

## Petosiris in his Tomb at Dachla: Venerating the Deceased in Roman Egypt.

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### Abstract

The paper investigates the interesting classical figure of Petosiris in his Roman tomb at El-Mazawaka necropolis of Dakhla, who wears the traditional Greek garment of the *chiton* and the *himation*. It explores the high appeal of Petosiris to appear in this costume in his tomb? Is this a kind of a fashionable Hellenistic's influence or it still has its Egyptian concept? Also, the paper highlights the funerary cult for the deceased in his tomb, through the offering-priests who venerate Petosiris on the walls of his tomb. Furthermore, the article analysis the ritual meaning of the objects in the hands of Petosiris. The classical figure of Petosiris confirms his high status as one of the elites in the community, as well as the mixture of Egyptian and Hellenistic - Romano art, and in fact, it does not resemble the ethic of the patron of the deceased either Egyptian, Greek, or Roman.

### 1. Introduction

Venerating the deceased still prominent in Roman Egypt, either through the special care for the mummy, the procession of the funeral and the funerary cult for the deceased in the tomb, either by the relatives and friends of the deceased, or by the priests who were are in charge of the necropolis itself. The tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhla Oasis is one of the best-preserved painted tombs in Roman Egypt. It dates to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, it consists of two rooms with three burial niches, one cuts on the north wall of the antechamber, while the other two niches cut on the north and the east walls of the burial chamber. Petosiris is depicted in a classical posture in his tomb. The large classical model of the male/ female deceased is a special characteristic and extensively depicted in the funerary art of Roman Egypt, attesting the syntax and mixture of Egyptian and Hellenistic-Romano cultures and traditions. El-Mazawaka is a paradigm for studying Graeco-Roman Egypt resembles the “*double style*”, “*hybridization*” and “*biculturalism*” between Egyptian religion and cultivated Hellenism in cultures, traditions, funerary beliefs, and burial traditions <sup>(1)</sup>.

Venit suggested that this classical deceased model marks a point of intersection between the classical world and Egypt and assumed that it recalls the idealistic ancient Egyptian portrait of the tombs' owners of the Old kingdom, as

“*Egyptianizing*” inheritance of artistic style in Roman Egypt, preserving the memory of an age-old Egyptian format, and presenting the honored high elite deceased spanning multiple registers as the largest figure in the tomb<sup>(2)</sup>. Unlike, the classical funerary art, that the Greek gods were depicted in a greater scale than their mortal humans.<sup>(3)</sup> On the contrary, Whitehouse supposed the Hellenistic influence of such model in dress and pose, as it is derived from Hellenistic and Roman sculptures.<sup>(4)</sup> Castiglione interpreted that the classical style of the deceased among the Egyptian deities show both “real” and “spiritual” aspects, as a stock figure resembles a vivid indicator of the “double style;” where the patron represent himself in his afterlife-tomb in a double face-character; grabbed in a realistic Hellenistic style among Egyptian spiritual iconography.<sup>(5)</sup> While Riggs assumed that the classical model of the dead appeared either on the shrouds or the tombs evokes a Greek identity for their reference point-not Roman- and they followed the Greek fashion of dress.<sup>(6)</sup>

## 2. The ‘classical’ Petosiris in his tomb

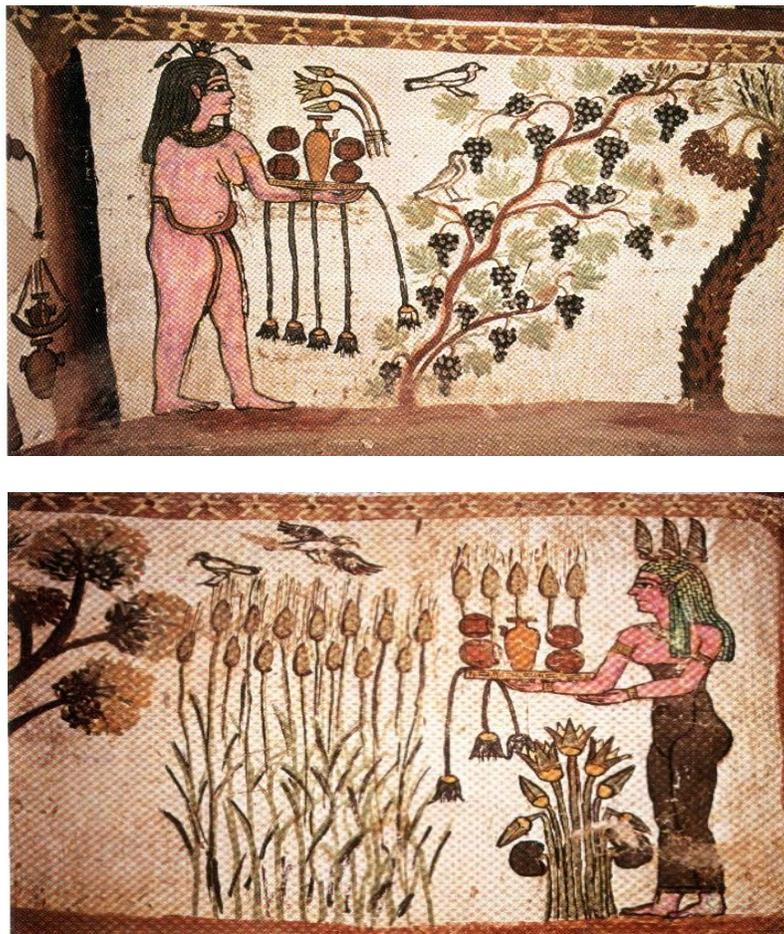
Petosiris in his Roman tomb of El-Mazawaka is depicted in a full-length Greek figure dominating the east wall of the antechamber, flanking the doorway leading to the burial chamber, on the visitor’s view, to the left (north) side of the doorway. He stands *contrapposto* and wears a purpled-coloured tunic ‘*pallium*’ and an ‘arm-sling’ mantle with two black *clavi*, he has a curly hair and short beard. Petosiris stands with his weight resting on his left leg, he strides and ready to enter the burial chamber. and wears sandals are thongs with *lingulae*. He holds the papyrus-roll ‘*rotulus*’ in his lowered left hand, and a twig (or a floral garland?)<sup>(7)</sup> in his upper right hand which reaches out from the *pallium*.<sup>(8)</sup> The male-patron of the tomb is depicted in a prominent classicizing pose in a Hellenistic posture, spanning in two registers in disproportionate size confirming his identity as the tomb’s owner, and inhabiting a spot directly opposite the entrance of the tomb is welcoming the tomb visitors as the first image seen by them.<sup>(9)</sup> He is standing frontally in three-quarter view, with his weight shifted onto one foot as it evokes the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC sculpture Greek figures.<sup>(10)</sup> A hieroglyphic column beside Petosiris and horizontal hieroglyphic inscriptions at the side of his head, the text guaranteed a blessed transfiguration and eternity for the Osiris-Petosiris. a partially damaged figure of a beardless *ba*-bird of Petosiris surmounts his head with outspread wings and a partially damaged human face turned in three-quarters. To the right of Petosiris, there are standards of a falcon, an ibis, and a jackal gaze across at the *ba*-bird.<sup>11</sup> (Figure.1).



**Figure 1.** Two priests venerate the classical striding figure of Petosiris  
Osing, AV 28, fig.32a.

An offering frieze of two bearers is next to Petosiris who is facing the adjacent offering bearers, while in Bissing's Tomb. The offering frieze beside the classical models of the deceased is also confusing in both tombs. Two priests present offerings to the classicized figure of Petosiris, one costumed in classical apparel, while the other is pure Egyptian. The Egyptian bearer resembles the Egyptian Nile fecundity god holds an offering table which contains a tray with loaves, a *hes*-vase, and a bouquet of lotus flowers, while the other classical bearer with a shaved head in three-quarters view, he is garbed in a white classical garment which envelops his body from the chest down,<sup>(12)</sup> he presents a table of bread with his left hand, and holds a libation vessel with his lowered right one, while the liquid spills onto the earth for the underworld deities.<sup>(13)</sup> A grape-laden vine, symbolizing the oasis product, is shown in between of the two bearers.<sup>(14)</sup>

Again, in the lower register of the south part of the west wall, is two priests are acting the funerary cult for Petosiris in his tomb, they are presenting offerings. One priest resembles the Nile god *Hcpí* and the vegetation goddess *shyt*, they are serving Petosiris in his afterlife, with the existence of various trees of vine, wheat, lotus, two date-palms imitating the *i3rw*-fields of the afterlife (**Figure.2**).



**Figure 2.** Hapi and the field-goddesses serve Petosiris in the afterlife  
Osing, AV 28, figs. 34a, c

The classical model of the deceased is found also in the so-called Von Bissing Tomb of Petosiris in El-Salamauni,<sup>15</sup> the Roman House-tomb 13 of Tuna El-Gebel 'Tomb of *Aurelios Petese*'.<sup>(16)</sup> Outside Egypt, a similar Classical figure is also recorded at *Dura Europus* in Syria, dated to 244AD, representing Moses as he parts the Red Sea, and another painting in Dura of Moses and the Burning Bush (**Figure. 3**)<sup>(17)</sup>.



**Figure 3.** Dura Europus synagogue, Moses Passing the Red Sea Venit, Referencing Isis, fig.8, (after, A. Garber, *Early Christian Art, from the Rise of Christianity to the Death of Theodosius*, New York, 1986, 74, fig.67)

### 3. Commentary

Roman Egypt was multi-cultural, and the afterlife too was characterized as a blend of Egyptian, Hellenistic, and Roman influence. The Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans all had a strong desire to enjoy a blessed afterlife. Harmonization of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman conceptions of the afterlife was facilitated by their shared cultures, but the Egyptian conception of the afterlife became universal. The people in Ptolemaic-Roman Egypt employed traditional Egyptian funerary iconography to proclaim the identification of the deceased with Osiris.<sup>18</sup> However, features of their own cultures continued to be expressed, especially in their style of dress. In Roman Egypt, the classical figure of Petosiris conveys the same narrative iconography in the accoutrements necessary for a beneficent afterlife. Petosiris' tomb enjoyed a kind of a cult in his tomb, also, von Bissing suggested that the similar classical figure of the patron of the so-called 'Bissing Tomb 1897' in El-Salamuni was meant for the cult of the deceased, probably a man and a woman.<sup>(19)</sup> Riggs assumed that both tombs are engaged in parallel activities; they are receiving and offering a ritual act.<sup>(20)</sup> In Roman Egypt, the cult of the dead was prominent, before the burial, the mummies were kept on display in houses for a time to participate in family life and ritual customs,<sup>(21)</sup> after the burial, regular family visits and funerary banquets took place in the tombs on certain days were part of the cult of the dead.<sup>(22)</sup>

Ancestor cult and the mortuary rituals for the dead was strong from the Old Kingdom, and still prominent in Roman Egypt. The widely illustration of the large offering tables in the Old Kingdom tombs, as well as the festive mortuary banquets with the participation of the families and relatives of the deceased highlights the mortuary cult of the deceased.<sup>23</sup> The offering bearers beside the deceased resembles the old offering tables and are presumably associated in the sustenance of the dead associated with water and food supply. They are probably acting as the traditional function of the *choachyte* 'Χοακύτης-priest', who widely oversaw the tombs in the Thebaid necropolis during the Graeco-Roman period. He acted the various functions of the *w3ḥ-mw.w* priest "the one who offers water," or "pouurer of the water," or libations to the deceased.<sup>(24)</sup> The *choachytes* tasks include not only the funeral charges, but, after the funeral, he presents food offerings as well as perform the mortuary cult of the deceased in his tomb.<sup>(25)</sup> As the *choachytes*, those offering bearers carry out the society cult for the deceased, by donating him the cultic water,<sup>(26)</sup> which symbolizes the Nile's inundation, and guarantees of duration and cosmic integration.<sup>(27)</sup> Von Lieven mentioned that 'in fact, the *choachyte* acts by no means the only sources providing that Greeks or at least persons with Greek names could receive an Egyptian cult as deified persons<sup>(28)</sup>'.

Offering of water continued an essential rite in the funerary cult for the benefit of the deceased during Roman period.<sup>(29)</sup> Petosiris was so eager to secure a water supply in their afterlife, and this is well approved by offering water by the two offering bearers. Presenting the offering tables for the deceased recalls the ancient Egyptian funerary theme in the private tombs of the nobles and high officials, as well as confirm their high status, who receive a kind of honor and divinity as heroes in their tombs.<sup>(30)</sup> the water-cultic *situla* of Isis still one of the main tools for supplying the deceased with water in the tombs of Roman period<sup>(31)</sup>, as depicted in the Tigrain's tomb, where two male priest- figures in the guise of a

pharaoh, wearing the *nemes* headdress and the kilt, they hold the *situla* of Isis in their hands (**Figure.4**), and it is probably, meant to associate the patron of the tomb as one of the adherents of the cult of Isis, the intercessor between him and Osiris, the god of the afterlife.



**Figure 4.** The male-pharaoh priest holds the *situla* of Isis in Tigrain's Tomb Venit, *Visualizing the Afterlife*, 79, fig.2.30.

Some assumed that the classical figure of the deceased in contemporary fashionable dress still connects the deceased with the earthy world, as he /she was still in life, and this custom also could be interpreted as showing a liminal stage—a transitory space and a threshold for entering the afterlife and distinct the deceased from the gods and his/her future transfigured posture in the afterlife, and they distinguished two stages which the deceased have to pass in the way for complete posthumous transfiguration; the classical fashion of dress evokes him/ her in the beginning of that process, while the traditional mummiform iconography visualizes the end.<sup>(32)</sup> Smith disapproved this argument, that portraying the deceased in classical garment in the presence of Osiris '*Osiris en face*,' is widely depicted on mummy shrouds,<sup>(33)</sup> it symbolizes the deceased's successful association with the god at the end of his transfiguration end.<sup>(34)</sup>

In Roman Egypt, the classical model of the deceased still addressed him as *Osiris of NN*<sup>(35)</sup>. El-Mazawaka necropolis trends the conservatism in mortuary practices, and the

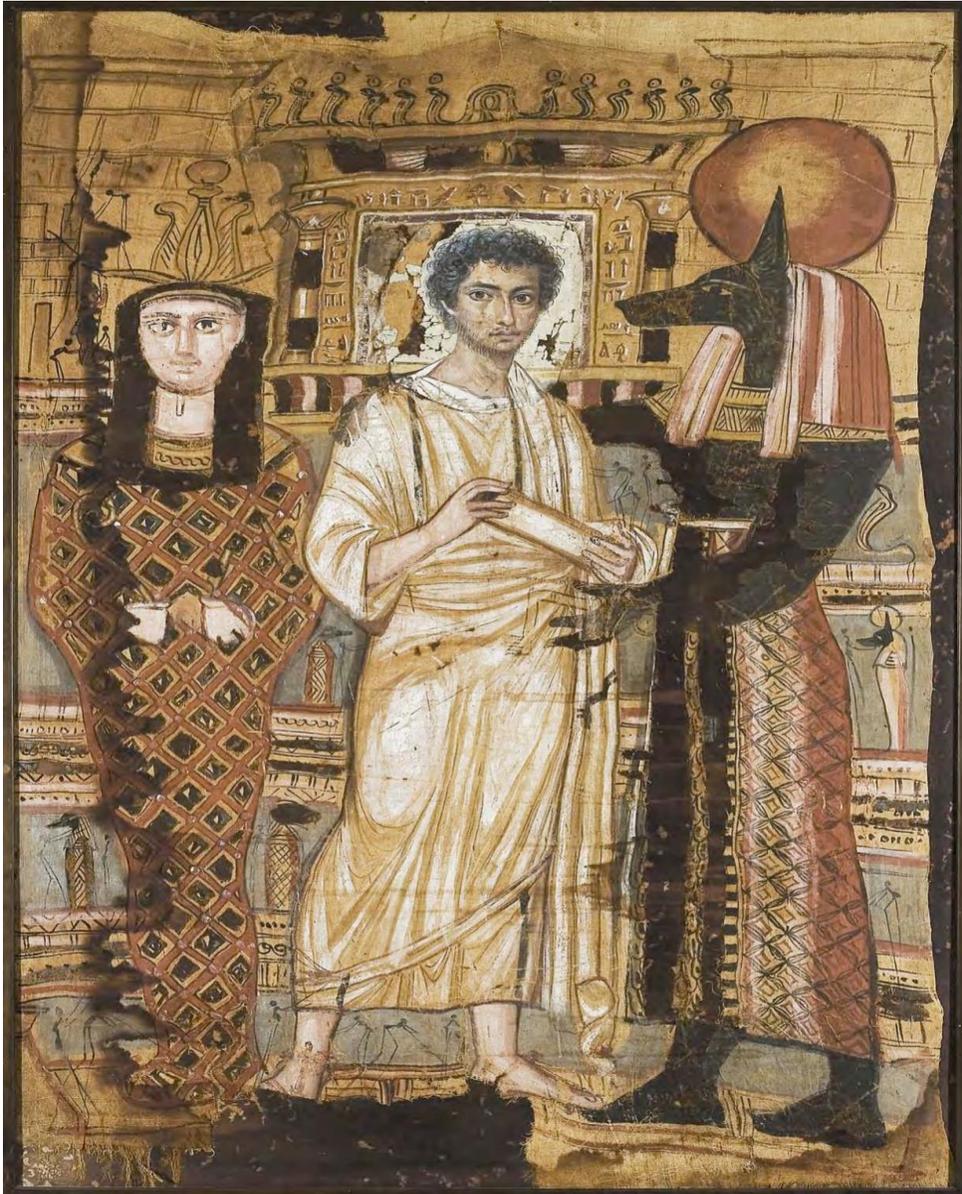
mummified dead still ‘became Osiris’<sup>(36)</sup>. The inscription text above the Petosiris’s classical figure address him as an Osiris-Petosiris and confirm his transfiguration state to follow Osiris in the afterlife “*O Osiris-Petosiris, may you be great, strong, and powerful. May you follow Osiris; may your ba follow Sokar; may you follow Osiris every day; may you enter and leave the necropolis ‘the tomb’ freely*”<sup>(37)</sup>. The opulent wealthy Greek dress- fashion of the deceased indicates to have been virtuous on the living world, therefore, as a consequence, he has been given a position among the noble *akhs* to be near Osiris. Hence, the noble-deceased hopes to be resurrected in his/ her wealthy costume, as it is textually confirmed by the Roman demotic papyrus (P. BM EA 10822) which recounts the visit of *Setna Khaemwast* and his son *Siosiris* to the underworld.<sup>(38)</sup> The story commemorates the deceased person, who was virtuous on earth, will be dressed in the finest opulent fashion in the court of Osiris, and proves that the wealthy classical garment worn by the deceased is an indication of his posthumous state, as the judges in the tribunal of Osiris rewards the virtuous poor man by cladding him with the garments of the wealthy man as a noble in the Osiris afterlife “*among the noble spirits, as a man of god who served Sokar-Osiris and stands near the spot where Osiris is...[while] It was ordered to imprison [the wealthy man] in the netherworld....*”<sup>(39)</sup>

Doubtless, the classical deceased of Petosiris does not visualize his identity, belonging to a particular group or a particular ethic subjective significance. The deceased’s identity in Graeco- Roman Egypt is an extremely complex issue depend mainly on the circumstances of the local community in which the Egyptian and Classical traditions were amalgamated to form the cultural identity of the tombs’ patrons. Cavero remarks that ‘*Classical culture was a part of the heritage of all learned men*’ at this time irrespective of religious affiliation,<sup>(40)</sup> and Libanius regarded that Hellen was a synonymous with civility and culture.<sup>(41)</sup> By the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, greater number of Hellenized Egyptian intermarrying with Greek settlers, and began to share additional benefits in Ptolemaic administration, and the priestly community accelerated Hellenization particularly in culture and dress, with the conservatism of ancient Egyptian practices.<sup>(42)</sup> The large classical posture of the deceased in Roman Egypt confirms a kind of greatness, power, and wealth, as the wealthy Petosiris represented himself. Furthermore, the two astronomical Greek zodiacs in Petosiris tomb highly suppose the high social and cultural status of the dead among the Oasis community as an indicative of a once-royal privilege invading these private tombs.

In Roman Egypt, the deceased exploited the Egyptian traditional iconography which presents meaningful religious concepts, visualizes the successful abode of the dead, as well as facilitate his identification with Osiris, while the Greek eschatological concept lacks a visual motif in Greek mortuary schema<sup>(43)</sup> Like tombs, many Roman coffins, shrouds, and stelae in which the dead are depicted dressed in large Classical style within Egyptian iconography themes.<sup>(44)</sup>

In fact, from Pharaonic Egypt, holding the deceased various objects as strip of cloth, the stem of a water lily blossom, a scepter, and the *ankh*, is frequently confirm the divine status of the dead, and emphasizes their high status and power.<sup>45</sup> The attributed *rotulus* which Petosiris holds has its funerary meanings; The Hellenistic

concept refers that the generic model of the deceased dressed in a formal clothing fashion as well as the scroll were used as symbols distinguish the wealthy and elite patrons, it refers rather to scrolls held by, or collected in a basket adjacent to intellectual or public figures in Roman sculpture representations.<sup>(46)</sup> Otherwise, the papyrus roll has its different iconographic concept, it was an ancient Egyptian attribute widely faded in the hands of the deceased or priests, and also found in vignettes of the *BD* funerary Papyri from New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period. It is associated with multiple references as *md3.t* 'books,' *šfdw* 'rolls,' *sš* 'knowledge' and manuscripts/ documents.<sup>(47)</sup> This magical knowledge including the *rn*-name of the owner which used as a magical and powerfully protective symbol helping the deceased's integration<sup>(48)</sup>. The ancient Egyptian custom of holding a papyrus roll in the hands of the deceased continued in the funerary art in Roman Egypt, developing a new and syncretic Classical model. In addition to Petosiris Tomb, holding the *rotulus* by the deceased is also frequently shown in the Roman mummy coffins and shrouds, such as the mummy's shroud Pushkin Museum I.1a. 5749 (**Figure.5**), the coffin Berlin ÄM 17126 from Abusir el-Meleq as well as the Roman P. London BM EA 9995.<sup>(49)</sup> Also, Three mummy Roman shrouds found in Saqqara (Berlin 11651, Pushkin 5749, and Louvre N3076) depict a male deceased holding either a papyrus scroll, a bunch of wheat, or a garland in his left hand.<sup>(50)</sup>



**Figure 5.** The deceased grab in classical garment and holds the *rotulus*, mummy shroud 5749, Pushkin Museum, Moscow, from Saqqara- Roman period K. Parlasca and H. Seemann (eds.), *Augenblicke: Mumienporträts Mumienporträts und ägyptische Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit* (Munich, 1999), 25.

Whitehouse referred that the papyrus roll which Petosiris holds in his raised left hand is not an attribute connected with earthy life, but it acted as a 'letter of recommendation' which the deceased presents to Anubis in the funerary stelae as a proof of acceptance following Osiris, which serve as a passport or an introduction proof which the deceased had to present to the inhabitants of the underworld ensuring his justification and he is worthy accepted in the realm of Osiris.<sup>(51)</sup> These papyrus rolls in the hands of the dead were also widely depicted the funerary art in Roman

Egypt could be regarded as ‘Letters of Breathing’, where the dead have to use o their arrival at the underworld in order to attain the privileges for the blessed ones.<sup>(52)</sup>

Furthermore, the existence the classical priest beside the classical deceased is also suppose the deceased’s association to the Isiac Greek Elysian fields beneficence version, as Apuleius preached the zoomorphic Lucius through his association with Isis ‘*you shall live indeed a happy man, and when you have completed the span of your lifetime... you shall dwell in the Elysian fields*’.<sup>(53)</sup> Holding the *situla* it is not only eliminated to the Greek costume of the priestly deceased, that it is also appeared in the hands of two pharaoh-figures of the deceased in the classicization style tomb of Tigrain.<sup>(54)</sup> The deceased in Roman Egypt was eager to appear in a wealthy classical naturalistic figure, receives offerings by the priests and enjoy a kind of honor and cult in his tomb. He also portrayed himself as a virtuous one who carries his proof of justification in his hand, and ready to follow Osiris. Furthermore, he presented himself as adherent of Isis, practices her Elysian mysteries in the realm of Osiris.

The large full-length depiction of the deceased in the tomb acted as a ‘Tomb Portrait.’ As the deceased pay great attention to add his finest- depiction of “mummy portrait” on his coffin, he has the same conception in his tomb to depict an idealism of beauty- portrait in Hellenism or classical garb- within Egyptian funerary context of scenes and inscriptions. The deceased’s tomb portrait substitutes the ancient traditional large Egyptian figure of the noble dead in their pharaonic tombs, as well replaced their big statues in the tombs, it acts the same funerary role to facilitate the *ba* to recognize for him again. The classical tombs’ portrait of Petosiris tomb within a dominant Egyptian funerary cast is not a permeable marker for a special identity.

### **The classical figure of Petosiris achieve the following aspects.**

1. Confirming the hybridization of Egyptian- Classical artistic vision in the Dakhla community.
2. Reflecting his hope to enter the afterlife in his fashioned wealthy costume.

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- (6) C. Riggs, *the Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt, Art, Identity and Funerary Religion* (Oxford, 2005), 165.
- (7) Whitehouse identifies it as a floral garland, Whitehouse, "Roman in Life," 258
- (8) J. Osing et.al, *Denkmäler des Oase Dachla, aus dem Nachlass von A. Fakhry, AV 28* (Mainz, 1982), pls. 27 c, 32 a
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- (13) Venit, *Visualizing the Afterlife*, 168-169, fig. 5.12.
- (14) Riggs, *the Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, 163, fig.76.
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<sup>(27)</sup> M. Bommas, "Schrein unter: Gebel es-Silsilah im Neuen Reich," in G. Heike et.al (eds), *Grab und Totenkult im alten Ägypten, Festschrift Jan Assmann* (München, 2003), 98-99.

<sup>(28)</sup> A. von Lieven, "Of choachytes and saints: Demotic documentary texts as sources for religious practices," in R. Jasnow and G. Widmer (eds), *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological studies in honor of Mark Smith*, (Atlanta, 2017), 242.

<sup>(29)</sup> The formula "*May Amenope pour out water on his day of coming to the valley*" repeated in funerary monuments until Roman period in Thebes, F. Herbin, *Le Livre de Parcourir l'éternité*, OLA 58 (Leuven, 1994), 140-145. A Roman shroud from Thebes in North Carolina Museum of Art Inv. L. 57.14. 95, it shows the deceased *en face* Osiris, and the inscription refers to "*may you receive the offering of water by Amenope*," K. Parlasca, "Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Gräberwesen der griechisch-römischen Zeit," in Anonymous (ed.), *Ägypten, Dauer und Wandel, Symposium anlässlich des 75jährigen Bestehens des DAI Kairo am 10. und 11. Oktober 1982*, SDAIK 18 (Mainz, 1985), 99, no. 6, pl.4a. Also, on late Roman mummy masks from Thebes, the dead appeared holding a chalice of wine in their hands, G. Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1974), pl.112; C. Riggs, "Roman Period Mummy Masks from Deir el-Bahri," *JEA* 86, (2000), 121-144; Riggs, *the Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, 233-243, figs. 117, 119- 121.

<sup>(30)</sup> Apuleius recounts how his hero, Lucius, as a newly initiated devotee of Isi, dressed in ornamented wealthy tunic, and carries in his hand a flaming torch, and his head is garlanded by a wealth of palm, J. Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros: the Isis-book (Metamorphoses, book XI)*, *EPRO* 39 (Leiden, 1975), 100-101, 313-315.

<sup>(31)</sup> Supplying the water was one of the main funerary attributes of Isis, R. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Serapis*, *EPRO* 87 (Leiden, 1981). During the Roman period, the *situla* always in the right hand of the deceased and takes several forms and serves many functions, see M. Lichtheim, "Situla n. 11395 and Some Remarks on Egyptian Situlae," *JNES* 6, (1947), 169-179, pls. IV-VII; W. Walters, *Attic Grave Reliefs that represent Women in the Dress of Isis*, *Hesperia Supplement XXII*, (Princeton, 1988), 20-25; R. Merkelbach, "Der Eid der Isismysten," *ZPE* 1 (1967); id, *Isis Regina-Zeus Serapis. Die Griechisch-Ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen Dargestellt* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 2001), fig. 216. Normally the garments of priests and other members of the Isiac cult are long, and they did not wear headdress or false-beard, most probably they appeared with long garment, a natural hair and a beard like the male figure on the entrance of the burial chamber of Tomb 1897 of Von Bissing at Akhmim, was acted as a priest of Isis, see Venit, "Referencing Isis," 106-107. Other examples of Isis priests outside Egypt, the paintings from Herculaneum, E. Arslan, *Iside, Il mito il mistero la Magia*, *Palazzo Reale* 22 (Milano, 1977), 447, no. V.77.

<sup>(32)</sup> A. von Lieven, "Ikonographie und Stil im Spannungsfeld zwischen ägyptischer Tradition und griechisch-römischem Einfluß," in P. Bol et.al (eds.), *Fremdheit - Eigenheit: Ägypten, Griechenland und Rom. Austausch und Verständnis, Städel- Jahrbuch* 19 (München, 2004), 309-312; Riggs, *the*

*Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, 13-14, 88, 142, 174 and 247; B. Hellinckx, "Studying the funerary Art of Roman Egypt," *CdE* 85 (2010), 135-136.

<sup>(33)</sup> Smith, *Following Osiris*, 365. The early representation of the Osiris shroud of the deceased may be traced to the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty, and it also recorded in the early Ptolemaic Osiris shrouds in TT 32 "the Soter Tomb," see G. Schreiber, "The final acts of embalming, an archaeological note on some rare objects in Theban elite burials of the early Ptolemaic Period," in K. Endreffy and A. Gulyás (eds), *Proceedings of the Fourth Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists: 31 August - 2 September 2006*, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 18 (Budapest, 2007) 340-341, figs. 29-44.

<sup>(34)</sup> Smith, *Following Osiris*, 364-365.

<sup>(35)</sup> In Graeco-Roman Egypt, the male deceased still always seek to become as "Osiris of NN" as in the Roman tomb of *Qetinus* at Beshandi, he was regarded in the inscriptions as "Osiris *Qetinus*," Kaplan, *Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs*, 11; Osing et. al, *Denkmäler des Oase Dachla*, 58-69. While the female deceased was addressed as "the Hathor N," or "the Hathor," or "the Osiris-Hathor," Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt I*, 45; see Smith, *Following Osiris*, 372-389. The earliest attestation of a dead woman being called as "Hathor" or "Osiris-Hathor" are found in three statues for a woman, are now in the Egyptian Museum (JE 37026; JE 37027 and JE 38017), date to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, see S. Albersmeier, *Untersuchungen zu den Frauenstatuen des Ptolemäischen Ägypten* (Trier, 2002), 129-130; R. Fazzini, *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996), 57-58, no.7, 194, n.11; Riggs, *the Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, 45, no.11. The same title is also inscribed upon a sarcophagus of Tuna el-Gebel, G. Lefebvre, "Un couvercle des Sarcophage de Tounah," *ASAE* 23 (1923), 238-239. P. Rhind I described Montsuef as "the Osiris Montsuef," while his wife is called as "the Hathor -Tanuat in P. Rhind II, G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museum zu Edinburg*, 2 vols., *Demotische Studien* 6 (Leipzig, 1913).

<sup>(36)</sup> C. Römer, "Das Werden zu Osiris im römischen Ägypten," *ARG* 2 (2000), 141-161.

<sup>(37)</sup> Osing et.al, *Denkmäler des Oase Dachla* 28, 92, pl.71; Venit, *Visualizing the Afterlife*, 168, fig. 5.11, 170.

<sup>(38)</sup> It was mentioned on the demotic papyrus of Roman period P. BM EA 10822 records the visit of *Setna Khaemwast* and his son *Siosiris* to the underworld as he is now "a man of the god's domain who serves Sokar-Osiris, being near the place where Osiris is", F. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis: Atlas* (London, 1900), pl.2, lines 9-13, on the story of *Setna*, see M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings, Volume III: The Late Period* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1980), 140-41; F. Hoffmann and J. Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur* (Berlin, 2007), 118-37, 340-43 and F. Dunand and C. Zivie-Coche, *Dieux et hommes en Égypte: 3000 av. J.-C. 395 apr. J.-C. Anthropologie religieuse* (Paris, 1991), 313; M. Smith, *Traversing the Afterlife, Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2009), 27-29; id, *Following Osiris*, 365, 369, 371. Scholars suggested that the author of the demotic *Setna* text is derived from the Greek mythology of *Oknos* and *Tantalos* which refer to the same torments: F. Hoffmann, "Seilflechter in der Unterwelt," *ZPE* 100 (1994), 339-46; G. Vittmann, "Tradition und Neuerung in der demotischen Literatur," *ZÄS* 125 (1998), 68-69.

<sup>(39)</sup> M. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis, Atlas* (London, 1900), pl.2, lines 4-8.

<sup>(40)</sup> M. Cavero, *Poems in Context, Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200-600 AD* (Berlin and New York, 2008), 195.

<sup>(41)</sup> See, A. Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity (395-600)* (London, 1993).

<sup>(42)</sup> I. Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab conquest, a study in the diffusion and decay of Hellenism; being the Gregynog Lectures for 1946* (Oxford, 1948 (Reprint Chicago 1980), 60-61.

<sup>(43)</sup> A Roman citizen from Hawara named Titus Flavius Demetrius, whose citizenship is inferred from his *tria nomina*, was mummified and buried in an Egyptian manner, his mask is now in Ipswich Borough Council Museums and Galleries: Ipswich Museum: R1921-89, Riggs, *the Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt I*, 21, fig. 4.

<sup>(44)</sup> Four Roman mummy shrouds from Saqqara dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Berlin Ägyptisches Museum, 11651; Moscow, Pushkin, Museum of Fine Arts, 4229/ I 1a 5749; Moscow, Pushkin, Museum of Fine Arts, 4301/I 1a 5747; and Paris, Louvre N 3076) show the classicizing deceased portrayed in three-quarter view, in the guise of an Osiris *en face* and stands in between of Osiris and

Anubis, on these shrouds, see K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pls.12.1,35.1,61.2; K. Parlasca et. al, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano* (Rome,1977), 39, fig.1, pl.11; Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke:Mumienporträtsund*; K. Parlasca, "Osiris und Osirisglaube in der Kaiserzeit," in D. Françoise and P. Lévêque (eds.), *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine: Colloque de Strasbourg, 9-11 juin 1971* (Paris, 1973), 95–102 ; Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, 168–74, fig. 82, pls. 7–9, 277–78; Régen, "Ombres," 612–13, 621–22, 626–34, figs. 1–4; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 16, 151, nos. 167, 152, fig. 167. The classical deceased within Egyptian funerary context is also attested on the Roman mummy shroud 09.181.8 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art shows a woman wearing a fringed tunic

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547334?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=LINEN>. Furthermore, on the funerary steale, such as Terenouthis stela, see, Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 254-255, and the Roman EA 189 stela, probably from Abydos, Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 326-327, cat. No. 233, pl. 326.

<sup>45</sup> Harring, *Living with the Dead, Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt*

<sup>(46)</sup> The statue of Sophocles in Musco Gregorian Profano 9973 (the Vatican Collections. The Papacy and Art), (1982), cat. No. 131, fig. 212; Venit, "Referencing Isis," 198-199, nos. 1292-1293,

<sup>(47)</sup> BD 42, 157.

<sup>(48)</sup> Many Faience models of rolls were found in royal burials, see A. Wiese and A. Brodbeck, *Tutankhamun. Das goldene Jenseits. Grabschätze aus dem Tal der Könige* (München, 2004), 156-157, kat. 14. During the Late Period and the Ptolemaic period, the papyrus roll was attached to the body of the deceased for protective functions, rolls of papyri of the BD were also wrapped the mummies of the dead in the Ptolemaic period, *Liebieghaus Ägyptische Bildwerke, Band III: Skulptur, Malerei, Papyri und Särge. Liebieghaus - Museum Alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main, Wissenschaftliche Kataloge*, (Melsungen: Gutenberg, 1993), 254, abb. 62A; O. Illés, *An unusual Book of the Dead manuscript from TT 32, Acta Antiqua* (2006),119-127; J. Budka, "Neues zu den Nutzungsphasen des Monumentalgrabes von Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris (TT 414)," *Ägypten und Levante* 18 (2008), 70-71; C. Martin and R. Kim, "Put my funerary papyrus in my mummy, please," *JEA* 92, (2006), 270-274.

<sup>(49)</sup> One in Fitzwilliam Museum E. 103.1911, Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, and the two others are in Louvre E 12379 (M. Aubert and R. Cortopassi, *Portraits funéraires de l'Égypte romaine. Tome I: masques en stuc. Paris : Réunion des musées nationaux* (Paris, 2004), 161, kat. D 19, and Louvre AF 21587. On further information about the papyrus rolls in vignettes of the BD, see M. Tarasenko, "Images of papyrus rolls in vignettes of the Book of the Dead," in K. Kóthay (ed.), *Burial and mortuary practices in Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt: proceedings of the international conference held at Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 17-19 July 2014* (Budapest, 2017), 73-80, pls.8-12.

<sup>50</sup> Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial the Roman Egypt*, 168–74, fig. 82, pls. 7–9, 277–78; Régen, "Ombres. Une iconographie singulière du mort sur des « linceuls » d'époque romaine provenant de Saqqâra," in A. Gasse, F. Servajean, and Ch. Thiers (eds.), *Et in Ægypto et ad Ægyptum, Recueil d'études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier, CENiM 5* (Montpellier 2012), 612–13, 621–22, 626–34, figs. 1–4. Parlasca paid great attention to these four shrouds: K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*

(Wiesbaden, 1966), pls. 12.1, 35.1, 61.2; K. Parlasca et al., *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano* (Rome, 1977) ; K. Parlasca and H. Seemann, *Augenblicke:Mumienporträtsund ägyptische Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit* (Munich, 1999); K. Parlasca, "Osiris und Osirisglaube in der Kaiserzeit," in D. Françoise and P. Lévêque (eds.), *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine: Colloque de Strasbourg, 9-11 juin 1971* (Paris, 1973), 95–102.

<sup>(51)</sup> Whitehouse, "Roman in life," 26; see, S. Vleeming, "A priestly letter of recommendation (P. CtYBR inv. 4628)," in R. Jasnow and G. Widmer (eds), *Illuminating Osiris, Egyptological studies in honor of Mark Smith*, (Atlanta, 2017), 375-378.

<sup>(52)</sup> M. Smith, *the liturgy of opening the mouth for breathing* (Oxford, 1993), 14; see also, J. Quaegebeur, "P. Brux Dem. E. 8258: une lettre de recommandation pour l'au-delà. In Israelit-Groll, Sarah (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim 2* (Jerusalem, 1990), 776-795; id, *Lettres de Thot et décrets pour Osiris*. In J. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagtendonk (eds), *Funerary symbols and religion, essays dedicated to Professor M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss on the occasion of*

his retirement from the Chair of the History of Ancient Religions at the University of Amsterdam, (Amsterdam, 1988), 105-126.

<sup>(53)</sup> R. Griffiths, *Mummy Wheat: Egyptian Influence on the Homeric View of the Afterlife and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Lanham, 2008), 77.

<sup>(54)</sup> Venit, *Monumental Tombs*, 148, 150, figs. 130, 131; id, "Referencing Isis," 109, fig. 11; id, *Visualizing the Afterlife*, 148, 150, figs. 130- 131; G. Karter-Sibbes and J. Vermaseren, *Apis, I, The Monuments of the Hellenistic- Roman Period from Egypt*, *EPRO* (48), (Leiden, 1975), 27, pl. lxiv (97).



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### بيتوزيريس في مقبرته: تبجيل المتوفى في مصر الرومانية

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#### المخلص

تتناول المقالة دراسة الشكل الكلاسيكي لبيتوزيريس داخل مقبرته في جبانة المزوقة بواحة الداخلة، تلك المقبرة التي تعود إلى العصر الروماني، حيث يرتدى بيتوزيريس الزي اليوناني التقليدي المتمثل في الخيتون والهيمايون. كما تتناول المقالة سبب الدافع القوي لدى بيتوزيريس في السماح للفنان بتصويره بذلك الزي، هل يرجع ذلك إلى تأثير الفن اليوناني الذي يصور الزي المعاصر خلال تلك الفترة، أم أن ذلك الشكل الكلاسيكي لبيتوزيريس يحمل في طياته التأثير العقائدي المصري. يدرس البحث بشكل قوى العبادة الجنائزية لبيتوزيريس داخل مقبرته، من خلال تقديم القرابين عن طريق الكهنة إلى بيتوزيريس في شكله الكلاسيكي. يظهر بيتوزيريس ماسكا بعض الرموز العقائدية في كلتا يديه، لذا يحاول البحث دراسة ماهية والدور الجنزي لتلك الرموز. بالطبع، إن الزي الكلاسيكي للمتوفى في العصر الروماني عامة وبيتوزيريس بشكل خاص يشير إلى المكانة الاجتماعية المتميزة للمتوفى كأحد أبناء الطبقة الراقية، بالإضافة إلى أنه يعكس المزج بين الفن المصري القديم من ناحية والفن الهلينيستي- الروماني من ناحية أخرى، كما أنه في نفس الوقت لا يشير بأي حال من الأحوال إلى جنسية المتوفى سواء أكان مصرياً، أم يونانياً أم رومانياً.

#### معلومات المقالة

#### الكلمات المفتاحية

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