1–IV Centuries A.D.): with a Catalog of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 56 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University Chicago, 1995), 175.
Plate 54
Mummy Mask of a Young Man
EA63841
The British Museum
Hawara; 1st century BC (ca. 30–10 BC)
Photo Credit: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA63841
Plate 55
Tomb of Sennefer, Spell 151 Vignette
Plate 56
Tomb of Sennedjem, Embalming Scene
Plate 57
Tomb of Siptah, Spell 151 Vignette
Plate 58 A
Tomb of Tausret and Setnakht, Spell 151 Vignette, Photo

Plate 58 B
Tomb of Tausret and Setnakht, Spell 151 Vignette, Drawing
Plate 59 A
Tomb of Nefertari, Spell 151 Vignette

Plate 59 B
Tomb of Nefertari, Spell 151 Vignettes
Plate 60
Tomb of Sheshonq III, Embalming Scene
Plate 61 A
Tomb of Bannantiu, Outer Chamber, Embalming Scene, Photo

Plate 61 B
Tomb of Bannantiu, Outer Chamber, Embalming Scene, Drawing
Drawing from Ahmed Fakhry, Bahria Oasis, (Cairo: Government Press, 1942), 70.
Plate 62 A
Tomb of Bannantiu, Inner Chamber, Embalming Scene, Photo

Plate 62 B
Tomb of Bannantiu, Inner Chamber, Embalming Scene, Drawing
Plate 63 A
Tomb of Siamun, Embalming Scene, Photo
Photo Credit: Marjorie Susan Venit, *Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), Pl XXI.

Plate 63 B
Tomb of Siamun, Embalming Scene, Drawing
Plate 64 A
House Tomb 21, Embalming Scene, Photo

Plate 64 B
House Tomb 21, Embalming Scene, Drawing
Photo Credit: Marjorie Susan Venit, *Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), Pl XVI.
Plate 65
House Tomb 21, Lustration Scene
Plate 66
Tigrane Tomb, Embalming Scene
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2018
Plate 67 A
Tomb 2, Hall of Caracalla, Sarcophagus Tomb Niche
Photo Credit: Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets, André Pelle, and Mervat Seif el-Din,

Plate 67 B
Tomb 2, Hall of Caracalla, Central Scene “Resurrected”
Photo Credit: Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets, André Pelle, and Mervat Seif el-Din,
Plate 68
Section from the Interior of the Coffin of Djedhorefankh
238
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
Thebes, Gourna; Dynasty 22, reign of Sheshonq I or Osorkon I
Photo Credit: Bethany Jensen, 2021
Plate 69 A
Coffin of Irthorru (left)
A.1910.97
National Museum of Scotland
Meir; Late Period, Dynasty 26
Photo Credit: https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/coffin/299948

Plate 69 B
Coffin of Irthorru, Embalming Scene (right)
A.1910.97
National Museum of Scotland
Meir; Late Period, Dynasty 26
Photo Credit: https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/coffin/299948
Plate 70 A
Coffin of Nedjemankh (left)
National Museum of Egyptian Civilization
Ptolemaic Period
Wikimedia Commons
Photo Credit:

Plate 70 B
Coffin of Nedjemankh, Embalming Scene (right)
National Museum of Egyptian Civilization
Ptolemaic Period
Wikimedia Commons
Photo Credit:
Plate 71
Mask of Crates
E 14542 TER
Louvre Museum
Tomb 1407, Deir el-Medina, Thebes; High Empire (ca. 150–199 AD)
Photo Credit: https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/c1010006457
Plate 72
Stela of Neferabu
EA305
The British Museum
Deir el-Medina (Thebes); Dynasty 19
Photo Credit: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA305
Plate 73
Stela for Pachomalal, Son of Peteharsomtous
98.4.60
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Dendera; Roman Period (ca. 1st century AD)
Photo Credit: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/571621
Plate 74
Book of the Dead of Ani, Frame 33 and 34
EA10470,33 and EA10470,34
The British Museum
Tomb of Ani, Thebes; Dynasty 19
Photo Credit: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10470-33
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10470-34
Plate 75
Book of the Dead of Nesishutefnut (Papyrus Ryerson)
E9787I
Oriental Institute Museum
Thebes; Ptolemaic Period (ca. 250–150 BC)
Photo Credit: https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/2b7fd2ac-206c-451a-bb60-7484ed64bfe4
Plate 76
Amulet Showing Anubis Standing over Mummy on Bier
17.194.2518
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Egypt; Ptolemaic Period
Photo Credit: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570616
Plate 77
Hematite Intaglio: Mummy of Osiris
10.130.1393
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Roman Period (ca. 2\textsuperscript{nd}–3\textsuperscript{rd} century AD)

Photo Credit: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/248225