



## Publishing a funerary Stela in the Egyptian Museum in Tokyo

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### Abstract

The paper publishes of a funerary stela which is now exhibited in the Shibuya Egyptian Museum at Tokyo and registered with the inv. no. AEM1043. It is made of limestone and measure about H. 28.4 cm W. 18.0 cm H. Its provenance is the Serapium of Saqqara with unknown dating. It is a flat top stela and divided into two registers. It shows the Apis bull in the recess at the top standing in a small naos. The first register shows a kingly figure presents offerings before the enthroned Osiris, and Isis stands behind, while the second one portrays an interesting depiction of a female maid is taking care of the dead's feet. Unfortunately, the stela lacks an inscription text to facilitate recognizing for the identity, character and give a precise dating. The paper investigates its funerary scenes and figure out a precise dating through its funeral art. The paper concludes that the stela is most often relates to the deceased woman, as one of the Greek elites in Memphis during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

### I. Introduction

The stela is now exhibited in the Shibuya Egyptian Museum at Tokyo and registered with the inv. no. AEM1043. It is made of limestone, and measure about H. 28.4 cm W. 18.0 cm, its provenance is the Serapium of Saqqara with unknown dating.

Saqqara has a long history stretches as far back as the start of the pharaonic period until the Roman period, and the site is considered the most important link in the chain of cemeteries belonging to the ancient city of Memphis<sup>1</sup>. It covers an area over 6 km length, and about m 1.5 km width. Saqqara contains both royal and non-royal tombs. In the Late Period non royal tombs of high status especially from the Saite period are also recorded, furthermore, smith documented poor burials of the lower levels of the local community on the necropolis, and indicated that a large number of them appear to be flanking the Serapium and explains this seems to evidence 'the desire to be near to the path of the god Osiris-Apis on his final journey to the Sarapieion'<sup>2</sup>. And as a result of this and the importance of Memphis the cults of Ptah, the principal god of the city, and his emanation, the Apis bull, received royal attention. The Saite and the Ptolemaic kings paid great attention to Saqqara, Pathak I (664-610 BC) constructed a court in the Ptah's valley, where the Apis would reside during its life. It is also evident from the Serapium, that the great vaults for the mummified Apis began during the same reign<sup>34</sup>.

Many funerary stelae were found in the Serapium. Labudek categorized them into five categories<sup>5</sup>; the 26<sup>th</sup> stelae are divided into the first two categories. Category one- 26<sup>th</sup>

Dynasty: consists of those that were found in the lesser vaults and that date to year twenty/twenty-one of Psamthek. Category B- 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty: They were found in the greater vaults that date to the rest of the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The reason for the division of the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty into two categories is due to the fact they are found in different areas from within the Serapium, as well as the large numbers and the considerable incongruity in the number of stelae in each specific period of the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Category C- 27<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, they also came from the greater vaults. Category D: their date are obscure, and their specific provenance are also unknown, they are either known to be from the Serapium but are not attributed to a particular Apis bull, or are technically from an unknown provenance but due to their iconography and content are highly unlikely to be from any other site. The first four categories are considered ‘unofficial’ private stelae, about a hundred and fifty-six stelae in the non-royal corpus are recorded by Labudek<sup>6</sup> (Figure 1). Category E: they are labelled as ‘royal’ and they are the surviving official stelae from the Serapium dated to the Late Period.

**Table 1**

Summary of the main Serapium stelae categories, Labudek, J, Late Period Stelae from Saqqara, 13, fig. 4.

Category	Date	Provenance
A	Dynasty 26- year 20/21 of Psamthek I	Lesser Vaults
B	Dynasty 26, after year 20/21 of Psamthek I.	Greater Vaults
C	Dynasty 27	Greater Vaults
D	Unknown	Either known to be from the Serapium or unlikely from elsewhere
E	Late Period	Greater Vaults

## II. Description

It is a flat top stela divided into two registers (Figures 2, 3). The first one shows a small figure of the Apis bull in the recess at the top standing in a small naos, the bull is speckled in black and white, while a sun disc in reddish is before the bull. The Apis bull is the living image of Osiris. Below, a human figure in the custom of a pharaoh is paying homage to an enthroned image of Osiris accompanied by Isis standing behind him. The pharaoh wears the white crown ‘*hedjet*’ and along royal kilt ‘*shendite*’. He is burning incense with his right hand, present the *sntr* bowl of incense, and venerates Osiris with his raised left hand. His body and arms are painted in reddish. In between of the kingly figure and Osiris, there is a partially damaged offering table; a vase and two bread loaves which are heaped upon it.

Osiris sits upon a low back throne painted in reddish. He is depicted in his traditional costume with both arms across the chest and holds his divine insignia, composing of the crook *hk3- heqa* and the *nhh -nekhakha* flail scepter, symbols of sovereign and authority. He wears his traditional *3tf-atef* crown. Goddess Isis stands behind Osiris playing her traditional role as his counterpart; she is protecting Osiris with her raised right hand and stretching her left hand towards an altar. She is crowned with the sun disc between of the two horns, while her traditional emblem surmounts the sun disc.

Before Isis, is an engraved rectangular shape, probably supposed to contain her name? A base or a pedestal is carrying the whole scene of the first register and acting as a border line of the second register.

The lower register depicts an anonymous aristocratic woman, enthroned and attended by a young maid shown in smaller scale as well as Anubis stands before the female. The female sits up on a high stool with a cushion, its base imitates the Greek *Kline*<sup>7</sup>, she wears the Greek dress *ἐξωμίς/ exomis* 'outside shoulder'<sup>8</sup> as a fitted garment with folds painted in reddish, her fashionable dress extends on her left shoulder cover her right breast while her left one is still bare. She also wears the Greek hat *πίλος pileus/ Pilos* wig<sup>9</sup>, and holds a Greek bowl in her right hand and puts her feet on a low pedestal. The jackal-headed Anubis wears a short kilt, and stretches his right hand grasping the stretched left hand of the female, while he is touching the head of the young girl with his left hand. The young maid is seated on the ground without a stool or a cushion. She is making foot massage and reflexology by her both hands for the left foot of the female, while her right foot rests behind the low pedestal waiting its turn for massage. The upper part of the body of the young servant girl is naked. She wears a short-tight sash skirt which covers the lower part of her body; furthermore, she wears also the same Greek style *Pilos* wig which is worn by the female deceased.



**Fig.2.**The Shibuya Museum Stela AEM1043 © W. Omran<sup>10</sup>



**Fig.3.** Facsimile of the stela<sup>11</sup>

### III. Commentary

This is a votive stela which shows the piety of the owners to Osiris Apis. The stela is quite unique, that it is a flat one which is unusual in Memphis, that they were normally curved stelae<sup>12</sup>. Moreover, it shows both funerary and secular iconography, portraying the deceased in his relationship with the Egyptian deities, as well as practicing foot care in a scarce depiction of this custom during that period.

The Apis bull was the single living embodiment of the deity Ptah, becoming Osiris in death, being the son of Isis due to his divinity, and strongly linked with kingship due to his physical characteristics of strength and fertility. Apis related to the myth of Osiris, he accompanied Horus in his searching for the scattered parts of the body of Osiris and carried these parts on his back to be buried at Memphis<sup>13</sup>. Therefore, he was inscribed as the "companion of the kings", and "the helper god". As Apis was the carrier of the mummy of Osiris, the deceased as Osiris, hope that Apis could carry him to his tomb in

a "hurried run"<sup>14</sup> to secure a blessed journey to his afterlife. In the funerary iconography, Apis was widely depicted transporting the deceased to his tomb. Apis is a prominent figure in 90.1% in the Serapium stelae, most often as a fully bull form<sup>15</sup>.

At Memphis, the reason for the location of these burials on the Saqqara necropolis was due to the theological understanding that the Apis bull was the emanation of the Memphite creator god Ptah<sup>16</sup>. The location used to denote the dead figure of the Apis bull is composed of two elements, *Wsir* and *Hp*, while Osiris-Apis was another form of the god Osiris, whose name composed of the same two elements. He was the main god of the Memphite necropolis, particularly in the area contains the catacomb of mummified Apis bulls<sup>17</sup> which was known as the Domain of Osiris-Apis (*Pr-Wsir-Hp*)<sup>18</sup>. King Nectanebo II erected a temple dedicated to Osiris-Apis and Isis the mother of Apis<sup>19</sup>.

Devauchelle argued that the syncretistic deity Osiris-Apis is normally depicted in a form like that of Osiris himself rather than in the form of a bull<sup>20</sup>, thus, Osiris- Apis is another deity is completely different from the Apis bull. Osiris-Apis was worshipped in the whole Egypt and his name is attested in texts from a range of places throughout Egypt, while the deceased Apis is mainly local, therefore, its text and findings are scarcely found outside Memphis<sup>21</sup>. In the lunette Steal Cairo CG 31147, Osiris- Apis is enthroned flanked by Isis and Nephthys, wearing the *atef*-crown and holding the crook and flail, the signs of sovereignty, while the demotic texts above and below identify him as 'Osiris- Apis, the great god'<sup>22</sup>. Osiris- Apis (later Serapis) is the spouse of Isis, while the Apis bull is her son, therefore, in the Memphite necropolis, in the catacomb, the cows that bore the bulls could be called Isis after their death<sup>23</sup>.

During the Greco- Roman period, the Osiris- Apis, with whom Serapis is identified not the mummified Apis bull. The identification of Serapis with Osiris- Apis was more familiar among Greeks than among Egyptians<sup>24</sup>. The Greek papyrus of Artemis from Saqqara (4<sup>th</sup> century BC) is the oldest document which record the assimilation between Oserapis and Serapis, and it could be before the Ptolemaic rule of Egypt<sup>25</sup>. Serapis was a fusion of the dead Apis with Osiris in the form of Osiris- Apis<sup>26</sup>. Serapis was the consort of Isis and the main deity of Alexandria, has royal connection since the pharaoh is often assimilated to the Apis<sup>27</sup>. On the other side, the Apis bull is depicted in Alexandria tombs of Kom el-Schukafa and Tigrain, whereas he connected with royalty and carry signs that originate within the ancient Egyptian realm<sup>28</sup>. The association between Apis and Osiris provides a reason for the bull's depiction on this stela. The Apis depiction is mainly related to the stela's provenance, the Serapium of Saqqara, where Apis had a main cult center at Memphis associated with kingship and ruling power<sup>29</sup>. The mummified Apis bull had a long history of burials extended until the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD at the latest; though the last known Apis burial dates to 170 AD<sup>30</sup>, all the mummified Apis burials have not yet been discovered<sup>31</sup>.

As, Osiris-Apis is the Egyptian equivalent of the Greek Serapis, and regarding to the fact that Serapis and Isis were divine couple, therefore, I speculate that this stela shows the divine triad of Memphis consisting of Osiris- Apis, the enthroned human holding the crook and flail, and Isis, his spouse, stands behind him, while Apis bull, the son of Isis in Memphis, is standing above. It is noteworthy that in the Late funerary stelae from

Saqqara, Osiris, Most of the owners' names of the late period funerary stelae from Memphis are related to Osiris-Apis, noteworthy is the appearance of Osiris, who as god of the dead was rarely adopted in names, and the individuals directly connected with the cult of Osiris Apis<sup>32</sup>.

The male pharaoh figure who venerates Osiris, most often resembles the deceased himself in the form of a king. Images of deities and kings in private tombs are meant to help the deceased in the afterlife. The kingly image acts as intercessor between the gods and his people to facilitate the deceased's journey into his hereafter<sup>33</sup>. In the Roman Egypt, the so-called 'democratization of the afterlife' guaranteed association between Osiris and the kingly costume of the deceased, while presenting offerings are related to the concept of Maat, guaranteeing the order of the universe<sup>34</sup>. The deceased always seek to become Osiris NN<sup>35</sup>, and his mummy imitates the appearance of Osiris to gain eternity<sup>36</sup>. In this stela, the deceased depicts himself as Osiris in one of his main attributes and functions as a king to facilitate his justification.

In the Ptolemaic- Roman Egypt, the funerary texts and iconography still address the deceased male as 'Osiris'<sup>37</sup>. The mummy shroud of Budapest 51211 shows the deceased as a king (**Figure 4**), and he wears the *atef* crown of Osiris. His name is supposed to be written in a rectangular shape like a cartouche<sup>38</sup>. Also, in the non-royal tomb of Kom El-Schukafa, the Roman emperor as a pharaoh paying homage to the Apis bull. The pharaohs' figure presents offerings for the benefit of the deceased<sup>39</sup>. On the other side, wearing the crown by the deceased has its special funerary context which confirms more association with Osiris, and plays a role in the rites symbolizing ascent to the sky and rebirth<sup>40</sup>, helping the deceased to be transformed into an inhabitant of the sky. The literary meaning hieroglyphic *h<sup>c</sup>w*-crown means like 'arising' and crowns as well<sup>41</sup>.



**Fig.4.** The deceased as a pharaoh before Osiris, The mummy shroud of Budapest 51211  
Kurth, D, *Der Sarg der Teüris*, Aeg Trev 6, (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), 62, abb.20

The lower scene has its secular characteristic than its funerary context. The appearance of Anubis is mainly related to his role as the god of the Saqqara necropolis, who would have assisted the Apis in his journey to the beautiful west. Anubis is a major distinctive figure in the Ptolemaic- Roman stelae<sup>42</sup>. Anubis- Hermes is the more customary choice for leading the souls of the dead into the afterlife, acting as a *psych pomp* for the

deceased<sup>43</sup>. The key is mainly attributed to Anubis<sup>44</sup> to open the gates of the underworld for the deceased, and to open the 'door' between life and death<sup>45</sup>. Therefore, in this stela, he is acting his traditional role to be beside the deceased, embrace and lead him to his permanent and eternal afterlife.

In the Greek methodology, the Greek *Pilos* cap is often identifying the mythical *Dioscuri* twins, *Castor* and *Pollux*, their caps were supposedly the remnants of the egg from which they hatched<sup>46</sup>. It is also appeared on the votive figurines of boys at the sanctuary of the *Cabeiri* 'Cabeirion' at Thebes<sup>47</sup>. In Ancient Greece, the *Pilos* was famous as the main countrymen's cap, this rustic cap presumably made of wool, fur, or animal skin. It was familiar among the poor workmen especially the metalworkers and farmers to protect them from harsh weather conditions<sup>48</sup>. Therefore, the workers and farmers in the tomb of Pet Osiris wear this distinguished cap, while in the offering sequence in the naos, people are shown wearing Greek style of wreaths of blossoms, acting some figures depicted on as crowns of justification for religious festivities and general celebrations. It is also worn by the mummy portraits to justify the victory of the deceased over death<sup>49</sup>.

On the other side, Pipili assumed that there is another type of the *Pilos*, it is softer, fine and taller which is completely different from this rustic one. The latter is worn as an alternative to the broad-brimmed including horsemen, hunters<sup>50</sup>, travelers (who are upper-class citizens), gods or heroes, since the early classical period. It was also worn by some hoplites instead of a helmet<sup>51</sup>. Therefore, the *Pilos* was not eliminated for rude, coarse and undignified characters in the Greek society, but also for the handsome ones favored by the gods like the ferryman *Phaon* who wears the *Pilos* in the white ground Lekythos in the National Archaeological Athens Museum 17916. He is transporting the deceased across the *Styx* to the Underworld with Hermes<sup>52</sup>. Pipili concluded that in the Greek art, the workman wears the *Pilos*, but he is often shown nude, while if he is dressed, he often wear the *exomis*, the short *chiton* which leaves one shoulder bare to facilitate movement, or a loincloth, and significantly, they may wear the *Pilos* cap as well<sup>53</sup>.

In this stela, the foot washing, massage and reflexology for the deceased woman is exceptional; it was more familiar in the ancient Egyptian tombs and temples<sup>54</sup>. The most common implements and materials used by the servants for foot washing are the ewer with spout, which is like the merge vessel, basin, curious spoon shaped can, water and natron. In Ancient Egypt, foot care and wash was mainly connected to the king in the *Heb sed* Festival<sup>55</sup>, a foot-washing ritual for the dead king by the gods as in the Book of the Dead "He might washed with the sun God in the pool of *Earu* and then be rubbed dry by Horus and Thoth, or wash his feet in the sun-gods own silver basin which has been fashioned by Sokar"<sup>56</sup>. Some officials of the Old Kingdom were titled 'the washer or purifier of the Legs of the king of Upper Egypt' and 'the washer or purifier of the legs of the king of Lower Egypt'<sup>57</sup>. On the other side, there are no tools used in foot massage or reflexology but certain oils and ointments may be used as it was depicted in the other scene of massage for the other parts of the body, oblong object, special knives, meant skin scraping knives, and nail clippers<sup>58</sup>. As there are no washings' materials in

the scene, it is more likely that the young a maid is making a massage for the female.

In the Greek mythology, there is no interaction with foot care for the deceased. There is however interaction with the whole dead body during various stages of the funeral; in the house "prosthesis", the dead body is anointed with oil and incenses, it is dressed in a shroud and then it is lied upon a bier in the house for lamentation and mourning<sup>59</sup>. Therefore, this stela documents the first pictorial of the foot massage for a deceased dressed in a Greek costume in the ancient Egyptian funerary art, which highly suppose the great influence of the Egyptian funerary beliefs on the Greek community at Memphis.

#### IV. Dating

It is difficult to give a precise date for the stela, the absence of a text is a big obstacle to give a date as well as to figure out the name and identity of the deceased. Who is the deceased? If the pharaoh-male figure who venerates Osiris in the upper register, or the female who receives the massage in the lower register?

The upper register of the stela carries a pure funerary Egyptian context, while the lower one shows Egyptian-Greek syntax of art. A big Greek community lived in Memphis since the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. According to Herodotus, Pharaoh Amasis (r. ca. 570–527 BC) relocated the Greek and Carian mercenaries based in the Nile Delta to Memphis<sup>60</sup>. A special Greek quarter in the city was attested in ancient Memphis, with its own temple (the Helenian), intermarriage between Greek and Egyptian integrated the so-called "*Hellenomemphites*", a kind of population<sup>61</sup>. Numbers of Carian stelae with Carian inscriptions are found in the Serapium of Saqqara, and date from the Late Period<sup>62</sup>. The Carians involved in Egyptian culture and funerary practices.

The double style and hybridization in funerary art during the Greco- Roman period was common. There was no contradiction between being Hellenistic in dress and Egyptian in religion. In Memphis, the combination of portraits, stelae and mummies indicates that those patrons experienced a culture in which Hellenistic and Egyptian cultural traditions were closely integrated. Hybrid identities emerge when two different cultures encountering each other are juxtaposed and transformed into a new third identity that represents neither the one nor the other<sup>63</sup>. The co-existence of Egyptian and Hellenistic funerary architectural and artistic features and iconography either in the tombs or mummy cases cannot be understood to visualize the patrons' ethnics. The shared multicultural milieu and cultural makers were not determining a particularly ethnic significance. The biculturalism in funerary iconography was familiar in funerary materials in Greco-Roman period, therefore, it was common to show the deceased in classical dress, while the iconographical vocabulary relies upon Egyptian traditional themes related to Osiris and Re. Being Hellenistic in dress, and Egyptian in religion, presented a mixture of cultural traditions for a shared cultural heritage. It was common that the deceased being classical in dress and Egyptian in iconography, it could be creating a new form of bicultural context during that period. Inhabitant in Greco-Roman period exploited Egyptian traditional iconography, which highly assimilated with Osiris<sup>64</sup>. The people in poleis and metropolis shared multicultural milieus, where classical and Egyptian cultural traditions were equally apparent<sup>65</sup>.

Lembke suggested that in early Ptolemaic period in Tuna El-Gebel, there was a school of artists who followed the ancient Egyptian traditional system in funerary art, but also influenced by the Greek imagery. It is quite like that existed in the cosmopolitan city of Memphis; similar works were documented as being in the 'neo-Memphite' style<sup>66</sup>.

As, this stela is one of the one hundred and fifty-six stelae in the non-royal corpus which were recorded by Labudek, about one hundred and fourteen stelae show human figures; most of them portray only one male, while the rest present two figures; only the stela of Hor 'C30'<sup>67</sup> shows both a male and female figures.

According to the female elongated body which is imitating the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Greek sculptor style of *Lysippus*<sup>68</sup>. Moreover, her costume in the Greek *exomis* chiton and the *Pilos* wig style, the latter which is widely depicted among the secular scenes of laborers and craftsmen in the pronaos of the tomb of Pet Osiris at Tuna El-Gebel, farm workers, including cowherds, laboring in the field of Pet Osiris wear the Greek *Pilos*<sup>69</sup>. Therefore, I suggest that this stela is most probably dates to the early Ptolemaic period from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The Greek dress influence is limited to the pronaos of Pet Osiris Tomb, while the relief decoration of the naos is confined to Egyptian style.

In general, the *exomis* was a Greek tunic mainly used by hoplites (light infantry) and workers. The tunic largely replaced the older *chitoniskos* (or short chiton) as the main tunic of the hoplites during the later 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. On the other side, the *Pilos* on the figure's head possibly favors his interpretation as male: the hut was often worn by adult men as well as by boys/*ephebes*.

Most of the people listed on the Late Period stelae were individuals with a religious role and background. Most of the titles seem to indicate at least a reasonable high religious or official status figure<sup>70</sup>. Therefore, I highly recommend that the deceased is the aristocratic female, who is receiving her massage by her a maid. She is wearing the *Pilos* Greek wig which is also worn by the elite in the Greek community, moreover, according to the Greek methodology, in some cases, it secures a kind for greatness, heroism and in some cases divinity for the one who wears. According to the Egyptian funerary iconography, the *Pilos* wig most probably acts as 'a crown of justification' derives from chapter 19 of BD as a physical manifestation of the wearer's transfiguration and justification<sup>71</sup>. The crown is a physical manifestation of the wearer's jubilation, 'justified' state.

A Carian's stela from Saqqara shows its owner as a lector priest<sup>72</sup>. Therefore, it is most often that the deceased woman had a Carian ethnic, and portrayed herself in a kingly gesture in the upper register, and she most probably was one of the Greek elites in Memphis during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC 'a Carian identity'. She portrayed herself in the form of a kingly male figure to secure a blessed transfiguration in the Osiris afterlife. The stela shows its female owner in the adoption of Egyptian religion and the maintenance of her own ethnic dress. As the Carian stelae in Saqqara, are divided into two groups; the first one depicts a figure in adoration of Osiris and Isis, while the second group shows the same in the top register and additionally the Apis bull with other deities/individuals in adoration in a separate register<sup>73</sup>. I highly argue that this stela is one of the second group of the Carians' stelae in Saqqara.

- <sup>1</sup> Baines, J and Malek, J, Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt (Revised Edition) (New York, 2000), 142.
- <sup>2</sup> Smith, H, 'Uncharted Saqqara: an Essay', in Berger, C. & Mathieu, B. (eds.) *Études sur l'Antien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer*. Montpellier III: Université Paul Voléry, (Montpellier 1997), 389-390.
- <sup>3</sup>
- <sup>4</sup> Zivic, A, 'Memphis', *LÄ* IV, 30.
- <sup>5</sup> Labudek, J, Late Period Stelae from Saqqara, a socio-cultural and religious investigation, MSc thesis, The University of Birmingham, (Birmingham, 2010), 13-14, fig.4.
- <sup>6</sup> Labudek, J, Late Period Stelae from Saqqara, 38.
- <sup>7</sup> The wooden *klinai* were used as biers in Greek funerary art since the Homer's time, the 8th century BC, Kurtz, D and Boardman, J, Greek Burial Customs, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1971), 58-59. The *klinai* are widely used in Alexandria tombs, see Guimier-Sorbets, A and Nenna M.-D, 'Le lit funéraire dans les nécropoles alexandrines. In Empereur, Jean-Yves and Marie-Dominique Nenna (eds), *Nécropolis 2 2*, IFAO, (Cairo, 2003), 533-575. It also found in the House-tombs of Tuna El-Gebel, Venit, *Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco- Roman Egypt*, (Cambridge, 2016), 91-92, 95, 96, 97-98, 113. On the *klinai* in general, see Andrianou, D, *The Furniture and Furnishings of Ancient Greek Houses and Tombs*, (Cambridge, 2009), 31-50.
- <sup>8</sup> It was a Greek tunic used by workers and light infantry. The tunic largely replaced the older *Chitoniskos* (or short chiton) as the main tunic of the hoplites during the later 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. It was made of two rectangles of linen (other materials were also used), which were stitched together from the sides to form a cylinder, leaving enough space at the top for the arms. An opening at the top was also left for the head. The cylinder was gathered up at the waist with a cloth belt using a reef knot, which made the cloth fall over the belt, hiding it from view, for *exomis*, see, Sekunda, N (2000). *Greek Hoplite 480–323 BC* (Oxford, 2000).
- <sup>9</sup> The Greek *πλῆθιον* (piledion) and Latin pilleolus were smaller versions,
- <sup>10</sup> I visited the museum on the 14<sup>th</sup> July 2018 during the joint seminar on: "*Visualization of Cultural Heritage: New Scientific Approaches (Muography and Informatics)*" between Civilization and Heritage Center- Fayoum University and Faculty of Letters, Komazawa University-Tokyo. I would like to thank Dr. T. Kikugawa who permitted me to photograph the stela and publish it.
- <sup>11</sup> I acknowledge Mr. Walid El-Sayed, Sohag Inspectorate, who made the epigraphy of the stela.
- <sup>12</sup> On the stelae from Memphis, see, Munro, P., *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, *ÄF* 25, (Glückstadt, 1973), tafs. 198-217.
- <sup>13</sup> Kucharek, A, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien, Die Klagelieder von Isis und Nephtys in Texten der Griechisch- Römischen Zeit*, Band (4), (Heidelberg, 2010), 655.
- <sup>14</sup> Otto, E, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Ägypten*, *UGÄA* 13 (Leipzig, 1938), 13-14; Bonnet, H, 'Apis', in *LÄ*,49; For more details, see, Wiedemann, A., "Der Apis als Totenträger", in *OLZ* 20 (Leipzig, 1917), 298-303.
- <sup>15</sup> Labudek, J, Late Period Stelae from Saqqara, 48.
- <sup>16</sup> Redford, D, *The Ancient Gods Speak, A Guide to Egyptian Religion* (Oxford & New York, 2002): 31
- <sup>17</sup> The burial vaults of the Apis bulls explored by Mariette between 1850- 1853, Mariette, A, *Memoir sur la mere d' Apis*, (Paris, 1856); id, *Le Serapeum de Memphis*, (Paris, 1857); Maspero, G, *Le Serapeum de Memphis par August Mariette-Pacha*, (Paris, 1882); Lauer, J., *Saqqara, the Royal Cemetery of Memphis*, (London, 1976), 11-28, 217-224. It dates to the reign of Ramses II. Many underground galleries for the mummified Apis bulls date back to the Late Period, where the worship of the sacred bulls was distinguished in Egypt, especially during the reign of Psmatik I and Amasis, Lauer, J, *Saqqara, the Royal Cemetery of Memphis: Excavations and Discoveries since 1850*, (London, 1976), 25; Emery, W., "Preliminary Report on the Excavation at North Saqqara", in *JEA* 57, 1971, pl. VI (2). Herodote referred that Psmmeticus I built a courtyard for the Apis, surrounded by 12 cubits high colossi playing the role of columns. Herod. II, 53; Vercoutter, J, *Textes Biographiques du Serapeum de Memphis: Contribution a l'Etude des Steles Votives du Serapeum*. Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 4<sup>th</sup> Section, (Paris, 1962), 26. The earliest recorded burial of an Isis cow, the mother of Apis, in the Sacred Animal Necropolis of Hepnebes, the large area close to the Ibis galleries, is a demotic ostraca archive of Hor/Harthot preserve numerous details of the complex including courts and a tower. Thompson, D, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, 30
- <sup>18</sup> For more information on the Apis bull, see Devauchelle, D, "Osiris, Apis, Serapis et les autres: Remarques sur les Osiris memphites au I<sup>er</sup> millenaire av. J.-C, in Coulon (éd.), *Le culte d'Osiris au I<sup>er</sup> millenaire av. J.-C. Découvertes et travaux récents*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 153, (Le Caire, 2010), 51-5 ;

Smith, M, *Following Osiris, Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* (Oxford, 2017), 392-393.

<sup>19</sup> Devauchelle, D, "Osiris, Apis, Serapis et les autres: .. ", 54.

<sup>20</sup> Devauchelle, D, "Osiris, Apis, Serapis et les autres: .. ", 54-5.

<sup>21</sup> Smith, M, *Following Osiris*, 393.

<sup>22</sup> Devauchelle, D, " Pas d'Apis pour Serapis !", in Gase, A, Servajean, F and Thiers, C (eds.), *Et in Aegypto et ad Aegyptum: recueil d'études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier, CENiM 5*, vol. II, (Montpellier, 2012), 214, note.5

<sup>23</sup> Smith, H, "Dates of the Obsequise of the Mothers of Apis", *RdE* 24, 1972, 177

<sup>24</sup> Smith, *Following Osiris*, 396. The bilingual dedication text of the Serapeum of Aklexandria; the Greek text mentions that ' the temple is dedicated to Serapis and Isis, the saviour gods ', while the hieroglyphic parallel text reads ' It belongs to Osiris- Apis and Isis, the saviour gods ', Rowe, A, *Discovery of the famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria, Cairo, 1946*, 12-13. Also, in the bilingual text of P. Lille 96 (225 BC) from Fayoum, the Greek 'Serapis' is a translation of the demotic 'Osiris-Apis'. Vittmann, G, ' Beobachtung und Überlegungen zu Fremden und hellenisierten Ägypten im Dienste einheimischer Kulteä, in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems (eds), *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur: part I. OLA 85*, (Leuven, 1998), 1233. Many Egyptian texts from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt refer that Osiris – Apis corresponds Serapis, see, Smith, *Following Osiris*, 396-400. In other cases, the image of Osiris express in text as Serapis, as the Louvre stela C 278; where three men adore Osiris in his traditional costume, while the Greek text address their request to Serapis, Smith, *Following Osiris*, 401.

<sup>25</sup> For the text, see Wilcken, W, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (Ältere Funde)*, vol. I, (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), 97-104; Bell, H, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco- Roman Egypt* (Liverpool, 1953), 3-4.

<sup>26</sup> Shaw, I and Nicholson, P, *the British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1995), 36.

<sup>27</sup> Sales, J, 'Terms et Concepts dans le Protocole pharaonique des Lagides: le Cas du nom d'Horus', in Goyon, J and Cardin, Ch (eds.), *Proceedings of the 9<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6-12 September 2004, II, OLA 150*, (Leuven, 2007), 1679-1682; Wilkinson, R, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* ( New York, 2003), 170-171; Allen, J, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, (Atalanta, 2005), Unis 165 and Pepi 312 and 486.

<sup>28</sup> Venit, M, *Visualizing the Afterlife*, 197.

<sup>29</sup> Bommas, M, "Isis, Osiris, and Serapis", in the *Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, (Oxford, 2012), 422.

<sup>30</sup> P. Gen. I 36, 8 (15 November 170 AD); Shubert, P, "Continuité et changement des cultes locaux en Egypte romaine à travers trois documents de la collection papyrologique de Genève", in G. Labarre (éd.), *Les cultes locaux dans les mondes grec et romain. Actes du colloque de Lyon, 7-8 juin 2001*, Université Lumière-Lyon 2 / UMR 5189 du CNRS (Lyon, 2004).

<sup>31</sup> Markovic, N, "Changes in Urban and Sacred Landscapes of Memphis in the Third to the Fourth Centuries AD and the Eclipse of the Divine Apis Bulls", *JEA* 104, issue 2, 2018, 197

<sup>32</sup> Labudek, J, *Late Period Stelae from Saqqara*, 24, figs.12, 44.

<sup>33</sup> Assmann, J, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism*, (London and New York, 1995), 16.

<sup>34</sup> Englund, G, "Offerings", in D. Redford (ed.), *the Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. II (Oxford, 2001) 564-569

<sup>35</sup> Kaplan, I, *Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit, Wechselwirkung zwischen der Ägyptischen und Griechisch-Alexandrinischen Kunst, BzÄ 16*, (Vienna, 1999), 11-12

<sup>36</sup> Griffiths, J, "Osiris", in: B. Redford (ed.), *the Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. II, (Oxford, 2001) 617-618

<sup>37</sup> Riggs, C, *the Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt, Art, Identity and Funerary Religion*, (Oxford, 2005), 35

<sup>38</sup> Kurth, D, *Der Sarg der Teüris, Eine Studie zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten, Aeg Trev 6*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), 62, abb.20; Kakosy, L., "Selige und Verdammte in der spätägyptischen Religion", *ZÄS* 97, 100, abb.3.

<sup>39</sup> Kaplan, I, *Grabmalerei und Grabreliefs der Römerzeit*, 105.

<sup>40</sup> Goebis, K, "Crowns", in: B. Redford (ed.), *the Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. I, (Oxford, 2001), 322

<sup>41</sup> Wilson, P, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon: A Lexicographical Study of the texts in the Temple of Edfu, OLA 78* (Leuven, 1997), 709

<sup>42</sup> For further information, Abdalla, A., *Graeco- Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt*, (Liverpool, 1992)

<sup>43</sup> For Anubis as *Psychopompos* see, Doxey, D, "Anubis", in D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. I, (Oxford, 2001), 98; Riggs, C., *The Beautiful Burial in Roman*

Egypt, 126-128, fig.53-54, 165-173. Hathor is also well attested, especially in funerary art created for woman, Abdalla, A., *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt*, Liverpool, 1992, 112, catalogue nos.5, 62, 89, 117, pl.45, 166 and 181. The deceased woman is closely associated with Hathor rather than Osiris either in texts or funerary art in Ptolemaic- Roman Egypt. For further information, Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, 128, fig. 54,71-78; Rondot, V, *L'Empereur et le petit prince: les deux colosses d'Argo: iconographie, symbolique et datation*, in V. Rondot, F. Alpi, and F. Villeneuve (eds), *La pioche et la plume: autour du Soudan, du Liban et de la Jordanie. Hommages archéologiques à Patrice Lenoble* (Paris, 2011), 428-31; id, *Derniers visages des dieux d'Égypte: iconographies, panthéons et cultes dans le Fayoum hellénisé des IIe-IIIe siècles de notre ère. Passé présent.* (Paris, 2013), 265, 355-6; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 385-389.

<sup>44</sup> Morenz, S, "Anubis mit dem dem Schlüssel", in: E. Blumenthal and S. Hermann(eds.), *Religion und Geschichte des Alten Ägypten: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, (Weimar, 1972), 510-521 (reprinted from *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Max-Universität Leipzig* 3, 1953/ 4; Parlasca, K, "Anubis mit dem dem Schlüssel in Der Kaiserzeitlichen Grabkunst Ägyptens", *Isis on the Nile, Egyptian Gods in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Proceedings of the IVth International Conference of Isis Studies, November 27–29 2008 (Leiden, 2010), 221-232, Kurth, D, *Sarge der Teüris*, 11-12, with pls. B, 2.I; and 6.I

<sup>45</sup> As mentioned in the papyrus Tawau(?) of the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, Goyon, J, *Le Papyrus Louvre N. 3279*", in *BDE* 42, (Le Caire, 1966), 38

<sup>46</sup> Tzetzes, J., *On Lycophron*, noted by Karl Kerényi's *The Heroes of the Greeks*, 1959:107 note 584.

<sup>47</sup> Burkert, W, *Greek Religion* (London, 1985), 281.

<sup>48</sup> Pipili, M, "Wearing an Other Hat: Workmen in Town and Country", in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal. Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* (Leiden, 2000), 154, 163-179

<sup>49</sup> Riggs, C., *the Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, 81- 82

<sup>50</sup> Hunting was also an aristocratic activity that confirmed the citizen's human nature. Pipili, M., *Wearing an Other Hat:*", 165

<sup>51</sup> For the Greek *Pilos* cap, see, Andereson, J, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon*, Berkeley and (Los Angeles, 1970), 29-37

<sup>52</sup> Pillipi, 176-178, "Wearing an Other Hat:" fig. 6.11.

<sup>53</sup> Pillipi, "Wearing an Other Hat:", 154.

<sup>54</sup> On the foot care in ancient Egypt, see, El-Kilany, E., "Foot Care: Uncommon Scenes in Ancient Egypt", *Journal of Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Fayoum University*, vol. 10, no. (2/2), September, (Fayoum, 2016), 289-301. Foot care is widely depicted in the Pharaonic tombs such as Tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, 5th Dynasty, Harpur, Y and Scremin, P., *The Chapel of Ptahhotep, Scenes Details*, vol.2, (Oxford, 2010), fig.149: tomb of tomb of Baqet III, Kanawati, N and Woods, A, *Art and Daily life in an Ancient Province*, (Cairo, 2009), fig. 145.Fig. 14: Tomb of Khentika, Saqqara, James, T., *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhhi*, London, 1953, pl. XI: Tomb of Ankhmahor, Saqqara, 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Kanawati, N and Hassan, A., *The Teti Cemetery Saqqara*, vol. II, the Tomb of Ankhmahor, The Australian Centre for Egyptology, Reports, no. 9, (Sydney, 1997), pl.55a. It is also depicted in the temples as Foot massage in the military camp during the battle of Qadesh, *The Great Temple of Abu Simbel*, 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Nagy, *Massage and Reflexology in Ancient Egypt from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom*, Unpublished MSc., Alexandria University, (Alexandria 2016), fig. 25. Foot washing is also attested in the Sun Temple of Niweserre, Breasted, J., *A History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times to the Persian conquest* (London 1912), fig.72.

<sup>55</sup> Nuzzolo, M., *The Sun Temples of the V Dynasty: A Reassessment*", *SAK* 36, 2007.

<sup>56</sup> See, Blackman, A, *Purification in Gods, Priests and Men*, *Studies in the Religion of Pharaonic Egypt*, Kegan Paul International, (London and New York, 1998).

<sup>57</sup> See, Lacau, P., *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, (Le Caire, 1904).

<sup>58</sup> El-Kilany, E., "Foot care...", 297.

<sup>59</sup> On this see, Dimakis, N, "Death, burial and ritual, commemorating the dead in Hellenistic and Roamn Agros", in Nenna, Marie-Dominique, Van Andringa, W, Huber, S (eds.), *Constituer la tombe, honorer les défunts en Méditerranée antique*, CEALex (Alexandrie, 2018), 356-359.

<sup>60</sup> Herodotus, II.154.3. He referred that during the decisive battle Apries, there are about 30,000 of the Carian and Ionian mercenaries participated.

<sup>61</sup> S'widerek 1961; Austin, M, *Greece and Egypt in the archaic age*. Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society: Supplement 2 (Cambridge1970), 20–22; Thompson, J, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Princeton, 2012), 14, 77

<sup>62</sup> On these Carian stelae, see Masson, O and Yoyotte, J. 1956, *Objets Pharaoniques a Inscription Carienne*. Le Caire: Imprimerie de L'Institut Francais, 1956; Masson, O, *Carian Inscriptions from North*

Saqqara and Buhen. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1987, pl. XXXVI, 1; Labudek, J, Late Period Stelae from Saqqara, 55-57.

<sup>63</sup> On hybridity: Bhabha, H., *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), 211.

<sup>64</sup> Titus Flavius Demetrius, a Roman elite citizen, was mummified and buried in Egyptian manner. His mask was found in Ipswich Borough Council Museums and Galleries: Ipswich Museum: R1921-89, Riggs, C, *the Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, 21-22, fig.4.

<sup>65</sup> Turner, E., "Roman Oxyrhynchus", *JEA* 38, 1952, 84

<sup>66</sup> Lembke, K., "City of the Dead. Tuna el-Gebel", in: *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012), 216-217.

<sup>67</sup> Chassinat, E, *Textes provenant du sérapéum de Memphis*, RT 23, (Paris 1903), 52-53, CLXIII; PM 1981: 802

<sup>68</sup> Pliny NH 34.65

<sup>69</sup> See, Venit, M, *Visualizing the Afterlife*, 28-44

<sup>70</sup> Labudek, J, *Late Period Stelae from Saqqara*, 35.

<sup>71</sup> In the Graeco- Roman temples, the king offered the crown of justification to Horus and other deities, Derchain, P., "La Couronne de La Justification: Essai d' analyse d' un rit Ptolemaïque", *CdE* 30, 1955, 225-287; Riggs, C., *the Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, 81.

<sup>72</sup> Sauneron, S, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt. New Edition*, (London, 2000), 41

<sup>73</sup> Labudek, J, *Late Period Stelae from Saqqara*, 76.



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### نشر لوحة جنائزية في المتحف المصري بطوكيو

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#### المخلص

تناقش الورقة البحثية نشر لوحة جنائزية موجودة حالياً في المتحف المصري بشيبيويا بطوكيو برقم تسجيلي **AEM1043**. يبلغ أبعاد اللوحة 18:04 سم عرض و 18:0 سم طول، ترجع اللوحة إلى سيرابيوم سقارة دون تحديد تاريخ محدد لها تنقسم اللوحة إلى مستويين علوي وسفلي، يظهر العجل أبيس في الجزء العلوي للوحة واقفا داخل ناووس صغير. يظهر في المستوى العلوي المتوفى في هيئة ملكية يقدم قرابين إلى الإله أوزيريس الجالس على عرشه بينما إيزيس تقف خلفه. بينما يظهر الجزء السفلي للوحة منظراً فريداً لأحد الخدم يقوم بالعناية بقدم المتوفى. لسوء الحظ تفتقر اللوحة إلى وجود نص مكتوب يمكن من خلاله التعرف على شخصية المتوفى وتاريخ اللوحة. يتناول البحث تحليل تلك المناظر ومحاولة تحديد تاريخ محدد لتلك اللوحة. توصل البحث إلى أنه من المحتمل بشكل كبير أن تلك اللوحة ترجع إلى السيدة المتوفاة المصورة في الأفريز السفلي للوحة، والتي من المحتمل أنها أحد أفراد الطبقة الأرستقراطية في مجتمع منف خلال القرن الرابع ق.م.

#### معلومات المقالة

#### الكلمات المفتاحية

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