

Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt

Lost in Egypt's honeycombed hills, distanced by its western desert, or rendered inaccessible by subsequent urban occupation, the monumental decorated tombs of the Graeco-Roman period have received little scholarly attention. This volume, which explores the narrative pictorial programs of a group of decorated tombs from Ptolemaic and Roman-period Egypt (ca. 300 BCE–250 CE), serves to redress this deficiency. Its aim is to recognize the tombs' commonalities and differences across what might be considered ethnic and religious divides and to determine the rationale that lies behind these connections and dissonances. Setting the tomb programs within their social, political, and religious context, it analyzes the manner in which the multicultural population of Graeco-Roman Egypt chose to visualize their negotiation of death and the afterlife.

Marjorie Susan Venit is Professor Emerita of Ancient Mediterranean Art and Archaeology at the University of Maryland. She is the author of *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: The Theater of the Dead* and *Greek Painted Pottery from Naukratis in Egyptian Museums*. Her previous books have been supported by generous grants from the Kress Foundation and the J. Paul Getty Trust. Among her other awards are a Fulbright-Hays Fellowship and fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Research Center in Egypt, the American Association of University Women, and the American Philosophical Society.

Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt

MARJORIE SUSAN VENIT

University of Maryland



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS



Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment,
a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University’s mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of
education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107048089

© Marjorie Susan Venit 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions
of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take
place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2016

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data
Venit, Marjorie Susan.

Visualizing the afterlife in the tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt / Marjorie
Susan Venit (University of Maryland).
pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-04808-9 (hardback : alkaline paper) –

ISBN 978-1-107-62666-9 (paperback : alkaline paper)

1. Egypt – Antiquities. 2. Tombs – Egypt. 3. Egypt – History –
Greco-Roman period, 332 B.C.–640 A.D. 4. Death – Social aspects –
Egypt – History – To 1500. 5. Decoration and ornament – Egypt – History –
To 1500. 6. Narrative art – Egypt – History – To 1500. 7. Cultural pluralism –
Egypt – History – To 1500. 8. Egypt – Ethnic relations – History – To 1500.
9. Egypt – Religious life and customs. I. Title. II. Title: Visualizing the
after-life in the tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt.

DT62.T6V46 2015

932’.02 – dc23 2015021259

ISBN 978-1-107-04808-9 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence
or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this
publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will
remain, accurate or appropriate.

Publication of this book has been aided by a grant from the Loeb Classical
Library Foundation and a grant from the Dietrich von Bothmer
Publication Fund of the Archaeological Institute of America.



To my mentors, in memoriam

*Bernard V. Bothmer
Dietrich von Bothmer
William Coulson
Daoud abdu Daoud
Colin N. Edmonson
Clairève Grandjouan
Donald P. Hansen
Evelyn B. Harrison
Fordyce Mitchell
Henriette J. Rattner
Evelyn L. Smithson
Anne Venit
Harry Venit
Saul Weinberg*

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	<i>page</i> xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xvii
Introduction	I
Egypt before Alexander	2
Previous Scholarship and How This Book	
Approaches Its Subject	3
1 Death, Bilingualism, and Biography in the ‘Eventide’ of Egypt: The Tomb of Petosiris and Its Afterlife	5
Greeks and Egyptians	5
The Setting of the Tomb of Petosiris	6
The Tomb of Petosiris	8
The Chapel	9
The Walls Devoted to Neshu	9
The Walls Devoted to Djedthothiufoankh	15
The South Wall of the Chapel	16
The Pilasters of the South Wall and the South Pillars	18
The Pronaos	18
The Inner Walls of the Pronaos	19
The North Wall of the Pronaos	19
The East and West Walls of the Pronaos	25
The South Wall of the Pronaos	38
Bilingualism in the Tomb of Petosiris	46
Visual Biography in the Tomb of Petosiris	48
The Afterlife of the Tomb of Petosiris	48
2 Egypt as Metaphor: Visual Bilingualism in the Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria	50
Ptolemaic-Period Tombs	51
Hypogeum A	52
The Tombs at Moustapha Pasha	53

CONTENTS

	The Tombs of Pharos Island	55
	The Sāqiya Tomb	60
	Roman-Period Tombs	63
	The Bilingual Tombs in the ‘Nebengrab’	63
	The Main Tomb in the Great Catacomb at Kom el-Shoqafa	66
	The Pronaos of the Main Tomb	67
	The Burial Room	69
	The Imagery of the Main Tomb Situated within Alexandria Tomb Design	77
	The Tomb from Tigrane Pasha Street	78
	Greek Eschatology and the Mystery Cults	80
	Greek Eschatology and Alexandria’s Bilingual Response	81
	Heroization and Alexandria’s Bilingual Response	83
	Imaging the Afterlife	85
3	Greek Myth as Metaphor in the Chora of Egypt	87
	Leontopolis	87
	The Tombstones	88
	Tuna el-Gebel	90
	The Tomb of Isidora	91
	House Tombs with Painted Decoration at Tuna el-Gebel	95
	Tombs with Dionysiac Imagery	95
	Tombs with Greek Myth Narratives	96
	The Tomb of the Abduction of Persephone	96
	The Tomb of the Trojan Horse	99
	The Tomb of the Oresteia and of Oedipus	100
	The Myths and the Mysteries	107
	Greek Myth at Leontopolis and Tuna el-Gebel	108
4	Tradition and Innovation in the Tombs of the Egyptian Chora	109
	Tuna el-Gebel	110
	House-Tomb 18	111
	House-Tomb 20	111
	House-Tomb 21	113
	The Anteroom	115
	The Lower Frieze	115
	The Upper Zones	120
	The Burial Room	127
	The Three Long Walls	127
	The Egyptianizing Tombs at Tuna el-Gebel	133
	The Siwa Oasis	133
	The Crocodile Tomb	134

CONTENTS

	The Tomb of Siamun	136
	The East Side of the North Wall	136
	The East Wall	137
	The West Wall	141
	The Ceiling	144
	The Pictorial Structure of the Tomb of Siamun	147
	Athribis	148
	The Tomb of Psenosiris	149
	The Zodiac Tomb or the Tomb of the Two Brothers	151
	The Zodiac Ceilings	154
	The ‘Traditional’ Tombs in the Graeco-Roman Chora	156
5	Bricolage and Greek-Collage in the Tombs of the Egyptian Chora	157
	Dakhla Oasis	157
	The Tomb of Petubastis	158
	The Tomb of Petosiris	165
	Room I	166
	Room II	175
	Akhmim (Panopolis)	182
	The Tombs at al-Salamuni	183
	Bissing’s Tomb from 1913	183
	Salamuni Tomb 8	184
	Kaplan’s Tomb VI	185
	Kaplan’s Tomb VIII	185
	Bissing’s Tomb from 1897	185
	Greek Elements in the Egyptianizing Tombs of Akhmim and Dakhla	192
6	Intersection and Interconnection in the Visualization of the Afterlife in Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt	196
	Social Positioning	197
	The Image of the Patron	198
	Daemonic Protection of the Tomb	199
	The Efficacy of Afterlife Imagery in Graeco-Roman Egypt	200
	<i>Notes</i>	203
	<i>Bibliography of Modern Works Cited</i>	239
	<i>Index</i>	255
	<i>The colour plates will be found between pages 144 and 145</i>	

List of Illustrations

MAP

Map Sites in Graeco-Roman Egypt Mentioned
in this Volume, p. xviii

FIGURES

1.1 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Plan, p. 8
1.2 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Tomb
of Petosiris, Chapel, East Side of the
North Wall, Lower Register, p. 10
1.3 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Chapel,
East Wall, Funeral of Neshu, p. 11
1.4 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Chapel,
East Wall, the Funeral Cart of Neshu, p. 13
1.5 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Chapel,
East Wall, the Lowest Course, Offerings to
Neshu, p. 14
1.6 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Chapel,
West Side of the North Wall, p. 15
1.7 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Chapel,
West Wall, the Lowest Register, Offering
Bearers, p. 17
1.8 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Chapel,
the Lowest Register of the West Wall,
Offering Bearers, Detail, p. 18
1.9 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris,
Pronaos, West End of the North Wall,
Metalworkers, p. 20
1.10 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris,
Pronaos, North Wall, West End, Upper
Preserved Register, Metalworkers, p. 20
1.11 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris,
Pronaos, North Wall, the Lowest
Preserved Frieze, Metalworkers, p. 21

1.12 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris,
Pronaos, North Wall, Metalworkers, p. 22
1.13 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris,
Pronaos, North Wall, Metalworkers, p. 23
1.14 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris,
Pronaos, North Wall, East Side, Upper
Registers, Perfumers, p. 24
1.15 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos,
North Wall, the East Side, the Second and
Third Registers from the Top, Perfumers, p. 25
1.16 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris,
Pronaos, North Wall, Woodworkers, p. 26
1.17 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris,
Pronaos, North Wall, Woodworkers, p. 26
1.18 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos,
North Wall, the Manufacture of Reed
Frames, p. 27
1.19 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos,
North Wall, East End, Woodworkers, p. 27
1.20 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris,
Pronaos, West Wall, Middle Preserved
Register, Left End, Cattle, p. 29
1.21 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris,
Pronaos, West Wall, Middle Preserved
Register, Cattle, Middle Scene, p. 29
1.22 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris,
Pronaos, West Wall, Middle Preserved
Register, Cattle, Right End, p. 30
1.23 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris,
Pronaos, West Wall, Lower Register,
Picking the Grapes, p. 30
1.24 Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris,
Pronaos, West Wall, Lower Register,
Picking and Transporting the Grapes, p. 31

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1.25a	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, West Wall, the Lower Register, Treading the Grapes, p. 31	2.10	Alexandria, Sāqiya Tomb, Shepherd, p. 61
1.25b	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, West Wall, the Lower Register, Treading the Grapes, Detail, p. 32	2.11	Alexandria, Ras El Tin 3, Herakles Soter, p. 61
1.26	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, West Wall, Lower Register, Filling and Sealing Jars, p. 33	2.12	Alexandria, Sāqiya Tomb, Reclining Male, p. 62
1.27	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, West Wall, Lower Register, Recording the Vintage, p. 33	2.13	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa “Nebengrab” Persephone Tomb 2, p. 64
1.28	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, East Wall, Harvesting and Threshing Grain, p. 35	2.14	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Plan, p. 66
1.29	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, East Wall, Lower Register, Left End, p. 36	2.15	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Facade of the Pronaos and Burial Chamber, p. 67
1.30	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, East Wall, Lower Register, Middle Section, p. 36	2.16	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Female Statue, p. 68
1.31	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, East Wall, Middle Register, p. 37	2.17	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Male Statue, p. 68
1.32	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, East Wall, Middle Register, p. 38	2.18	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Burial Chamber, Anthropomorphic Anubis, p. 70
1.33	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, East Wall, Middle Register, Detail of Young Boy, p. 39	2.19	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Burial Chamber, Anguiped Anubis, p. 71
1.34	Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, East Wall, Upper Register, Threshing, p. 40	2.20	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Burial Chamber, Central Niche, p. 72
1.35	Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, South Wall, Offering Bearers and Three Women, p. 41	2.21	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Burial Chamber, Back Wall of Right Niche, p. 73
1.36	Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, South Wall, Bull Sacrifice, p. 43	2.22	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Burial Chamber, Back Wall of Left Niche, p. 73
1.37	Tomb of Petosiris, Pronaos, South Wall, the Bull Sacrifice, p. 44	2.23	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Burial Chamber, Left Wall of Central Niche, p. 74
2.1	Alexandria, Hypogeum A, Plan, p. 52	2.24	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Burial Chamber, Right Wall of Central Niche, p. 74
2.2	Alexandria, Hypogeum A, Reconstruction of the South Wall of the Anteroom, p. 53	2.25	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Burial Chamber, Left Wall of Left Niche, p. 75
2.3	Alexandria, Moustapha Pasha 1, Plan, p. 54	2.26	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Burial Room, Right Wall of Left Niche, p. 75
2.4	Alexandria, Moustapha Pasha 1, South Wall and Altar, p. 55	2.27	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Burial Room, Left Wall of Right Niche, p. 76
2.5	Alexandria, Moustapha Pasha 1, South Wall, Detail of Sphinxes, p. 56	2.28	Alexandria, Kom el-Shoqafa, Main Tomb, Burial Chamber, Right Wall of Right Niche, p. 76
2.6	Alexandria, Ras el Tin 8 Kline Niche, p. 57	2.29	Alexandria, the Tigrane Tomb, Dome, p. 78
2.7	Alexandria, Anfushy II.1, Egyptianizing Doorway, p. 58	2.30	Alexandria, the Tigrane Tomb, Male Figure in Entrance Corridor, p. 79
2.8	Alexandria, Anfushy II, the Painting on the Upper Landing of the Staircase, p. 59	2.31	Alexandria 24040, Loculus Slab, p. 82
2.9	Alexandria, Sāqiya Tomb, Herm, p. 60	2.32	Loculus Slab from a Cemetery East of Chatby, p. 83

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

2.3.3	Plinthine (Kom el-Nagous) Loculus Slab, p. 85	4.13	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, North Wall, Upper Friezes, p. 122
2.3.4	Alexandria 24863, Loculus Slab from Marsa Matruh, p. 85	4.14	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, West Wall, North End of Upper Figured Frieze, p. 123
3.1	Tuna el-Gebel, House Tombs, p. 91	4.15	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, West Wall, South End of Upper Figured Frieze, p. 124
3.2	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Isidora, p. 92	4.16	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, East Wall, North End of Upper Figured Frieze, p. 124
3.3	Tuna el-Gebel, Kline in the Tomb of Isidora, p. 92	4.17	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, East Wall, South End of Upper Figured Frieze, p. 125
3.4	Tuna el-Gebel, House of Dionysos, Kline and Decoration, p. 96	4.18	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, East Wall, South End of Upper Figured Frieze, Detail of Priestess, p. 125
3.5	Tuna el-Gebel, House of Dionysos, Wall Decoration, p. 97	4.19	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, South Wall, Upper Figured Frieze, p. 126
3.6	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 16, Electra, p. 100	4.20	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Burial Room, West Side of North Entrance Wall, Isis and Nephthys and Wadjet, p. 128
3.7	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 16, Electra and Cocks, p. 101	4.21	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Burial Room, East Side of North Entrance Wall, Nekhbet and Wadjet, p. 128
3.8	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 16, Oedipus and the Sphinx, p. 102	4.22	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Burial Room, South Wall, Lustration of the Mummy, p. 129
3.9	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 16, Zetema and Thebe, p. 103	4.23	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Burial Room, Detail of Left Side of East Wall, Offering to Osiris, p. 130
3.10	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 16, Oedipus Painting, Right Side, p. 104	4.24	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Burial Room, Detail of Right Side of East Wall, the Solar Boat, p. 131
4.1	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 18, Isis, p. 111	4.25	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Burial Room, Detail of West Wall, Nut Succoring the Mummy, p. 132
4.2	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 18, Nephthys and Osiris, p. 112	4.26	Siwa Oasis, Crocodile Tomb, East Wall, Hathor or Isis Pouring a Libation, p. 134
4.3	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 20, Falcon, p. 113	4.27	Siwa Oasis, Crocodile Tomb, North Wall, Lower Frieze, the Crocodile, p. 135
4.4	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 20, Cocks and Grapevine, p. 114	4.28	Siwa Oasis, Crocodile Tomb, East Wall, Canines and Grapevine, p. 135
4.5	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 20, Coitus of Frog-Headed Male and a Female, p. 114	4.29	Siwa Oasis, Crocodile Tomb, South Wall, Thoth Reporting to Osiris, p. 135
4.6	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, North Wall, Lower Figured Frieze, Djed with Uraeae, p. 116	4.30	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, North Wall, Lower Register, Cart Transporting the Mummy, p. 137
4.7	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, North Wall Lower Figured Frieze, Djed and Tiets, p. 116		
4.8	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, West Wall, South End of Lower Figured Frieze, p. 117		
4.9	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, West and South Walls, p. 118		
4.10	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, West Side of South Wall, Lower Figured Frieze, p. 119		
4.11	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, East Frieze, South End of Lower Figured Frieze, p. 120		
4.12	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, East Side of South Wall, Lower Figured Frieze, p. 121		

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

4.31	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, North Part of the East Wall, Siamun and <i>Sem</i> -Priest, p. 138	5.4	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petubastis, East Wall, Portrait, p. 162
4.32	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, Left of Center of the East Wall, Deities, p. 139	5.5	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petubastis, North Wall, p. 162
4.33	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, Right of Center of the East Wall, Mahes or Lion-Headed Daemon and Female Deity(?), p. 140	5.6	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petubastis, Niche on North Wall, p. 163
4.34	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, South End of the West Wall, Lower Register, Siamun, Son as <i>Sem</i> -Priest, and Siamun's Wife, p. 142	5.7	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petubastis, West Wall, p. 164
4.35	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, North Part of West Wall, Lower Register, Nut as Sycamore-Tree Goddess, p. 143	5.8a	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petubastis, Zodiac on Ceiling, p. 165
4.36	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, West Wall, Lower Register, North End, Siamun and Young Son, p. 144	5.8b	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petubastis, Detail of Ceiling Zodiac, p. 165
4.37	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, Ceiling, Nut, p. 145	5.9	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Plan, p. 166
4.38	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, Boat with Djed Pillar, p. 146	5.10	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room I, South Wall, p. 167
4.39	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, Boat with Harpocrates, p. 146	5.11	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room I, South Section of East Wall, p. 168
4.40	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, Ceiling, Horus and Nekhbet, p. 147	5.12	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room I, North End of East Wall, Petosiris, p. 169
4.41	Athribis, Tomb of Psenosiris, Lion Daemons at Entrance, p. 150	5.13	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room I, West Wall, p. 171
4.42	Athribis, Tomb of Psenosiris, Anteroom, Rear Wall of Niche on North Wall, p. 151	5.14	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room I, West Wall, Lower Register, Detail, p. 172
4.43	Athribis, Tomb of Psenosiris, Anteroom, Zodiac Ceiling, p. 151	5.15	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room I, North Wall, p. 173
4.44	Athribis, Tomb of Psenosiris, Burial Room, Zodiac Ceiling, p. 152	5.16a	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room I, Zodiac Ceiling, p. 174
4.45	Athribis, Zodiac Tomb of the Brothers, South End of West Wall, p. 153	5.16b	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room I, Zodiac Ceiling, Detail, p. 175
4.46	Athribis, Zodiac Tomb of the Brothers, Niche on West Wall, p. 153	5.17	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room II, South Side of East Wall, p. 176
4.47	Athribis, Zodiac Tomb of the Brothers, Ceiling, Zodiac A, p. 154	5.18	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room II, North Side of East Wall, p. 177
4.48	Athribis, Zodiac Tomb of the Brothers, Ceiling, Zodiac B, p. 155	5.19	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room II, South Wall, p. 178
5.1	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petubastis, South Wall, p. 159	5.20	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room II, North Wall, p. 179
5.2	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petubastis, East Wall, p. 160	5.21	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room II, South End of West Wall, p. 180
5.3	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petubastis, East Wall, Right End Detail, p. 161	5.22	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room II, North End of West Wall, p. 181
		5.23	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room II, Zodiac Ceiling, p. 182
		5.24	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room II, Detail of One of the Winged Figures Supporting Zodiac, p. 182
		5.25	Akhmim, Salamuni 8, Room I, Orthostates, Figured Frieze, and Zodiac Ceiling, p. 184

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

5.26	Akhmim, Salamuni 8, Room I, Ceiling, Isis-Sothis and Zodiac, p. 184	XV	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, East Wall, Lower Figured Frieze
5.27	Akhmim, Kaplan’s Tomb VIII, Orthostats and Figured Zone, p. 185	XVI	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Burial Room, South Wall
5.28	Akhmim, Bissing’s Tomb of 1897, Plan, p. 186	XVII	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Burial Room, East Wall
5.29	Akhmim, Bissing’s Tomb of 1897, Burial Room, p. 187	XVIII	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Burial Room, West Wall
5.30	Akhmim, Bissing’s Tomb of 1897, Wall D-E and Ceiling, p. 188	XIX	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, East Wall, Siamun before Osiris
5.31	Akhmim, Bissing’s Tomb of 1897, Wall E-F, p. 189	XX	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, West Wall, Upper Register, Osiris and Thoth

PLATES

I	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris	XXI	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, West Wall, Lower Register, Lustration of the Mummy
II	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Chapel Relief, Nut and the Parents of Petosiris	XXII	Siwa Oasis, Tomb of Siamun, West Wall, Lower Register, Siamun and Isis
III	Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb of Petosiris, Chapel Relief, Petosiris and Neshu	XXIII	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petubastis, Wall East of Entrance
IV	Alexandria, Anfushy Tomb II, Wall in Anteroom	XXIV	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petubastis, Wall West of Entrance
V	Alexandria, Anfushy Tomb V, Room 4	XXV	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petubastis, View to Northeast
VI	Alexandria, the Sāqiya Tomb, Sāqiya	XXVI	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room I, View toward South
VII	Alexandria, the Sāqiya Tomb, Facade of Sarcophagus	XXVII	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room I, South and East Walls, Lower Register
VIII	Alexandria, the Tigrane Tomb, Central Niche	XXVIII	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room I, North End of East Wall
IX	Alexandria, the Tigrane Tomb, Right Niche	XXIX	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, West Wall, South Section, Lower Register
X	Alexandria, the Tigrane Tomb, Left Niche	XXX	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room II, Center of Ceiling Zodiac
XI	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 3, Abduction of Persephone	XXXI	Dakhla Oasis, Tomb of Petosiris, Room II, Ceiling Zodiac and Winged Figure
XII	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 23, Trojan Horse	XXXII	Akhmim, Bissing’s Tomb from 1897, Wall D-E
XIII	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 16, Oedipus Cycle	XXXIII	Akhmim, Bissing’s Tomb from 1897, Wall A-B, Upper Register
XIV	Tuna el-Gebel, House-Tomb 21, Anteroom, West Wall, Lower Figured Frieze	XXXIV	Akhmim, Bissing’s Tomb from 1897, Wall E-F, Lower Register

Acknowledgments

This book has taken far, far too long to complete. The unconscionable length of time, however, permitted me to meet numerous persons whom I otherwise would not have met and to renew and sustain old acquaintanceships and friendships. I am greatly indebted to everyone whom I called upon in one capacity or another.

I owe a great debt to those who provided photographs for this project: Felix Arnold of the DAI in Cairo; Roger S. Bagnall, Iris M. Fernandez, and David Ratzan of ISAW and the NYU Amheida Excavations; Nadine Cherpion, Nevine Kamal, and Florence Albert of IFAO; Jean-Yves Empereur of the Centre des Études Alexandrines; Mélanie Flossmann-Schütze and Patrick Borse of the Institut für Ägyptologie und Koptologie of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München Projekt “Tuna el-Gebel”; Günther Hölbl; Naguib Kanawati; Klaus Peter Kuhlmann; Katja Lembke; and Kathleen Scott and Andreas Kostopoulos of the American Research Center in Egypt. I am equally indebted to those who sought out for me and introduced me to those who might be able to provide photographs: Hans Rupprecht Goette, W. Raymond Johnson, Irene Kaplan, Susanna McFadden, and Susanne Nakaten.

Others have also contributed greatly to this work in different ways, and I wish to thank them for their part in this book. Evelyn T. Beck, Robert S. Bianchi, Frederick Brenk, Rita Freed, Ogden Goulet, Quint Gregory, Maxine Grossman, Suzy Hyo-Sil Hwang-Eschelbacher, Olaf Kaper, Andrew Leung, Abigail McEwen, Joan

R. Mertens, Martina Minas-Nerpel, Rachel Mittelman, Mary B. Moore, Ursula Quatember, Linda J. Roccas, Lauree Sails, Eva M. Stehle, Stewart Venit, Miguel John Versluys, and Andrew Wilburn each know what they have furnished and how much their contributions have meant, and I thank each of them warmly.

I should also like to thank the librarians at the University of Maryland’s Art and McKeldin libraries, the librarians at the Institute of Fine Arts, the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, and the Elmer Holmes Bobst libraries of New York University, those at the Dumbarton Oaks and the Center for Hellenic Studies libraries in Washington, DC, and at the Thomas J. Watson Library of the Metropolitan Museum and the New York Public Library.

Importantly, a Dietrich von Bothmer Publication Fund subvention from the AIA and a Loeb Classical Library Foundation grant allowed the inclusion of the halftones in this volume that are more than double the number contractually permitted me by Cambridge University Press, as well as the two signatures of color plates. Additionally, the generous support provided by a University of Maryland Research and Scholarship Award allowed for a semester’s leave to research chapters of this book.

Lastly, my sincerest thanks to everyone at Aptara and at Cambridge University Press, but especially to Beatrice Rehl and Anastasia Graf, without whom there would not have been a book.