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Youssri Abdelwahed

EGYPTIAN CULTURAL IDENTITY IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF ROMAN EGYPT (30 BC-AD 325)

A thesis submitted to

THE DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS AND ANCIENT HISTORY

University of Durham

In accordance with the requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2012

DECLARATION

I confirm that no part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for any degree in this or in any other university. I also confirm that material from the work of others has been acknowledged and quotations and paraphrases clearly indicated.

ABSTRACT

Youssri Abdelwahed, *Egyptian Cultural Identity in the Architecture of Roman Egypt (30 BC-AD 325)*, PhD 2012.

This thesis explores the complexity and fluidity of Egyptian cultural identity in architectural form in Roman Egypt. It covers the period from the Roman conquest in 30 BC to the official recognition of Christianity in AD 325. The thesis focuses on the relationship between architectural form and layers of identity assertion. Special consideration is given to the issue of continuities and changes in Egyptian cultural traditions. Through explorations of arrangement and use of urban space and public buildings, Chapter I addresses the diversity of architecture as evidence for the complexity and permeability of cultural markers of identity, with special focus on the use of temples as centres of local identity.

Being a self-evident symbol of traditional temples, Chapter II suggests that the pylon offers a good example of the complexity of identity and the dynamic nature of cultural traditions in the Roman period. Although the pylon appears on the Palestrina mosaic and classical literature on Egypt as a cliché of ancient Egyptian culture, it was not necessarily a marker of those legally defined as Egyptians. The third chapter focuses on different forms of rituals activities performed within or around the domestic space as evidence for the multiplicity of identity, the complexity of Romano-Egyptian society, and the shared cultural heritage of house occupants. Chapter IV discusses iconography in Roman-period tombs as an expression of the fluidity of cultural traits and as evidence for the biculturalism of the patrons.

The final chapter deals with the correlation between architectural ornament and Egyptian cultural identity. It focuses on the torus moulding, cavetto cornice, and Egyptian composite capitals with its five-tiered band and abacus both as a reflection of the dynamic nature identity and as evidence for the hybridization of architectural ornament. In the conclusion, I summarize my work and draw out its implications, suggesting that identity was a multi-layered and dynamic phenomenon. The complexity and multiplicity nature of identity left its impact on architecture in Roman Egypt, where there was a close and extremely complex relationship between architectural form and different perceptions of identity.

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NOTE TO THE READER

All dates as AD unless otherwise specified. For the chronology of the Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman periods, I follow Wilkinson 2000 and McKenzie 2007 respectively. With the exception of Hermaion, Komasterion and Ptolemaion, I will use the anglicized terms of ancient monuments throughout the thesis. For example, I will use the Serapeum for Serapeion and the Thoereum for Thoereion, etc.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

For citation of classical literature and authors, I follow Hornblower and Spawforth 1996.

For citation of papyri and inscriptions, I adhere to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, which is available at: http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html

For citation of periodicals, I follow the conventions of *The Egyptian Journal of Archaeology*, available at http://www.ees.ac.uk/publications/journal-egyptian-archaeology.html and of *The American Journal of Archaeology*, available at http://www.ajaonline.org/editorial/175, with the following exceptions:

AmAn American Antiquity

AAASH Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae

ABSA The Annual of the British School of Athens

BFA Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University.

BJRL Bulletin of the John Rylands Library

IJMES International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies

ISERP Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy

JAR Journal of Anthropological Research

RAIN Royal Anthropological Institute News

SH Studia Hellenistica

SO Studia Orientalia

For citation of footnote, I follow the Harvard system, except for the following:

DE *Description de l'Égypte, ou, recueil d'observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*, 1809-1822, Paris.

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INTRODUCTION

Then, too, there are a great many degrees of closeness or remoteness in human society. To proceed beyond the universal bond of our common humanity, there is the closer one of belonging to the same people, tribe and tongue, by which men are very closely bound together; it is a still closer relationship to be citizens of the same polis; for fellow-citizens have much in common –forum, temples, colonnades, streets, statues, laws, courts, rights of suffrage, to say nothing of social and friendly circles and diverse business relations with many.

Cic. *De. Off*. I.17.

Architecture and society are locked together in that one cannot exist without the other.

Grahame 2000, 23.

Concepts of ethnicity and culture have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention in anthropology, archaeology, and history.[1] Research in this field had its roots in the colonial situation prevailing until the middle of the twentieth century. In their considerations of ethnographic descriptions of non-European societies, nineteenth-century culture-historians posited that each society was governed by its own norms, values, and ideas that guided behaviour within it.[2] Consequently, cultures were regarded as objective, homogenous entities defined by the unique system of rules determining conduct within them. Archaeologists imported this notion of culture, which was mainly used by pre-historians who wanted to explain the changes in the patterning of material objects. Culture-historians regarded the pattern of artefact in a bounded territory and time as the physical manifestation of a particular ethnic group.[3] In other words, archaeological cultures defined by material culture patterning were equated with ethnic groups.[4]

The concept of the archaeological culture had come under justifiable criticism in the field of archaeology, particularly with the recognition by anthropologists that 'society' and 'culture' is not the same thing.[5] Drawing on his research among the Kachins of northern Burma, Edmund Leach showed that members of ethnic groups need not share distinctive cultural traits such as religion, language, dress,

[1] Barth 1969; Smith 1986, 1991; Hutchinson and Smith 1996; Jones 1997; Eller 1999; Eriksen 2001.
[2] Klemm 1843-52; Taylor 1903.
[3] Childe 1956.
[4] Antonaccio 2010, 33.
[5] Shennan 1989, 2-14.

architecture, and the like. Instead, ethnicity is created by subjective processes of unconditional ascription that have no necessary relationship to cultural commonalities.[6] Thus ethnicity emerged as a key problem in anthropology with the debate ensuing as to whether the analytical units for ethnic groups should be grounded on the observer's criteria or on indigenous distinctions. Carter Bentley argued that analytical units must be grounded on indigenous distinctions.[7] In other words, ethnicity refers to the self-conscious identification that individuals have with a particular social group and not to arbitrary distributions of material defined by an external observer. This simply means that material culture is not sufficient in itself for the recognition of a particular ethnic identity.[8]

The primordialist approach posited that ethnicity is 'primordial' conception which has different levels of political prominence in different periods, where individuals attach a 'primordial' quality to cultural 'givens' like blood, language, religion, history, and the like.[9] The instrumentalist method, on the other hand, argued that ethnic identity coalesces in particular modern circumstances primarily in pursuit of economic and political interests.[10] Ethnicity is defined as the adherence to group both larger than that of the immediate economic and social community and with a perceived historic unity.[11] Obviously, the scholarly discussion of ethnicity is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Ethnicity itself appears to be a fairly new concept.[12] The 'ethnic revival' was particularly associated with the rise of nationalism and the emergence of nation states in the latter half of the twentieth century. The essentially modern nationalist movements have politically exploited and placed a particular emphasis on the construction and use of ethnicity to validate nationalist ideologies.[13] Yet most historians are unable to identify any consciously nationalist movements before the French revolution.[14] The comparatively recent emergence of nationalism and ethnic politics suggests that ethnicity may be a feature

[6] Leach 1954.
[7] Bentley 1987, 24.
[8] Jones 1996, 1997; Grahame 1998.
[9] On the 'primordialist' approach: Shills 1957; Geertz 1963.
[10] On the 'instrumentalist' approach: Barth 1969; Cohen 1974.
[11] Alston 1997c, 84.
[12] Glazer and Moynihan 1975, 1.
[13] Smith 1981; Eller 1999.
[14] Gellner 1983; Smith 2001.

of the modern era. It is unclear whether the use of ethnic labels in pre-modern political and social life has anything like the same modern meaning. Given the lack of ethnographic data, it is hard to tell whether the individuals sharing common cultural traits did actually recognise themselves as belonging to an *ethnos*.

As the word *ethnos* cannot to be translated into 'race',[15] it is no longer used to designate a group of people who have blood ties and hold something in common, be that a language, religion or history.[16] Herodotus claimed that inhabitants living in the Greek mainland have one 'Greek' ethnic identity:

> There are the common blood and tongue that we Greeks share, together with the common cult places, the sacrifices and the similar customs.[17]

At first glance, Herodotus's passage seems to suggest that the indices that serve to define ethnic groups are genetics, language, religion, and customs. Yet Jonathan Hall has rightly argued that such fluid identifiers cannot be used as objective criteria for identifying ethnic groups.[18] Although kinship extension undoubtedly retains its importance in the sense of generational and historical continuity, genetics and other cultural traits cannot be seen as determinant of ethnicity.[19] The other cultural symbols that ethnic groups may have in common are also variable and situational.[20] In shifting the focus from the internal and cultural characteristics to the group's social features, biological descent and cultural traits are replaced as ethnic signifiers by self-identification and identification by others.[21] An ethnic group is defined by itself, and not by its somatic cultural traits.[22] The emphasis on mutable social and cultural traits rather than biological lineage has encouraged scholars to stress the changeable nature of both ethnicities and cultures.[23]

More often than not, people of different social classes appear to be part of the same social group. In this case, the unity of the social group is more dependent on a variety of symbols whereby the various groups construct their ethnic identity. No

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[15] Zangenberg, Attridge and Martin 2007.
[16] Liddell and Scott 1986, 480.
[17] Hdt. 8.144.2.
[18] Hall 1997, 13-33.
[19] Smith 1999, 127.
[20] Banton 1987, xi.
[21] Venit 1999, 665; Schwartz 1975, 106-31.
[22] Barth 1969, 10-15; Just 1989, 74-5; Eriksen 1993, 20-2, 38; Hall 1997, 19.
[23] Bentley 1989; Goudriaan 1988; Alston 1997c.

ethnic group, however, treats all aspects of its culture or history as markers of its identity; it would be awkward for any group if some elements of its culture or history are the same as those of another group. This similarity would undermine any claim of distinction or difference from the other group. Different ethnic groups sometimes use language, religion, dress and the like to define their identity. Yet the relative importance of such features may be in dispute within a particular group.[24] In modern Egypt, for instance, a perceived historic unity can be seen as an important symbol of ethnicity, but religion is not since we have Muslim Egyptians and Christian Egyptians. Ethnic groups may place emphasis on different cultural traits in different historical situations. In many cases, members of an *ethnos* have nothing in common except the shared adherence to the group.[25] The ability of ethnicity to transcend cultural, social, economic, and geographic boundaries provides the rational for its successful use as a political concept.[26] Despite the relatively important ethnic symbols and the perceived common history, the *ethnos* appears time and again as a transient political alliance.[27] Ethnicity is as an aspect of social organization often related to economic and political relationships.[28] As a working definition, ethnicity is regarded as the expression of the self-conscious adherence to group identity.[29]

Ethnic groups are not defined so much by their cultural content as by the permeable social boundaries by which they are enclosed. That is, there is no objective relationship between ethnic groups and archaeological cultures. As ethnic groups cannot live in total isolation from each other, ethnicity is a phenomenon which allows for much variation.[30] Individuals may cross malleable ethnic boundaries and so in the course of their lives may be members of successive ethnic groups. This is what Fredrik Barth calls 'ethnic mobility'.[31] The social features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural traits of the members may likewise be transformed. Archaeological cultures are objectively real. Ethnicity on the other

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[24] Alston 1997c, 84.
[25] Yelvington 1991.
[26] Thompson 1983.
[27] Horowitz 1975.
[28] Barth 1969.
[29] Morgan 1991, 131. The group must be larger than that of the immediate economic and social community. Priests, for instance, cannot be seen as an *ethnos*, but they can be members of an ethnic group or different *ethnoi*.
[30] Eriksen 2001, 263.
[31] Barth 1969, 9-10.

hand is subjective.[32] Ethnicity is, of course, one aspect of a multiple identity and if we are to unravel the problem of ethnic/cultural identity then it would be useful to distinguish between the various levels of identity assertion. As 'identity' expresses the ways in which individuals and groups differentiate themselves in their social relations from other individuals and groups,[33] we might first recognise a personal identity, which includes aspects such as gender, age, education, profession, social status, and the like.[34] Second, we might identify a social identity, which includes such relationships as family ties, peer group members, class allegiance, social status, and the like.[35] Third, we might recognise a civic identity, which includes such aspects as citizenship.[36] Fourth, we might recognise a local identity whereby members of the local community construct a sense of belonging to their city.[37] Obviously enough, the boundaries between these different forms of identity are not clear-cut. These or some of these aspects of identity are intertwined and sometimes overlap and are as much situational and variable as ethnic or cultural identity. The complexity and multi-layered nature of identity urges caution when attempting to read from material culture to aspects of identity. Context can sometimes tell the level or levels of identity in operation, but one must observe further caution while the context of a text or an artefact is often missing.

In attempting to understand the relationship between different perceptions of identity and material culture, scholars have adopted different methodological approaches. Since the 1990s, it has represented a major topic for debate in the humanities and social sciences.[38] Social anthropological approaches to ethnic identity have seen it as the active maintenance of cultural boundaries in the process of social interaction.[39] Drawing from his study of Maya identities, Johan Normark criticises the ways in which the concepts of ethnicity and culture are used by both archaeologists and indigenous people. His examples derive from contemporary

[32] Just 1989, 74-5; Linnekin and 1990; Eriksen 1993, 20-2, 38; Graves-Brown, Jones and Gamble 1996; Hall 1997, 19; Alston 1997c; Grahame 1998; Eller 1999, 9.
[33] Jenkins 1996, 4.
[34] Venit 1999.
[35] Hales 2003.
[36] Delia 1992.
[37] Cic. *De. Off.* I.17.
[38] E.g. Laurence and Berry 1998; Hales 2003; Pitts 2007.
[39] Barth 1969.

Mayanist discourse, in which he finds an almost cultural-historical view of the past Maya area. In Guatemala, a growing movement among indigenous people also adopts this view. The Maya-movement emphasizes an essential relationship between Maya culture and ethnicity, which are rarely affected by external contacts. This standpoint is, however, quite easily refuted. Normark illustrates the diversion of ethnicity and culture in time by looking at ancient peoples' expression of identities in iconography, which clearly are different from those embraced by contemporary peoples.[40] As ethnic identity is no longer equated with group's culture or archaeological culture, Siân Jones argues that a one-to-one relationship between ethnic groups and material cultural similarities and differences cannot be assumed.[41] On the basis of ethno-archaeological research, Ian Hodder argues that the kinds of material culture involved in ethnic symbolism can vary between different groups. Equally, the expression of ethnic boundaries may involve a limited range of material culture, while other material forms and styles may be shared across group boundaries.[42]

In her ethno-archaeological analysis of stylistic variation and ethnic identity amongst the Kalahari San, Polly Wiessner considered style as an active form of information exchange and social marking in highly visible artefacts and in certain social contexts. She distinguished between the 'emblemic' style, which refers to 'formal variation in material culture that has a distinct referent and transmits a clear message to a defined target population about conscious affiliation and identity', and the 'assertive' style, which is 'formal variation in material culture which is personally based and which carries information supporting individual identity'.[43] By applying Wiessner's work on style to houses in Pompeii, Mark Grahame used stylistic variation in spatial layout of courtyard and non-courtyard houses to draw attention to the problem of reading from surviving archaeological record to ethnicity.

[40] Normark 2004.
[41] Jones 1997.
[42] Hodder 1982.
[43] Wiessner 1983, 257-8. See also Wiessner 1984, 1985, 1989, 1990 where she engaged in debate with James Sackett over the passive and active function of style.

The courtyard-house, in his view, was used as an 'emblemic' marker of social status rather than ethnic identity.[44]

Despite the obvious complexity of reading ethnicity from artefacts, it has long been recognised that material culture plays a significant role in communicating information about other aspects of identity.[45] By offering critique of current approaches to identity in Roman archaeology, Martin Pitts argues that, if pursued uncritically, 'identity' will be simply read off from archaeological remains in a culture-historical fashion, in which peoples were equated with generic combinations of material culture. By considering Roymans' investigation of Batavian identity in lower Rhine, where Rome helped establishing the Batavians as a political entity and an ethnic group with a strong sense of its own identity, and his own work on the role of pottery as a social practice in terms of domestic consumption and deposition in southeast Britain, Pitts develops a new approach to the construction of narratives of identity through dynamic social practices.[46] In his view, identity is best investigated through applying approaches that elucidate aspects of social practice through material remains rather than simply identify stylistic variation in material remains. Shelly Hales has considered the nature and role of domestic art and architecture in Roman houses, from Britain to Syria, in promoting aspects of social identities such as social status, education, wealth, and luxury.[47] Drawing from his considerations of images and myths in early Greek visual art, Tonio Hölscher demonstrated the gradual shift from representations of general Hellenic self-conceptualisation as civilised behaviour against barbarian to a more particular local identity in which individual cities appropriated those principles for their own purposes, especially in competition with other cities.[48]

Richard Alston addressed the relationship between ethnicities and public culture in cities of Roman Egypt, arguing for the use of ethnicity as a transient political concept employed by the Roman authority, wishing to organize the society and creating a politically loyal urban elite. He argued that urban and architectural

[44] Grahame 1998.
[45] Alston 1997c, 94; Grahame 1998, 160.
[46] Roymans 2004; Pitts 2007.
[47] Hales 2003.
[48] Hölscher 2011.

changes in the public culture of metropoleis in the second and third-centuries do not represent individual ethnicity.[49] Although legal status was an issue in Roman Egypt where it determined social and economic privileges, Alston argued that Philo places little emphasis on the legality of the Jewish community in his discussion of anti-Semitic, ethnic conflicts that broke out in Alexandria in 38. The account of the persecution, Alston continues, focuses on the topography of the dispute: 'The Jews were robbed and driven from the streets of their city into exile and deprived of access to the theatre and market. Their leaders were humiliated in the most public places in the city and finally they were attacked in their own homes'.[50] Elsewhere, he drew attention to diversity in urban and rural housing in Roman Egypt, suggesting a more sophisticated relationship between domestic architecture and ethnicity or culture.[51]

Alston has therefore applied the concepts of ethnicity and culture to the discourse on urban space and domestic architecture. Consequently, scholars working on Roman Egypt have especially looked to funerary architecture, iconography and other commemorative objects as spheres through which the concept of ethnicity can be further explored. Marjorie Venit identified a problem with attempting to infer from funerary art and architecture in Alexandria to ethnicity.[52] Yet she examined other levels of identity assertion like personal identity by examining the expression of gender in the Stagni painted tomb. She argues that the female patron used funerary iconography to assert her personal identity through gender.[53] Christina Riggs considered the use of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman imagery in funerary objects and, to a very limited extent, tomb paintings. She argued for the diversity of mortuary practices in the Roman period, and for the complexity of the concept of ethnicity in the funerary sphere.[54] Anna Boozer explored the relationship between statuettes, amulets, wall-paintings, and remains of food uncovered from two Romano-Egyptian houses in Trimithis (Amheida) in the Dakhla oasis and the concepts of memory and identity to illustrate the complex post-conquest situation. The diverse material culture

[49] Alston 1997c.
[50] Alston 1997d, 165. On anti-Semitism in Alexandria: Bell 1941.
[51] Alston 2001.
[52] Venit 2002a.
[53] Venit 1999, 2002a.
[54] Riggs 2002, 2005.

uncovered from the houses, including the Egyptian Bes-amulet and Graeco-Roman statuettes, suggested that the residents had a mixed cultural heritage.[55]

This thesis explores Egyptian cultural identity in architectural form in Roman Egypt. It covers the period from the Roman annexation of Egypt in 30 BC to the official recognition of Christianity in AD 325. The thesis focuses on the relationship between architecture and the multi-layered nature of identity. Consideration is given to the issue of continuities and changes in Egyptian cultural traditions. The thesis takes account of different ethnic groups in Roman Egypt, but concentrates more on the relationship between architecture and levels of identity assertion. Buildings within the province are compared with each other and, whenever relevant, with structures elsewhere in the empire, in order to understand more fully how complex was the relationship between architecture and identity in Roman Egypt. When compared to other provinces, Egypt is rich in papyri and archaeological material, both of which facilitate the understanding of the relationship between architectural form and aspects of identity within the province.

It is helpful to start with considerations of ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt as a background to the Roman period. Egypt was an ethnically diverse society, where Greeks and other immigrants and Egyptians lived side by side and affected each other. Willy Clarysse has even shown that there was an ethnic diversity among the Greeks themselves.[56] Elias Bickermann distinguished two kinds of ethnic labels used to designate the inhabitants: the '*Ethnikon'* and the '*Herkunftzeichen*'. The former is an adjective derived from the name of a polis or tribe and used to refer to Greek and other immigrants, while the latter characterized the native population and followed the formal *tôn apo* with the name of an Egyptian village or district.[57] The ethnic designations of 'Greek' or 'Egyptian', however, disappeared in the late Ptolemaic period, when Greeks and Egyptians were eventually assimilated with each other even in the capital.[58] Only a few Greeks lived in Thebes as suggested by the rareness of the ethnic labels *Wynn* 'Greeks', *Wynn ms n Kmy* 'Greeks born in Egypt', and the

[55] Boozer 2005.
[56] Clarysse 1998.
[57] Bickermann 1927.
[58] Fraser 1972; Bagnall 1988a; Delia 1996; Burstein 2000.

title κάτοικοι 'Greek settlers', 26 in total.[59] The Greeks fully shared in the taxes and there is limited evidence that non-Greeks were admitted to the gymnasium.[60]

Ethnicity had no importance to the administration of Egypt, when the Ptolemies relied on both Greek and Egyptian communities in the bureaucracy.[61] A number of Egyptian priests learnt Greek and reached high administrative positions.[62] Drawing from his consideration of ethnicity in more than 200 private documents, Koen Goudriaan stressed that ethnic labels in Ptolemaic Egypt were socially constructed identifiers.[63] Such a distinction between 'Greek' or 'Egyptian' depended on the perspective of whoever composed the document. In legal proceedings, the character of the tribunal decided which law should be applied: Greek/royal or Egyptian.[64] The ethnicity of the persons involved did not determine the legal system in use. Greeks, especially women, when they decided that Egyptian law would be more advantageous for them, would go to an Egyptian notary and have business documents drawn up in demotic. As inhabitants often used double Greek and Egyptian names, mainly for business matters, nomenclature is not a reliable ethnic identifier.[65]

In all, ethnicity had no political importance in Ptolemaic Egypt. However, the Roman authority created 'fixed, politically significant ethnic groups' in Egypt.[66] Roman Egypt is characterized by its ethnically diverse population, where the inhabitants were marked by their legal status, which determined their social, political, and economic privileges until Caracalla's extension of Roman citizenship to all free citizens in 212.[67] The Romans (Ῥωμαίοι), Alexandrians (Ἀλεξανδρεῖς) and probably other citizens of the Greek poleis, Naucratis, Alexandria, Ptolemais and, from 130 onwards, Antinoopolis, came at the top of the Roman legal structure.

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[59] Clarysse 1995.
[60] Delorme 1960, 427, 478; Fraser 1961, 145.
[61] Préaux 1936.
[62] Samuel 1968; Ray 1976; Thompson 1992, 2003. Even in the Saite period King Psamtik I (664-610 BC) sent a number of Egyptian boys to his Ionian mercenaries to be taught Greek. From these, the class of later interpreters was descended (Hdt. 2.154. 2).
[63] Goudriaan 1988.
[64] On laws and Egyptian law courts in Ptolemaic Egypt: Wolff 1960; Allam 1991. On the so-called Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West: *P.Oxy*. II.237; *P.Oxy*. XLVI.3285; Mattha 1975.
[65] Clarysse 1985.
[66] Horowitz 1975; Alston 1997c, 83.
[67] Bell 1942, 39-40.

These groups were exempt everywhere from the poll-tax (λαογραφία), levied on males between the ages of fourteen and sixty-two.[68] Roman and Alexandrian citizenship of the parents was indispensible for their offspring to qualify for the same status.[69]

The rest of the population was referred to as the Egyptians (Αἰγύπτιοι). In other words, the Roman authority applied the label 'Egyptian' to everyone living in Egypt who was neither a Roman nor a citizen of the Greek poleis or Jew (Ἰουδαῖος), a designation that applied to metropolites and villagers alike.[70] There were also various status divisions within this group. Even though many of them will have been of Greek ethnic origin, all the metropolites or citizens of the metropoleis of the *chora* such as Hermopolis Magna and Oxyrhynchus paid the *laographia* at a reduced rate,[71] while the ordinary people who inhabited the villages (*komai*) paid the full rate of the poll-tax.[72] The metropolite group included members of the gymnasium, who are known in papyri as 'those from the gymnasium' and had to prove in their *epikrisis* that their ancestors were members of the gymnasium.[73] In the Fayum, the equivalent group to the gymnasial class was 'the 6475 Hellenes of the Arsinoite nome',[74] who were presumably the descendants of the Greek and Hellenized mercenaries settled in the Fayum by the early Ptolemies.[75] Although there is no example of an *Aiguptios* who became an *Ioudaios*, or vice versa, an *Aiguptios* or an *Ioudaios* had access to Alexandrian and Roman citizenship.[76] Harpocras, the Memphite physician of Pliny, is an example of an *Aiguptos* who obtained Alexandrian and Roman citizenship, suggesting that it was possible for an individual to have multiple ethnicities.[77] Harpocras might have experienced what George de Vos calls 'ethnicity flow', which

[68] On Alexandrian citizenship: El-Abbadi 1962; Delia 1991. On Antinoite citizenship: Johnson 1914, 171; Hoogendijk and van Minnen 1987; Malouta 2009.
[69] Gilliam 1978.
[70] *CPJ* II.156c.ii.25-7.
[71] Lewis 1983, 26-64; Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Hanson 1992, 133-45.
[72] Cf. *CPJ* II.156c.ii.25-7.
[73] Nelson 1979, 22-4; *P.Oxy*. XVIII.2186.
[74] Bowman and Rathbone 1992, 107-27.
[75] Bell 1940, 136.
[76] *CPJ* II.156c.ii.25-27.
[77] Plin. *Ep*. 10.5-7.

refers to the ability of individuals to cross permeable ethnic boundaries to negotiate their identity.[78]

Apart from the legal definition of identity, there are no other reliable signifiers by mean of which individuals can be recognised as Roman, Greek, or Egyptian. Similarly, the relationships between members of an ethnic group or between members of these ethnic groups are vague. That is, the cultural and social boundaries between these groups, if any, cannot be easily outlined. Although there is a huge number of documentary papyri which show day-to-day interaction between the persons involved, nomenclature is not a reliable ethnic signifier. In the literary sources of the imperial period, there appears to be some suggestion that a legally-defined Roman in the West would need to display a certain familiarity with Roman culture or civilization (*humanitas*). Roman culture and *mores* were significant for Roman self-definition and identity in the west, where they played important roles in the cultural transformations of the western provinces. That is clear, for example, from Tacitus' references to cultural (the adoption of liberal education, Latin, and toga) and material cultural (the erection of temples, fora, porticoes, and baths) changes in Britain during the governship of Agricola.[79] As the emphasis on Roman culture encouraged western provincial elites to adopt imperial cultural modes and material culture, the possession of moral and material features of Roman culture has been taken as part of what it was to be 'Roman'.[80] However, we can reasonably assume that all those individuals who lived out their lives in a way that *we* would recognise as Roman did not always go to Rome and experience Roman culture first-hand. Above all, Rome itself was a melting pot of various cultural traditions.[81]

There is no evidence that the association between Roman citizenship and Roman culture in the West was in any way transmitted into the remoter eastern provinces in which Greek culture was far more present. Greg Wool argues that becoming Roman in the Greek East did not necessarily mean that inhabitants had to adopt only Roman cultural modes and material culture. Instead, he argues that Greeks could retain distinctive features of their Greek culture and identity, notably

[78] De Vos 1975, 24-5.
[79] Tac. *Agr.* 21.
[80] Alston 1997c, 94.
[81] Rowell 1962; Edwards and Woolf 2003.

language, education, competitive euergetism, and material culture, while at the same time adopting much Roman material culture. So there was no contradiction, in his view, between becoming Roman and, simultaneously, staying Greek in the remoter provinces of the East.[82] It is equally argued that 'Roman' does not refer to a person's origin, nation, linguistic group, or common descent, but refers directly to a shared citizenship.[83] This simply means that if someone had the chance to be granted Roman citizenship then he would be straightforwardly classed as 'Roman'. Under Trajan, the already mentioned Harpocras was granted Alexandrian and Roman citizenship on the basis of the medical services which he offered to Pliny.[84] There is no evidence that Harpocras was required to neglect certain cultural features and adopt or at least show a certain familiarity with Roman culture as a prerequisite for citizenship. To complicate it further, to define what Roman culture was meant to be in a province like Egypt is problematic. Equally, if Greek ethnicity of the urban elite was partially defined by its relationship to Greek language and culture,[85] then an Egyptian who could fluently speak Greek and adopt Greek cultural modes would be classed as Greek. Similarly, if Egyptians had the chance to become citizens of a Greek polis as they indeed had done when they joined Antinoopolis then they would directly be classed as 'Greeks'.[86] In that sense, legal status was not closely associated with cultural markers, which may not be given a particularly ethnic subjective reading. This means, for instance, that *we* cannot use the worship of Egyptian deities, the participation in traditional festivals, and the patronage of traditional cults as objective criteria for defining someone as legally or ethnically Egyptian.

There is no question that Roman Egypt was a society of great complexity. Yet the complexity of the province may not necessarily be ethnic in nature, but seems to derive from the multiplicity of cultural traditions. In the multilingual Roman-Egyptian society inhabitants spoke and wrote a variety of different languages or scripts, the use of which depended on context. Throughout the Roman period, Greek remained the official administrative and documentary language, while Latin

[82] Woolf 1994.
[83] Finley 1973, 47.
[84] Plin. *Ep*. 10.5-7.
[85] Alston 1997c, 92.
[86] Johnson 1914, 171; Hoogendijk and van Minnen 1987, 71-4; Malouta 2009.

was almost completely confined to the military and Roman legal documents.[87] When it comes to dealing with authorities, traditional temples operated mainly in Greek, but also in certain religious matters. In 58 the temple of Souchos in Arsinoe could demand, in Greek, contributions from Romans, Alexandrians, and other inhabitants of the nome.[88] In 147 Pakebkis son of Marsisouchos sent a letter, in Greek, to the head of the *idioslogos* to ratify his appointment as the *prophetes* at the temple of Soknebtunis.[89] Equally, Reinhold Merkelbach published a Greek papyrus which used parts of Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, the so-called Negative Confession, as part of the initiation of a *stolistes* priest in the early second century.[90] Hieroglyphs continued to be used a religious script on traditional monuments at least until 394.[91] Hieratic, which is a cursive script of hieroglyphs, was used mainly for literary texts.[92] Demotic, which is an even more cursive script, was used for daily documents such as contracts and letters, but for mortuary literature and rarely tombs.[93] Coptic emerged in the third century as a medium for transmitting Christianity when the church found it still necessary to use an Egyptian dialect but wanted it written in modified Greek letters.[94]

Willingly or unwillingly, there were inhabitants who were unable to speak or write in Greek or Latin, and there were also people who did not know Egyptian or indigenous scripts.[95] Yet social boundaries caused by language barriers could be overcome by bilingual individuals, by whom the large number of bilingual contracts, ostraca, and mummy labels were probably written.[96] Many people in administrative circles were bilingual, using both an indigenous script and the official and documentary language used by the central government, Greek.[97] As inhabitants had

[87] Fewster 2002, 224; Rutherford 2009, 199.
[88] *P.Mert*. II.63.
[89] *P.Tebt*. II.294.
[90] Merkelbach 1968.
[91] Winter 1976, 6 (fig. 7); Grenier 1983, 204-5.
[92] Fewster 2002, 225.
[93] Lewis 1993; Smith 2009; Gallo 1992; Riggs 2005; Smith 2009.
[94] Alston 1997d, 9.
[95] *P.Tebt*. II.316; Tac. *Ann.* 2.60; Youtie 1971, 260-1; Bowman 1986, 126.
[96] For a Greek and demotic contract: *Papyrologica Lugd.-Bat*. 25. For a demotic and Greek contract: *Papyrologica Lugd.-Bat*. 5. For the Greek and demotic mummy label of Sionsis son of Tithoes, which is uncovered from Panopolis: *P.Mich. inv. 4534.4 = P.Coll.Youtie II.113*.
[97] Ray 1976; Thomas and Tait 1998.

reasons for learning Greek, they also had motives for learning demotic. Thus a mother writes to her son:

> I was delighted for you and myself when I heard that you are learning Egyptian writing, *i.e.* demotic, since now, at least, when you return to the city you will go to Phalu…es, the purge-doctor, to teach the apprentices and will have a means of support until your old age.[98]

Like language, dress and physiognomy cannot be straightforwardly used as markers of ethnicity.[99] Mummy portraits usually show the patrons in Greek or Roman appearance, but the frame and religious content is Egyptian.[100] Even in a single artefact the deceased could be represented in Greek or Roman and traditional representational systems, as is the case in the statues of the patrons in the main tomb at Kom el-Shouqafa who are shown in Egyptian dress and pose, but in Roman coiffure and veristic representation of facial features.[101] It is too difficult to gauge someone's legal or ethnic status from tomb iconography alone. Tomb iconography and the representational system in which the deceased is depicted cannot be straightforwardly taken as markers of legality or ethnicity. The representation in Greek or Roman traditional form does not always necessarily mean that the persons depicted were identifiably Greek or Roman. Neither does the representation of a person in Egyptian mode make him or her Egyptian. In tomb iconography, there was no contradiction between being Graeco-Roman in appearance and dress and Egyptian in religion. The biculturalism of tombs reflects a culture in which Egyptian and Greek or sometimes Roman traditions were equally manifest and without contrast.

Culture and other somatic traits cannot be easily used as ethnic markers. In that sense, we should not put so much weight on the letter of Ammonius who wrote in the third century to his brothers, Julius and Hilarus, mocking at the barbarian, inhuman Egyptians.[102] It seems unlikely that Romans, Alexandrians and other Greek citizens had a distinguishable culture from the rest of the population. The Romans and Alexandrians were not culturally, geographically, or commercially detached

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[98] *UPZ* I.148 (the second century BC).
[99] Riggs 2005.
[100] Bierbrier 1997; Riggs 2005.
[101] Venit 2002a, 129. This combination recalls the statues of Antinous (Meyer 1994, fig. 18).
[102] *P.Oxy*. XIV.1681.4-7.

from the *chora*.[103] Culturally, there are no clear-cut distinctions between Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians. In Roman Egypt, groups that were differentiated administratively interacted on a daily basis. Social, religious, and commercial contacts continually blurred social boundaries, promoted linguistic fluency, and jumbled ethnic categories.[104] Acculturation worked both ways. Although Roman law firmly banned close-kin marriages and the Gnomon of the Idioslogos prohibited intermarriages between Romans, Alexandrians, and their freedmen and the Egyptians, intermarriages between groups occurred even Alexandria and many incestuous marriages are also confirmed.[105] Intermarriage between legally-defined groups was more common in the *chora*.[106]

Biculturalism is a key feature in Roman Egypt and is clearly manifested in surviving material culture. The Roman authority solidified its control of the province through a strong military presence and the encouragement of urbanisation.[107] Unsurprisingly, Rome looked to the loyal urban elites for support. At the beginning of the first century, the Romans closed the village gymnasia that were active in the Ptolemaic period, and associated the specifically Greek institution with the metropolis.[108] Through their association with the gymnasium, the metropolitan elites could develop a Hellenic identity, but they also preserved traditional features of an Egyptian identity, notably temples and religious institutions.[109] It should be stressed that we are not dealing here with two separate cultures or identities, but with a culture in which differing traditional features were equally manifest and without contradiction.

The early second century brought about dramatic changes in the infrastructure of the metropoleis and accelerated the pace of Hellenization. The urban and architectural structure of poleis and metropoleis were reshaped with the construction of buildings with a distinctively classical appearance.[110] Graeco-Roman

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[103] *P.Giss.Lit*. 6.3 = *P.Giss*. 40.ii.16-29 = *Sel.Pap*. II.215.
[104] Johnson 1992.
[105] *BGU* IV.1024 (360); Hopkins 1980; Shaw and Saller 1984; Shaw 1992; Parker 1996. On the Gnomon of the Idioslogos: Seckel and Schubart 1919-34; Riccobono 1950; Swarney 1970.
[106] Rowlandson 1998.
[107] Bowman 2000.
[108] Bowman and Rathbone 1992, 121.
[109] Alston 1997c, 88.
[110] Bailey 1989, 1990, 1991, 2007; Krüger 1990; Bowman 1995, 2000.

and Egyptian temples were placed under the control of the metropolitan elites, and continued to be important centres of local identity. Yet the gymnasium was placed at the forefront of official urban life.[111] Only Ptolemais and Antinoopolis appear to have a boule before 200.[112] The boule of Antinoopolis is attested as early as 133 when it was involved with the enrolment of minors as citizens.[113] In 160 Ptolemais became involved in a dispute with Koptos over the right to appoint neokoroi for a temple of Ptolemy Soter in Koptos. In support of its claim to the right to appoint the neokoroi, the papyrus contains documents from the reigns of Claudius, Galba and Vespasian in which it is reiterated that the boule of Ptolemais is involved in making the appointments.[114] The gymnasial and later bouleutic elites of Oxyrhynchus and Ptolemais Euergetes similarly summoned festivities of members of the imperial family, Isis, Hera, Nilus, and Kronos-Sobek, which were celebrated in the theatre, hippodrome, and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.[115] These festivities and their architectural backdrops appear to have helped the participants to construct a sense of belonging to their local community or the city.[116] Architectural forms and festivals in cities derived from Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditional cultures. In this shared multicultural milieu, cultural markers carried no particularly ethnic subjective significance.

With the help of Romans and Alexandrians, the Hellenized elites helped to maintain Egyptian religious traditions, particularly those in the *chora*, through their incorporation into the dominant Hellenic milieu.[117] The temple of Souchos in Arsinoe could demand pious contributions from Romans, Alexandrians, and other inhabitants of the whole nome, regardless of their ethnic or legal status.[118] They also contributed to the construction of new temples dedicated to traditional cults like the temple of Isis at Taposiris Parva and the small Serapeum at Thebes.[119] The Tiberian pronaos of the goddess Hathor-Aphrodite at Tentyris and the Trajanic outer pylon of

[111] Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Alston 1997c.
[112] Bowman 1971, 11-15.
[113] *SB* VII.7603.
[114] *SB* VI.9016.
[115] On town councils: Bowman 1971. On the gymnasium: Burkhalter 1992.
[116] Alston 1997b.
[117] Alston 1997c, 89.
[118] *P.Mert*. II.63.
[119] Bernand 1969, no. 109, 428-30 (pl. 78); Golvin et al 1981.

the temple of Isis and Serapis at Kysis were built respectively by 'the inhabitants of the metropolis and the nome' and 'the inhabitants of Kysis'. Such collective designations appear to place an emphasis on the identity of the local community as a whole.[120] Romans, Alexandrians, and the elite metropolites treated traditional temples and cults as part of their own religious culture. Religion in this case is not a marker of legal or ethnic identity. Inhabitants in Roman Egypt experienced a culture in which differing traditional features were manifest. The syncretism of deities is another obvious feature of the shared cultural heritage that is such a feature of Romano-Egyptian society. Hermes-Thoth was evolved out of the syncretism of Hermes and Thoth, reflecting the fusion of two differing cultural traditions.[121] Equally, Serapis and other deities associated with him such as Isis successfully transcended the particularity of their local origins and became cosmopolitan deities.[122] The temple of Hermes-Thoth in Hermopolis Magna and the Serapeum in Alexandria appear to have had cross-regional and even cosmopolitan importance.[123]

Equally important for the issue of biculturalism is the large numbers of bilingual mummy labels, with inscriptions written in Greek and demotic. However, a large number of mummy labels were also written in demotic alone, and some partly written in hieratic. This shows a definite diversity in language or script and religious practice.[124] Equally, the care of the deceased remained the domain of Egyptian priests and mummification workshops; in these circumstances indigenous scripts remained the writings of choice, although sometimes translated into Greek.[125] While mummification remained the standard treatment for the dead, cremation and non-mummified burials are also attested.[126] In that regard, the concepts developed by modern postcolonial theorists such as hybridity or creolization, which respectively refers to the transformation of two different cultures or languages into a new 'third space' that represents 'neither the one nor the other', are not applicable to the

[120] Tentyris: Letronne 1974, I, 87-96. Kysis: *SEG* VIII.790 = *SEG* XXIV.1215 = *SB* 5.8438 = Letronne 1974, 120-1; Reddé 2004, 18.
[121] Fowden 1986, 1993; *P.Ryl*. IV.616-51; *P.Herm*. 2-6; Rees 1968-69.
[122] Bonneau 1964, 319-24, 353-4, 426-35.
[123] Fowden 1986; Rönne and Fraser 1953; Fraser 1960; Cook 1966, 23-34.
[124] Smith 2002, 235. On the bilingual Greek and demotic mummy label of Sionsis son of Tithoes, which is uncovered from Roman Panopolis: *P.Mich. inv. 4534.4 = P.Coll.Youtie. II.113*.
[125] On the Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West: *P.Oxy*. II.237; XLVI. 3285; Mattha 1975.
[126] Riggs 2002, 2005.

prevailing shared cultural milieu in Roman Egypt, in which we have fluency in two distinct cultural traditions.[127] On the other hand, scholars have applied other appropriate terms to the combination or mixture of cultural traditions. 'Hybridization' is more widely used by modern archaeologists, especially in areas such as Cyprus, the Levant and Mesopotamia, which experienced a coming together of different cultures. The term is used in the sense of the blending of Greek and local cultural traditions, especially in material sources such as figurines, ceramics, temples, palaces, and houses.[128] Similarly, the term 'bilingualism' was applied largely to linguistics to the occurrence of two languages or scripts on objects such as mummy labels, ostraca, or stelae.[129] It is also used in connection with visual evidence from Roman Egypt to refer to the co-existence of a variety of iconographical traditions.[130] In the same way, the term 'biculturalism' is generally applied by scholars working on Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Whereas some have used it to refer to the fusion of Graeco-Egyptian religious traditions,[131] others have applied it to the combination of Hellenic and Egyptian cultural traditions.[132] These terms are to a large extent overlap and give the same meaning, and their use often depends on individual scholars working within different disciplinary traditions.[133] In the thesis, the applicability of these terms is addressed where relevant. It is not unreasonable to suggest that inhabitants in Roman Egypt could develop a culture in which Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditions were not separated from each other and each could play a part.

Five types of architectural expression are considered in this thesis in an effort to understand better how inhabitants used architecture to articulate layers of identity assertion in Roman Egypt and hopefully offer new insights into the complexities of being Roman, Greek, or Egyptian. These forms are urban space and public buildings, including temples; the temple pylon; domestic architecture; tombs, and architectural ornament. The thesis is, therefore, arranged on a thematic basis. The distinction

[127] On hybridity: Bhabha 1994. On Creolization: Abrahams 1983; Webster 2001.
[128] Kopsacheili 2011; Nitschke 2011; Westh-Hansen 2011.
[129] Lepsius 1866; Bresciani and Pintaudi 1987; Fewster 2002; Biville, Decourt and Rougemont 2008; Rutherford 2009.
[130] Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el Din 2004.
[131] Deschênes 1980; Guimier-Sorbets 1998.
[132] Vandorpe 2011.
[133] Campanile, Cardona, and Lazzeroni 1987.

between the chapters lies in the nature of the topics that are being discussed. A chronological division of the thesis seems illogical, because the construction history of buildings spanned over different periods, making it likely that a building is considered in more than a chapter. The absence of surviving archaeological evidence for a particular region like the Delta makes a geographical division of the thesis also implausible. Based upon direct field research, the thesis integrates the archaeological record with literary, historical, papyrological, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence. The thesis also makes use of results of previous and current excavations as well as archaeological reports. It equally provides catalogues for the chapters which will serve as databases for analysis. In trying to combine data from different fields in one study, it is necessary to struggle with archaeology, papyrology, and history. Throughout the thesis, every effort has been made to synthesise the available material and to apply a consistent interdisciplinary approach to the evidence. In an attempt to understand identity that depends on interaction between architecture and actors, an anthropological approach is applied in the relevant sections of the thesis by relating architectural form to cultic activity.

The thesis will begin with consideration of city layout, arrangement and use of urban space and public buildings in poleis and metropoleis in Roman Egypt. This places the specific building types discussed in the following chapters within a wider spatial framework. The first chapter stresses the diversity of architecture and the complexity and fluidity of ethnic or cultural identity. It also addresses the use of urban and other architectural forms in the construction of local identity. Despite the deity or deities worshipped in it, the temple for example was the religious centre of the deity of the city, and not of a specific group of inhabitants. This chapter adopts an anthropological approach by considering the correlation between architectural form and ritual activities as important evidence for reading from the archaeological record to issues of identity.

Being a self-evident symbol of Egyptian religious architecture, the second chapter suggests that the pylon offers a good example of the complexity of Romano-Egyptian society and the permeability of cultural markers of identity in Roman Egypt. The pylon cannot be used as a cultural marker of legally-defined Egyptians, because Romans, Alexandrians, and the Hellenized elites equally participated in the

construction of temple pyla and other monumental structures out of piety, not to mention other urban facilities and public buildings used by the local community. The pylon was an architectural emblem of traditional temples, but not necessarily a marker of ethnically or legally Egyptians. The third chapter focuses on cultural, social, and religious practices and rituals associated with different layers of identity assertion, and which are performed within or around the domestic space, as a feature of the complexity of the Romano-Egyptian house and the shared cultural heritage of its occupants. Again, this approach focuses on identity that depends on interaction between architectural forms and actors. The internal organization of houses is first considered, because it provides the physical framework for the rituals concerned. Special consideration is given to the difference between urban and rural housing to illustrate the diversity and complexity of reading ethnicity or culture from the Romano-Egyptian house. Then the ritual activities enacted before the front door of houses on 9 Thoth and 15 Pachon are considered. This sheds light on the use of the front door and the space in front of it as a focus of aspects of identity. The chapter ends with a consideration of the use of the internal space of the house as arena for different forms of ritual practices associated with the multi-layered identity.

Since a large part of our material evidence for Roman Egypt derives from objects and monuments created expressly to accompany or commemorate the dead, tomb iconography offers a unique opportunity to approach the religious belief and identity of inhabitants in Roman Egypt.[134] The fourth chapter addresses funerary architecture and iconography as an expression of the permeability of cultural markers of identities and as evidence for the biculturalism of the patrons. Through its close association with different forms of architecture, iconography in particular has the potential to provide a medium for constructing meaning and articulating different levels of identity.[135] The value of Bhabha's model of hybridity is considered in the light of the prevailing bicultural situation in Roman Egypt. The chapter also considers self-representation, ethnicity, hybridization, and biculturalism in tomb iconography. The final chapter deals with the correlation between architectural ornament and cultural identity. A theoretical framework on ornamental 'style' and

[134] On other forms of funerary art: Borg 2000; Riggs 2002, 2005.
[135] Venit 1999, 2002a; Hales 2003.

identity is first established. Then the chapter focuses on the torus moulding, cavetto cornice, and Egyptian composite capitals with its five-tiered band and abacus both as a reflection of the changeability of cultural markers and as evidence for the hybridization of architectural ornament.[136]

[136] Egyptian composite capitals are quite distinct from, and not related to, the Ionic-Corinthian combination called composite capitals used in classical architecture.

CHAPTER I: CITY LAYOUT, URBAN SPACE, AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS

> The city … is an emblematic expression of different kinds of identities… A city like any building or work of art is text that can be read.
>
> Arnold 2000, xv and xix.

> The conventional scholarly and popular image of ancient Egyptian temples is as institutions that increasingly dominated their civilization, until in Roman times they and their institutional underpinnings remained as almost the sole carriers of its high culture.
>
> Baines 1997, 216.

Architectural and spatial components of cities provide different sources of cultural, religious, and social information about their inhabitants. This chapter addresses city layout, arrangement and use of urban space and public buildings in poleis and metropoleis in Roman Egypt to illustrate the diversity of architecture and the fluidity of cultural markers of identity. Special consideration is given to the use of urban forms in the construction of local identity. Urban facilities were meant to serve members of the local community, regardless of their legal status. Despite the deity or deities worshipped in it, the temple was the religious centre of the city, and not of a specific group of inhabitants. In a province where cities were dominated by temples, a reassessment of their religious and non-religious roles suggests that they continued to be important centres of local identity. Special consideration is given to the correlation between urban forms and ritual activities as evidence for reading from the archaeological record to issues of identity. Conspicuous are festivals and processions associated with temples and other festivities and sacrifices related to urban structures. The location, influence, and role of local factors and architectural elements in the urban infrastructures are considered.

I.1. THE CITY: A 'SITE OF DISPLAY' OF IDENTITY

The use of urban space and public buildings in cities has attracted the interest of scholars in archaeology, urban geography and, to a lesser extent, history.[137] Kevin Lynch argued that cities have five architectural and spatial components, which have major impacts on the life of their inhabitants: paths; edges; districts; landmarks; and

[137] Banerjee and Southworth 1990; Knox 1991; Whitehand and Larkham 1992; Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Bowman 1995, 2000; Alston 1997c; Hall 1998.

nodes. Paths designate thoroughfares or streets, which individuals use in their movements around the urban space. Edges are natural or physical elements like river banks or cross-roads, breaking the continuity in the urban structure. Districts are geographical and administrative divisions of a city, with which individuals identify themselves. Landmarks are dominant elements of a city, which individuals use as reference points. Nodes are the origin and destination points, which are visited regularly like the house.[138]

The urban landscape of cities constitutes city layout, building types, and land use.[139] The built environment within the urban fabric is produced to serve commercial, residential, religious, leisure, and other users.[140] Individuals and their needs, wants, and tastes shape the built environment.[141] The creation of buildings and urban infrastructure of cities is subject to numerous factors, including political changes, human choice, action, and behaviour.[142] As buildings and elements of urban landscape have the potential to communicate the inhabitants' identities, the city's architecture is considered 'a site of display' of aspects of identity, notably local identity.[143] While cities are major features of societies, buildings and urban spaces are major elements of cities.[144] Architectural forms and spaces are significant indicators of various sets of cultural meanings, and are important signifiers of different perceptions of identity.[145] The cultural meanings inherent in architectural and spatial forms can be inferred from the ways in which these elements are displayed, used, and experienced by individuals.[146] Buildings and spaces have the potential to serve as arenas for ritual activities, social practices, and public processions, which were hallmarks of ancient societies and had the potential to assert local identity. In practice, architectural and spatial forms serve a social dimension and are also important 'sites of display'. The rites and processions associated with architectural form and space are as much part of the notion of display as any artefact,

[138] Lynch 1960, 46-83.
[139] Whitehand 1987, 254.
[140] Knox 1991, 181-209; Greed 1993.
[141] Harvey 1989, 77.
[142] King and Golledge 1978, 3.
[143] Arnold 2000, 106-24.
[144] King and Golledge 1978, 2.
[145] Driver and Gilbert 1999.
[146] Arnold and Ballantyne 2004.

be that a building or a landscape element. The correlation between architectural form and ritual activities is an example of what I shall call 'identity maximization', which refers to the association of two or more elements, each of which has the potential to express aspects of identity.

I.2. ARCHITECTURAL DIVERSITY AND THE COMPLEXITY OF IDENTITY

The Augustan administrative arrangement in Egypt brought about dramatic changes in administration, creating a hierarchy of urban and rural centres.[147] The Greek poleis, Naucratis, Alexandria, Ptolemais and, from 130 onwards, Antinoopolis came at the top of Roman legal structure.[148] Next in the hierarchy were the metropoleis of the *chora* like Hermopolis Magna, Oxyrhynchus, and Thebes.[149] At the bottom of the hierarchy were villages (*komai*).[150] Since little is known about the archaeology and arrangement of urban space of Ptolemais[151] and Naucratis, although the latter was the subject of extensive excavations,[152] only Alexandria and Antinoopolis are considered from the first category. Oxyrhynchus, Hermopolis Magna, and Thebes are considered from the second category, because they provide the best documented papyrological and archaeological data. The third category concerns non-urban space and thus lies beyond the scope of this chapter.

I.3. GREEK POLEIS

I.3.1. Alexandria

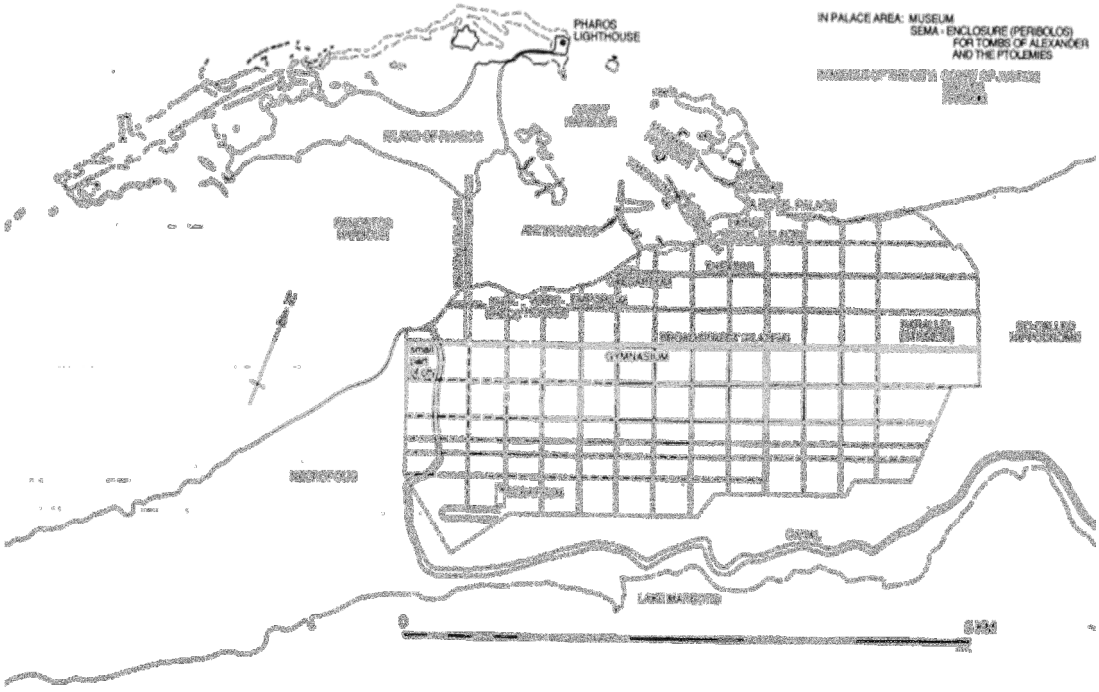
In topography and arrangement of urban space, Alexandria is well-documented in literary sources. Other evidence for Alexandria comes from archaeology, coins, and papyri.[153] Alexandria surpassed other cities in the magnificence of its public buildings and sanctuaries.[154] In 60-56 BC, Diodorus Siculus states that:

> He [Alexander the Great] laid out the site and traced the streets skillfully and ordered that the city should be called after him Alexandria. It was

[147] For a discussion of Augustan administrative changes: Bowman and Rathbone 1992.
[148] On Alexandrian citizenship: El-Abbadi 1962; Delia 1991.
[149] Hanson 1992, 133-45.
[150] Cf. *CPJ* II, 156c. ii. 25-7.
[151] Plaumann 1910.
[152] Petrie 1886; Hogarth 1898-9, 1905; Coulson and Leonard 1981.
[153] McKenzie 2007, 173-209.
[154] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 32.41.

> conveniently situated near the harbour of Pharos, and by selecting the right angle of the streets, Alexander made the city breath with the etesian winds.[155]

Knowledge of the local weather conditions determined Alexander's choice of the site, where the streets were oriented to catch the north-west winds of summer. In *c.* 26-20 BC, Strabo gave the earliest surviving topographical description of Alexandria (fig. 1), which was 'intersected by streets practicable for horses and chariots, and by two that are very broad, extending to more than a *plethron* in breadth, which cut one another into two sections and at right angles'.[156] The city had 'five districts (μοῖραι) named after the first letters of the [Greek] alphabet'.[157]



(Fig. 1)

During his excavations in 1863-8, Mahmoud-Bey, the astronomer of the Khediv Ismail, found traces of eleven streets running from north to south, and of seven running from east to west. The main longitudinal street (modern el-Horreya street) once ran from the Canopic Gate on the east to the necropolis on the west. This was intersected by another main north-south street. These two colonnaded streets were intersected at right angles by other streets, forming together a grid plan. The

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[155] Diod. Sic. 17.52.1-4.
[156] Strabo 17.1.8.
[157] The tradition of naming the quarters Α, Β, Γ, Δ and Ε goes back to Alexander the Great (Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Historia Alexandri Magni* 1.32.9; Fraser 1972, I, 7-37).

paving and columns of the streets he uncovered were Roman in date.[158] Later excavations discovered the Ptolemaic streets, which were found under and in alignment with some of the Roman streets.[159] In 1898-99, Friedrich Noack confirmed Mahmoud-Bey's record of the grid layout.[160]

From the reign of Augustus onwards, the city extended to Nicopolis, the Augustan suburb east of Alexandria.[161] Yet the grid layout appears not to have undergone fundamental change under Roman rule. Writing in mid-second century, Achilles Tatius refers to Alexandria's streets, when he describes the arrival of Clitophon at the city:

> I entered it by the Sun Gate, as it is called, and was instantly struck by the lightning beauty of the city, which filled my eyes with delight. A straight plumb-line of columns led on either side from the Gates of the Sun to the Gates of the Moon. These are the city's porters. Between the columns lies the open part of the city with many a street leading across it … Going a few hundred yards further, I came to the quarter called after Alexander, where I saw a second town; the splendour of this was cut into squares, for there was a row of columns intersected by another as long at right angles.[162]

As far as it can be reconstructed from a combination of archaeological and textual evidence, Alexandrian urban infrastructure also included structures typical of Roman cities. The forum, bath buildings, and monumental gateways will have contributed to a reshaping of the experience of the urban space. So, although it follows an axial approach, the main longitudinal street at Alexandria, which extended from the Gate of the Sun on the east to the Gate of the Moon on the west, can be compared in function to the main thoroughfare in Roman Ephesus, which stretched in a bent formation between the Coressian Gate on the north-east and the Magnesian Gate on the south-east, linking the State Agora, Tetragonos Agora, theatre, stadium, fountains, and bath buildings, and thus served as the main pathway of the city.[163] This route came to life through processions on particular occasions, such as the

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[158] Mahmoud-Bey 1872, 18-24. For the paving: Erdmann 1883, 11-12. The two columns near the Rosetta Gate had white marble capitals (Valentia 1811, 451), while those opposite the Attarin mosque were of red granite (Lacroix and Daressy 1922, 16-17).
[159] On the Ptolemaic phase of streets: Tkaczow 1993, 151-2; Rodziewicz 1995, 227-35.
[160] Noack 1900, 231-2.
[161] Hanson 1980. For a discussion of Strabo's geographical and imperial reading of Augustan Alexandria: Alston 2002.
[162] Ach. Tat. 5.1. 1-4.
[163] Yegül 1994, 98.

Foundation ritual of Salutaris in which statues were carried from the Temple of Artemis to the Magnesian Gate and then through the city to the Stadium.[164] The main east-west street of Alexandria, which passed the forum and imperial baths and through the Corinthian portal of the Rosetta Gate, similarly resembled what William MacDonald calls 'an armature', not just part of a grid, but a basic framework 'facilitating much of the business of town life'.[165] The main paths which led inward from the periphery of the city to the market place were important elements of connectivity and order, dividing cities into districts and reconnecting them together, above all at times of religious festivities.

After suppressing a rebellion by the Egyptians, Antoninus Pius (138-161) is alleged to have built the Gates of the Sun and Moon and the *dromos*.[166] The verb used here, κτίζειν, is applied by Malalas indiscriminately to both new buildings and repairs, so these gates very likely already existed; however, as there is no reference to them before this time, this cannot be proven.[167] The word *dromos* is also used of streets at Hermopolis Magna and Oxyrhynchus, and it is likely that such streets received this name, which in Egypt was usually given to the avenue leading to a temple, because it was itself used as the route of one or more religious processions. The cross-street leading on to the Serapeum is called *dromos* in a Greek inscription of the first or second century.[168] Restoration of streets and construction of gates were essential for the reestablishment of order in the city. Since Antoninus Pius and Faustina are sometimes portrayed on coins in a similar way to Helios and Selene,[169] the emperor and empress were probably associated with the Sun and Moon, the guardian divinities of the gates.[170]

Strabo does not always give the exact locations of buildings, yet he provides information on the location of buildings in relation to each other. He describes some landmarks on the Great Harbour, from east to west: the theatre; then the Poseidium, [which] projects from the Emporium. On the tip of the promontory of the Poseidium:

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[164] Rogers 1991, 80-126.
[165] Macdonald 1986, 29.
[166] *SHA* 5.5; John Malalas 11.280; John of Nikiu, *Chronicle* 74.6-7.
[167] Downey 1938.
[168] Wace 1944, 23-5, no. 3.
[169] Milne 1971, Helios and Selene (pl. ii.3013); Antoninus Pius (pl. v.2323); Faustina (pl. v.1699).
[170] Ach. Tat. 5.1.2.

> Antony built a royal lodge, which he called the Timonium…Then one comes to the Caesareum and the Emporium and the ware-houses; and after these to the ship-houses, which extend as far as the Heptastadium…The city contains the most beautiful public precincts and also the royal palaces, which constitute one-fourth or even one-third of the whole circuit of the city…The Museum is also a part of the royal palaces; it has a public walk, an exedra, and a large house in which is the common mess-hall of the men of learning who share the Museum …The Sēma [or the *Sōma*],[171] as it is called, is a part of the royal palaces. This was the enclosure which contained the burial-places of the kings [the Ptolemies] and that of Alexander [the Great].[172]

The Ptolemaic palace district remained a major topographical feature of Alexandria. Yet the most glorious building was the gymnasium, 'which has porticoes more than a stadium (*c.* 180 m) in length',[173] and is used for public meetings of the city[174] and as the seat of government, reflecting its importance for public official life. Early in the first century, village gymnasia of the Ptolemaic period were closed and the gymnasium was only associated with cities.[175] Like elsewhere, the gymnasium was placed at the forefront of Alexandrian urban official life. It may even have been used as a centre of imperial cult,[176] suggesting an intimate relationship between the gymnasial elites, Greek culture, and Rome.[177]

The Caesareum dedicated to Caesar Augustus was one of the earliest shrines of the imperial cult in Egypt.[178] It was influenced by the architecture of traditional temples, as two obelisks were placed in front of it facing the Great Harbour (fig. 2).[179]

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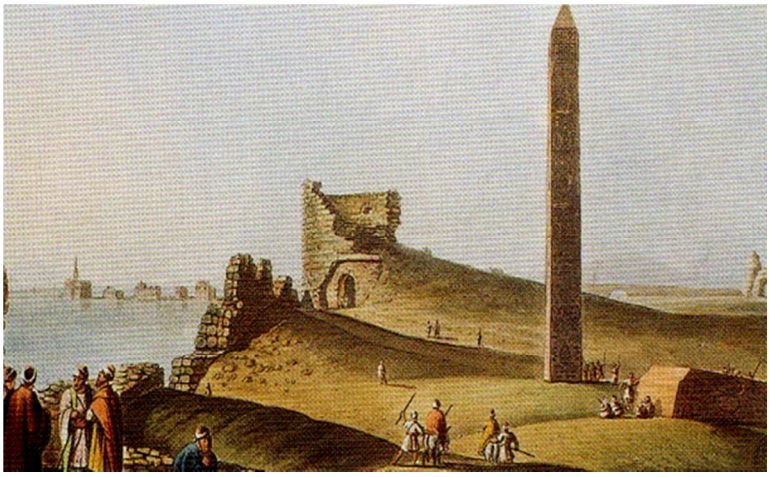
[171] The *Sēma* literally means 'tomb' and commonly refers to the tomb of Alexander (Meinke 1853, 1107). However, the Greek version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes (*Historia Alexandri Magni* 3.3.4) refers to it as *Sōma*, literally 'body' or 'mummy'.
[172] Strabo 17.1.8-9.
[173] Strabo 17.1.10.
[174] Philo, *In Flacc.* 17.139.
[175] Bowman and Rathbone 1992, 121.
[176] Burkhalter 1992, 345-73.
[177] Alston 1997c, 88.
[178] Strabo 17.1.9; Fraser 1972, 24.
[179] Plin. *HN* 36.14.68; Laistner 1921.



(Fig. 2)

Contemporaries recognized the obelisks as solar symbols, and this explains the dedication of the two obelisks which Augustus moved to Rome in 10/9 BC to Sol.[180] The obelisks of the Caesareum came from Heliopolis.[181] Each obelisk was supported by four bronze crabs, one of which survives and bears a bilingual inscription (Greek and Latin). The text mentions Barbarus, the prefect, and Pontius, the architect, who transported the obelisks at Alexandria in the eighteenth year of Augustus (13/12 BC).[182] This is the year when Augustus was appointed pontifex maximus, the high priest of the college of *pontifices*, the most important position in Roman religion.[183] About that time, Augustus' temple at Philae was built and the Heresieum at Antinoopolis was repaired.[184] In 38 Philo referred to the Caesareum as the Sebasteum.[185] Writing to the Alexandrians in 41, Claudius mentions the Sebasteum as a temple of Divus Augustus.[186] Like the temple of the deified Augustus at Canopus, the *neokoroi* of the Sebasteum were chosen by lot.[187] The temple administration was integrated into Graeco-Roman political structures, where the

[180] Plin. *HN* 36.14.71-72; *CIL* VI 702; Roullet 1972, 69-70, 79; Ward-Perkins 1981, 368; Haselberger 2007, 170.
[181] One of the two obelisks, the so-called Cleopatra's Needle, was transported in 1877-8 to the Thames Embankment, London. The second obelisk was taken to New York City in 1880, where it now stands in the Central Park.
[182] *OGIS* 656 = Kayser 1994, 8-12, no. 2, pls. ii-iii.
[183] Bowersock 1990, 380.
[184] Bailey 1989, 2; Bingen 1977, 245.
[185] Philo, *Leg*. 151.
[186] *CPJ* II.153.60-1.
[187] *P.Lond*. 6.1912.iv.60-62 = *Sel.Pap*. II.212. On the importance and duties of *neokoroi* as well as the use of the word as a title for Greek cities in Asia Minor: Burrell 2004.

organisation of temples was taken on by civic authorities.[188] In the Julio-Claudian period, the temples were placed under the central authority of the High Priest of Alexandria and Egypt.[189] Equally, the head of the *idioslogos* supervised the sale of temple offices like *propheteia*, *lesoneia*, and *neokoria*.[190] Like other sanctuaries, the Caesareum must have been meant to serve the inhabitants of the city rather than a specific group.

To the south of the Sebasteum is the *agora*,[191] where cases were held 'at the court in the *agora*', indicating its importance for judicial life.[192] The location of the *agora* has not been identified.[193] Apparently in the early Roman period the *agora* was designated Forum Iulium, which is only known from the inscription on the Vatican obelisk.[194] By 41, this *agora* was called σεβαστή ἀγορά.[195] The change in name had probably occurred by 38, when the Caesareum was called Sebasteum.[196] This is probably the same space which Pliny calls the *forum*, where the large obelisk from the temple of Arsinoe was relocated.[197] The reshaping of urban space and renaming of structures had therefore begun by the Julio-Claudian period. Peter Fraser suggested that the σεβαστή ἀγορα is identical with the *Forum Augusti* used in the second century for displaying important notices, as was the Roman Agora at Athens.[198] This central focal point and meeting place was regularly visited by the inhabitants of Alexandria. The birth certificate of Herennia Gemella is the only known or surviving example displayed in the Forum Augusti.[199] Three other known birth certificates were also inscribed in Latin on wax and wooden tablets, but were displayed in the *Atrium Magnum*,[200] which had a tribunal used for court cases by

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[188] Bowman and Rathbone 19992; Alston 1997c.
[189] On the High Priest: Stead 1981; Rigsby 1985. On municipalisation: Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Alston 1997c.
[190] *P.Tebt*. II.294; Swarney 1970, 57-9, 83-96.
[191] McKenzie 2007, 177-8.
[192] *P.Oxy*. II.237.vii.20.
[193] Tomlinson 1992, 99.
[194] This obelisk now stands in St Peter's Square in the Vatican. For the Latin text on the obelisk: Alföldi 1990, 50-67; Kayser 1994, 3-7, no. 1, pl. i.
[195] *BGU* III.1079, verso, 2.
[196] Philo, *Leg*. 151.
[197] Plin. *HN* 26.14.68.
[198] Fraser 1972, II, 96-7, n. 218; McKenzie 2007, 182.
[199] Winter 1936, 149-50, no. 166: *quae tabula proposita erat in foro Augusti*.
[200] E.g. the birth certificate of M. Corenlius Justus (Winter 1936, 151-55, no. 167): *quae tabula proposita erat in Atrio Magno.*

63.[201] Unfortunately, the location of the Great Atrium is unknown.[202] At least two of these certificates record the registration of a child of a Roman citizen, *c(ivis) r(omanus)*, and include the names of the emperor and the child, the date of the child's birth, and the names of the father and witnesses.[203] However, the lack of surviving evidence for the use of the Forum and the Great Atrium by other groups for displaying birth certificates offers insufficient grounds in itself to suggest that these structures were only loci of Roman personal and civic identity. The Forum and the Great Atrium probably served the inhabitants of the whole city rather than a particular legal group.

The Great Theatre which was located in the Royal Quarter continued to preserve Hellenic cultural traditions.[204] A variety of Greek performances like the plays of Euripides,[205] dancers, mimes, Homericists, and flute players conducted their performances in the Great Theatre.[206] Yet we cannot assume that the theatre was used only by Greek Alexandrians. Philo's statement that the Jews were deprived of access to the theatre during the famous anti-Semitic conflicts that broke out in Alexandria in 38 suggests that they normally enjoyed such access.[207] The Jews formed a major community in Alexandria, concentrated in the Δ Quarter and a part of the Β Quarter of the city.[208] They had their own ethnarch, *gerousia* (the council of elders) and synagogue.[209] They were labeled as *Ioudaioi* by themselves and others, and lived in other cities in the *chora*.[210] There is no evidence that other groups living in Alexandria were excluded from entering the theatre. Yet it seems that there were strict regulations in terms of dress for entering it. Under Trajan, Vibius Maximus, prefect of Egypt, killed a man for 'not wearing white garments in the (great) theatre'.[211]

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[201] *P.Fouad* I.21.4.
[202] McKenzie 2007, 182.
[203] On these birth certificates at Cairo Museum: Guéraud 1938.
[204] Strabo 17.1.9.
[205] Philo, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 141.
[206] Philo, *In Flacc.* 85.
[207] Philo, *In Flacc.* 85.
[208] Strabo 17.1.10; Philo, *In Flacc.* 55-6.
[209] Breccia 1922, 33, 56-8. On Jews in Egypt until the reign of Hadrian: Modrzejewski 1995.
[210] Hanson 1992.
[211] Musurillo 1952, 36, 42.

Strabo mentions in passing an amphitheatre and a stadium at Nicopolis.[212] Josephus records that the Alexandrians held public meetings in an amphitheatre in 66,[213] but no amphitheatre, however, has been found anywhere in Egypt.[214] Josephus probably uses the terms amphitheatre, stadium, and hippodrome interchangeably.[215] In Roman Alexandria, 'the main place of public assembly for entertainment continued to be the racecourse',[216] which historical sources call hippodrome or stadium.[217] The stadium may be identified with the hippodrome which the French expedition found near Nicopolis outside the Canopic Gate,[218] which was a flat area with seats and used for horse racing.[219] There was another hippodrome, the Lageion, near the Serapeum, which late sources call 'the stadium'. Dio Chrysostom criticizes the Alexandrians' behaviour at the horse races, which occurred in a building he calls 'the stadium'.[220] In 69 Vespasian visited the Serapeum and the adjacent hippodrome, where he was declared Ἄμμωνος υἱὸς.[221] Three years later, Titus also visited the buildings in the same order.[222] The hippodrome on this occasion was used for horse-racing and athletic games.[223]

Some street junctions at Alexandria were marked by tetrastyla; their form of four free-standing columns decorated with acanthus column bases is a distinctive feature of architecture of Roman Egypt.[224] There were also equestrian statues of emperors in four-horse chariots (*quadrigae*).[225] Triumphal arches are also evident in Alexandria; they appear on coins issued under Augustus, Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian.[226] Monumental gateways and fountain houses also appear on coins.[227] Since none of these representations can be identified with surviving structures, their actual

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[212] Strabo 17.1.10.
[213] Joseph. *BJ* 2.490-2.
[214] Bailey 1990, 123. On amphitheatres: Golvin 1988.
[215] Joseph. *BJ* 4.11.5.
[216] McKenzie 2007, 182.
[217] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 32. 41-3.
[218] Strabo 17.1.10.
[219] Humphrey 1986, 505-12.
[220] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 32. 41-3.
[221] Henrichs 1968, 51-80; *P.Fouad* I.8.10 = *SB* 16.12225.
[222] *P.Oxy*. XXXIV.2725.20-21.
[223] Humphrey 1986, 505-12.
[224] For the remains of one surviving column of a tetrastylon near the Rosetta Gate at the intersection of the main east-west street with a cross-street: Mayer 1805, pl. 18; McKenzie 2007, 191 (fig. 329).
[225] *P.Lond*. 6.1912 = *Sel.Pap*. 212.
[226] Handler 1971, 70-1 (pls. 11.22-6, 12.18-21; Simon 2000, 728-34 (fig. 1, 5-8).
[227] Poole 1892, pls. xciii-xciv.

location and role in the urban space cannot be fully understood. But they certainly changed the physical appearance of Alexandria. Although the city possessed most of the basic architectural features common in Greek poleis, it famously did not possess a *boule* (council) or *ekklesia* (assembly) for more than two centuries of Roman rule[228] until Septimius Severus granted the city a *boule* in 200.[229]

The above-mentioned structures were distinctively classical in appearance; however, it would be a mistake to presume that only Graeco-Roman buildings shaped the Alexandrian cityscape. The presence of traditional elements in public and religious architecture is well-documented from literary, numismatic, and archaeological evidence. In 332 BC Alexandria had at least an Egyptian temple built for Isis and Greek temples.[230] In the second-century a classical-style temple was built for Isis at Taposiris Parva (Ras el-Soda) from a private initiative of Isidoros, who was apparently an Alexandrian citizen (fig. 3). The Alexandrians offered donations to traditional cults, although it is important to stress that these were not necessarily associated with a particular ethnic group. The temple once contained statues of Isis, Osiris-Canopus, and the syncretistic Hermanubis, reflecting the fusion of Graeco-Egyptian cultural traditions.[231] Other parts of Alexandria were provided with traditional architecture and sculptures, like the sphinxes uncovered near the Small Theatre at Kom el-Dikka (fig. 4). Like the temple of Osiris at Canopus, the temple of Isis at Alexandria was built in Egyptian style with a pylon as its entrance-façade, but it cannot be exclusively associated with legally-defined Egyptians.[232]

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[228] The Boule that had existed under the Ptolemies was suppressed by Augustus according to Dio Cass. 51.17.2. See Fraser 1972, I, 94. In 41 Claudius rejected the request of the Alexandrians for a Boule to be instituted in the city (*P.Lond.* 6.1912.iv.66-68 = *Sel.Pap*. 212).
[229] Dio Cass. 51.17.
[230] Arr. *Anab.* 3.1.5.
[231] Naerebout 2006, 122-37.
[232] See pages 148-53.

(Fig. 3)

(Fig. 4)

From its foundation Alexandria was an ethnically diverse society, where Greek and Egyptian communities interacted on a daily basis and had become largely assimilated with each other by the end of the Ptolemaic period.[233] In the second century BC, Polybius divided the population into three categories (γένη): the native Egyptian race (φῦλον); the mercenary class; and the Alexandrians.[234] To that may be added the Jews. In the Roman period, the Romans, Alexandrians, Jews, and Egyptians were the main inhabitants in the city.[235] There were always chances for upward social mobility. In his letter to the Alexandrians, Claudius confirmed the rights of all *ephebes* who had been registered up to his accession except those of servile descent, probably in response to Greek Alexandrian complaints about infiltration by Jews and Egyptians.[236] Upon Pliny's request, Trajan similarly acceded to grant Alexandrian and Roman citizenship to his Egyptian doctor Harpocras.[237] There is no evidence that Harpocras was required to ignore certain cultural features and adopt or show certain familiarity with Roman culture as a prerequisite for citizenship. Having been granted Roman citizenship, Harpocras would be directly classed as Roman.

In the *Acta Alexandrinorum* Isidoros, the Alexandrian gymnasiarch debates the status of Alexandrian Jews with a fellow ambassador, Balbios, and Agrippa I, the Jewish king, in the imperial court at Rome in the presence of Claudius:

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[233] Fraser 1972.
[234] Polybius 34.14.
[235] Strabo 17.1.6; Philo, *In Flacc.* 10.78; *P.Giss.Lit.* 6.3 = *P.Giss.* 40.ii.17-29 = *Sel.Pap.* II.215; *CPJ* II.156c.ii.25-7; *BGU* IV.1151.
[236] *CPJ* II.150, 153.52-7.
[237] Pliny, *Ep.* 10.7.1.

> They are not of the same character as the Alexandrians, but live rather after the fashion of the Egyptians. Are they not on a level with those who pay the poll-tax?[238]

The trial of Isidoros, one of the most popular stories of the Acta, concerns the rights and status of the Alexandrian Jews. For Andrew Harker, the texts of the Acta Isidori are literary products of the third century, with some sections being originally written in the first century. All these texts, in Harker's view, were subject to manipulations by their authors, hence their numerous historical and chronological errors.[239] Unless they obtained Roman citizenship or that of one of the Greek poleis, Egyptians and Jews, as the passage mentions, were liable to pay the poll-tax, unlike Alexandrians who were exempted everywhere. It is unclear whether it was meant by the Egyptians in the text only native Egyptians or all inhabitants of the *chora*, excluding citizens of Greek poleis. From a Roman perspective, the metropolites and villagers in the *chora* were all classed as Egyptians. The passage suggests that the Egyptians, like the Jews, led a different, inferior mode of life, because of which they are despised by the Alexandrian Greeks. However, there is a gulf between such a literary, theoretical statement and the complicated reality of Romano-Egyptian society on the ground. In fact, the cultural boundaries, if any, between Alexandrians and Egyptians cannot be easily outlined. Like Romans, Alexandrians offered their patronage to traditional cults and temples, which were treated as part of their own culture.[240]

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[238] *CPJ* II.156c.ii.25-7 = Tcherikover and Fuks 1960, 79 = Musurillo 1954, 24 = Rowlandson and Harker 2004, 95. For translations and a full commentary on the *Acta Alexandrinorum*: Musurillo 1954; Harker 2008.
[239] Harker 2008, 24.
[240] *P.Mert*. II.63.

I.3.1.1. The Western Quarter (Rhakotis)

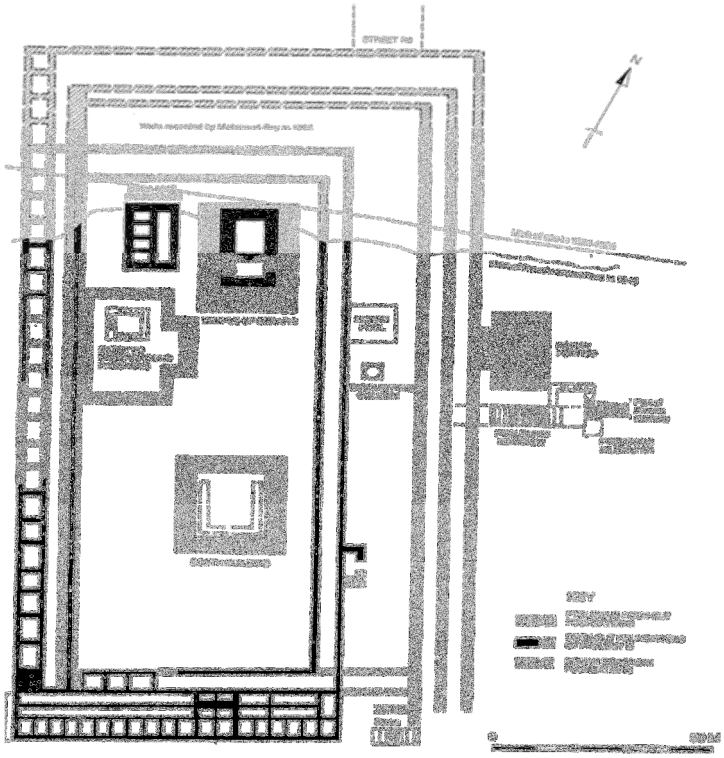
While Jews were concentrated on the Delta quarter, Egyptians appear to have lived mainly in the western quarter of Rhakotis, where Diocletian's column marks the site of the Serapeum, and on the island of Pharos.[241] In contrast to the axial design of traditional temples, the Serapeum followed Greek traditions in its arrangement. The temple was built on the top of a natural hill, and was approached by a monumental stairway.[242] The Serapeum maintained its religious importance in the Roman period, and later historical writers emphasized it as a religious landmark.[243]

The site was excavated by Giuseppe Botti and the Sieglin Expedition in 1894-96 and 1898-1902 respectively.[244] Botti uncovered the northern area of the complex, including the northern edges of the temple of Serapis and the western stoa-like structure. The Sieglin Expedition particularly excavated the south-eastern part of the site. Yet these excavations were only published later by Michael Sabottka, who gave a detailed analysis of the foundations.[245] During World War II, Alan Rowe re-excavated the Serapeum, where he found the foundation plaques of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221 BC) in hieroglyphs and Greek.[246] Under Ptolemy I Soter (306-282 BC), the site of the Serapeum was used as a sanctuary for Isis and Osiris, where a room with pebble mosaic floor was built east of the main temple. It is plausible that this cult predated the Ptolemaic sanctuary, as Alan Wace suggests, but there is no concrete evidence.[247] It was in this same area that an altar dedicated to Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246 BC) and his wife Arsinoe was found.[248]

The temple (*naos*) and its colonnaded court (*temenos*) underwent two phases of construction.[249] The Ptolemaic phase is dated by the bilingual foundation plaques of Ptolemy III Euergetes, which are found at the corners of both *naos* and *temenos* in accordance with Egyptian traditions.[250] It is characterized by the use of ashlar

[241] Mahaffy 1898, 11; Riad 1996, 29.
[242] Strabo 17.1.10.
[243] Ach. Tat. 5.2; Amm. Marc. 22.16.12.
[244] Botti 1895, 16-27.
[245] Sabottka 2008.
[246] Rowe 1946.
[247] Wace 1944, 18-19, no. I, 21-3, no. 2.
[248] Grimm 1983, 70-3 (pl. 8).
[249] Breccia 1907, 62-76; McKenzie 2003, 35-61; McKenzie, Gibson and Reyes 2004, 73-114.
[250] Rowe 1946, 7-10.

masonry and rock-cut foundations.[251] The Ptolemaic sanctuary survived until 181, when it was burnt. Judith McKenzie argues that the Roman phase of the Serapeum was rebuilt between 181 and 217.[252] It is distinguished by the use of rubble concrete foundations, which enclosed the Ptolemaic foundations, and by the extension of the colonnaded court to the east beyond street R8 and also to the north (fig. 5).[253]



(Fig. 5)

(Fig. 6)

The colonnaded court now enclosed the temple of Serapis, a stoa-like structure to the west, and the South Building.[254] It has been suggested that the temple was destroyed during the Jewish uprising of 115/16, but there is no concrete evidence.[255] There is no reliable evidence that Hadrian rebuilt the Serapeum, as some suggest,[256] but the Emperor dedicated a sanctuary with a statue of Apis to 'Serapis and the *sunnaoi theoi*' (fig. 6).[257] In doing so, Hadrian revitalized the cult of Serapis. The Serapeum had a classical appearance, because it appears on Hadrianic and later coins with two or four columns with Corinthian capitals across the front, a Doric

[251] Fraser 1972, 27-8, 265-70.
[252] McKenzie 2003, 53; McKenzie, Gibson and Reyes 2004, 73-121, 90-9.
[253] For full description of the Roman phase: McKenzie 2007, 195-203.
[254] McKenzie 2009, 778-9.
[255] Handler 1971, 65.
[256] Botti 1899, 34-6; Rowe 1941-2a, pls. 32, 37; Rowe and Rees 1957, 496.
[257] Kayser 1994, 176-9. On the *sunnaos theos*: Nock 1930.

frieze and a triangular pediment.[258] The Christian scholar Jerome states that the temple of Serapis (*templum*) was burnt in 181.[259] Writing around 190, Clement of Alexandria mentions that close to the burial places is 'the *akra* which they now call Rhakotis, where stands the honoured sanctuary (*hieron*) of Serapis which was burnt', indicating that the temple was still not rebuilt.[260] Before Caracalla's death in 217, the temple (*naos*) of Serapis was burnt again. This suggests that the temple was perhaps rebuilt by 215/16 when Caracalla visited the Serapeum and 'made a large number of sacrifices and laid large quantities of incense on the altars'.[261] The excavations of the site (fig. 7) revealed Egyptian sphinxes, a scarab, a falcon and fragments of two obelisks.[262]

(Fig. 7)

The Serapeum was undoubtedly a highly important religious cult centre in Alexandria. Achilles Tatius describes the torch-bearing procession of Serapis:

> It chanced to be the time of the sacred month of the great god whom the Greeks call Zeus, and the Egyptians Serapis, and a torch procession took place. And this was the greatest spectacle I ever saw; for it was evening and the sun had set, but night was nowhere to be seen –rather another sun had arisen, refracted into countless fragments. For then the city vied with the sky for beauty.[263]

This torch-procession brought the cult of Serapis into the public space, as it exited the temenos and marched into the city. Although the processional route and activities

[258] Handler 1971, 65-8, pl. ii, nos. 13-14 (with 4 columns) nos. 15, 17 (with Doric frieze).
[259] Jer. *Chron* 208 1. 19 and 423 g; Schwartz 1966, 97 n. I.
[260] Clem. Al. *Protr*. 4.42, 47.
[261] Dio Cass. 79.7.3; Hdn. 4.8.9.
[262] Grimm and McKenzie 2004, 115-21; Ashton 2004, 9.
[263] Ach. Tat. 5.2.

of this festival are unknown, it must have been a spectacular event, like the Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus held 'in the stadium' of Alexandria[264] or the procession of Attis and the Magna Mater in imperial Rome from the Palatine temple, through the city, to the Gaianum or the Phrygianum.[265] It was to this torch-procession that an edict of Caracalla refers, which ordered the expulsion of all the Egyptians who came from the *chora* to reside in Alexandria:

> At the festival of Serapis and on certain other feast days, the Egyptians [of the *chora* who] are accustomed to bring down bulls and other animals for sacrifice, or even on other days, are not to be prohibited for this.[266]

The Egyptians of the *chora* travelled to Alexandria to attend the festival and perform sacrifices, suggesting that the Serapeum had more than local importance. By bringing bulls and other sacrificial animals, they effectively participated in this festival. During this time, they probably performed supplications at the Serapeum for the health and benefit of other relatives and friends who stayed in the *chora*.[267] The Serapeum survived into the late fourth century, when Ammianus Marcellinus mentions that Alexandria still had many impressive temples, 'conspicuous among them the Serapeum, which is adorned with extensive columned halls, with almost breathing statues, and a great number of works of art, that next to the Capitolium [at Rome], the whole world beholds nothing more significant'.[268] After the suppression of the rebellion headed by L. Domitius Domitianus, Diocletian's Column was erected in honour of the Emperor in 298 on top of the Serapeum hill (fig. 7).[269] Writing around 402, Rufinus of Aquileia mentioned that the early Christians had destroyed the Serapeum and the cult statue in 391.[270]

The Serapeum cannot be associated with a particular group. Serapis was the main deity of the city, and his sacred precinct included classical and Egyptian architectural and sculptural features. The co-presence of an anthropomorphic statue of Serapis in the form of Helios-Zeus and an Apis statue under Hadrian seems to

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[264] Athenaeus 5.197d-203b; Rice 1983.
[265] Salzman 1990, 164-9.
[266] *P.Giess*. 40.ii.21-3 = *Sel.Pap*. 215.
[267] On the *proskynemata* of Dorotheos and Ammonios uncovered from the Serapeum: Kayser 1994, 236-7.
[268] Amm. Marc. 22.16.12.
[269] Vandersleyen 1958, 113-34.
[270] Rufinus, *Eccl. Hist.* 11.22-3.

reflect the biculturalism not only of the architecture of the Serapeum, but of the cult itself.[271] The participation of the Egyptians in the procession of Serapis does not indicate that the festival only represented an Egyptian identity. The temple of Serapis and his torch-bearing procession must have served all worshippers of the deity. Like Isis, Serapis transcended the particularity of his local origin and became a cosmopolitan deity.[272] Cinerary urns from Hadra contain the ashes of scared delegations, *theoroi*, dispatched by various Greek cities outside Egypt to participate in festivals at Alexandria, to offer sacrifices at Alexandrian shrines, or simply to announce forthcoming festivals celebrated in their homelands.[273] It is possible that the *theoroi* who came to Alexandria had partaken of the torch-bearing procession of Serapis, an important event in the city's religious life. So the festival of Serapis might have provided an occasion for brining different groups together. In that sense, worshipping and making sacrifices to deities and participating in festivals are not reliable markers of ethnic identity. Worshippers of Egyptian deities outside Egypt could become Egyptians without the need to change their ethnic or legal status.[274]

In short, during the Julio-Claudian period and later, Alexandrian infrastructure was reshaped by the introduction of Roman architectural forms into the urban space. The diverse Alexandrian cityscape consisted mainly of Roman, Greek, and Egyptian architectural elements. Graeco-Roman public structures were the most important for urban official life. In addition to Graeco-Roman sanctuaries and a Jewish synagogue, the city had traditional and classical-style temples built for Egyptian and other syncretistic deities. The annual torch-procession of the Serapeum is particularly notable. The participation in this festival of both 'Egyptians' and other groups shows the fluidity of religious practice as a marker of group identity.

[271] Kayser 1994, 176-9.
[272] Plut. *De Is et Os*. 66; Bonneau 1964, 319-24, 353-4, 426-35.
[273] Rönne and Fraser 1953; Fraser 1960; Cook 1966, 23-34.
[274] Roullet 1972; Davies 2011.

I.3.2. Antinoopolis (Sheikh Abada)

In 130 Hadrian founded Antinoopolis in commemoration of his beloved Antinous.[275] It is located on the east bank of the Nile on the area between the river and the rocky foothills.[276] It was the only Greek polis founded in Roman Egypt[277] and was the metropolis of the Antinoite nome.[278] The ruins of the city lie east of the village of Sheikh Abada, 300 km south of Cairo.[279] Antinoopolis was built on the ruins of an earlier Egyptian town. Thus Dio Cassius states that Hadrian 'rebuilt (ἀνῳκοδόμησε) the city named henceforth for Antinous', which indicates that the city was previously inhabited.[280] Excavations confirm that there was a protodynastic cemetery on the site.[281] There are also tombs dating to the Middle Kingdom.[282] In 1895-6 Albert Gayet undertook systematic excavations on the site, where he found extensive evidence for a New Kingdom site, with a temple of Ramesses II.[283] Yet the earlier town had little or no impact on the urban organisation of the new foundation.

The layout and types of public buildings in Antinoopolis corresponded to its foundation purpose as a Greek polis, the citizens of which were described in an *ostracon* from the city and in imperial letters as Ἀντινοεῖς νέοι Ἕλληνες.[284] The citizens were organised in tribes (φυλαι) and demes (δῆμοι) with Hadrianic names.[285] From its outset, the Antinoite citizenry incorporated the Greeks who came from Ptolemais, some of whom were chosen by lot,[286] and the Hellenized inhabitants from the Arsinoite nome.[287] It was suggested that veterans were offered Antinoite citizenship under Antoninus Pius to increase the population, although they were not required to establish permanent residence in the city.[288] However, there is evidence

[275] Jon Malalas 11.280; Sijpesteijn 1969, 110-11. On Antinous: Poe 1975, 323; Kessler and Meyer 1994, 161-2. On Antinous' death: Schubert 1997, 119-27.
[276] Johnson 1914, 169; Pintaudi 2010, 202.
[277] Hofmann 1980, 591.
[278] *P.Lond. Inv.* 2288 (302); Kühn 1913, 137-9.
[279] Breccia 1938, 287.
[280] Dio Cass. 69.11.2.
[281] Donadoni 1975, 324.
[282] Gayet 1902.
[283] Gayet 1897. For the identification of the earlier town: Naville 1917, 233; Gardiner 1947, 83.
[284] *SB* V.8012.9 (149); *P.Würzb*. 9.ii.56 (161-9); Johnson 1914, 171; Bell 1940, 134.
[285] *P.Lond.* III.1164; Meyer 1991, 216-17.
[286] *P.Würzb*. 9.ii.54-7.
[287] *P.Lond. Inv.* I896 (133).
[288] Bell 1940, 139.

that veterans were enrolled at Antinoopolis in the years 130-8 as part of the initial citizenship body.[289] In this case, Myrto Malouta's argument that the citizens of Antinoopolis 'were meant to be exclusively Greek' can easily be refuted.[290] Hadrian granted the New Hellenes of Antinoopolis the right of intermarriage with the Egyptians, and we can reasonably assume that all Egyptians who came to the city were not Hellenic in origin.[291] This privilege was granted to both male and female Antinoite citizens, the children of whom were not be deprived of citizenship in case of intermarriage with Egyptians.[292] This intermarriage must have produced mixed children. It is, therefore, misleading to suggest that the New Hellenes of Antinoopolis were exclusively Hellenic in culture. Above all, the Hellenes who came from the Arsinoite nome were originally considered by the Romans as a privileged subset of the 'Egyptians'. In this case, it is unclear whether the New Hellenes were culturally distinguished from the other Egyptians. Papyri and archaeology confirm that the city was a shared multicultural site, where Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditions were manifest.

Antinoopolis possessed classical-style buildings common in all Greek poleis, including a *boule*, theatre, hippodrome, colonnaded streets, tetrastyla, and a circular gymnasium which was rebuilt or restored in 263.[293] However, no palaestra has been found at Antinoopolis or anywhere in Egypt.[294] Antinoopolis also had Roman structures, including a triumphal arch, monumental gateways, and a bath-building. Only classical buildings were important for official civic life and in many ways articulated Graeco-Roman cultural traditions. Undoubtedly, the foundation of Antinoopolis accelerated the pace of Hellenization in the area. However, the cityscape also contained temples dedicated to traditional and other syncretistic deities, reflecting the city's social diversity.

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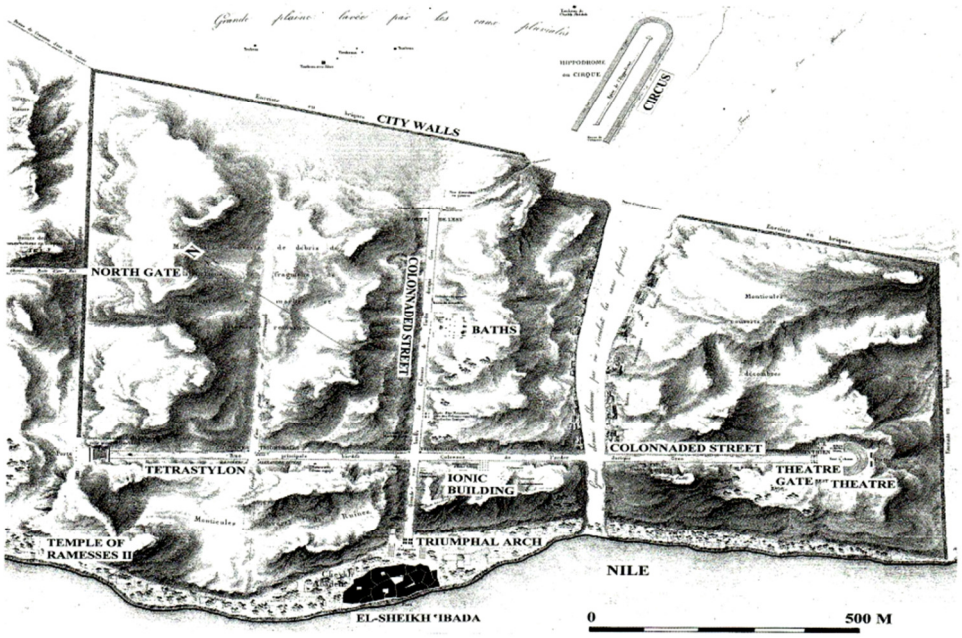
[289] Alston 1995, 218, n. 33.
[290] Malouta 2009, 82.
[291] Bell 1940, 141-2.
[292] Hoogendijk and van Minnen 1987, 71-4; Zahrnt 1988, 690-93. On other privileges granted to Antinoite citizens: Johnson 1914; Bell 1940.
[293] *P.Köln* I.52.i.10-11, ii.57-58: στρογγυλαίου γυμνασίου.
[294] For a false structure identified as the palaestra of Antinoopolis: Bailey 1999.



(Fig. 8)

Most of the monuments of Antinoopolis have unfortunately disappeared. Yet the ruins and illustrations of the Napoleonic expedition in Egypt (1798-9) allow a rough description of its topography and arrangement of urban space and public buildings.[295] Antinoopolis had three principal streets, running from east to west (fig. 8). These paths crossed the main north-south street (fig. 9).[296]

(Fig. 9)

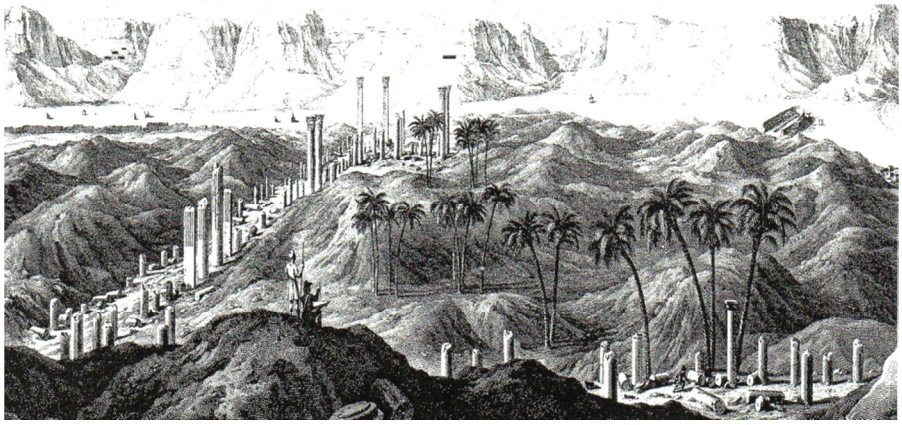
(Fig. 10)

The main western entrance to the city was through a triumphal arch, which stood in a ruinous condition in 1799 (fig. 10).[297] It had a central entrance (3.21 m wide), rising up to the second storey and two lateral ones (2.46 m wide). The side entrances were surmounted by square niches, above which is a Doric entablature surmounted by a

[295] *DE* 4, 197-283; 10, 413-28; pls. 4, 53-61.
[296] Alston 2001, 242.
[297] Bruce 1813, 157; Adriani 1934, 661-2.

triangular pediment. The attic above the pediment is broken away.[298] As triumphal arches are often adorned with winged victories, soldiers, prisoners, and a triumphal procession, while the attic carries bronze figures of horsemen, chariots, and trophies, they are interpreted as architectural symbols of Roman victory and imperial dominion.[299] The higher central opening of this arch is typical of Roman imperial architecture, and can be seen in several Roman arches in North Africa and the Near East, for example Sbeitla, Timgad, Jerash, Petra, and Palmyra.[300] The closest parallels in Egypt appear on Alexandrian coins issued under Domitian and Trajan. The architectural similarities of the Hadrianic arch at Antinoopolis to those of Alexandria suggest a local tradition of arch design.[301]

This arch led to the principal cross-street, which crossed the main longitudinal street. The intersection of the two main streets was marked by a tetrastylon, after which there is a Roman bath. Unfortunately, nothing now survives of the bath-building, the ruins of which remained in 1799.[302]



(Fig. 11)

The two main streets ended in gates and were bordered with colonnades of the Doric order (fig. 11).[303] Alongside the colonnaded streets were huge porticoes of the Corinthian or Ionic order, and remains of monumental and mud-brick structures, some of which are identified as houses, though still unexplored (fig. 12).[304] To the

[298] Kühn 1913, 36-40.
[299] Sear 1982, 201 (fig. 126); Simon 2000, 728-34.
[300] Sear 1982, 204 (fig. 130); Segal 1997, 129-40.
[301] Handler 1971, 70 (pl. 11:23); Simon 2000, 731-2 (fig. 6).
[302] On the architecture of this bath: Kühn 1913, 51-6.
[303] Kühn 1913, 24-30.
[304] McKenzie 2007, 154.

north of the city, the main longitudinal street crossed another east-west street without colonnades. The tetrastylon of Alexander Severus (222-35) and Julia Mamaea marked the junction of the streets. In 1799 only one column, 17.85 m high, was still intact (fig. 13). It was of limestone and had a lower drum of acanthus leaves and a Corinthian capital supporting a statue-plinth.[305]

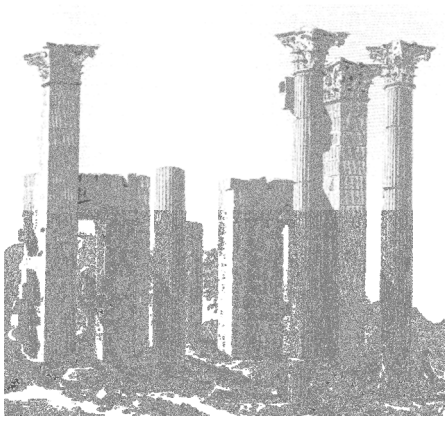
(Fig. 12)

(Fig. 13)

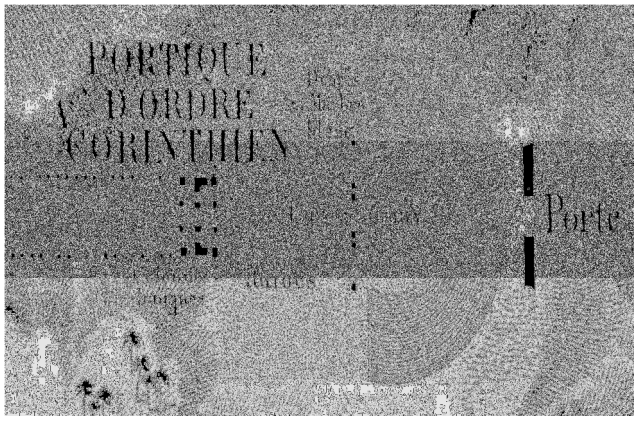
Similar column bases decorated with a calyx of acanthus leaves are kept in the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, where one example is dated to the second century BC. At Kom el-Shouqafa, the columns have papyrus bases, but their Alexandrian capitals have papyrus umbels in place of acanthus leaves, reflecting the fusion of Graeco-Egyptian architectural ornament. Acanthus bases might have originated in Ptolemaic Alexandria, and were developed on the model of papyrus bases of Egyptian temples.[306] They are rare in other provincial cities, but are found for example at Qasr el Abd in Iraq el Emir, Jordan, and in front of the shop doorways in the Severan Forum at Leptis Magna.[307] Over the plinth of a column in the Delphi Museum, an acanthus stalk emerges from three large acanthus leaves. Four rings of smaller acanthus leaves bind the reeds of the stalk together. On top of the smaller leaves, three more large leaves spread out.[308] Although it differs in the arrangement of its leaves, the Delphic column has the same idea of decorating the foot of the column with acanthus leaves.

[305] Kühn 1913, 32-3.
[306] McKenzie 1990, 96-7.
[307] Di Vita 1999, the figures in pages 142-3.
[308] Rykwert 1996, 327-9, the figure in page 328.

At the southern end of the longitudinal street there was a portico, leading to a gateway and then to a theatre, which was largely destroyed in the 1800s.[309] In 138 inhabitants from Herakleopolis and Oxyrhynchus were employed as labourers in the construction of this theatre, confirming relationships with other metropoleis.[310] The portico preceded the main entrance to the *skene* consisted of two rows of Corinthian columns (fig. 14) and ended in a great propylon with four standing columns, 12.78 m high.[311]



(Fig. 14)



(Fig. 15)

The propylon formed the main entrance to the theatre. On the southeastern side was another entrance leading to the semi-circular *cavea* (fig. 15). The theatre was 74 m wide and the distance from the portico to the *skene* was nearly 45 m. The six pilasters which supported the *skene* were still preserved in 1799. As the seats were made of marble, the orchestra was transformed into a limekiln in 1815.[312]

The hippodrome was located outside the city's wall to the east. Its outline with central *spina*, seating area, starting gates and semi-circular end are described and illustrated by Jomard for the Napoleonic expedition (fig. 16).[313] It was flanked on each side by a colonnade of granite columns.[314] It measured 301 m in length and 77 m in width.[315]

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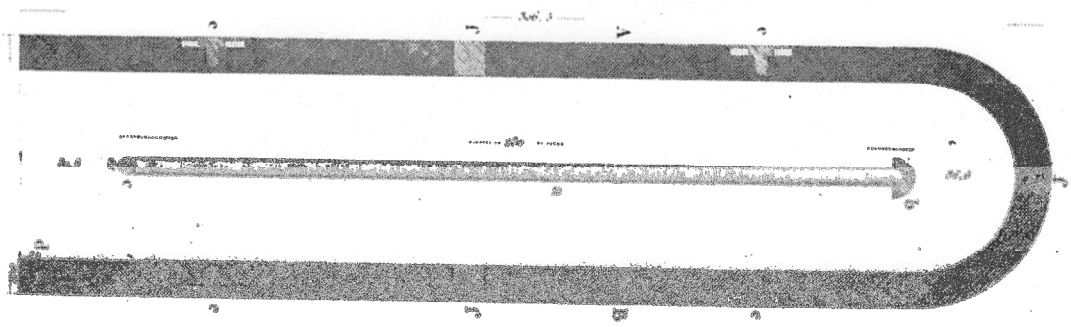
[309] Bailey 1990, 122.
[310] *P.Bad.* IV.74; Pintaudi 2010, 202.
[311] *DE* 4, 226-8, pl. 85.
[312] Kühn 1913, 63-70.
[313] *DE* 4, 242-7, pl. 53.
[314] Maqrizi 1895, 597-8.
[315] Kühn 1913, 61.



(Fig. 16)

Like the Lageion, this hippodrome was used for chariot racing and as a stadium.[316] It was also used during public festivals, where mimes, flute-players, and Homeric reciters conducted their performances. The hippodrome was perhaps an arena for the athletic games already instituted by Hadrian in 131 and continued to be organized by the city in 202, the *Antinoeia*.[317] A late illustrated papyrus from the city still depicts charioteers from the green, red, and blue factions.[318] Antinoopolis had the usual municipal magistrates, gymnasiarch, *exegetes*, *agoranomos*, and *kosmetes*.[319] It also had a nomarch who was a state official and was not ranked among the municipal magistrates.[320] As elsewhere, civic magistrates organized and financed communal life and ceremonies that took place in the city.[321] As games and festivals are fundamental aspects of the daily and entertainment life of a Greek polis, the hippodrome can be viewed as a centre of Hellenic cultural life and heritage, although Graeco-Roman and traditional festivals and sacrifices were celebrated at the Oxyrhynchite hippodrome. In view of its remarkable size and the absence of similar structures at Hermopolis Magna, it may have served a regional function.[322]

Antinoopolis also had temples dedicated to Egyptian and other syncretistic deities, reflecting the city's architectural and religious diversity. The temple of Ramesses II was built for Atum of Heliopolis and Thoth of Hermopolis Magna (fig. 17).[323] Whether the temple was still in use or totally abandoned in Ptolemaic and

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[316] Humphrey 1986, 514.
[317] Malouta 2009, 83; *P.Oxy*. IV.705 (202).
[318] Gasiorowski 1931 (500).
[319] *P.Gen*. II.103 (147).
[320] *SB* 5343; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 38.
[321] Bowman 1971, 11-5.
[322] Humphrey 1986, 514. The Hermopolite nome offered no colonists to Antinoopolis (Malouta 2009, 85).
[323] Bonnet 1952, 40.

Roman times remains unclear. The earlier town was centred around the temple of Ramesses II, which is the oldest part of the city and is located on the river side. The foundation of Antinoopolis shifted attention away from the Pharaonic complex to the east, where the main streets met. This dramatic urban change is not sufficient to suggest that the traditional riverine area became less important under Hadrian and the temple was marginalized in urban space.

(Fig. 17)

An Augustan dedicatory inscription on an architrave block of limestone was uncovered in 1965 near the temple of Ramesses II. The text records that the Egyptian priest *EHwty-rs* (Θοτρῶς), the *archistolistes* and *prophetes* of the great god Heresis, repaired (ἀνῳκοδόμησε) the Heresieum at Antinoopolis in 13/12 BC.[324] At this date, Augustus was appointed as *pontifex maximus* in Rome, two obelisks were transported and relocated before the Caesareum at Alexandria, and the Augustan temple on Philae was built. In Rome, the new office granted Augustus the right to preside over annual celebrations of public sacrifices, a role stressed on inscriptions of the Vatican obelisk.[325] It seems unlikely that this appointment would affect his position in Egypt, where the ruler was considered the son of god, high priest, and the intercessor between the gods and his subjects.[326] In 29 BC Octavian was designated

[324] Bingen 1977, 245.
[325] *CIL* VI 702; Haselberger 2007, 176. On the Pontificate of Augustus: Bowersock 1990. On Gratian's refusal of the pontifical robe: Cameron 1968.
[326] Cf. *OGIS* 701 where Hadrian is styled 'son of the divine Traianus Parthicus and grandson of the divine Nerva, *pontifex maximus'*.

the ‘son of god (*Divi filius*)’ in the Latin text on the obelisk moved from Heliopolis to the Julian Forum at Alexandria.[327] Octavian is also depicted as a Pharaoh/high priest offering on two Buchis stelae,[328] although he did not even want to visit the Apis.[329] The Heresieum itself was dedicated to one of the manifestations of the god Horus, of whom the living ruler was considered to be his representative on earth. Heresis was ‘a particular form of Horus, namely Horus-*Hsj*, who would be glorified after or by immersion in water’.[330] Horus-*Hsj*, or Horus the immersed/blessed, took the shape of a falcon.[331]

Since it is stated to have been restored under Augustus, the Heresieum must have been a pre-Augustan structure.[332] A Ptolemaic Heresieum is already confirmed in Oxyrhynchus.[333] Apart from the inscribed block, nothing survives of the Heresieum at Antinoopolis. Like other sanctuaries in the city it must have continued to serve the New Hellenes, who apparently were not exclusively Hellenic in culture; papyrological and archaeological evidence from the city suggest rather a shared multicultural milieu. The festival of the solar shining of the falcon on the New Year’s Day and other traditional festivities related to Horus were perhaps held at the Heresieum.[334] In a papyrus of 212 the *wob*-priest of Heresis at Antinoopolis is mentioned in connection with sales being conducted in the city, indicating that the cult of Heresis and, by extension, the temple were still alive at least under Caracalla.[335]

To the north of the main cross-street there was a temple dedicated to Serapis.[336] When Gayet visited the ruins of the city, he observed that the temple once had an open court surrounded by granite columns, which led onto a pronaos, also decorated with granite columns and Ionic and Corinthian capitals of limestone. It was here that a fragment of a votive stele of alabaster bearing the name of the god was

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[327] For the Latin text on the obelisk: Alföldi 1990, 50-67; Kayser 1994, 3-7, no. 1, pl. i.
[328] Mond and Myers 1934, II, nos. 13-14.
[329] Dio Cass. 51.16.
[330] Quaegebeur 1977, 246-50, at 250.
[331] Kühn 1913, 95.
[332] The verb ἀνῳκοδόμαι literally means ‘to rebuild’; it is used in connection with temples to mean ‘to repair’. It is the same verb which Dio Cassius (69.11.2) used in his reference to Antinoopolis.
[333] *P.Fouad* 16.6.
[334] Meyer 1994, 122.
[335] *P.Lond*. III.1164.G.17.
[336] Gayet 1902.

unearthed.[337] Although nothing now survives of the temple, it is possible that, like the Serapeum at Alexandria and Thebes, it also incorporated Egyptian decorative elements.[338] The precinct was perhaps built under Hadrian, in whose reign a sanctuary was dedicated to Serapis at Alexandria and the Serapeum at Thebes and Mons Claudianus were built.[339] The Emperor is known for his close connection with the cult of Serapis in Egypt and elsewhere. Even the Serapeum on the Quirinal Hill in Rome, of which only small fragments remain and which most scholars ascribe to the Severans, has recently been attributed to Hadrian.[340]

Following his death, Antinous was identified with Osiris in the form of Osiris-Antinous, who was the local god of Antinoopolis and whose cult was similar in many respects to that of Serapis.[341] A temple was built in honour of Osiris-Antinous at Antinoopolis, where worshippers sought his healing and regenerating abilities.[342] On Antinous' obelisk at Rome, Hadrian is shown once as a Pharaoh offering to Re-Horakhti, while Antinous is depicted three times offering to Thoth, Amun, and Osiris.[343] The architecture of the temple is unknown.[344] In 207 a petition was displayed in it, indicating its importance for public life.[345] In 212 Philantinous and his son Antinous functioned as *pastophoroi* of Osiris-Antinous.[346]

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[337] Gayet 1902; Kühn 1913, 59.
[338] Wild 1984.
[339] Golvin, Abd El-Hamid, Wagner and Dunand 1981, 115-28; Wild 1984, 1793-7.
[340] Taylor 2004, especially 251-3.
[341] Gayet 1902b, 12.
[342] *P.Oxy*. XVII.2131.4-5 = *Sel.Pap*. II.290; Bonnet 1952, 40; Meyer 1994, 161-2.
[343] Meyer 1991, 175-8 (pls. 126-30).
[344] Kühn 1913, 11-12.
[345] *P.Oxy*. XVII.2131.4-5 = *Sel.Pap*. II.290: προτεθέντων ἐν ᾽Αντινόου πόλει ἐν τῷ ᾽Αντινοείῳ.
[346] *P.Lond*. III.1164.G.19-20.

(Fig. 18)

(Fig. 19)

The cult statues of Osiris-Antinous uncovered elsewhere show Antinous in two different forms of iconography. While the Egyptian version shows Antinous as an Egyptian king, wearing the *shendjyet* kilt and the *nemes* headdress (fig. 18), the Greek version represents Antinous as Dionysus, the Greek equivalent of Osiris, the god of wine and the underworld, wearing a crown of ivy leaves and grapes (fig. 19).[347] Based on this contrasting representation, Ernst Kühn suggested that the temple of Osiris-Antinous probably had two chapels: an Egyptian chapel for the Egyptians, where Osiris-Antinous was represented in his Egyptian form; and a Greek chapel for the Greeks, where Osiris-Antinous was shown in his Greek form as Ὀσειραντινόος θεος μεγίστος.[348] Such a view cannot be accepted for several reasons. First, the citizens of Antinoopolis were called *Antinoeis Neoi Hellenes*. This means that the Egyptians who joined the city would immediately become Greeks at least in legality, but this does not mean that they were not required to shift from one culture to another. As far as we can tell, legal status was not closely associated with cultural features. Second, papyri and archaeology suggest that Antinoopolis was a city in which Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditions were preserved. Third, none of the temples attested in Antinoopolis can be used as a reliable ethnic marker.

In short, Antinoopolis was built beside an earlier Egyptian town, where the Heresieum was an important cult centre, which was repaired under Augustus and

[347] Meyer 1991, 111-23 (pls. 99-108), Ashton 2004, 190-4.
[348] Kühn 1913, 75.

continued to serve the inhabitants of the town built before Hadrian. Under Hadrian, the new foundation was built away from the traditional complex of Ramesses II. The citizens of the Greek polis were designated the New Hellenes and enjoyed the right of *epigamia* with the Egyptians. From its outset, Antinoite citizenry also included veterans. The city's public buildings reflected its foundation purpose as a Greek polis. Public buildings and the temple of Osiris-Antinous were essential for civic and public life. The Heresieum remained a major cult centre, and continued in use at least under Caracalla. Antinoopolis was a shared multicultural city where Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditions such as architectural and religious forms were manifest.

I.4. METROPOLEIS

I.4.1. Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)

Oxyrhynchus is located on the west bank of the Bahr Yusuf (Joseph's Canal), 200 km south of Cairo.[349] The *Itinerarium Antonini* places it on the military road, which ran along the west bank of the Nile.[350] From the Ptolemaic period onwards, the city was called *Oxyrhynchus polis* after the Oxyrhynchus Fish (fig. 20).[351] Oxyrhynchus once connected the Nile Valley with the Bahariya Oasis,[352] and was the metropolis of the Oxyrhynchite nome.[353]

(Fig. 20)

The archaeological record at Oxyrhynchus is fragmentary. Little is known about its layout and topography (fig. 21). The available information about its urban space and buildings come from papyri. Yet there are few papyri for the first century, which hinders the formation of a clear picture about the city during that period.[354]

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[349] Turner 1952a, 79.

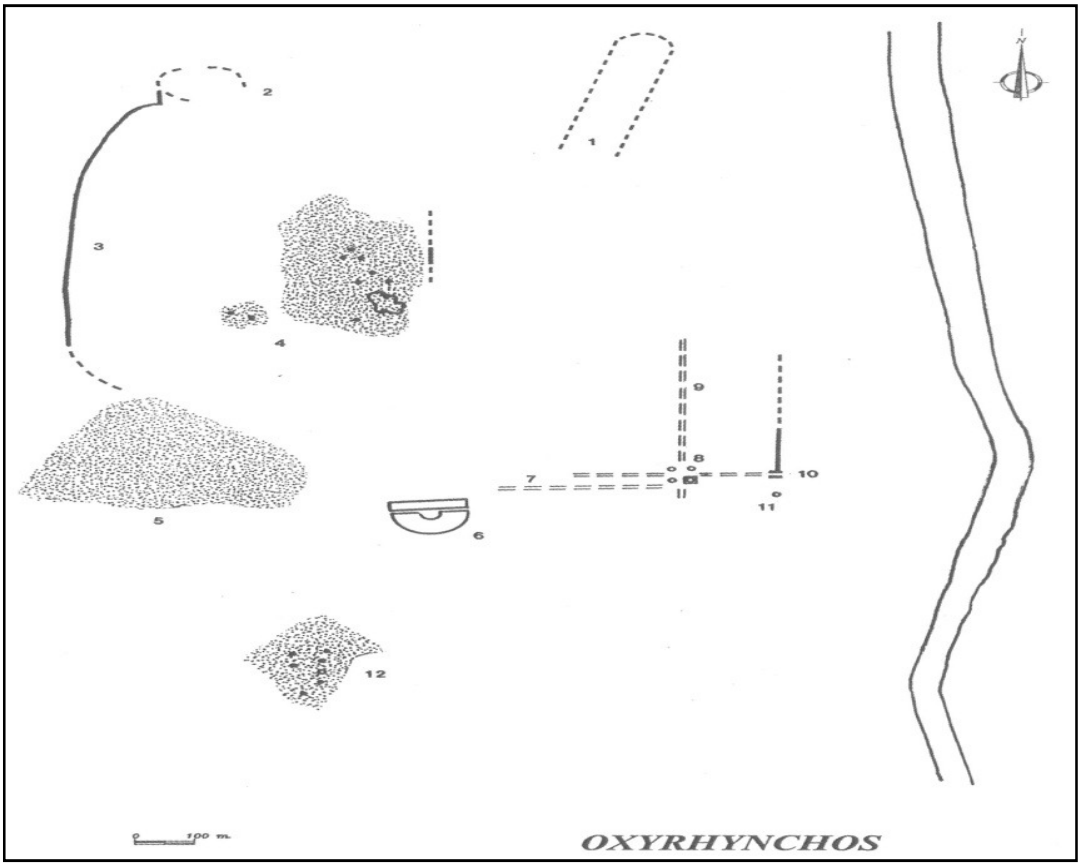
[350] Parthey and Pinder 1947, 71. Oxyrhynchus appears to have had a garrison formed of the Cohors III Ituraeorum. The Campus and the Troopers' Fodder Store reflected their activities (*P.Oxy*. VII.1022; *P.Oxy*. II.247.22, 330.6-7).

[351] Hdt. 2.37; Brewer and Friedman 1990, 51-2. Oxyrhynchus once had a temple sacred to this fish (Strabo 17.1.40).

[352] Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 159. During the Third Intermediate Period, the city was called *Pr-mDd*, 'Place of Meeting', and was the capital of the nineteenth Upper Egyptian nome (*w#bw*) (Brugsch 1879, j; Wilfong 2001, 623). On the origin of this name: Bonnet 1952, 577; Wagner 1987, 259.

[353] Strabo 17.1.40. On the Oxyrhynchus Fish in Roman times: Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 72; Ael. *NA* 10.46; MacLennan 1968, 11. On Tomb No. 3 in Oxyrhynchus which has a representation of two Oxyrhynchus Fishes, see Appendix 3.2.2.

[354] Most Oxyrhynchus papyri date to the second and third centuries (Wilfong 2001, 623; Krüger 1990, 142-0).

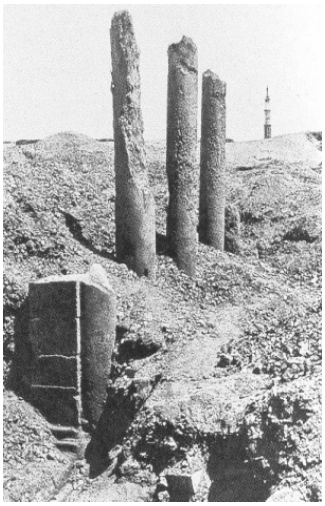


(Fig. 21)

Oxyrhynchus occupied a site extended for 2 km in length and 0.8 km in width.[355] However, recent excavations suggest that 'the dimensions of the site are 1.5 km from east to west and 3 km from north to south'.[356] In 1897-1907 excavations of Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt at Oxyrhynchus aimed to uncover papyri.[357] In 1922 Flinders Petrie searched for any archaeological trace of Oxyrhynchus, and was able to elucidate the topography of the city and its architectural remains. Petrie identified the theatre to the south-west of the city. He also investigated the Roman and Byzantine cemeteries, and uncovered the remains of a colonnaded street leading from the theatre towards the city centre (fig. 22) and other fragments of colonnaded streets. One of these led to the so-called 'Pillar of Phocas', which once bore a dedicatory inscription of Phocas (602-610). Only the lower part of this column now survives (fig. 23).[358] In 1798 Vivant Denon, one of Napoleon's savants, drew and described this single column (fig. 24). He estimated the height of the column at 21 m,

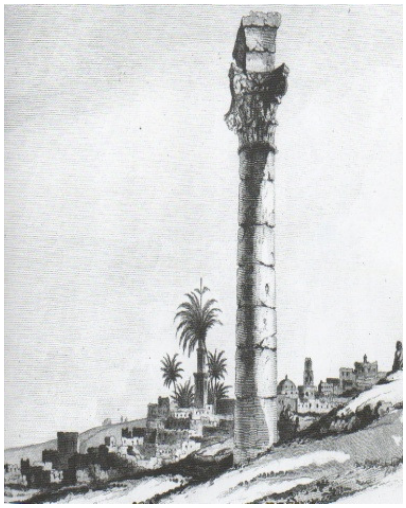
[355] Grenfell 1897; Turner 1952a, 81; Bowman 1986, 145.
[356] Padró 2007, 134.
[357] Grenfell 1897; Grenfell and Hunt 1904; 1905; 1906a; 1906b; 1907.
[358] Petrie 1925, 13.

including the composite capital and the imperial statue that would originally have stood on top, and suggested that the column was part of a portico,[359] but it more likely belonged to a second-century tetrastylon.[360]



(Fig. 22)

(Fig. 23)



(Fig. 24)

The use of composite capitals in this tetrastylon is unusual. Diocletian's Column at Alexandria (26.85 m high) has a square base, plain lower drum, and Corinthian capital. The tetrastyla of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus at Hermopolis Magna (24 m high) and Alexander Severus and Julia Mamaea at Antinoopolis (17.85 m high) also have Corinthian capitals. The west tetrastylon at Thebes is dated to 301-2, while the eastern one dates to 308-9 and carries the names of Galerius, Maximianus, Licinius, and Constantine. Only the pedestals of the Theban tetrastyla survive.[361]

The colonnaded streets were probably parts of the principal longitudinal and cross streets mentioned in a papyrus of 261.[362] Oxyrhynchus was surrounded by a substantial wall broken by five gates, which are known from a document of probably 300: 'the West Gate of the three arches'; the Gate of Pesor (probably on the south-west); the South Gate; the Gate of Pses (probably on the south-east); and the North Gate.[363] The remains, in dressed stone, of a further gate on the eastern side of the city resemble a temple pylon with two battered towers (fig. 25). This must have been the

[359] Denon 1802, 31.
[360] Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 159.
[361] Bailey 1990, 130.
[362] *P.Oxy*. XVII.2109.10, 31. Cf. *P.Oxy*. II.212; *P.Oxy*. LXIV.4441.iv.6.
[363] *P.Oxy*. I.43, verso.

East Gate, now buried under the Mosque of Zain el-Abidin, the minaret of which now stands on the gate's southern tower. To the south of the gate there is a corner of a Doric peristyle (fig. 26), which probably belonged to the gymnasium.[364]

(Fig. 25)

(Fig. 26)

For most public buildings and cult centres, papyri remain our sole source of information since there are no archaeological remains.[365] However, the exact number of temples cannot be determined. According to John Whitehorne, there were at least ten Egyptian temples at Oxyrhynchus.[366] Notable is the Serapeum, the centre and focus of religious and commercial life.[367] Here, worshippers consulted the oracle about buying slaves or marriage.[368] The Serapeum exercised control over the main market as the city's bank was attached to the Serapeum[369] and the taxes collected from the traders under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius fell into the 'hieratic' category, which means that they were collected by or for the benefit of temples or priests.[370] The Serapeum existed as early as the third to second century BC, when the temple enjoyed the right of asylum.[371]

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[364] Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 161; Padró 2007, 134.
[365] Bailey 1990; Bowman 1995.
[366] Whitehorne 1995.
[367] *P.Oxy*. X.1132.
[368] *P.Oxy*. IX.1213; *P.Oxy.* VIII.1148; *P.Oxy.* VIII.1149; *P.Oxy*. XIV.1639; *P.Oxy*. II.269 = *Sel.Pap*. I.69; *P.Oxy*. II.264; *P.Oxy*. II.267.
[369] *P.Oxy*. II.323.11, 18. Cf. *P.Oxy.* XXVII.2471; *P.Oxy.* XXXIV.2722; *P.Oxy.* XXXIV.2726; *P.Oxy.* XLIX.3487.
[370] Rea 1982.
[371] *BGU* 6.1245.5-7.

Many of the dinner invitations attested in the documentary record for Oxyrhynchus were connected with the *kline* of Serapis, which was held 'in the Serapeum'[372] or more specifically 'in the *oikos* of the Serapeum', presumably a dining hall within the enclosure.[373] One dinner party was held on the occasion of *the first birthday* of a young girl.[374] Similarly, a dinner invitation issued by the *exegetes* was held 'in the temple of the goddess Demeter'.[375] Feasts were also located 'in the Thoereum' in relation to coming-of-age ceremonies,[376] but also in the birth house (*loxion*)[377] and Sebasteum in relation to marriage.[378] The Hadrianeum was the venue for a dinner invitation issued by the *agoranomos*.[379] Other banquets were attested in the gymnasium in relation to crowning of a son probably as a magistrate.[380] In addition to civic and private structures, temples provided dining facilities for important social occasions, reflecting the close relationship between the temple and the surrounding local population.[381] The organisers and participants of a dinner party might have found it a suitable occasion for strengthening social relationships and expressing their social identity.

Attached to the Serapeum is the small Iseum.[382] The Serapeum functioned at least as late as 336;[383] however, it appears to have survived as a topographical feature at least until 518.[384] Like other temples, it is lost. Only its façade-pylon is known from papyri, where a two-day festival with a procession was held.[385] As the organisation of temples was taken on by the civic authority of the community, this festival was summoned by the gymnasial and bouleutic elites, where a third century papyrus records payments to a herald, trumpeter, comedian, dancer, and the

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[372] *P.Oxy*. I.18; *P.Coll.Youtie* I.51.
[373] *P.Oxy*. XIV.1755; *P.Coll.Youtie* I.52; *SB* XX.14503.
[374] *P.Oxy*. XXXVI.2791.
[375] *P.Oxy*. XII.1485.
[376] *P.Oxy*. I.110; *P.Oxy*. XII.1484; *P.Oxy*. XXXI.2592; *P.Oxy*. XXXVI.2791; *P.Oxy*. LII.3693; *PSI* XV.1543; *SB* XVIII.13875.
[377] *P.Köln* I.57.3; *P.Oxy*. VI.927; *P.Oxy*. XII.1484.
[378] *P.Oxy*. XXXIII.2678.
[379] *SB* XVI.12596.
[380] *P.Oxy*. XVII.2147; Alston 2001, 81.
[381] For further discussion of dinner invitations and dining halls see pages 194-8.
[382] *P.Oxy*. XII.1453. Cf. *P.Oxy*. I.43, verso ii, 14.
[383] *P.Oxy*. X.1265.
[384] *PSI* 5.466.12.
[385] *P.Oxy*. XLIII.3094. For a discussion of this pylon and festival, see pages 135-6.

doorkeeper of the Serapeum in return for their duties in the festival of Serapis.[386] The metropolitan magistrates preserved Hellenic and Egyptian cultural traditions, which were integrated with each other to emphasize the local identity of the metropolis.

In addition to the 'Great Iseum',[387] the hippopotamus-goddess Thoeris had four temples at Oxyrhynchus:[388] the 'Thoereum of the Revealing Gods' (Θοηρίου ἐξαγορείων)', which continued to function at least until 336;[389] another called Sintabo (Σιντάβω);[390] a third described by the dubious term Θενέπλω;[391] and the Thoereum of Osorphnas (Θοηρείωι Ὀσορφνᾶτος).[392] Although it was quite ancient, the cult of Thoeris flourished at Oxyrhynchus since the Ptolemaic period.[393] An ἱεροδούλος of Thoeris was mentioned in 215-214 BC.[394] In 178 a new golden statue was deposited in the Great Thoereum, which was located to the northeast of the city.[395] In 342 the city's *Phylai* were responsible for the guardianship of the Great Thoereum.[396] There was an *amphodon* named after the Dromos of the Great Thoereum, which is mentioned as late as 462.[397] This sanctuary gave its name to the Tetrastylon of Thoeris.[398] The Serapeum and Great Thoereum were located on opposite sides of the city. They were connected by a *dromos*, which passed through the tetrastylon of Thoeris.[399]

The otherwise unknown god Horus of Infertility (θεός Ἥρος τοῦ ἄγοντος) possessed a temple, which had a processional road on the river (δρόμος … ἐπὶ ποταμόν), undoubtedly the Bahr Yusuf.[400] There was also a temple dedicated to the falcon-headed god Harbaktis or Horus the Falcon (*Or-p#-bjk*, Ἁρπεβήκις),[401] which

[386] *SB* IV.7336.42.
[387] *P.Oxy*. I.35, recto 13.
[388] Turner 1952a, 82.
[389] *PSI* III.215, 6; *P.Mert.* I.26, 4-5.
[390] *P.Mert.* I.26.5 (274).
[391] Rink 1924, 32; Turner 1952a, 82.
[392] *P.Oxy*. IX.1188.3.
[393] Quaegebeur, Clarisse and Van Maele 1985, 225.
[394] *BGU* VI.1263.8.
[395] *P.Oxy*. VIII.1117.1-2.
[396] *P.Oxy*. XIV.1627.
[397] *PSI* III.175.13-14; Krüger 1990, 102.
[398] Rink 1924, 46.
[399] *P.Oxy*. I.43, verso; Alston 1997b, 151.
[400] Rink 1924, 32, with papyrological references.
[401] Leitz 2002-3, vol. 4, 253.

was located 'on the cemetery of the sacred animals'.[402] The dedication of two temples to manifestations of Horus suggests that Horus was particularly venerated in Oxyrhynchus. An Osireium was also built at Oxyrhynchus, where it was located to the southeast of the city in the Gymnasium Quarter.[403] 'The hieroglyphic-carver of Osiris', mentioned in a papyrus of 106, was probably attached to the Osireium.[404] There was also an Ibiotapheum, where the ibis birds were embalmed. From the Ptolemaic period, the ibis cult was connected with the Serapeum, where the Ibioboskos and Ibiotaphos served the cult.[405] In the second century there was a quarter named after the Ibiotapheum.[406]

None of these traditional temples can be used as a reliable ethnic marker. Like Graeco-Roman festivals and sacrifices, Egyptian festivities were held in classical structures such as the theatre and hippodrome, not to mention civic temples. Cult centres in the city were meant to serve worshippers of the deities and members of the local community, without regard for their legal status. Egyptian legal traditions, for example, were available for everyone who wanted to take advantage of them. Greeks had the chance to go to an Egyptian notary and had legal or business documents drawn up in demotic.[407] Yet it should come as no surprise that the priests and priestesses of these temples bear Egyptian names,[408] and the rituals and cult practices within these temples remained traditional, where image-bearers, ibis-feeders, ibis-embalmers,[409] lamplighters of the temples of Serapis and Thoeris,[410] and hieroglyphic-carvers continued to perform their duties.[411] As the temple of the goddess Renenutet at Narmuthis had institutional links to temples in the surrounding villages,[412] and the temple of Tebtunis had a demotic scribal school and was a centre of Egyptian religious learning,[413] one may assume that traditional temples at

[402] *P.Oxy*. IX.1188.3-4.
[403] *P.Oxy*. II.241.22-25.
[404] *P.Oxy*. VII.1029.15-16. On a second-century magical text invoking the names of Osiris, Hathor, and Thoth: Crum 1942, 20-31.
[405] *P.Fouad* I.16.2-4.
[406] *P.Princ*. II.46.
[407] On the Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West: *P.Oxy*. II.237; *P.Oxy*. XLVI.3285; Mattha 1975.
[408] Lewis 1983, 87.
[409] *P.Fouad* I.16.2-4.
[410] *P.Oxy*. XII.1453.4-5, 8.
[411] *P.Oxy*. VII.1029.15-16.
[412] Gallo 1992.
[413] Tait 1992, 303-10.

Oxyrhynchus had similar roles. Graeco-Roman and traditional monuments were equally used as landmarks and gave their names to districts and streets.[414]

It has rightly been argued that traditional cults and temples were preserved through their incorporation into the dominant Hellenic milieu.[415] The metropolitan magistrates were involved in the organisation of festivities in the city, including the festivals of Serapis; Nilus, Tybi and Pachon.[416] Religious festivals and processions represented the ideal religious moments in the life of the Oxyrhynchites. David Frankfurter argues that 'the festival's significance lies principally in its effective linking of temple and cities, where the sacred images exited the temples and were carried on priests' shoulders to embellish and demarcate space or render oracles'.[417] The inhabitants of Roman Egypt constructed their local sense of time around the festival calendar, which included a huge number of Graeco-Roman and traditional festivities. Thus one Petosiris writes to Serenia: 'make every effort, lady, to come out on the 20th for the birthday of the god'.[418] Similarly, a festival of Anubis was celebrated in the Fayum on 23 Epeiph (17 July), the day of the autumn equinox.[419] Anubis was still honoured in the third century, when a papyrus calls him 'Anubis, the one who holds the keys to the underworld', a reference to his funerary role as Psychopompos.[420]

Similarly, the temples and sanctuaries dedicated to Greek deities such as Demeter, Dionysus, Hera, Nemesis, Kore, the Dioskouroi (Castor and Pollux), Apollo, Zeus, and Tyche must have been important to the inhabitants of the city as a whole.[421] A papyrus already attests a festival in honour of 'the stars of Hera', i.e. Venus, which was granted three days of public holiday.[422] Equally, temples built for the imperial cult must have been important to almost all inhabitants. The conversion of the Caesareum into a church by 406 reflects the growing supremacy of

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[414] Rink 1924, 25-42, with papyrological references.
[415] Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Alston 1997c.
[416] Serapis: *P.Oxy*. XLIII.3094 = *SB* IV.7336. Nilus: *P.Oxy*. XI.1211 = *P.Oxy*. III.519 = Vandoni 1964, 46. Tybi and Pachon: *P.Oxy*. XVII.2127 = Vandoni 1964, 46.
[417] Frankfurter 1996, 304. Cf. the festival of the *Navigium Isidis* in Rome (Apul. *Met*. 11).
[418] *P.Oxy*. I.112.
[419] *P.Hib*. I.27.173 = Vandoni 1964, 28 = Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 17.
[420] *SB* IV.7452.3.
[421] Turner 1952b, 130 = Krüger 1990, 103-5.
[422] *P.Oxy*. IV.731.6 = Vandoni 1964, 141 = Whitehorne 1995, 3087.

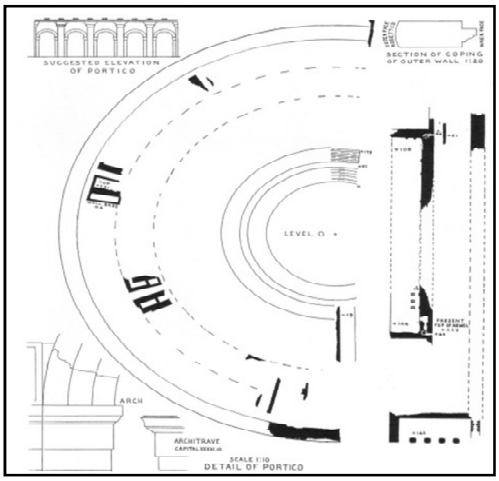
Christianity in the early fifth century.[423] In 181 the Hadrianeum was a venue for opening the wills of the dead in the presence of the strategos, reflecting its importance for civic life.[424] In the early third century it became a large complex with a counting-house (*logisterion*); yet it was converted into a prison by 326.[425] Roman cults included a temple of Mars[426] and Capitolium.[427] Another cult of Jupiter Capitolinus is attested in 215 at Ptolemais Euergetis, where a festival of Kronos/Sobek was celebrated and called by the gymnasial and bouleutic elites.[428] This reflects the incorporation of traditional festivals into Roman sanctuaries. Like other Capitolia in North Africa, Capitolia in Egypt survived at least until the early fourth century.[429]

Temples are identified in papyri by the name of the deity/deities worshipped in them, and not by their architectural style or the legal status of worshippers. What *we* now recognise as Roman, Greek, or Egyptian temples could serve all members of the local community. Thus in 58 the temple of Souchos in Arsinoe asked for pious contributions from Romans, Alexandrians, and other inhabitants of the nome.[430] The Hellenized metropolites contributed to the construction of new temples for traditional cults like the Temple of Isis at Taposiris Parva and the Theban Serapeum.[431] The Tiberian pronaos of Hathor-Aphrodite at Tentyris and the Trajanic pylon of Isis and Serapis at Kysis were built respectively by 'the inhabitants of the metropolis and nome' and 'the inhabitants of Kysis'. Such collective designations appear to stress the identity of the local community as a whole.[432] If Romans, Alexandrians, and the metropolitan elites could participate in the construction or repair of traditional temples and were happy to honour traditional deities, then the patronage and worshipping of Egyptian cults cannot be used as reliable signifiers of ethnic or legal

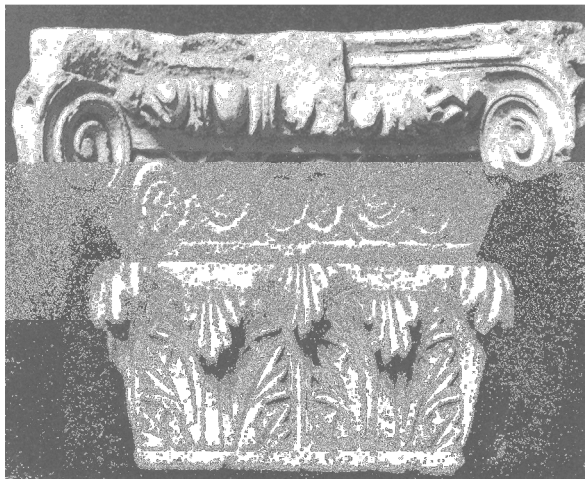
[423] *P.Mert.* I.41.12.
[424] *P.Mert.* II.75.
[425] *P.Oxy.* XLV.3249.11-12.
[426] *P.Oxy.* VI.984.149-150.
[427] *P.Oxy.* I.43, verso, iv.3; *P.Oxy.* XVII.2109.8-9; *P.Oxy.* XVII.2128.4; *P.Oxy.* LIV.3758.78, 156.
[428] *BGU* II.362.vi.22-4 = *Sel.Pap.* II.404.
[429] On Capitolia in North Africa: Barton 1982.
[430] *P.Mert.* II.63.
[431] Bernand 1969, no. 109, 428-30 (pl. 78); Golvin et al 1981.
[432] Tentyris: Letronne 1974, 90-1. Kysis: *SEG* VIII.790 = *SEG* XXIV.1215 = *SB* 5.8438 = Letronne 1974, 120-1; Reddé 2004, 18.

identities. This reflects the permeability of social and ethnic boundaries in Roman Egypt.

The principal archaeological remains of classical-style architecture surviving at Oxyrhynchus come from the theatre (fig. 27), which held *c.* 11,000 spectators.[433] It was guarded by three watchmen.[434] The architectural decorative fragments from the theatre appear to be Antonine in date (fig. 28).[435]



(Fig. 27)

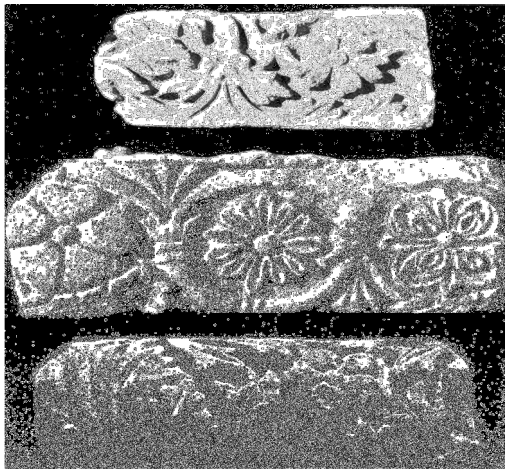


(Fig. 28)

It measures 125 m across, making it 'the largest recorded theatre in North Africa'.[436] The stage measures 61.1 m in length.[437] The *scaenae frons* was decorated with pilasters, free-standing red-granite columns with limestone Corinthian bases and capitals, and with marble statues of the Muses (fig. 29).[438] There was also a colonnade with red granite columns (0.56 cm in diameter) and a limestone frieze of rosettes around the top of the *cavea* (fig. 30), which was more than semi-circular and measured 121.80 m in diameter.[439]

[433] Krüger 1990, 125-8; Petrie 1925, 14-6; Bailey 2007, 70-90.
[434] *P.Oxy*. I.43, verso, iii 4-6; Turner 1952b, 130-1.
[435] For a discussion of the architectural decorative fragments: Bailey 2007.
[436] Bailey 2007, 89.
[437] Petrie 1925, 14.
[438] Bailey 1990, 122-3.
[439] McKenzie 2007, 161.

(Fig. 29)



(Fig. 30)

In the late second century 6000 drachmae were spent on sacrifices and shows held in the theatre, where a *mimus*, a musician, a dancer, and a Homericist conducted their performances in connection with the festivals of Tybi and Pachon.[440] Graeco-Roman performances were probably also held at traditional festivals in theatres at Memphis, Crocodilopolis, Apollonopolis Heptakomia, and Panopolis.[441] The development of the theatre reflected a high degree of urbanisation in the second and third centuries, where ambitious inhabitants assimilated themselves with Greek institutions.[442]

Other Graeco-Roman and Egyptian festivals and sacrifices were also conducted in the hippodrome, which gave its name to an *amphodon* as early as 22/5.[443] It was located outside Oxyrhynchus to the north, and probably lies beneath the mound running north to south.[444] Taken over from a traditional ceremony is the festival of 'the most sacred Nile' on 30 Pauni (Julian: 24 July), for which the strategos was supplied with items like a calf, sweet wine, garlands, pine-cones, and green palm-branches.[445] A second-century papyrus records payments for a *mimus*, a musician, a dancer, and a Homericist in a procession related to this festival, which was probably held in the hippodrome.[446] During the second and early third century, the political and administrative power in cities was transferred from the priests to the gymnasial and later bouleutic elites, who organised and summoned Greek

[440] *P.Oxy*. XVII.2127.
[441] Sear 2006, 300-1.
[442] Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Bowman 1995, 2000; Alston 1997c.
[443] *P.Oxy*. II.288.17, 26, 30; *P.Oxy.* II.311.2; *P.Oxy.* X.1258.2; Humphrey 1986, 516-9.
[444] Padró 2007, 136.
[445] *P.Oxy.* IX.1211.
[446] *P.Oxy*. III.519. The papyrus mentions that the ἱπποκόμοις participated in the festival.

entertainers to games and a variety of religious and public festivals, centring on the gymnasium, theatre, and hippodrome.[447] The festivities and their architectural backdrops helped the participants to construct a sense of belonging to their city.[448] Metropoleis competed against each other in athletic contests, which were elevated to 'sacred' status.[449] In 199/200 Aurelius Horion, a wealthy Oxyrhynchite, petitioned the emperor to be allowed to establish a fund of 10,000 Attic drachmae to provide prizes for the ephebic games to rival those offered at Antinoopolis, showing the familiar civic rivalry among Greek cities. Horion supported his request by stating that Oxyrhynchus still celebrated the emperor's victory over the Jews in the rebellion of 115/7.[450] The metropolis already developed new festivals to reinforce its local identity in competition with other cities.[451]

The restructuring of metropoleis with public buildings during the second and third centuries perhaps reflected the political and administrative dominance of the Hellenized elites.[452] It is, however, misleading to assume that the metropolitan elites were only Hellenic in culture as Greek and Egyptian cultural traditions were closely integrated in metropoleis. According to a calendar from the late second or early third century the gymnasial and bouleutic elites in Oxyrhynchus presented a range of imperial, Greek, and traditional festivities: (festival?) of Zeus, the deification of Antinous, and the house of Britannicus; sacrifices in the temple of Tyche and the Serapeum; three days of sacrifices on the birthday of Antinous; (sacrifices?) and two days of shows in the Lageum on the victories of the Emperor [Marcus?] Aurelius Antoninus; the offering of incense in the Serapeum and … in the Lageion on the day deified Hadrian (entered?) the city; sacrifices by the gymnasiarch in the Sebasteum and Lageum on the birthday of the deified Verus; sacrifices in the Sebasteum, on the steps of the *dromos*, and in the Serapeum; sacrifices to the Nile; and sacrifices of Tybi and Pachon in the theatre.[453] A series of festivals and sacrifices was similarly connected with the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Ptolemais Euergetes. These

[447] Alston 1997b, 141-59.
[448] Alston 1997b.
[449] Rigsby 1977.
[450] *P.Oxy*. IV.705.
[451] Alston 1997c, 88.
[452] Lukaszewicz 1986.
[453] *P.Oxy.* XXXI.2553.1-15, 21; Sijpesteijn 1969, 113; cf. *P.Oxy*. XVII.2127.4.

include the accession of the emperor, the raising and crowning of a statue to Severus Antoninus, the visit of the prefect, the visit of the procurator, the birthday of Severus Antoninus, the birthday of Rome, and the birthday of Kronos.[454] The latter is probably related to a late third-century text from Oxyrhynchus, which contains an invitation from *gymnasiarch* and *prytanis*, *exegetes*, chief priest, and *kosmetes* to an actor and Homericist to a celebration of the birthday of Kronos.[455] The god Kronos was almost certainly Souchos/Sobek, who had a sanctuary at Tebtunis.[456]

The growth of civic rivalry and of euergetism led to a boom in new building projects from the second century. Papyri confirm the presence of baths of Trajan/Hadrian[457] and Antoninus Pius.[458] In a letter of 127/8 the prefect Flavius Titianus addressed the polis of the Oxyrhynchites: 'I congratulate you on your design to beautify your city and I permit you to equip the bath from the funds already collected'.[459] This shows the management of a public building before Oxyrhynchus had a *boule* in 200. By the late third century, Oxyrhynchus already had a synagogue, serving οἱ ἀπ' Ὀξυρὺγχων πόλεως Ἰουδαῖοι.[460] Nothing is known of the architecture of this synagogue. The ransom of a female Jewish slave and her two children was paid παρὰ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαιων.[461] An *amphodon* in Oxyrhynchus was called the Jewish Quarter.[462] In 400 members of the synagogue left a lacunose Hebrew papyrus.[463] At about the same time, Oxyrhynchus at least two Christian churches, reflecting the multiple religious identities in the city.[464] The Jews had a presence in other cities in the *chora*. For example, excavations at Leontopolis, 25 km north of Cairo, have uncovered traces of the town founded around 160 BC, where the Jews who followed the high priest Onias IV into exile settled. With the approval of King Ptolemy Philometer, Onias built a temple at Leontopolis to rival the

[454] *BGU* II.362 = *Sel.Pap*. II.348.
[455] *P.Oxy*. VII.1025.
[456] ***P.Mich. V.226 (37).***
[457] *P.Oxy*. VI.896.i.7-8.
[458] *P.Oxy*. XVII.2128.12.
[459] *P.Oxy*. XLIII.308.
[460] *P.Oxy*. II.335.
[461] *P.Oxy*. IX.1205.7-8.
[462] Rink 1924, 25-42.
[463] Cowley 1915, 209-13.
[464] *P.Oxy*. I.43, verso, i.10, iii.19.

one at Jerusalem.[465] After the destruction of the latter in 70, the Romans closed down the former around 73.[466] There was also a Jewish community at Apollonopolis Magna, living in the Jewish Quarter.[467]

Oxyrhynchus continued to flourish throughout the third century, when its official title became ἡ λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη Ὀξυρυγκιτῶν πόλις in 272, reflecting the aspiration of the city and its inhabitants for civic life.[468] This was a year before the world-games (*Iso-Capitolia*) were held in Oxyrhynchus, indicating that the city was not a provincial rural backwater.[469] In 283 a colonnaded street was constructed at the city's cost; this must have caused noticeable changes to the city's topography.[470] In the late third and early fourth centuries, Oxyrhynchus remained a major metropolis.[471] Regarding the topography and archaeology of the city during these periods, one again relies on papyri. Two are particularly informative. The first is *P.Oxy*. I.43, verso, already mentioned in connection with city gates. The recto is dated to 296, suggesting that the verso was a little later. The recto gives an account of supplies to troops and officers, while the verso gives a list of buildings being monitored by the night guards and their stations commencing from the north and moving anti-clockwise around the city.[472] It mentions imperial and traditional temples, including the Caesareum, Capitolium, Iseum, and Thoereum, two churches (*ekklesiai*) and among public buildings, the tetrastylon of Thoeris, the theatre, a bath-building, a gymnasium, and city gates. This document is mostly complete, lacking the names of the guards for the last two streets. That the papyrus gives the total number of watchmen in Oxyrhynchus is unlikely. Chart 1 shows the distribution of watchmen in buildings mentioned in *P.Oxy*. I.43, verso.

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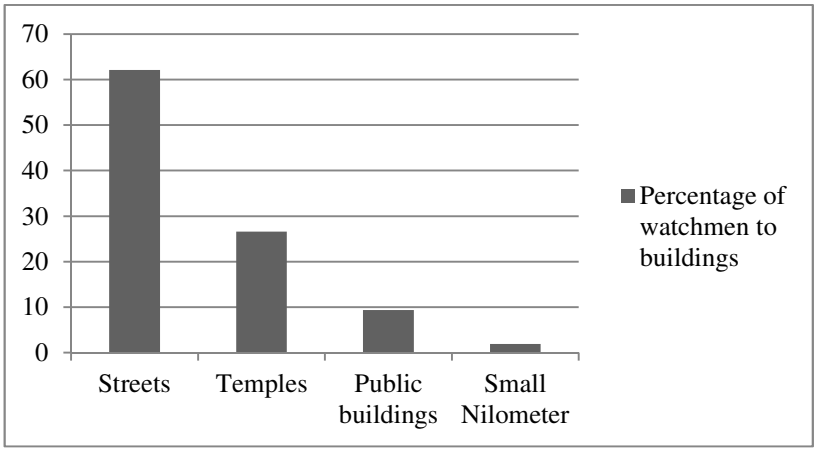
[465] Joseph. *AJ* 13.1-3; Hayward 1982.
[466] Joseph. *BJ* 7.10.
[467] Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 81-2, 228.
[468] *P.Oxy*. X.1264; Hagedorn 1973, 285. On honorific titles of cities in Asia Minor: Robert 1977; Burrell 2004.
[469] *BGU* IV.1074.20-1.
[470] *P.Oxy*. I.55.8-11.
[471] Amm. Marc. 22.16.6.
[472] *P.Oxy*. I.43, verso.

Building	Number of guards
Public streets	33
Thoereum	7
Serapeum	6
Iseum	1
Theatre	3
Gymnasium	2
Small Nilometer	1

(Chart 1)

The structures being supervised by the watchmen can be roughly divided into four categories (Chart 2): streets; temples; public buildings; and the small Nilometer.



(Chart 2)

Each street was monitored by a night guard. The largest number of watchmen (seven guards) was allocated to the Thoereum. Although it had fewer, the Serapeum remained a major topographical feature, being monitored by six guards. Descriptions of properties in the city mention it as a landmark, probably paralleled by the Thoereum.[473] Fewer numbers of watchmen patrolled the theatre (three guards) and gymnasium (two). Only one watchman monitored the Iseum and the Small Nilometer. Apparently the number of guards varied according to the size or location of the structure. The allocation of a large number of watchmen to monitor the

[473] *SB* XVI.12700.

Thoereum, Serapeum, and Iseum confirms that these cult centres were still used by at least the end of the third century for religious purposes.

The second document is a report of 316 to the *logistes* by craftsmen, giving a list of repairs necessary to civic and other public buildings, which were located along each colonnade (*stoa*) of the two principal streets.[474] Along the west colonnade there were a school, temples of Tyche and Achilles, a library/record office (*bibliotheke*), and a *macellum*. Along the east colonnade there were the public-baths and a number of temples, including those of Hadrian, Demeter, and Dionysus. Oxyrhynchus also possessed a *palatium*; however, it is unclear whether the *palatium* was actually used by visiting emperors or as a palace for the governor. The already mentioned late second or early third century calendar records the anniversary of the entry of Hadrian into 'the city', probably Oxyrhynchus, between 30 November and 15 December.[475] It has been suggested that Alexander Severus also visited the city,[476] and Diocletian perhaps visited it on his way to Panopolis.[477] As Oxyrhynchus was perhaps visited by a number of emperors, the *palatium* was probably originally built to be a residential palace for visiting emperors.[478]

The surviving papyri suggest that Graeco-Roman structures dominated the topography of Oxyrhynchus by the early fourth century, when official funds and resources went mainly into the maintenance of public buildings and temples alike.[479] Successive emperors were responsible for the extension and decoration of pre-existing temples. Antoninus Pius was responsible for some construction at the temple of Harsaphes at Herakleopolis, where the work was carried out under the authority of gymnasiarchs.[480] Lucius Verus (161-169) added relief decorations on traditional temples, and two new temples were built in the Kharga oasis under Marcus Aurelius (161-180).[481] There is no surviving evidence for the construction of substantial new temples after Marcus Aurelius. Yet Egyptian temples continued to function through

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[474] *P.Oxy*. LXIV.4441.iii-xiv.
[475] *P.Oxy.* XXXI.2553. Cf. Bowman 1976, 157. On the possibility of a visit to Hermopolis Magna: Sijpesteijn 1991.
[476] Thomas and Clarysse 1977; Van Minnen and Sosin 1996.
[477] Bowman 1976, 160.
[478] On the *palatium* at Rome: Ammerman et al. 1999.
[479] Alston 1997b.
[480] *SB* XIV.11959 (142).
[481] Farid 1986, 35-53; Arnold 1999, 270-1.

the third, fourth, and fifth centuries.[482] Based on his cartouches, Commodus (180-192) was responsible for some work in the temple of Horus at Tahta, northwest of Sohag.[483] Judging from the Greek inscription on its lintel, the north propylon in the precinct of Petesouchos and Pnepheros at Karanis was restored under Commodus.[484] The latest decorative work on the pronaos of Esna was achieved by Decius in 249-51.[485] The last hieroglyphic inscription of 394 is carved on Hadrian's Gate at Philae, while the last demotic graffiti dates to 452.[486] The temple of Isis at Philae was closed only in 535-8.[487]

In short, Oxyrhynchus was a multicultural metropolis, where Graeco-Roman and Egyptian cultural traditions were manifest in its infrastructure. The Serapeum continued to be the city's religious and commercial focus. The temples were placed under the authority of the city, where the gymnasial and curial elites summoned the festivals centred on the gymnasium, theatre, and hippodrome. The temples continued to be important centres of local identity, where festivals and processions probably emphasized the identity of the city in competition with other cities. Yet dining activities held in the Serapeum, the Temple of Demeter, and private houses probably emphasized the social identity of the hosts or participants. During the third and fourth centuries, official finances went towards the repair and maintenance of public buildings and temples alike. By the early fourth century, the city had a synagogue and two churches, witnessing the presence of multiple religions. During the early fifth century, the Caesareum was converted into a church, reflecting the growing political and topographical importance of the Christian church.

[482] Frankfurter 1998.
[483] Capart 1940, 45-50; Grégoire 1940, 119-23.
[484] Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth 1990, 34.
[485] Sauneron 1952, 111-21.
[486] Winter 1976, 6 (fig. 7); Grenier 1983, 204-5.
[487] Nautin 1976, 8.

I.4.2. Hermopolis Magna (el-Ashmunein)

Hermopolis Magna is located on the west bank of the Nile, 7 km north-west of Mallawi, el-Minia.[488] The villages of el-Idara and el-Ashmunein respectively occupy the northern and southern limits of Hermopolis.[489] Hermopolis was a metropolis of considerable size, and maintained much of its religious and commercial importance under Roman rule.[490] It had a port and a custom-house, where all boats travelling up and down the Nile paid toll on passing.[491] It was an important religious site, where temples were mainly built for Egyptian and Greek deities.[492] Appellations like Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως τῆς ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν and Ἑρμουπόλεις τῆς Θηβαίδος reflected its geographic and administrative attachment to the Thebaid.[493]

The layout and types of public buildings at Hermopolis have been discussed by Herman Schmitz and Günter Roeder.[494] Through reconsideration of Hermopolitan topography and architecture, this section focuses on the ways in which urban space and architecture in Hermopolis reflected the shared cultural heritage of its inhabitants. Unlike Alexandria and Antinoopolis, where the landscape was dominated by classical buildings; Hermopolis was centred on the temple complex of Hermes-Thoth, which occupied the northern half of the city.[495] This complex was occupied by the late temple of Thoth (fig. 31).[496] Nectanebo I Kheperkare (379-378/361-360 BC) claimed in his stele, uncovered from Hermopolis, that he laid the foundations of the temple in the eighth year of his reign. The temple once measured 220 cubits (115 m) in length and 110 cubits (57.7 m) in width.[497]

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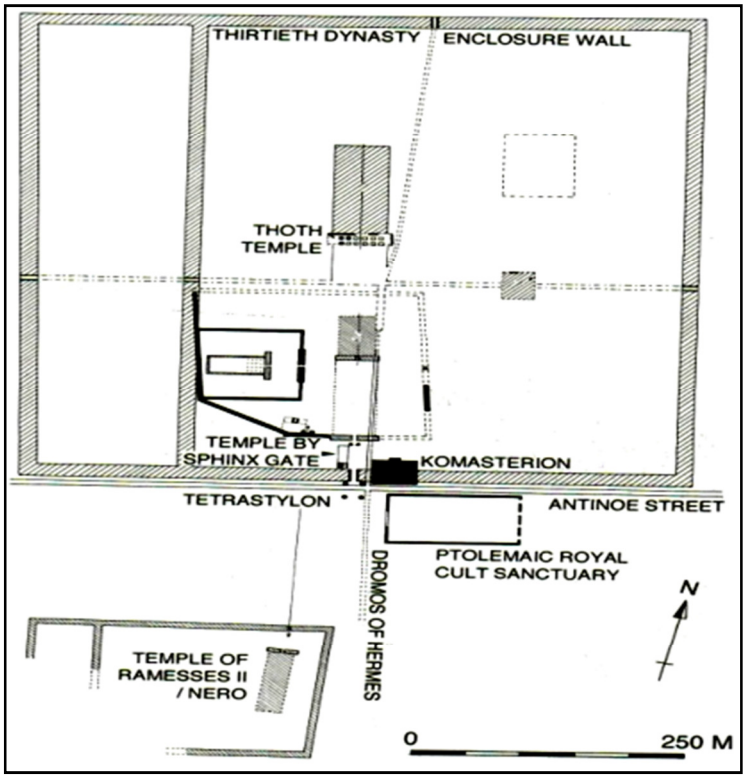
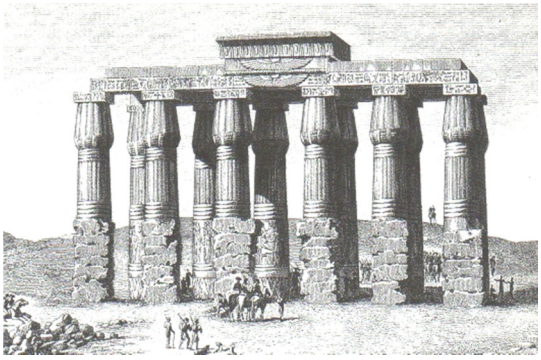
[488] Kessler 1976, 1137; Kessler 2001, 94.
[489] Spencer 1983, 3. Hermopolis was a major religious centre holding several names. Its sacred name was %mnw, 'City of the Eight', a reference to the Ogdoad of creation (Wilkinson 2000, 139). It was also called *Wnw*, 'City of the Hare' (Gauthier 1925, 196). In ordinary usage, it was called *Pr-EHwty*, 'House of Thoth', hence Ἑρμούπολις, 'City of Hermes', following the syncretism of Thoth and Hermes (Gardiner 1947, 79-80; Fowden 1986). El-Ashmunein preserves %mnw through the Coptic *shmun* (Crum 1930, 566). Since the Ptolemaic period, Thoth the Twice Great became Hermes the Thrice Great and his temple was called the Great Hermaion (Wilkinson 1885, 416; Parlebas 1974, 25-8; Derchain and Derchain 1975, 7-10).
[490] Bowman 1985, 139.
[491] Strabo 17.1.41.
[492] *P.Vindob.Gr.* 12565 = *SB* X.10299.
[493] *P.Flor.* I.86.1; *P.Lond.* III.1166.1.
[494] Schmitz 1921, 54-71, 1932, 88-90; Roeder 1959.
[495] For the use of temples as centres of urban sites in Pharaonic Egypt: Routledge 1997.
[496] Spencer 1983, 3.
[497] Spencer 1989, 72. Cf. Festugière 1944, 55-6.

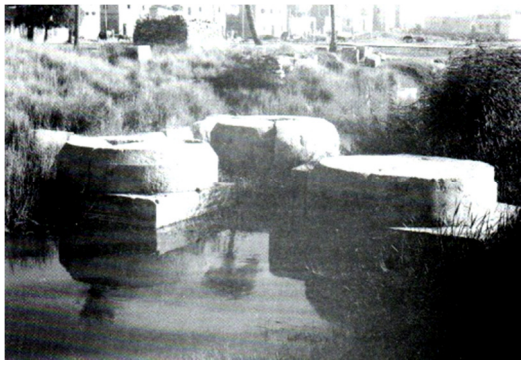


(Fig. 31)

Philip Arrhidaeos (323-317 BC) added a pronaos to the temple for Thoth under his Greek appellation Hermes Trismegistos (fig. 32).[498] In 1798 Edmé Jomard drew and described this pronaos. Only the columns of the pronaos survived until 1826, when it was used as a quarry. Only three column-bases remain now *in situ* (fig. 33).[499]



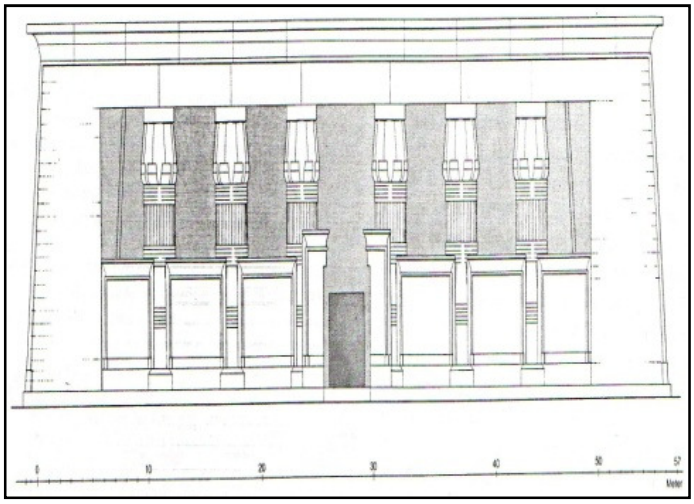
(Fig. 32)



(Fig. 33)

The pronaos was rectangular in shape and consisted of two rows of six papyrus-bud columns, with bases bearing the cartouches of Philip Arrhidaeos (fig. 34).[500]

[498] Wilkinson 1843, 67; Köster 1901, 141-2; Schmitz 1921, 5; Roeder 1952, 318; Helck and Otto 1956, 147; Zayed 1960, 80; Snape and Bailey 1988, 2.
[499] Spencer 1987, 255-6.
[500] Gabra 1949, 17; Köster 1901, 142.



(Fig. 34)

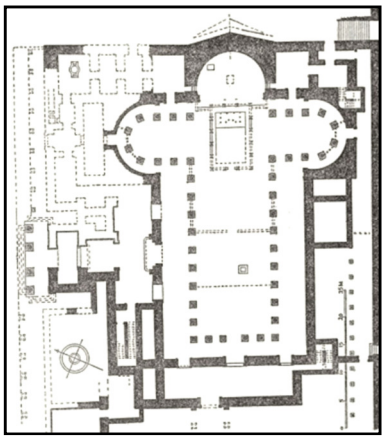
The outer angles of the pronaos were originally marked by a torus moulding, while the top is furnished with a horizontal torus and a cavetto cornice.[501] The outer face of the portico had screen walls, from which the shafts of columns rise.[502] The Hermaion perhaps received supplementary decorations under Tiberius, whose reliefs were found loose in the area around the Sphinx Gate.[503]

The precinct of Thoth received successive building activities, reflecting its continued topographical and religious importance. It contained several Pharaonic structures, including the Gate of Amenemhat II, the Amun-temple of Ramesses II west of the temple area, which was decorated under Merenptah and Sety II,[504] and the pylon of Ramesses II with the so-called Sphinx Gate attached to its front under Nectanebo I.[505] The Ptolemaic bastion was built to the southeast of the Sphinx Gate and was probably used as a treasury, although it may have been the pre-Antonine komasterion.[506] In 240 BC the cavalry soldiers dedicated a Ptolemaion for Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II outside the temenos of Thoth.[507]

Nothing is known of the function of the Ptolemaion in the Roman period. It is not mentioned in the Repair Papyrus of 276, which is an account made by Aurelius Appianus to the *boule*, recording expenses for a list of buildings on Antinoe Street

[501] On the cavetto and torus, see Chapter 5.
[502] Arnold 1994, 19.
[503] Spencer 1989, 75.
[504] Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 164.
[505] Spencer 1983, 6-7.
[506] Bailey 1983, 28; bailey 1991, 22.
[507] Wace 1945; Wace 1946; Arnold 1999, 164; Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 164.

which were repaired following revolts in the city.[508] It may have been used as an imperial cult temple, as was probably the Ptolemaion at Limyra.[509] In the early fifth century, the Ptolemaion at Hermopolis was demolished and a basilica-church was built on its remains with a transept, a central nave with two side aisles and a tripartite apse (figs. 35-36).[510] The Bishop of Hermopolis, Plousianos, heard cases at the gates of this church, a function that was taken over from traditional temples.[511]



(Fig. 35)

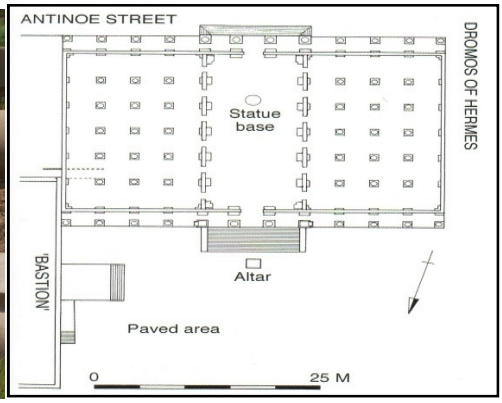
(Fig. 36)

In Roman Hermopolis, the temenos mud-brick wall of the sacred precinct of Thoth was cut down in certain places and an Antonine komasterion was built to the south of the Ptolemaic bastion at the intersection of the Dromos of Hermes with Antinoe Street, the main two paths. Although procession-houses occur elsewhere like the Pompeium in the Kerameikos at Athens, the term komasterion is only associated with Egypt.[512] Komasterion was a place where religious processions (κωμάσιαι) were held.[513] Yet government auction-sales of confiscated property were held 'in one of the komasteria at Krokodilopolis'.[514] In *Greek Magical Papyri*, komasterion is used as a metaphor for describing heaven as 'the processional way' of the stars.[515] In the early fifth century, Synesius of Cyrene, Bishop of Ptolemais, twice uses the term komasterion in an Egyptian context.[516] Of the komasterion, only a number of red

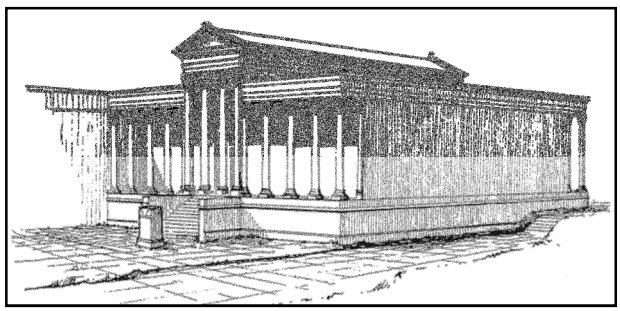
[508] *P.Vindob.Gr.* 12565 = *SB* X 10299.
[509] Augustus built a cenotaph for his adopted son Gaius Caesar near the Ptolemaion at Limyra (Stanzl 1999, 155-71).
[510] Wace, Megaw, and Skeat 1959.
[511] Rouillard 1928, 231.
[512] For this Pompeium: Hoepfner 1976.
[513] Bailey 1986, 231; Bailey 1991, 22.
[514] *P.Tebt.* III.871.3, 13. 158 BC.
[515] *PGM* IV.1608-9, XII.184, 252, XIII.774, XXI.10, LXXVII.13.
[516] Migne 1864, 1184, 1221.

granite columns, with their limestone bases and Corinthian capitals, and the substructure piers survive (fig. 37). It originally took the form of a basilica with a central nave and four aisles on each side (figs. 38-39).[517]

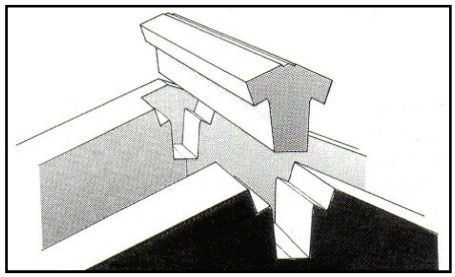
(Fig. 37)



(Fig. 38)

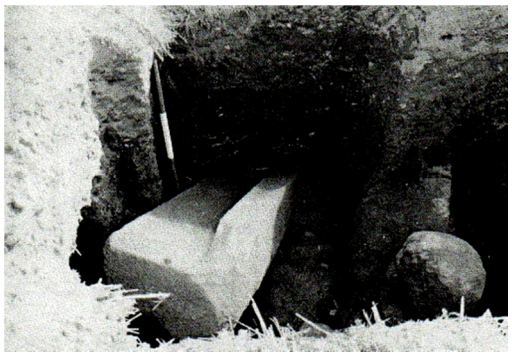


(Fig. 39)



(Fig. 40)

It measures 37 m by 40.66 m. The front portico has four large Corinthian columns, flanked on each side by four smaller columns.[518] The construction of the komasterion included Roman and local techniques: brick piers joined by barrel vaults in the substructure (fig. 42) and the carved red granite ridge-beam (3.58 m long) of the front portico (figs. 40-41).[519]



[517] Bailey 1986.
[518] Bailey 1991, 13-4, 21.
[519] Bailey 1983, 14; McKenzie 2007, 159.

(Fig. 41) (Fig. 42)

Although stone was mainly used for the construction of temples, tombs, and other monumental buildings in Roman Egypt, mud-brick was more common in domestic architecture, because of its low cost and ease of manufacture, as was the case in Pharaonic Egypt.[520] In Egypt, barrel vaults are used for building interiors. In his account of the temple of Arsinoe in Alexandria, Pliny states that it had a vaulted *cella* in the third century BC.[521] A portico on the pavilion of Ptolemy Philadelphus is also described as having a vaulted roof.[522] Thus the use of barrel vaults for substructures is rare in Egypt. In contrast, barrel vaults in Roman Greece and Asia Minor were used in underground graves, passages, and substructures.[523] The use of barrel vaults for the substructure in this komasterion was inspired by Roman construction techniques.

Although the komasterion had a classical appearance, it was a place of assembly for processions for the Great Hermaion. This is why the main entrance, with a flight of seventeen steps, a large paved area, and an altar in front, was built to the north side of the building opening onto the sacred precinct of Hermes-Thoth. The rear entrance, in contrast, was built on the south side leading onto Antinoe Street. The position of the komasterion at the southern edge of the sacred enclosure indicates that the building was ideally positioned for the sacred processions of the Hermaion. The komasterion was repaired in 276,[524] and continued to function as a procession-house at least until 391, when the edict of Theodosius I made illegal pagan cults. The destruction of the building is probably associated with the edict of Theodosius II and Valentinian III in 435, ordering the destruction of all the remaining pagan places of worship and the placing of the Cross on such sites.[525]

During the first century Egyptian temples at Hermopolis continued to be constructed or reconstructed. The Temple of Ramesses II/Nero is located to the west of the southern end of the Dromos of Hermes, which connected it with the sacred

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[520] On the use of brick in Pharaonic and Roman times, see respectively Spencer 1979 and Husselman 1979.
[521] Plin. *HN* 36.148.
[522] Athenaeus 5.196c.
[523] E.g. Hodge 1987.
[524] *P.Vindob.Gr.* 12565 = *SB* 10299.
[525] Spencer, Bailey and Davies 1984, 46; Bailey 1986, 236.

precinct of Thoth. It had a north-south axis with the pylon on the north.[526] The remains of two colossal limestone statues of Ramesses II, which once flanked the entrance to the temple, survive. The statues show Ramesses II sitting on his throne, while the inscriptions on the sides give his name and titles (fig. 43).[527]

(Fig. 43)

The pylon and the open court of the temple no longer survive. Of the hypostyle hall, only the remains of two sandstone columns with reliefs of Ramesses II offering to Thoth, Khonsu, and Mut survive.[528]

To the south of the hypostyle hall the temple is badly damaged up to the two ante-chambers of the sanctuary (fig. 44). This part of the temple was expanded and entirely redesigned under Nero, when the doorway of the Ramesside sanctuary was blocked and the walls of the ante-chamber were covered with a new layer of plaster to hide the original reliefs for receiving Nero's inscriptions (fig. 45).[529]

[526] Abu Bakr 1960, 27.
[527] Spencer 1983, 6.
[528] Bailey, Davies and Spencer 1982, 3.
[529] Kessler 2001, 96.

(Fig. 44)

(Fig. 45)

The columns in the ante-chamber were also coated with a new layer of plaster to provide a new surface for Nero's carvings. The cartouches of Nero appear on the columns and walls of the ante-chamber.[530]

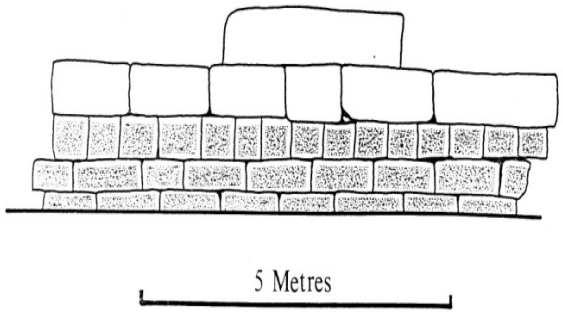
Certain activities were conducted in the sacred precinct of this temple in the Roman period. The large brick walls to the west of the sanctuary, where ibis eggs and embalming materials were found, were perhaps built for the cult of the Ibis. It was here that the embalming of the sacred birds was performed,[531] although it is unclear whether the brick walls were part of the Ibeum of papyri.[532] This recalls the Ibiotapheum at Oxyrhynchus, where ibis birds were also embalmed. In the early fifth century the forecourt of the temple was converted into a church with a crypt on its southern side, the remains of which were revealed.[533] Since the Christian church could not have been built until the Temple of Ramesses II/Nero fell into disuse, the temple survived and perhaps functioned until the fifth century probably no later than the mandate of 435.[534] The conversion of pagan cult centres into churches at Hermopolis and elsewhere mirrored the growing eclipse of pagan temples and the rise of the Church.[535]

Under Domitian, the temple of Nehemet-aawy, the consort of Thoth, was built on the north of the sacred enclosure of Hermes-Thoth. It is located 150 m to the east of the pronaos of Philip Arrhidaeos. Scholars disagree over the scale of the

[530] Abu Bakr 1960, 27.
[531] Spencer 1989, 75
[532] *P.Ryl*. II.254.11.
[533] Wace, Megaw and Skeat 1959, 19-20; Bailey, Davies and Spencer 1982, 11-18, pls. 12-14, 28-32; Spencer 1983, 6.
[534] Coleman-Norton 1966, 705.
[535] For further analysis: Alston 1997b.

temple. Steven Snape suggests that 'the temple was a relatively small structure, perhaps with the later addition of a large-columned-structure (e.g. a pronaos) to the south'.[536] Based on the size and quantity of the fallen blocks, however, Jeffrey Spencer argues that 'the temple was a monument of considerable size'.[537] Nectanebo I claimed in his stele that he built a temple for Nehemet-aawy in Hermopolis, measuring 60 cubits (31.38 m) in length and 30 cubits (15.69 m) in width. Since the ruins of the temple cover an area of about 35 × 20 m, the Domitianic temple was probably a reconstruction of Nectanebo's.[538]

(Fig. 46)



(Fig. 47)

The fallen blocks from this temple bear Domitian's cartouches, and a surviving slab from the site depicts Domitian as a Pharaoh offering to Atum of Heliopolis (fig. 46). A part of the northern wall of the temple survives (fig. 47). The construction of the wall follows Roman-period architectural techniques, where the outer face of the wall is of rusticated masonry, and the central part of the outer faces of the blocks was left undressed and the edges were chiselled flat to fit the blocks together. The religious function of this temple appears to have continued into the sixth century when the temple was destroyed.[539]

[536] Snape 1989, 3.
[537] Spencer 1989, 75.
[538] On the Temple of Khnum at Aswan: Engelbach 1921.
[539] Snape 1989, 3-7.

In 55 BC the sacred precinct of Hermes-Thoth was called the King's Phrourion.[540] In the Roman period, however, it was referred to as the Phrourion of the Great Hermaion, while the southern area of the city was designated Polis.[541] There was thus a distinction between the northern half, which contained the sacred precinct of Hermes-Thoth, and the southern area, which had the bulk of domestic and public buildings. The Phrourion was separated from the Polis by the temenos wall of the Thirtieth Dynasty, which was cut down in certain places in the Roman period. Thus the sacred precinct of Thoth was more integrated into the southern part of Hermopolis.[542] The temenos wall remained a landmark in Hermopolis, measuring 637.5 m in length on the south and 600 m on the north, while its foundations measure 20 m in width and the wall was as high as 25 m.[543]

The Dromos of Hermes and Antinoe Street were the main cross and longitudinal streets. The Dromos was a paved processional route leading from the Great Hermaion as far south as the temple of Ramesses II/Nero. It measures 4.21 m wide in parts. It originally ran from the pronaos of Philip Arrhidaeos, through the pylon of Ramesses II, to the Sphinx Gate. Then it crossed the lengthwise street toward the Temple of Ramesses II.[544] In the Roman period, the Dromos ran in a straight line from the Hermaion to the east of the New Kingdom temple. It passed the ruins of the east tower of Ramesses II's pylon and east of the Sphinx Gate and nearby the komasterion. Then it crossed Antinoe Street down to the Temple of Ramesses II/Nero.[545] Since huge pedestals were found along the Dromos, it is likely that statues of the baboon-god Thoth were placed on them, like the two quartzite statues which date to Amenhotep III and were uncovered beneath the foundations of the pronaos of Philip Arrhidaeos (fig. 48).

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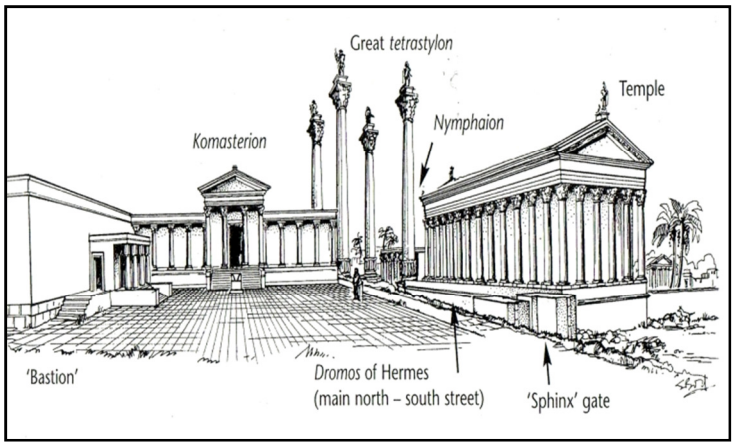
[540] *BGU* III.1002.7 = *P.Lugd. Bat*. XVII.9.
[541] *C.P.Herm.* 101; Spencer 1983, 1.
[542] Bailey 1991, 15.
[543] Roeder 1959, 26; Bietak 1984, 1244; Spencer, Bailey and Davies 1984, 45.
[544] Roeder 1959, 108.
[545] Spencer 1989, 74; Alston 2001, 132.

(Fig. 48)



(Fig. 49)

The location of a calcite altar, which carries the cartouches of Amenhotep III, in the middle of the Dromos suggests that it continued to be used as a resting place for the sacred barque of Hermes-Thoth in public processions held along the Dromos.[546]

The Dromos was a central path connecting all major traditional temples. It connected the Great Hermaion on the north with the temple of Ramesses II/Nero on the south, two religious landmarks. The use of the Dromos in processions reflected the incorporation of temples into the public space, where cult images exited the temple and were carried on the priests' shoulders to embellish the city. The syncretism of Hermes-Thoth reflects the fusion of Greek and Egyptian cultural traditions. Hermes-Thoth was not the god Thoth of Pharaonic Egypt, but a Hellenised version of the Egyptian cult. As the guide of souls and prominent participant in mummification rites, the cult of Hermes-Thoth enjoyed popularity among the ordinary people in Roman and Late Antique Egypt.[547] The mystical and magical texts associated with his cult in Egypt were also popular elsewhere in the Roman world.[548]

One of the wealthy elite of Hermopolis was Theophanes, who acted as a legal advisor to Vitalis who was *rationalis* on the staff of the prefect of Egypt. He was perhaps the leader of a circle of worshippers of Hermes-Thoth involved with the Great Hermaion.[549] Within his extensive archive, roughly dated to 317-324, is a letter from Anatolius, a member of this circle, to Sarapion:

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[546] Spencer 1989, 33-4, pls. 44-5.
[547] Fowden 1986.
[548] Fowden 1993.
[549] *P.Ryl*. IV.616-51; *P.Herm*. 2-6; Rees 1968-69.

> The worship of the sacred month of Pharmuthi [Julian: 27 March/25 April] having begun, in which many processions take place without stop and in due order, at which I must be present on two accounts, by reason of the service due to the deity [Hermes-Thoth] and because it offers the best opportunity for prayers for your health and good report.[550]

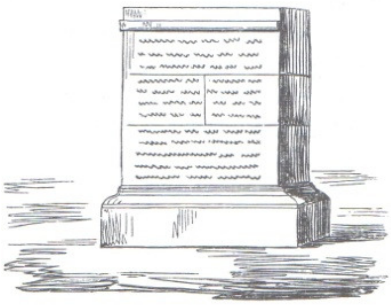
These processions presumably took place in the Dromos of Hermes and komasterion. The water conduit along the Dromos indicates that the east and west fountain houses (Nymphaia) of the Repair Papyrus were located on either side of the Dromos just before entering the temenos of Hermes-Thoth (fig. 49).[551] In other provincial cities, it was common to build Nymphaia beside public thoroughfares, as in Djemila and Palmyra.[552] Yet, since purification was an essential requirement for entering traditional temples, 'this position of fountain houses could have resulted from this local function rather than merely being part of the articulation of Roman urban space'.[553] The construction of Nymphaia along *dromoi* of traditional temples also occurs at Tentyris, where a second-century nymphaeum was built on either side of the Dromos before entering the Temple of Hathor (fig. 50).[554]

(Fig. 50)

The Great Tetrastylon marked the junction of the Dromos with Antinoe Street.[555] Similarly, the tetrastylon at Aphrodisias marked the intersection of the *dromos* of the temple of Aphrodite with the main street. Although the Repair Papyrus

[550] *P.Herm.* 2.19-25 = Rees 1964, text no. 2, 2-5.
[551] Bailey 1991, 58.
[552] MacDonald 1986, map of Djemila on page 6 and map of Palmyra on page 20.
[553] McKenzie 2007, 160.
[554] Castel, Daumas and Golvin 1984, no. 64.
[555] Roeder 1959, 104.

refers to three tetrastyla along Antinoe Street, only the Great Tetrastylon has been identified. Only a pedestal of a column with a Greek inscription (now lost), a portion of a Corinthian capital and a column drum survive. The inscription was 4 m high and 2.5 m wide, while the letters were 11 cm high (fig. 51).



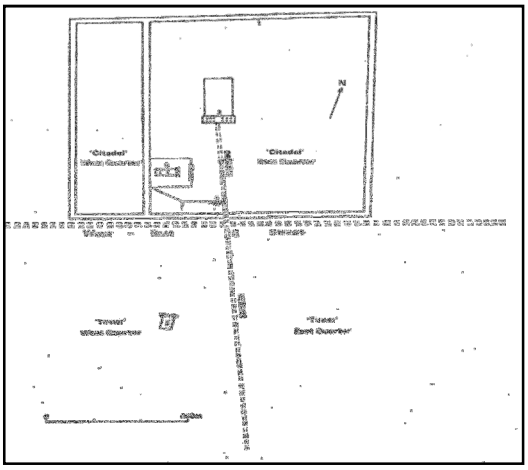
(Fig. 51)

It records the dedication of the Great Tetrastylon by T. Pactumeius Magnus, prefect of Egypt in 176-180, to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.[556] Antoine-Jean Letronne thought that the inscription came from an honorific column;[557] however, the text was inscribed on a pedestal of a column of the Great Tetrastylon, which was found at the crossing of the two main streets.[558] Acanthus leaves of the surviving Corinthian capital of the Great Tetrastylon look like those of the komasterion and appears to be Antonine in date.[559]

The intersection of the Dromos with Antinoe Street divided the city into four unequal *amphoda* (fig. 52). The two quarters on the north were called Phrourion East and Phrourion West, while the southern districts were named Polis East and Polis West. The northern *amphoda* were dominated by the sacred precinct of Hermes-Thoth, while the southern by houses. Although papyri mention registration in relation to an *epikrisis* in Phrourion East[560] and houses in Phrourion West,[561] the bulk of domestic and civic buildings lay in the southern districts.[562] On the basis of a report

[556] Letronne 1974, 439, Bailey 1983, 29-30.
[557] Letronne 1974, 437-44.
[558] Kamal 1947, 290; Roeder 1959, 104.
[559] Bailey 1983, 29.
[560] *P.Ryl.* II.102.1 (63).
[561] *P.Flor*. I.50.ii.31 (269).
[562] *C.P.Herm.* 119.iv = *Sel.Pap*. II.357.

about a special tax-levy dating to 266/67, Polis West had at least 2317 houses and Polis East had 1917 houses (*oikiai*).[563]



(Fig. 52)

(Fig. 53)

Like the Dromos, the longitudinal path predated the Roman period; it was a longstanding street and paved with limestone slabs (fig. 53).[564] Hermopolis exhibited continuities in the basic layout of its two main streets. Yet the urban arrangement of Hermopolis was completely reshaped under Hadrian,[565] when Ptolemaic sanctuaries along Antinoe Street like the temples of Athena and Tyche were repaired and new temples like the Hadrianeum and Antinoeum were also built. Antinoe Street ended in the Gates of the Sun and Moon, forming respectively the east and west entrance to the city.[566] Since no enclosure wall is found at Hermopolis, the two gates were probably attached to the colonnades of Antinoe Street.[567] Like Alexandria, the Sun (Helios-Re) and Moon (Selene-Isis) were the guardian divinities of the gates.[568]

In 266 Hermopolis was designated Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης ἀρχαίας καὶ λαμπρᾶς καὶ σεμνοτάτης, reflecting its rivalry with other cities for civic titles.[569] Public buildings and sanctuaries were built along and adjacent to Antinoe Street. Most of these buildings no longer survive, and are mainly known from papyri. The most informative text for this period is the Repair Papyrus, which shows the dominance of public and other classical-style buildings. The structures mentioned in

[563] *C.P.Herm.* 101; Roeder 1959, 107; Bagnall and Frier 1994, 54; Alston 2001, 132.
[564] Kamal 1947.
[565] Parlasca 1960, 204.
[566] *P.Vindob.Gr.* 12565 = *SB* X.10299.
[567] *P.Oxy*. XXXIV.2179; Roeder 1959, 107.
[568] Ach. Tat. 5.1.
[569] *C.P.Herm.* 119.iv = *Sel.Pap.* II.357.

the papyrus include, from east to west, the Temple of Antinous, the Temple of Hadrian, the south-west *stoa*, the *macellum* (market building) and the *stoa* outside it, the *stoa* near the *agora*, the Serapeum by the Temple of the Nile, the komasterion, the West Nymphaeum and the East Nymphaeum and the Temple of Tyche. The papyrus also mentions buildings, which would have been arranged along Antinoe Street from east to west: the Sun Gate, the north *stoas*, the First Tetrastylon, the arch (*apsis*), the Gate of the Temple of Aphrodite, the Temple of Tyche, the Great Tetrastylon, *stoas* on both sides, the Tetrastylon of Athena, *stoas* on both sides, and the Moon Gate.[570]

The papyrus does not clarify whether the buildings were arranged opposite or adjacent to each other. It is also unclear whether the *stoas* are buildings as such or porticoes along Antinoe Street. The absence of archaeological evidence hinders the understanding of the organisation and location of these buildings in relation to each other. These structures were certainly built on the south of the temenos wall of the precinct of Hermes-Thoth, which enclosed most traditional sanctuaries. The only classical building with a definite function within the temenos is the komasterion.[571] Nothing is known of the deity of an Antonine temple, which was built opposite the Sphinx Gate (fig. 49).[572] Only remains of its granite columns and Corinthian capitals survive.[573] There is no archaeological or papyrological sign of a theatre or hippodrome at Hermopolis. Yet the theatre and hippodrome at opposite Antinoopolis perhaps served both cities. Apparently these structures were built in proximity to the temenos of Hermes-Thoth to benefit from its topographical and religious importance. In contrast to Antinoopolis where Hadrian constructed public buildings away from the complex of Ramesses II, Hadrian built new buildings near the enclosure of Hermes-Thoth at Hermopolis.

Numerous temples at Hermopolis were devoted to Greek and Egyptian deities, including those of Apollo, Asclepius, the Dioskouroi, Boubastis, Ibis, Isis, and Serapis.[574] A temple of Serapis was built on the western half of Antinoe Street,

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[570] *P.Vindob.Gr.* 12565 = *SB* X.10299; Schmitz 1932; Kamal 1947.
[571] Bailey 1986, 231-7.
[572] Spencer and Bailey 1986, 18-24; Bailey 1991, 23-45.
[573] Bailey 1991, 37-43.
[574] *P.Ryl.* II.254; *P.Ryl.* II.277; *BGU* VI.1219.28.

and gave its name to this part of the street, which was called Serapis' Street.[575] The baths of Hadrian, gymnasium, and Great Serapeum were located in one complex.[576] The combination of public baths with a teaching institution is common in the empire, but the presence of a temple of local deity in the bath-gymnasium complex is unique. The correlation between Serapis and public baths was not uncommon in Egypt, and may be related to the deity's healing abilities. A small limestone head of Serapis, which was originally attached to a wall, was found in the bath-building at Kom el-Ahmar in the Delta.[577] Hermopolis could also develop temples for imperial cults, including the Sebasteum, Caesareum,[578] Hadrianeum, and the temple of Alexander Severus and Julia Mamaea.[579]

In short, Hermopolis Magna differs from Alexandria and Antinoopolis in morphological terms. The city was a Graeco-Egyptian metropolis, in which both Hellenized and Egyptian traditions could shape its urban infrastructure. The city was centred on the sacred complex of the syncretistic deity Hermes-Thoth. In the second half of the first century, imperial construction works were directed to Egyptian sanctuaries, including the Temples of Ramesses II and Nehemet-aawy. The early second century intensified the pace of urbanisation and witnessed the reshaping of urban space. Hadrian and later emperors refashioned the city centre with classical buildings and temples for the imperial cult and cult of Antinous. Through their incorporation into the dominant Hellenic milieu, Egyptian religious traditions were preserved. Temple based religious practices continued into the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.[580] The complex of Thoth remained a religious landmark in the urban space, and the Dromos of Hermes connected most temples during religious processions. In the early fifth century, the conversion of the temple of Ramesses II/Nero and the Ptolemaion into churches reflected the increasing power of the church and its growing dominance of the city's topography.

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[575] *P.Amh*. II.98.3; Schmitz 1932, 89.
[576] *P.Brem*. 46.7-8; Roeder 1959, 113; McKenzie 2007, 158.
[577] El-Khashab 1949, 16.
[578] *P.Ryl*. II.77.
[579] *P.Bad*. IV.89; Roeder 1959, 115.
[580] *C.P.Herm*. 3; Alston 2001, 261.

I.4.3. Thebes (Luxor) and the Theban region

Riggs argues that funerary archaeology of the west bank in Roman Thebes 'tended to be conservative, using forms and motifs that were legacies of its pharaonic past'.[581] This section considers whether the same holds true for other types of architecture in the east and west banks of Roman Thebes. It illustrates the extent to which cultural processes usually referred to as 'Romanization' were followed in this important, but slightly remote region in the Thebaid. The picture that emerges from this consideration suggests that in terms of classical-style civic and public architecture Thebes was, and remained, a backwater. Here Egyptian traditional architecture was retained, and the infrastructure was still dominated by cult temples on the east bank and by mortuary and cult temples on the west. Yet Theban inhabitants presented themselves in certain spheres as having a shared cultural heritage with both Greek and Egyptian features.

From the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period, Thebes was the political, administrative, and religious centre of Egypt.[582] Architecturally, the sacred precinct of Amun at Karnak was the most conspicuous temple-complex.[583] From the Late Period onwards, however, the political importance of Thebes decreased, when the last native rulers of the Dynastic period and, later on, the Ptolemies and Romans shifted the political capital northwards.[584] Ptolemy I Soter founded Ptolemais as the new political and administrative capital of Upper Egypt (Θηβαίς), which owed its name to Thebes.[585] Owing to its long history and important religious and funerary archaeological sites, Thebes remained a religious centre under Roman rule.[586]

I.4.3.1. Theban topography and public buildings

The Nile divides Thebes into two banks: the east bank is dominated by traditional cult centres, while the west by mortuary and cult temples. Many of these sanctuaries date to the Pharaonic period, but most Ptolemaic kings and some Roman emperors

[581] Riggs 2005, 175-244, at 175.
[582] Polz 2001, 386.
[583] Baguet 1980, 341-52.
[584] Lloyd 2000a, 371; Lloyd 2000b, 395.
[585] Plaumann 1910.
[586] Bataille 1951a, 325-53.

added to them.[587] When compared to Alexandria and other metropoleis, the infrastructure and physical appearance of Thebes is more traditional. Thebes had none of the civic structures or temples to Graeco-Roman deities which were common in Alexandria and other urban centres in the *chora*. But what kind of urban amenities and public buildings gave cities a classical appearance? In a well-known passage Pausanias hesitates to call Panopeus in Phocis a polis, because it lacked some necessary features:

> If one can give the word polis for people who possess no municipal buildings, gymnasium, theatre, agora or water enclosed in a fountain, but live in a mountain gorge in doorless shacks like mountain houses.[588]

For Pausanias, Panopeus was not a polis, because it did not possess the basic civic features common in other provincial cities. Edmund Thomas not only notices that the features listed by Pausanias 'might be equally applied to a Greek city of the Hellenistic period', but also the list is devoid of 'the buildings of explicitly Roman stamp constructed throughout the Greek East: aqueducts, bath-buildings, and basilicas, whose arched and vaulted forms were conspicuous to contemporaries'.[589] In Roman Egypt, poleis and metropoleis possessed most basic structures of Classical cities. In contrast, no theatre, gymnasium, palaestra, basilica, aqueduct, hippodrome, or triumphal arch has been identified in Thebes from either papyri or archaeology.[590] Only a few Greeks lived in Ptolemaic Thebes.[591] The percentage of Roman and Greek citizens in Roman Thebes is unknown. Yet the absence of classical public buildings in the city would seem to suggest that the local Egyptians were dominant.

Theban inhabitants consciously adhered to ancient Egyptian customs, and used traditional architectural and artistic forms of funerary expression. They avoided new tomb construction and reused earlier graves, pits and shafts in Pharaonic cemeteries and temples.[592] The majority of surviving mortuary texts on papyri comes from Thebes, suggesting that the city was an especially important centre of traditional religious literature. However, a large number of mortuary texts come also

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[587] Vandorpe 1995, 211-36.
[588] Paus. 10.4.1. Translation: Thomas 2007, 121.
[589] Thomas 2007, 121.
[590] Bailey 1990, 121-37.
[591] Clarysse 1995.
[592] Riggs 2005, 175-244.

from Panopolis.[593] Most of these were inscribed for priests and priestesses.[594] But why did the Romans, and the Ptolemies before them, not introduce into Thebes the different kinds of civic buildings common in other cities in the *chora*? No definite answer can be given to this question. A possible explanation for the absence of public buildings in Thebes is the conservative and insurgent character of Thebes and its inhabitants. Thebes maintained much of its religious and symbolic power in Ptolemaic and Roman times, when it was the centre of several insurrections in the Thebaid.[595]

The fiercest revolt was that of Haronnophris and his successor Chaonnophris against Ptolemaic rule in 205 and 186 BC.[596] Pausanias reported another revolt in 88 BC.[597] Following these revolts, the east bank which is called Diospolis Magna belonged to the Peritheban nome, while the west bank was attached to the Hermonthite nome, with Hermonthis as a metropolis.[598] Theban revolts broke out again in the 20s BC, but the prefect C. Cornelius Gallus suppressed it and left a trilingual inscription at Philae commemorating his victory.[599] Because of this history of revolt one of the three Roman legions based in Egypt was stationed there.[600] In comparison with other cities in Egypt, Thebes received less imperial patronage. Unlike the temple at Jerusalem which was burnt by the Romans in the Jewish revolt of 70, the Romans destroyed no temple in Thebes. In contrast, an Augustan temple for Isis was built at Deir el-Shelwit, which was decorated with extensive reliefs under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.[601]

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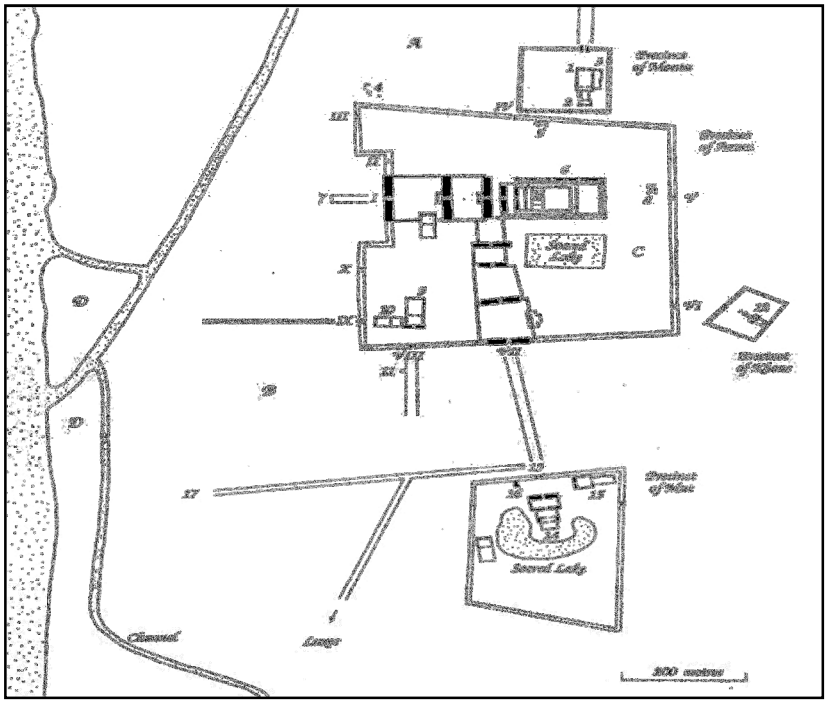
[593] Smith 1993, 2002.
[594] Smith 2009.
[595] Vleeming 1995.
[596] Pestman 1995, 101-37.
[597] Paus. 1.9.3.
[598] Thomas 1964; Vandorpe 1995.
[599] Strabo 17.1.53. On this inscription: Bernand 1969a, 128; Hauben 1976.
[600] Speidel 1984, 317-21.
[601] On the temple of Deir el-Shelwit: Zivie 1982-92. Cambyses was perhaps the only foreign ruler to burn and plunder Egyptian temples (Hdt. 3.16; Strabo 17.1.27).



(Fig. 54)

I.4.3.2. The east bank of Thebes

The main residential area on the east bank was Diospolis Magna (fig. 54), which had at least six districts: Χάραξ, Βορρᾶς, Νότος, Λίψ, Νότος καὶ Λίψ and Ἀγοραὶ.[602] Three of the four cardinal points gave their names to four districts. The other two districts were called after topographical features: the *agorai* and the uncertain Χάραξ.[603] Only two districts are identified. The north district (A) lies north of Amun's precinct and west of Montu's complex; it was called the Temple of the Cow. The south district (B) lies south of Amun's precinct and was divided into two areas by the *dromos* of Khonsu.[604] The urban space of Diospolis Magna was dominated by the cult complexes of Montu, Amun-Re, and Mut. Although each precinct formed an independent complex with a brick enclosure, they were connected to each other by *dromoi* lined with sphinx avenues. The *dromoi* were the main paths of the city, connecting traditional religious landmarks together and were used in processions.[605]

The complex of Amun-Re at Karnak is located south of Montu's enclosure. The temple has the Dromos of Amun, which is lined with ram-headed sphinxes and

[602] For the attestation of ἀγοραὶ βορρᾶ and ἀγοραὶ νότου: Palme 1989.
[603] Χάραξ literally means 'pointed stake'.
[604] Vandorpe 1995, 211-12.
[605] Arnold 1999, 230-73.

connects the temple with the Nile, the main artery of transportation.[606] Both temple and *dromos* remained in use under Roman rule. Augustus built an imperial chapel, the remains of which still survive, before the first pylon of the temple at the end of the *dromos*. Inside the chapel, plinths of imperial statues with Greek inscriptions in honour of Augustus and Titus were uncovered. A fragmentary statue of Claudius and three Greek inscriptions of the same emperor, on plinths of statues, are also found in this chapel. The inscriptions only give the names of Claudius and his prefect Lucius.[607] Eight Greek inscriptions were uncovered along the *dromos* at Karnak between the first two sphinxes near the first pylon. They date to the first year of Tiberius and were probably connected with his accession. Fragments of a Domitianic stele were also uncovered in the *dromos*. It dates to 89 and records taxes levied on traders, suggesting that the market place was either in the *dromos* or close to it.[608]

As elsewhere, the Theban temples played religious and non-religious roles for the surrounding local population. The *dromos* of temples was not only a processional route, but also a space of commerce and entertainment. Under Augustus, bull-fights were held 'in the *dromos*' of the temple of Ptah at Memphis.[609] There is evidence for dining halls located along the *dromos* of the temple of Soknebtunis at Tebtunis and within the precinct of the North Temple at Karanis. Platforms constructed outside the main temple's gates, but on the banks of the Nile, at Karnak and Elephantine functioned as market places in the Augustan and early Julio-Claudian periods.[610] The Greek word *topos* (place or site) is carved at intervals on the outer enclosure wall of the North Temple at Karanis. This has been interpreted as representing the limits of the spaces allocated to individual merchants for their stalls, where they displayed their products, suggesting a close relationship between market places and principal temples.[611] The latest Greek inscriptions, two in total, uncovered from Karnak date to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.[612] The priests' houses lie to the east of the Sacred Lake (C); the earliest houses date to the Twenty Second Dynasty and the

[606] Quaegebeur 1975-76, 465-7; Steinberg-El Hotabi 1993. For travel along the Nile: Adams 2001.
[607] Wagner 1971, 21-31.
[608] Wagner 1972, 161-79.
[609] Strabo 17.1.31.
[610] Lauffray 1971, 1979, 90; Jaritz 1980.
[611] Gazda 1983, 43 (fig. 74).
[612] Wagner 1971, 21-31.

latest to the fourth century.[613] The priests performed their traditional duties during the second century BC, when they paid the *apomoira* to the bank of Diospolis Magna.[614] Since the priests continued to build further houses to the east of the Sacred Lake, the priestly residential area and, by extension, the temple complex remained in use in Roman times.[615]

The temple of the god Ptah (5) was originally built in the New Kingdom, but enlarged with six monumental gateways in the Late, Ptolemaic, and Roman periods.[616] The temple of the god Khonsu (9), who was judge and healer, served as a medical centre, where pilgrims came for the sake of healing.[617] The gateway (Bab el-Amara) of the temple, according to an inscription, was used as a 'site of giving Maat',[618] where 'the priestly judges sat here, oaths were sworn and judgments were pronounced'.[619] Demotic documents from Ptolemaic Egypt show that jurisdiction over non-priests could be conferred on the priests of a given temple.[620] The use of the gateway as a tribunal confirms that some temples played a secular role. Like the *dromos* at Karnak, the space before the gateway perhaps served as an agora or forum, because law courts were normally held at these premises.[621]

The small temple of the goddess Opet the Great (10) lies west of Khonsu's temple.[622] The interior decoration of the temple was achieved under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes, but the outer reliefs are Augustan. The sanctuary has numerous crypts with painted decorations and demotic graffiti.[623] The crypt of Osiris, originally built by Ptolemy III Euergetes, was decorated under Augustus. Equally, the Chapel of Osiris-Coptites was rebuilt under Tiberius (8).[624] To the south of Amun's precinct is the complex of the goddess Mut with its sacred lake (14).[625] It is connected with the temple of Amun-Re by a *dromos* lined with ram-headed sphinxes. The temple was

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[613] Vandorpe 1995, 214.
[614] Wagner 1980, 249-56.
[615] Anus and Saad 1971.
[616] Barguet 1962, 13-4.
[617] Vandorpe 1995, 214; Quaegebeur 1975-76, 469-72.
[618] Arnold 1999, 167.
[619] Quaegebeur 1993, 201-20; Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 186.
[620] *P.BM* 10446 (231/0 BC); Allam 1991, 121.
[621] *P.Oxy*. II.237.vii.21.
[622] Quaegebeur 1975-76, 473-6.
[623] Spiegelberg 1902, 89-91.
[624] Vandorpe 1995, 216.
[625] Quaegebeur 1975-76, 468-9.

subject to substantial work under the Ptolemies, Augustus, and Tiberius. Augustus built the enclosure wall, which was severely damaged from high inundation and was rebuilt under Tiberius.[626]

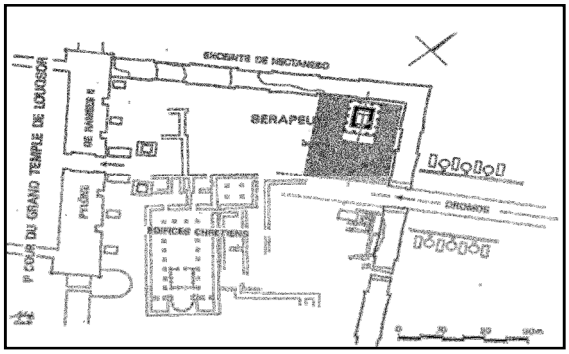
The temple of Luxor dates to the New Kingdom, when it played a role in the Festival of Opet, where the sacred barque of Amun at Karnak visited the god Amun who resided in the Temple of Luxor.[627] It received repair works under the Ptolemies and Romans.[628] Tiberius built a new brick enclosure wall for the temple following severe damage from a high inundation.[629] According to the stelae inscribed on that occasion and unearthed from the eastern side of the temple, Tiberius ordered the building of a dam and perhaps a canal to safeguard the temple in future.[630] Pilgrims left Greek *proskynema* inscriptions on different parts of the temple, particularly on the base of the west obelisk in front of Ramesses II's pylon and on the inner sides of the pylon itself.[631] The fact that such devotional texts were written in Greek but in honour of the god Amun implies that the pilgrims had a mixed cultural heritage. One of these texts dates to the fourth year of Caligula, 39/40. Some graffiti contain only a name, but other explicitly testify the worship of Amun (fig. 55).[632]

The east bank of Roman Thebes did not completely retain its Pharaonic appearance. The temple of Luxor still functioned when Gaius Julius Antoninus, ex-decurion and *neokoros* of Serapis, built a small temple to Serapis and Isis on the right side of the *dromos* before Ramesses II's pylon (fig. 56). The attestation of civic priests such as the *neokoroi* of the great Serapis and those of Divus Augustus has been rightly interpreted as part of the municipalisation of Egypt.[633] According to the Greek inscription on the lintel of the pylon-like gate, the temple was consecrated to Hadrian on his birthday, 24 January 126. The Serapeum at Ostia that was consecrated to Hadrian by one Caltilius on the same day of the following year[634] suggests a relationship between the birth of the emperor and that of the temple and 'marks the

[626] Vandorpe 1995, 213.
[627] Wilkinson 2000, 171.
[628] Brunner et al. 1977, 24-6, fig. xvii.25; Quaegebeur 1986, 63.
[629] Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 188.
[630] Habachi 1975-76, 247-52.
[631] Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 189.
[632] El-Saghir et al 1986, 106, no. 15. For other two explicit examples of *proskynema* with the name of the god Amun: El-Saghir et al. 1986, 107 (no. 15), 115 (no. 36).
[633] Bowman and Rathbone 1992, 116.
[634] Bloch 1959, 226.

integration of traditional and imperial elements'.[635] The Serapeum at Luxor was ideally positioned to benefit from the visual accessibilities and high usage of nearby Egyptian architecture.

(Fig. 55)



(Fig. 56)

Unlike most Roman Serapea which are prostyle with columns in front, this Serapeum is a peripteral temple of mud brick with a stone entrance-gate. The temple is built on a platform, measuring 12 × 8 m. The back of the *cella* is occupied by a brick bench, supporting a number of statues. Only the limestone headless statue of Isis remains *in situ* (fig. 57).

(Fig. 57)

The example par excellence of brick construction for Serapis in the eastern provinces is the Hadrianic Serapeum at Pergamon, so-called the 'Red Hall'.[636] Although the two Serapea differ in layout, they are built of the same material, where the walls are built of coursed mortared brick. The Serapeum is a good example of the fusion of

[635] Alston 2001, 248.
[636] Ward-Perkins 1981, 283 (fig. 181).

Egyptian and classical architectural elements in a single building (fig. 57).[637] Owing to the popularity of the cults of Serapis and Isis in Egypt and elsewhere, Serapea were suitable sites for such juxtaposition. The combination of differing architectural elements in Serapea was probably intended to reflect the amalgamation of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian elements of the cult.[638]

It was probably only in 300 that the cult worship of Amun in the Temple of Luxor ceased, when the central structure of the temple was remodeled and converted into a Roman fort under Diocletian.[639] The camp was enclosed by a huge brick defensive wall, into which the pylon of Ramesses II was integrated.[640]

(Fig. 58)

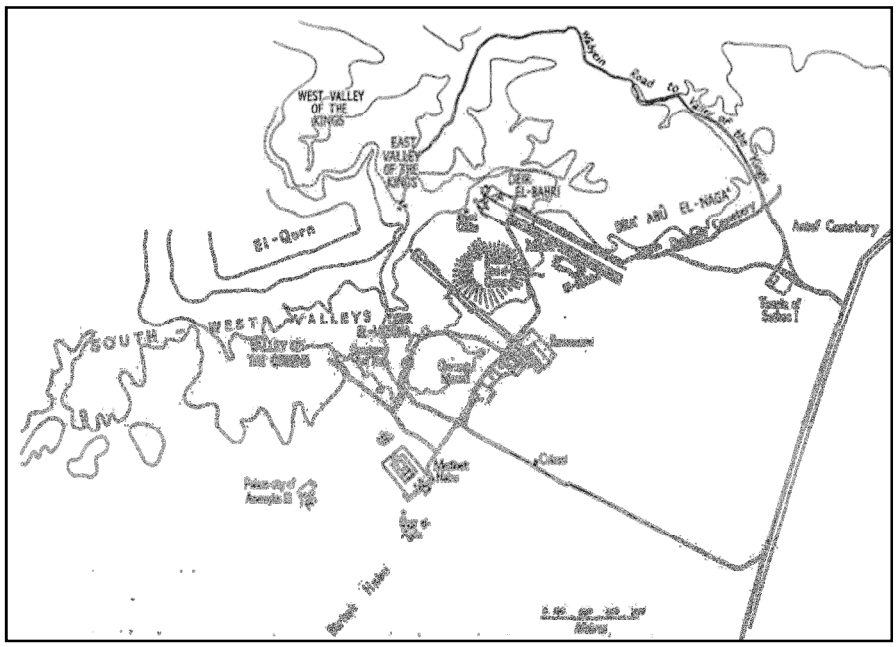
(Fig. 59)

At street crossings, two tetrastyla were erected to the east (fig. 58) and west of the Pharaonic temple. Their columns probably carried statues of the tetrarchs, like Arae Philaenorum.[641] The door of the Pharaonic sanctuary was blocked and altered into a semi-circular niche, being flanked by four columns of pink granite with Corinthian capitals of sandstone. Only two columns, 4.2 m high, remain *in situ* (fig. 59). Such a conversion shifted attention from the cult of Amun to imperial cult. The chapel uses architectural symbolism to articulate features of imperial cult. The Pharaonic reliefs were covered with Roman frescoes (now lost). With the help of Gardiner Wilkinson's water-coloured sketches, Johannes Deckers reconstituted the wall paintings.[642] The east wall once carried a procession of armed soldiers accompanied

[637] Golvin et al 1981, 1986. On the biculturalism of architectural ornament, see Chapter V.
[638] Brady 1987, 11-14.
[639] Deckers 1979, 600-52; El-Saghir et al. 1986. For a third-century papyrus predicting the conversion of temples into exercise grounds for cavalry: *CPJ* III.520.1-7.
[640] For hieroglyphic inscriptions on the reused blocks of the six new gates: El-Saghir et al 1986, 39-100.
[641] Bailey 1990, 130.
[642] Deckers 1973, 1979.

by Diocletian. An eagle is shown in the conch of the niche, hovering upon the tetrarchs and holds a wreath of laurel in his claws, symbolizing the protection of Jupiter. The procession on the east wall places Diocletian with his troops in a secular context, while the niche 'puts the four emperors together in a context of divine otherness from their subjects'.[643]

Another residential area is Ta Kerameia (Medamud), 8 km northeast of Luxor.[644] Medamud was dominated by the traditional temple of Montu, Rattawy, and Harpocrates.[645] It dates to the Middle Kingdom, but was enlarged under the Ptolemies.[646] Tiberius also added a courtyard, entrance gateway, kiosk, and sphinx avenue to the temple. The courtyard carries reliefs of Domitian, Trajan, and Antonius Pius, indicating its use in the second century, and possibly later. Judging from the inscriptions of its walls, the gateway was used as a place where legal disputes were settled, like the gateway of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak.[647]



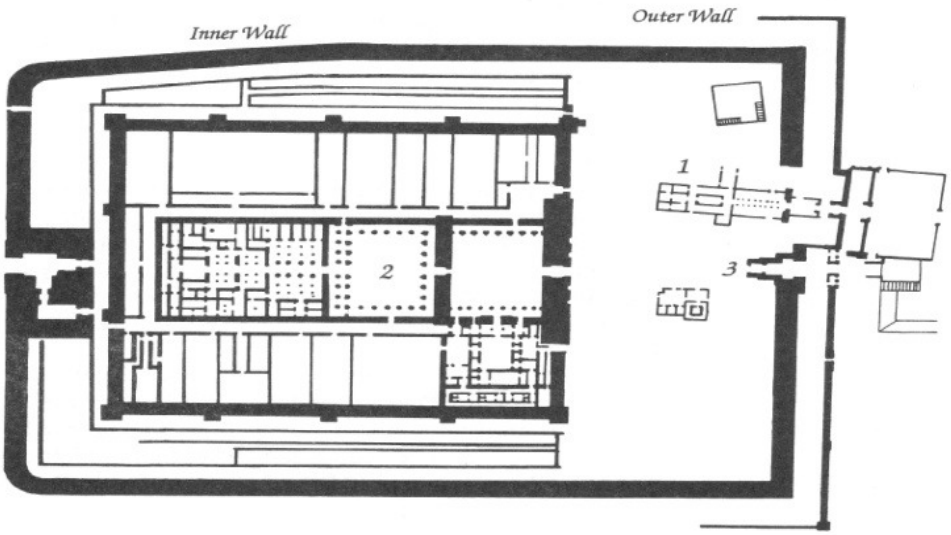
(Fig. 60)

[643] Elsner 1995, 173-6, at 175 (fig. 23).
[644] Sambin 2001, 351-3.
[645] Gomaa 1986, 145-7.
[646] Sambin 1992, 146-184; Vandorpe 1995, 221-2.
[647] Valbelle 1978.

I.4.3.3. The west bank of Thebes

The west bank (I#.t E#mt or Τὰ Μεμνόνεια) extends from Medinet Habu on the south to Deir el-Medina and Dra Abu el-Nagga on the north and embodies the whole necropolis (fig. 60).[648] Medinet Habu had two residential districts: the main one is located within the inner enclosure wall of the temple complex, including the temples and the market.[649] The whole area was called Phrourion Memnoneion, like the precinct of Hermes-Thoth at Hermopolis which bore the epithet Phrourion.[650] The second quarter lies between the inner enclosure and the low outer wall of the complex. Djeme comprises three temples (fig. 61): the small temple of Amun (1); the mortuary temple of Ramesses III (2); and the sanctuary of the bull of Montu (3). These were used from the Pharaonic to the Roman period. Many houses within the enclosure have been dated to the Roman period,[651] and a colonnaded court was added to the small temple of Amun under Antoninus Pius.[652] The temple of Amun (*Djsr-st*) had two sanctuaries of Amun of *Djsr-st* and Amun of Ipet (Amonemope).[653] The latter had his cult centre on the East Bank, where he visited the *Djsr-st* temple in the month of Pauni. During this festival, the statue of Amun of Ipet was carried on a spectacular procession, during which 'the god sprinkled fresh water for the dead',[654] a function that appears to have been achieved in practice by the choachytes.[655]

[648] For the origin of the Egyptian name: Ray 1981, 57-61; Satzinger 1982, 224. On the etymology of the Greek name: Bataille 1952, 1-21.
[649] Smith 1971.
[650] *BGU* III.1002.7 = *P.Lugd. Bat*. XVII.9.
[651] Alston 2001, 119.
[652] Porter and Moss 1929, 461-2, 474; Wilkinson 2000, 196.
[653] For the term *Esr-st* in ancient Egypt, Hoffmeier 1985, 171-7.
[654] Vandorpe 1995, 225.
[655] Vleeming 1995, 247-8.



(Fig. 61)

Pausanias records that, when a rebellion centred on Thebes broke out in 88 BC, Ptolemy Soter II suppressed the inhabitants so that they would have no recollection of their former wealth.[656] Strabo speaks of Thebes as a number of temples and villages scattered among the ruins of its former magnificence.[657] Similarly, Juvenal describes Thebes as a city 'where the magic harmonies resonate from the truncate statue of Memnon and ancient Thebes of the hundred gates lays buried'.[658] Strabo, Pausanias, and Juvenal undoubtedly exaggerate the city's ruined state. One of the Colossi of Memnon, originally belonged to Amenhotep III, was visited by emperors, members of the imperial family, high-ranking officials, and private citizens, who left graffiti recording their visits.[659] The royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings were also visited by Greeks and Romans, who perhaps wanted to engage with the city's Pharaonic heritage.[660] In 18 Germanicus visited the 'great ruins of ancient Thebes', where the piled structures carried inscriptions 'embracing its past opulence': translated for him by one of the elder priests, they recorded how 'once there had dwelt in Thebes seven hundred thousand men of military age', with which King Ramesses had 'conquered Libya, Ethiopia, Media, Persia, Bactria, and Scythia, and held under his sway the countries inhabited by the Syrians, Armenians, and their neighbours, the Cappadocians, from the Bithynian to the Lycian sea'.

[656] Paus. 1.9.3.
[657] Strabo 17.1.46.
[658] Juv. *Sat*. 15.6.
[659] For these inscriptions: Bernand 1960.
[660] For Greek and Latin graffiti left by visitors: Baillet 1926.

Germanicus also visited the Colossus of Memnon, 'which, when struck by the sun's rays, gives out the sound of a human voice'.[661] None of Germanicus' entourage was able to read hieroglyphic inscriptions, and this is why a priest was required to decipher them.

In fact, Thebes was no longer the great capital of Pharaonic Egypt; however, the city cannot simply be described as a 'ville-musée'[662] or an insignificant religious centre as classical writers presented it, for many other religious and funerary complexes on the western riverside were retained in Roman times. These include the mortuary temples of Ramesses II (the Ramesseum), Ramesses III (Medinet Habu) and Hatshepsut (Deir el-Bahari), the Temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina, and the Temple of Isis in Deir el-Shelwit. Scholars disagree over the use of the mortuary temple of Ramesses II, which Diodorus calls the 'Tomb of Ozymandias', in the Roman period.[663] André Bataille argued that the Ramesseum fell into disuse under the Ptolemies. He based his argument on the lack of Ptolemaic and Roman building activities and reliefs on the temple, suggesting that the 'priest of Amun-Re at the Ramesseum' mentioned in Ptolemaic and Roman-period documents was an honorific title.[664] However, Jan Quaegebeur has argued that the occurrence of this title in these documents suggests that the temple functioned into the Roman period.[665] Only two chapels at the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari remained in use at least until the mid fourth century: the Pharaonic Chapel of Hathor and the Ptolemaic Chapel of Imhotep and Amenhotep son of Hapu, the architects of Djoser and Amenhotep III who were deified as god-healers.[666] Between 324 and 357 pilgrims of a corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis left Greek *proskynemata*, 4 in total, recording their visit to the chapels where they 'sacrificed a donkey before the god'.[667]

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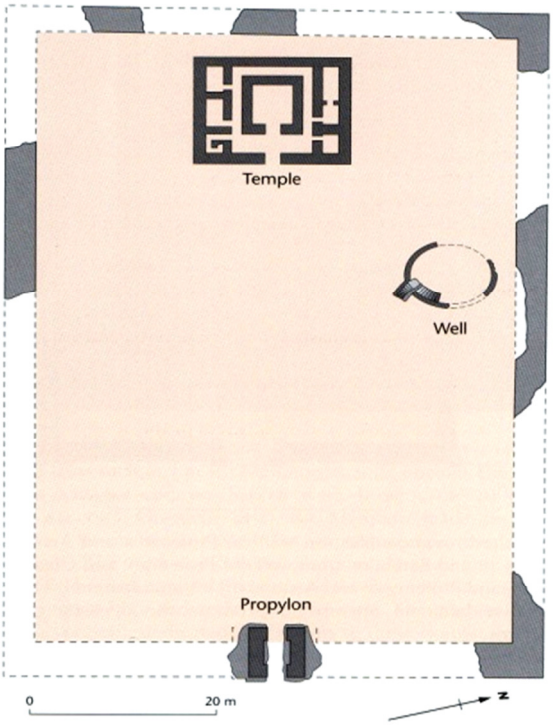
[661] Tac. *Ann.* 2.60-1.
[662] Bataille 1951a, 346.
[663] Diod. Sic. 1.47.
[664] Bataille 1952, 119-20.
[665] Quaegebeur 1985, 468.
[666] Karkowski and Winnicki 1983, 93-101.
[667] Porter and Moss 1929, 401-7; Bataille 1951b; Latjar 1991; Elsner and Rutherford 2005, 23.



(Fig. 62)

Like the Ptolemaic temple of Thoth-the-ibis at Qasr el-Aguz, the temple of Isis at Deir el-Shelwit follows traditional style (fig. 62).[668] It lies 3 km south of Medinet Habu, and measures 12.9 m long and 16.8 m wide. The temple was built by Augustus, but received reliefs down to the reign of Antoninus Pius.[669] It is surrounded by an enclosure wall, 81.5 m long and 58m in wide, with a gateway on the east. The reliefs on the gateway show Galba, Otho, Vespasian, and Domitian as pharaohs making offerings to Isis and other deities. A niche was carved against the back wall of the sanctuary for cult practices taking place outside the temple. This was the niche of the 'hearing ear', which allowed the common people indirect access to the inner sanctuary and the temple's deity.[670]

To the inhabitants of the east and west banks of Thebes, the Theban monuments and landscape were dynamic and enlivened by traditional festivals and processions. The ten-day festival (the Valley Festival) is attested as early as the New Kingdom, and survived and flourished in the Roman period. A Hadrianic inscription in the naos of the temple of Isis at Deir el-Shelwit reads:[671]

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[668] Mallet 1909; Zivie 1982-92. On Thoth-the-ibis: Quaegebeur 1975.
[669] Wilkinson 2000, 199.
[670] Arnold 1999, 231-2.
[671] Zivie 1986, 90, no. 126.

> Recitation by Amonemope of Djeme, the great god, life of the marshlands, high of arms, lord of the great plumes, the creator of every papyrus-book. He joined the fillet and the great sistrum in the great New-moon festival, [during which] the people of the west rejoice and the glorious statue on his boat alights at the necropolis [Djeme] every ten days.[672]

During the Valley Festival which survived at least under Hadrian, the statue of Amonemope was carried on the priests' shoulders and crossed the Nile in a spectacular procession to visit the temples on the west bank for ten days (the Egyptian week) in Pauni.[673] This recalls the ferrying of Isis across the Nile from the Gateway of Hadrian at Philae to the Island of Abaton every ten days to be reunited with Osiris.[674] During the Valley Festival, the temples on the east and west banks were linked together. Juvenal refers to a religious festival held by the local inhabitants of Ombi (Kom Ombo), during which 'the tables set up at the temples and crossroads and the sleepless dining couches, night and day, lie there until the seventh dawn finds them'.[675] Setting up tables or altars at the temples and crossroads was apparently a common feature of festivals which included a procession. Because most of the rituals performed by the priests took place inside the temple, public processions allowed the common people to directly communicate with the deity. It is no coincidence that Theban personal names included the names of the principal deities who had temples or shrines there. Those inhabitants continued to affiliate themselves with local deities and their temples.[676]

In short, Roman Thebes had the largest number of traditional temples anywhere in Egypt (Table 1). This fits in with the city's historical and religious background. The temples and their outer architectural elements like gateways, *dromoi*, and quays played important religious, commercial, and secular roles. The city possessed a distinct and untypical physical identity. Inhabitants appear in certain spheres to have a shared cultural heritage with Graeco-Egyptian traditions. The archaeology of the east and west banks illustrates a union of landscape, architecture,

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[672] Translation: Author.
[673] Doresse 1971; Kákosy 1995, 66.
[674] Junker 1913, 55-7.
[675] Juv. *Sat.* 15.42-44. On the credibility of *Satire* 15: Alston 1996, 100-2.
[676] Jones and Whitehorne 1983; Quaegebeur and Vandorpe 1995; Hobson 1989, 163-4; Frier 1989, 217-26.

iconography, and rituals, which provided a locus for the inhabitants to construct their local identity.

I.3. CONCLUSION

Architectural diversity in cities mirrored the complexity and fluidity of cultural markers of identity in Roman Egypt. During the first century the Roman authority encouraged urbanisation and closed the village gymnasia. From now on, the gymnasium was only associated with cities. As part of the municipalisation of Roman Egypt, the organisation of temples was taken on by civic authorities. The urban organisation of urban centres was reshaped with the addition of distinctively Roman buildings and the renaming of pre-existing structures. Public finances also went to the construction of new local temples and the addition to pre-existing ones. At the same time, temples for imperial cults were also built. The temples continued to be important centres of local identity. Inscriptions recording donations to temples at Tentyris and Kysis place an emphasis on the identity of the local community as a whole.[677] Yet the Serapeum in Alexandria and the Temple of Hermes-Thoth in Hermopolis Magna probably exceeded their local importance.[678] In addition to public and private structures, Graeco-Roman and traditional temples provided dining facilities for important social occasions, reflecting the close relationship between the temple and the surrounding community. Public buildings like komasteria and Nymphaia were ideally positioned to serve the principal local temple at Tentyris and Hermopolis. Through recurrent festivals and processions, the temple became more integrated into the public sphere, where the processions linked the *dromoi* of temples with public buildings like komasteria and streets.

The early second century marked a rapid transformation of the infrastructure of poleis and metropoleis alike. Metropoleis competed against each other for civic titles and in athletic contexts and festivals. The gymnasial and later bouleutic elites could develop a Hellenic identity, but they also preserved Egyptian traditional

[677] Letronne 1974, 90-1; *SEG* VIII.790 = *SEG* XXIV.1215 = *SB* 5.8438 = Letronne 1974, 120-1; Reddé 2004, 18.
[678] Rönne and Fraser 1953; Fraser 1960; Cook 1966, 23-34; Fowden 1986, 1993.

temples and religious institutions.[679] Romans, Alexandrians, and the Hellenised metropolites treated traditional temples and cults as part of their own religious culture.[680] In this shared multicultural milieu, the temple cannot be used as a reliable marker of particular group identity. Hadrian's visit to the Thebaid intensified the pace of Hellenization. Antinoopolis was built as a Greek polis for the New Hellenes, but the archaeology of the site suggests a multicultural milieu. The city centre of Hermopolis was refashioned and provided with public buildings and temples for imperial cults and the cults of Hadrian and Antinous. The supervision of markets passed from the temples' priests to the *agoranomoi*. Unsurprisingly, public buildings and civic temples were the most important for civic life. Imperial, governmental, Greek, and traditional festivals and sacrifices were performed in the theatre and hippodrome, where Graeco-Roman performances were conducted.

In 200 Septimius Severus permitted cities to establish the *boule*, where the metropolitan elites continued to hold the political and administrative powers. The Hellenized metropolites were not exclusively Hellenic in culture, because they also funded temples built for local deities like the temple of Isis at Taposiris Parva and the Serapeum at Thebes.[681] Through their incorporation into the dominant Hellenic milieu, traditional religious features were preserved.[682] The civic magistrates summoned Graeco-Roman and Egyptian festivities and sacrifices alike. By the end of the third century a number of temples already fell out of use. By 300, cult worship in the Temple of Luxor had shifted from Amun to the tetrarchs.[683] Roger Bagnall has plausibly attributed the decline in the construction of new substantial pagan temples during that time to the economic crisis of the third century.[684] Yet it is unclear whether the spread of non-pagan faiths like Christianity and Manichaeism in the fourth century had any effect on the growing decay of pagan cults.[685] The heretical sect known as the Manichees had messianic dualistic views about the universe and lived at Kellis,[686] Narmuthis, Oxyrhynchus, and Lykopolis.[687] The pagans' adoption

[679] Alston 1997c.
[680] *P.Mert.* II.63.
[681] Bernand 1969, no. 109, 428-30 (pl. 78); Golvin et al 1981.
[682] Alston 1997c.
[683] Deckers 1979, 600-52; El-Saghir et al. 1986.
[684] Bagnall 1988b. See also Whitehorne 1980.
[685] Johnson 1936, 647; Gardner and Lieu 1996.
[686] *P.Kell.* 63; Gardner and Lieu 1996; Alston 2001, 105-7.

of such comparatively new religions is not sufficient in itself to indicate any causal mechanism between the spread of one religion and the decline of another.

Throughout the third and fourth centuries state and nome financial resources went into the construction or repair of public buildings and temples alike.[688] There is no surviving archaeological evidence for new substantial temples after Marcus Aurelius. The eclipse of curial class has been dated to the late fourth or fifth century, although it was involved with some tax-collecting responsibilities into the sixth and probably seventh centuries.[689] By the early fifth century, many Graeco-Roman and Egyptian temples were converted into churches. But the old gods did not disappear without trace. Yet Temple-based religious activities continued into the sixth century.[690] The Temple of Isis at Philae, for instance, was closed only in 535-8.[691]

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[687] Koenen 1973.
[688] E.g. *SB* XIV.11959.
[689] Geremek 1990; Alston 1997b, 159.
[690] Frankfurter 1998.
[691] Nautin 1976, 8.

CHAPTER II: MONUMENTALITY OF THE PYLON AND EGYPTIAN CULTURAL IDENTITY

> The Egyptians are the most religious people on earth in many respects.
>
> Dio Cass. 42.34.2.

> The religious festival in Roman Egypt constitutes particularly important evidence for the life of native religion, since it is in the festival that the temple and the social and physical environment enter into most intimate interaction through, on the one hand, the appearance of the god's images outside the temple, and on the other hand, the enthusiasm of the audience toward the temple, its symbols and officials.
>
> Frankfurter 1998, 52.

Egyptian temples played significant roles for the surrounding location population and continued to be important centres of local identity in the Roman period. This chapter argues that the pylon, a distinct structure of Egyptian sacred architecture, can be regarded through its very monumentality as an effective architectural form communicating Egyptian cultural traditions in the Roman period. It is suggested here that, although the pylon was self-evidently an emblem of traditional temples, it nonetheless provides a good example of the difficulty of reading ethnic identity from architecture. There are several reasons why the pylon cannot be used straightforwardly as a reliable marker only of the legally defined Egyptians. First, non-Egyptians contributed to the construction or repair of temples dedicated to traditional cults; second, the pylon and the temple as a whole could serve worshippers of traditional deities, without regard for their legal or ethnic status; and finally, the ritual of 'the coronation of the sacred falcon' associated with the pylon was celebrated only at Edfu and Philae, suggesting that it was important for emphasizing the identity of the local community perhaps in competition with other localities rather than Egyptian ethnic identity as opposed to non-Egyptians.

The pylon acquired its monumental aspects through the visual impressiveness of its form, its symbolic significance, and its association with the 'coronation of the falcon'. In most cases, as at Kysis, the pylon functioned as an inner gateway, itself

surrounded by an inner enclosure wall, but in other cases, as at Kalabsha, it was the outermost gateway of the religious precinct. This raises important questions of access to the temple enclosure and the significance of the pylon as a liminal point. These questions will be discussed further below in order to understand better the close relationship between temple and surrounding community. However, since the chapter considers the articulation of identity through monumental architecture, it is first necessary to consider the correlation between monumental architecture and identity.

II.1. MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE AND IDENTITY

There are many different ways by which individuals and communities articulate different aspects of their identities.[692] Undoubtedly, monumental architecture is an important sphere in which the construction of narratives of identity can be understood.[693] Unlike many other cultural forms, buildings in general and monumental structures in particular present what Chris Abel calls 'a tangible existential foothold in the landscape'.[694] This is why the committee established in February 1901 to consider a national memorial for the late Queen Victoria chose a physical monument. The committee members argued that buildings are 'the only things that last'.[695]

According to Bruce Trigger, one of the defining features of monumental architecture is that its scale and elaboration 'usually exceed the requirements of any practical functions that a building is intended to perform'.[696] Monumental buildings dominated ancient cities, and formed major features in their landscapes. Owing to their visual accessibilities, monumental structures had the potential to maximize the communication of multiple perceptions of identity. Monumental architecture included different forms of large houses, religious structures, and public buildings, where individuals lived, prayed, and equally interacted with members and non-members of their community. The construction of monumental buildings require the

[692] Leach 1983, 243.
[693] Bradley 2001, 71.
[694] Abel 2000, 148-9.
[695] Smith 1999, 22.
[696] Trigger 1990, 119-20.

ability to plan on a large scale, a high degree of engineering skill, the recruitment and direction of substantial labour forces, and a well-developed artistic standard. In that sense, monumental architecture which requires large volume of workers and serves large number of people is meant to articulate a collective rather than individual identity.

Monumental structures are physical embodiments of individuals' collective ideas.[697] For Vitruvius, architecture is associated with identity, because individuals observe the architecture of each other and then 'add new ideas to their own'. Having developed and built their own distinct forms of architecture, individuals 'showed one another the success of their constructions, taking pride in creation'.[698] Monumental buildings are not abstract structures devoid of meaning, but they enshrine symbolic ideas that people held about their cultural and religious life.[699] The symbolic ideas inherent in monumental architecture are not only essential for monumentality, but they also help to understand better the communication of identity through buildings. Individuals also enhance the importance of monumental architecture by embedding it with their views about the cosmos.[700] The stone used in the construction of monumental buildings is important not only as a material to build with, but also as a material to think with.[701] In a sense, the physical stone may stand for metaphysical and cosmological ideas.[702] Since it is necessarily embedded in people's architecture, cosmology has an influential impact on architecture.[703] Architectural forms are physical representations of human ideas and symbolic meanings, which can be continuously reapplied to new historical situations and contexts.[704] The adaptability of symbols explains why many Egyptian symbols preserved their significance down to the Roman period.[705] Monumental structures which embody symbols and ideas associated with identity are not devoid of cultural significance.[706] We need to decode the messages which are embodied in monumental buildings. A clear grasp of the

[697] Trigger 1990, 120-1, 126.
[698] Vitr. *De arch*. 2.1.2-3.
[699] Lethaby 2005, 6.
[700] Bradley 2001, 71.
[701] Kus and Raharijaona 1998, 53.
[702] Leach 1983, 246.
[703] Richards 1996, 193-4.
[704] Leach 1983, 243-4.
[705] Finnestad 1997, 202.
[706] Kus and Raharijaona 1998, 60-1.

symbolism inherent in such structures allows one to understand better one of the means by which individuals expressed themselves, and thus appreciate how monumental buildings could articulate aspects of identity.

The durability of monumental structures enhances their ability to reflect changes in cultural traditions over centuries. By definition, monumental architecture has a better chance of surviving and being highly visible than do other forms of the archaeological record. Monumental constructions are usually built out of stone, a material central to monumentality. Such an imperishable material enabled monumental structures to survive over centuries. Monumental architecture has never been designed to be used by one generation and then fell out of use. In contrast, it was meant to function over generations. The ancient Egyptian word for 'monument' is *mnw*, which is derived from a verbal stem meaning 'to endure', indicating that Egyptian monuments were built to remain and survive.[707] It is through durability that monumental structures became legacies of individuals' past and facts of their present. First, there were those who made the monuments; then there was a continuous tradition of using them; and ultimately there were the descendants who today live with them and give them a present history and significance. In that sense, monumental architecture may serve as a conceptual image of the community's collective memory.[708]

Monumental architecture also has the potential to express local identity through its collective utility. Monumental structures provide physical settings for local rituals on religious occasions and thus serve a comparatively large number of people.[709] Equally, architectural spaces also serve as important arenas for social practices and religious activities associated with cultural heritage, memory, and identity. Colin Richards argued that monumental structures and spaces become part of, and compose, landscape through their association with religious or social practices, which are performed within the rhythms of daily life.[710] In short, monumental structures are architectural products of communities with the capacity to

[707] Wilson 1997a, 426.
[708] Assmann 1992, 56-7.
[709] Christopher 1996, 161.
[710] Richards 1996, 202-7.

articulate what is typical about them.[711] They offer important spheres in which people know themselves, and have many attributes through which narratives of identity are communicated.[712]

II.2. THE DESIGN AND NAME OF THE PYLON

The pylon forms the façade-entrance to the Egyptian temple.[713] It is an impressive monumental structure second in height only to the pyramids.[714] Investigations of surviving or partly surviving Roman-period pyla (Appendix 1) indicate that they generally followed earlier structures in design and style, with the exception of those at Karanis. Pyla followed a similar schematic design, but differ in the number of prismatic recesses for the flagstaffs and in scale.[715] The pylon of the Augustan temple at Dakka (fig. 63) is a case in point (Table 2).[716]

(Fig. 63)

As in the Pharaonic and Ptolemaic periods, the pylon consists of two gigantic towers with sloping sides. The towers are connected by a central doorway, which rises up to the mid-height of the towers. The balcony between the two towers is accessible through internal stairways, which are approached from doors at the back

[711] Elsner 1994, 228-9.
[712] Abel 2000, 150.
[713] Clarke and Engelbach 1930, 162-9; Graham 1970, 231; Shubert 1981, 135.
[714] Dombart 1933, 87.
[715] Jéquier 1924b, 65-72.
[716] Roeder 1930, 16-35.

of the structure. It is built on a rectangular ground plan, but the front face is usually battered, that is, the walls gradually incline back as they rise up. The front face of the pylon has two recesses for holding the wooden flagstaffs, from which pennants (colourful flags decorated with fetishes) used to flow upon the pylon itself.[717] The number of the prismatic recesses of Roman-period pyla never exceeded two, as is the case in the temples of Dakka and Kalabsha. However, the pyla of the South and North Temple at Karanis have no prismatic recesses. Above the recesses are small openings from which the flagstaffs were attached. They were held vertically upon a stone base by wooden or stone brackets projecting from the wall. The bottom of the flagstaffs was secured by means of a grating, possibly of stone.[718] The flagstaffs were erected by means of ropes and scaffolding.[719] They might have been still used in the Roman period at least during the inauguration of new temples or on important occasions. The vertical and horizontal edges of the pylon are typically decorated with a torus moulding, while the top is bordered with a cavetto cornice. The lower part of the vertical torus rests on a low rectangular or square base.[720]

Like those of earlier periods, the lintel of the central doorway of Roman-period pyla is decorated with a winged sun-disc. The winged sun-disc was originally the symbol of the god Horus of Behdet in the eastern Delta. As Horus was associated with the ruler, the winged sun-disc had royal and protective significance. Alan Gardiner argued that it represented 'the king's actual person syncretized with the sun-god'.[721] From the New Kingdom (*c*. 1550-1069 BC), it had been a solar symbol with apotropaic significance.[722] The story of the winged sun-disc (*opy wr* or the great flyer) is recorded on the temple of Horus at Edfu, the Southern Behdet. According to the narrative, Horus the Behdetite once accompanied the sun-god Re-Horakhti in his boat. Having seen enemies intriguing against Re-Horakhti, Horus the Behdetite flew in the form of a winged sun-disk and defeated the opponents. Consequently, Re-Horakhti commanded Thoth: 'You shall make this winged sun-disk in every place in which I have rested, in the places of the gods in Upper Egypt and in the places of the

[717] Kadish 2001, 86.
[718] Badawy 1968, 178.
[719] Wilkinson 2000, 61.
[720] On the cavetto cornice and torus moulding, see Chapter V.
[721] Gardiner 1944, 49.
[722] Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 305.

gods in Lower Egypt'.[723] Hence, the winged sun-disc was carved on doorways and portals for religious and apotropaic reasons. Like those of the mortuary temples of the New Kingdom, the towers of Roman-period pyla were sometimes built of mud-brick, like those of Tutzis (Dendur), Dabod, and Kysis (Qasr Doush). The construction of statues of rulers and obelisks before the pylon was common in the Dynastic period, but this custom was not maintained under Roman rule.[724] Equally, the outer walls of surviving pyla are not decorated with battle scenes in the Roman period.

By contrast with Pharaonic and Ptolemaic pyla which come primarily from urban sites (Table 2), the surviving Roman-period pyla (Table 1) are located in rural sites, with the exception of those at Tentyris, Koptos, and Panopolis. There are also no surviving pyla from the Delta sites. All this hinders the formation of a clearer picture of the scale of temple pyla under Roman rule. Given the difference between urban and rural sites, it is unsurprising that Roman-period pyla of village temples are smaller than contemporary or earlier urban temple pyla. Thus a decline in measurement of temple pyla in the Roman period cannot be assumed.

Although most of the land belonging to temples had been considerably reduced by the state under Petronius, Augustus' third prefect, and the privileges of the temples, including the right of asylum, were curtailed,[725] the priests still possessed the means to continue to build and decorate temples at least during the Principate.[726] Although mostly received in kind, the state subvention (*syntaxis*) remained essential for the maintenance and running of temples.[727] The temple at Soknopaiou Nesos owned a farmstead and 'a store-room in which are a tower, a courtyard, five chambers, *noubis*, and silos' in the district of Pisai[728] and the Temple of Kronos/Souchos at Tebtunis possessed 'a granary in which are a tower and another tower adjacent to it and a gateway'.[729] The temples derived considerable revenue from the lease of such properties. The sale of priestly offices like *propheteia*

[723] Gardiner 1944, 46.
[724] Wilkinson 2000, 8.
[725] Glare 1993.
[726] Monson 2005; Herklotz 2007.
[727] *BGU* IV.1197.5 (4-3 BC); *BGU* IV.1200.7 (2-1 BC); Capponi 2005, 152.
[728] *P.Lond*. II.216.9-11 (94) = Johnson 1936, 270, no. 159.
[729] *P.Mich.* V.226.20-2.

was another financial resource of temples.[730] Temples also received private donations from individuals and groups. Marsisouchos, a former high priest of the Temple of Hadrian in Arsinoe, left instructions in his will that if certain terms were not executed properly his estate should go to the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria.[731] In 58 the temple of Souchos in Arsinoe could demand pious contributions from all inhabitants of the nome.[732] Temples and shrines were built, rebuilt, or repaired at private expense. The Hellenized metropolites built new temples for local cults such as the Temple of Isis at Taposiris Parva and the Serapeum at Thebes.[733] Under Commodus, the north propylon in the precinct of Petesouchos and Pnepheros at Karanis was restored at the sole charge of the *sitologos* Apollonius.[734] With the aid of official and also private donations from non-Egyptian officials, private citizens, and Roman soldiers, the Egyptians were able to build new temples or to extend those already existing.[735] The wealthy elite thus funded not only classical-style city constructions, but also to a certain extent some Egyptian temples.[736]

As for the regional distribution of surviving Roman-period pyla (Table 1), six structures are located in the Dodekaschoinos, the area between Syene (Aswan) and Hierasykaminos (el-Maharraqa). Seven pyla are situated in the Thebaid, which included Upper Egypt and the Great Oasis. Only two pyla are located in the Arsinoite nome or the Fayum. Since almost all Egyptian temples of the Roman period north of Athribis are lost, there are no surviving pyla in Alexandria and the Delta. Regarding the chronological distribution of imperial construction work on surviving pyla, six pyla were built under Augustus. The patron of the first pylon of the temple of Min and Isis at Koptos is unknown. Only the gateway of the pylon of the ruined temple of Harsomatus at Tentyris survives. The gateway was built under Tiberius, but it carries reliefs of Tiberius, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. Antoninus Pius also appears as a Pharaoh offering a figure of Maat and a field-sign to the ram-headed Amun on the jambs of the pylon of the Temple of Amenebis at Tchonemyris (Qasr

[730] *P.Tebt*. II.294.
[731] *P.Tebt*. II.407.10-11 (199) = Johnson 1963, 284-5 (no. 175).
[732] *P.Mert*. II.63.7-10.
[733] Bernand 1969, no. 109, 428-30 (pl. 78); Golvin et al 1981.
[734] Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth 1990, 34.
[735] Kockelmann and Pfeiffer 2009.
[736] E.g. McKenzie 2007.

el-Zaiyan) in the El-Kharga oasis (fig. 78).[737] Three pyla were confirmed under Nero. Only one pylon survives from the reign of Domitian. Two surviving pyla come from Trajan's period. Neither construction nor repair work on pyla is confirmed under the Severans and down to the Tetrarchy (193-311). Yet construction work is confirmed on other architectural elements of the temple at least until the mid-third century, and temple activities continued into sixth century.[738]

There is no association between emperors who are known for their patronage of Egyptian cults and monuments and work done on pyla. The reign of Augustus was the most productive in the Dodekaschoinos. The Emperor's building activities in this region can be understood in terms of his desire to maintain control on such important commercial regions, but also to restore order and establish stability in this insurgent area.[739] Although Tiberius was not a patron of Egyptian cults in Italy, closing the Iseum Campense in Rome,[740] several building projects were fulfilled in Egypt under his reign, all of which are in the Thebaid.[741] This contradiction is not surprising given the difference between political reality in Rome and cultic necessity in Egypt. The construction of monuments might have been contemporaneous with Germanicus' visit to the Thebaid in 18.[742] It is quite natural that the construction of monuments would be attributed to Tiberius, the ruling emperor, even if the Emperor did not visit the province.[743]

Several constructions on traditional temples were also achieved under Nero.[744] The emperor's benefactions concerning the province and its cults and monuments were recognized by the decree of the inhabitants of Busiris, the Leontopolite nome, in the prefecture of Balbillus, which styles Nero as ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων τῆς οἰκουμένης.[745] Domitian is also a patron of Egyptian cults; the temple of Nehemet-aawy at Hermopolis Magna and the temple of Khnum at Aswan were

[737] Ball 1900, 68-9; Beadnell 1909, 98-9; Naumann 1939, 1-16; Letronne 1974, 124-35; Porter and Moss 1951, 293-4; Arnold 1999, 267.
[738] Sauneron 1952, 111-21; Winter 1976; Grenier 1983; Frankfurter 1998.
[739] Arnold 1999, 230-48.
[740] Ashton 2004, 22.
[741] Arnold 1999, 248-50.
[742] Tac. *Ann.* 2.60.
[743] Mitchell 1987, 20-1.
[744] Hothoer and Ahlgivst1974; Arnold 1999, 253-60.
[745] *OGIS* 666.3-4 = Letronne 1974, I, 466-75.

built under his reign.[746] The name of Trajan is also recorded on monuments at Panopolis, Shanhour, and Kysis.[747] Architecturally, the reign of Antoninus Pius is more productive than that of Trajan. At Alexandria, he erected the Gates of Sun and Moon and the *dromos*.[748] He also enlarged and restored earlier traditional monuments in the *chora*.[749] The lack of works on pyla of certain emperors is not understandable. Hadrian is known for his interest in Hellenic culture where in 130 he founded Antinoopolis as a Greek polis[750] and restructured the centre of Hermopolis with distinctively classical buildings,[751] but the Emperor is also known for interest in the cults of Serapis and Isis. Under his reign, an Apis statue was dedicated to the Alexandrian Serapeum and the Serapea at Thebes and Mons Claudianus were built. Similarly, the Temple of Isis at Deir el-Shelwit received substantial relief decorations and the Gate of Hadrian was built at Philae.[752]

The hieroglyphic word *bXnt* was used to refer to the pylon.[753] It is derived etymologically from a verbal stem, which means 'be vigilant'.[754] *BXnt* was first used during the Eighteenth Dynasty, and continued to be used until the end of the Ptolemaic period. That is, *bXnt* seems not to have survived into the Roman period.[755] *BXnt* refers to the whole structure and is sometimes followed by the determinative for a pylon, consisting of two towers and a central doorway in between. In other cases, however, it is followed by a single tower or without a determinative.[756] From the Eighteenth Dynasty and down to the Roman period, the word *sb#* is sometimes used to designate the pylon.[757] The term *sb#* is first used during the Fifth Dynasty to mean a normal 'doorway',[758] and often refers to 'the doors of houses as well as temples'.[759] *Sb#* also occurred in demotic, and survived into Coptic to mean

[746] Engelbach 1921; Jaritz 1975; Snape 1989.
[747] Arnold 1999, 263.
[748] Malalas 11.280.
[749] Arnold 1999, 265-70.
[750] Dio Cass. 69.11.2; Kühn 1913; Bell 1940, 137-47.
[751] Bailey 1990, 121-37.
[752] Golvin et al 1981, 115-48.
[753] Faulkner 1962, 84; Wilson 1997a, 326-7.
[754] Sethe 1933, 903.
[755] Spencer 1984, 193-4; Daumas 1990, 512.
[756] Erman and Grapow 1926, 471.
[757] Shubert 1981, 137-8; Blackman 1915, 4.
[758] Spencer 1984, 207.
[759] Wilson 1997a, 815-6.

'door'.[760] The central gate of the pylon was called *m#ht*,[761] while the balcony above it was called *m#rw* (the viewing place) or *sSd-n-Xo* (the window of appearance).[762] 'Pylon' is the English for the Greek πυλών (monumental gateway),[763] which is used in Egyptian religious contexts to designate the double-towered entrance of traditional temples.[764]

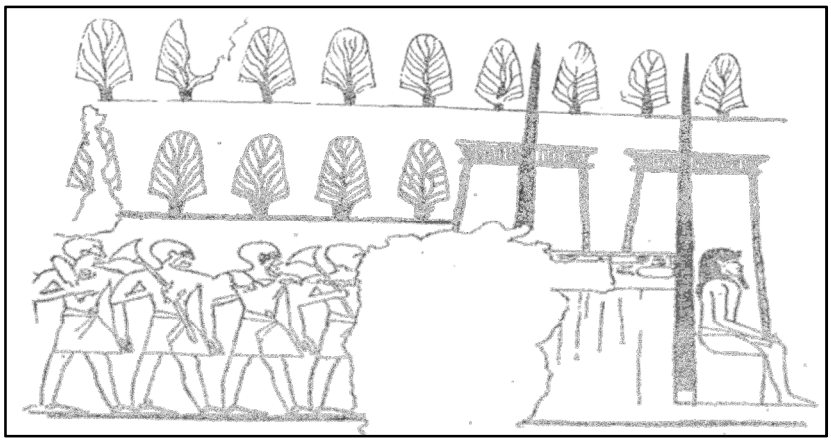
The earliest prototype of the pylon is a series of temple gateways, which date back to the Middle Kingdom and are built out of mud-brick, except for the frames of the doorways made of stone.[765] This tradition was maintained in mortuary temples of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1307-1196 BC) built on the west bank of Thebes.[766] The entrance to the Chapel of King Sankhkare Montuhotep III (1998-1991 BC) at Qurna (fig. 64) is often referred to as the 'earliest known pylon'.[767]

(Fig. 64)

The earliest explicit textual reference to the term *bXnt* is found in Ineni's statement, inscribed in his tomb at Thebes (TT 81), about his supervision of the construction of the fourth and fifth pyla of the Temple of Karnak under Tuthmosis I (1504-1492 BC). The 'superintendent of the royal buildings' records that 'I have

[760] Erichsen 1954, 419; Crum 1930, 321b.
[761] On the orthography of the word *m#ht*: Wilson 1997a, 405.
[762] Junker 1912, 58-9. On other uses of the word *m#rw*: Wilson 1997a, 404-5.
[763] Jaros-Deckert 1982, 1202.
[764] Hellmann 1992, 353.
[765] Badawy 1968, 177-8.
[766] Spencer 1984, 193.
[767] Nims 1965, 70.

supervised the great monuments which he (Tuthmosis I) made at Karnak. A noble hall with columns was erected; great pyla (*bXntw*) in fine Tura limestone were erected on either side of it (the hall)'.[768] From an early period of Egyptian history, as this inscription suggests, the construction of such a great monument as the pylon was an important achievement and honour to those participate in its construction. The supervision of the erection of pyla was a substantial task that deserved to be recorded and kept for memory. The earliest visual representation of a pylon in Egyptian art occurs in an unpublished scene from the Tomb of Amonuser (TT 131), which dates to the reign of Tuthmosis III (1479-1425 BC).[769] The scene depicts the approach of the procession of the governor of Thebes and vizier to a temple, which is represented as twin pyla set on a high plinth, with a middle gateway joining them and two tall masts in front.[770] This scene is similar to that in the Tomb of Amenhotepsise (TT 75), the second priest of Amun under Tuthmosis IV (1401-1391 BC) (fig. 65).[771] The scene in the latter tomb is depicted on the south wall. It shows a pylon with two towers decorated with a cavetto cornice and a torus moulding. On the outer wall of each there is a recess in which a flagstaff is embedded. The flagstaffs extend into the register above.



(Fig. 65)

The lintel of the central gate between the two towers is divided into three registers. The upper register contains a winged sun-disc with the inscription: 'The One of

[768] Shubert 1981, 136-7.
[769] Porter and Moss 1960-64, 141-2.
[770] Davies 1926, 50.
[771] Davies 1923, 9-10, pl. xiv; Badawy 1948, 181, fig. 217; Shubert 1981, 150.

Behdet (Horus of Edfu), the Great God'. The middle register contains an empty cartouche. The lower register is blank. Two colossal statues of the king with the *nemes* headdress are shown in profile flanking the central doorway.[772] As it stands, the scene represents distinct features typical of all pyla in general.

II.3. THE PYLON: AN EPITOME OF EGYPTIAN CULTURE AND ITS RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

This section considers the reception of the pylon in the Graeco-Roman world through the investigation of its occurrence in classical literature on Egypt. It suggests that the pylon was used as an epitome or an expression of ancient Egyptian culture and its religious architecture. In this respect, the pylon acted like the pyramids or the Labyrinth, which functioned as typical representations of Egyptian 'otherness'.[773]

In their reference to the pylon, Greek and Roman writers used more than one Greek term. Most classical writers used the word πρόπυλον to designate the traditional monument. Herodotus, writing in the fifth century BC, was the first to use pro/pulon to refer to the pylon. In his account of the temple of the god Ptah whom he calls Hephaestus at Memphis, he states that:

> ὃς μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τετραμμένα τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου, ἀντίους δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἔστησε ἀνδριάντας δύο, ἐόντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πηχέων.
>
> The memorial of his name left by him [Rhampsinitus] was the west pylon of the temple of Ptah; before this pylon he erected two statues with height of about twenty-five cubits.[774]

The monumentality of the pylon can be indirectly inferred from the huge measurements of the two statues which originally stood before it. Since the Egyptian cubit is estimated at 52.5 cm, it follows that the statues were *c.* 13 m. high.[775] The pylon must have been higher than the two statues. Given its monumental size, the

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[772] Badawy 1948, 181-2.
[773] For the pyramids: Elsner 1994, 230-5; for the labyrinth: Uphill 2000, 82.
[774] Hdt. 2.121.
[775] Arnold 1991, 251, Arnold 2003, 61.

pylon unsurprisingly attracted the attention of Herodotus and other later travellers. Due to its distinctive form and huge structure, Herodotus perhaps felt that the pylon is the appropriate structure on which he could draw to present Egyptian architecture to his Greek audience. For Herodotus, the construction of the pylon was seen as a physical means through which rulers could commemorate their memories.[776] Herodotus mistakenly attributed the construction of the pylon to King Ramesses III (1194-1163 BC). Although the temple is partially destroyed, archaeological investigations of the site indicate that the temple, the west pylon, and the two limestone colossal statues date to Ramesses II (1290-1224 BC).[777] The construction of statues of rulers to flank the central doorway of pyla is a common feature in Pharaonic architecture, but there is no evidence that this custom was maintained in Ptolemaic and Roman times.[778]

By the first century BC, there was a notion that the earliest reference to the temple pylon occurred in Homer:

> οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται, αἳ θ' ἑκατόμπυλοί εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἑκάστας ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν·
>
> Or to Thebes of Egypt,[779] where treasures in greatest store are laid up in men's houses; it is a city of a hundred gates from each of which sally out two hundred warriors with horses and chariots.[780]

Although this notion was first raised by Diodorus, whose passage will next be mentioned,[781] and accepted by Steven Shubert,[782] it is unclear whether Homer referred to pyla when he mentioned the ἑκατόμπυλοι. The context of the passage militates against such an identification, because it is inconceivable that soldiers with horses and chariots went out from the pyla of traditional temples. Although the outer

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[776] On the construction of religious structures to commemorate memory in Middle Ages Europe: Grant 2000.
[777] Wilkinson 2000, 114-5.
[778] E.g. the two statues of Ramesses II before the pylon of the Temple of Luxor (Wilkinson 2000, the figure in page 8).
[779] Upper Egyptian Thebes differs from the Boeotian Thebes, which Homer describes (*Il.* 4.406) as a city with 'seven gates (ἑπτάπυλοι)'.
[780] Hom. *Il.* 9.381-384. These are the words which Achilles uttered in his response to Odysseus, rejecting the offer of gifts from Agamemnon.
[781] Diod. Sic. 1.45.6.
[782] Shubert 1981, 136.

walls of pyla were sometimes decorated with battle scenes of Pharaonic rulers riding their chariots and smiting their enemies or of Ptolemaic kings smiting their enemies,[783] there is no evidence that the Egyptian army set off to battle from the temples.[784] Moreover, the Greek word πύλη is never employed in Classical Greek to mean the front gate of a religious structure.[785] It is difficult to draw a definite conclusion about the identification of the ἑκατόμπυλοι, particularly given the silence of the Scholia.[786] However, it is more likely that Homer meant 'city gates'.

Diodorus also used the pylon as a distinct epitome, or a model, of ancient Egyptian culture and its religious architecture when he commented on the passage of Homer as follows:

> ἔνιοι δέ φασιν οὐ πύλας ἑκατὸν ἐσχηκέναι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα προπύλαια τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀφ' ὧν ἑκατόμπυλον ὠνομάσθαι, καθαπερεὶ πολύπυλον.
>
> Some, however, tell us that it was not one hundred gates (*pulai*) which the city had, but rather many great *propolaea* in front of its temples, and that it was from these that the title 'hundred-gated' was given it, that is, having many gateways.[787]

Diodorus seems to accept the view of some people that the ἑκατόμπυλοι were not city gates, as Homer perhaps claimed, but sacred monumental gateways in front of its temples. He supports his argument by archaeological evidence for stables of horses, the foundations of which were still visible during his time between Memphis and Thebes.[788] To help his Greek audience to provoke a visual representation of the Egyptian monument, Diodorus calls the structures πρόπυλαια. Diodorus indirectly pointed out that the pyla were major features of the landscape of Egyptian cities by stating that they were 'numerous and big (πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα)'.

Likewise, Strabo referred to the pylon as a huge (μέγα) propylon typical of traditional temples. In his account of Heliopolis, Strabo describes the plan of Egyptian temples in general. Of a special concern in his paragraph is the statement:

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[783] Like the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu or the temple of Horus at Edfu.
[784] Alston 1995.
[785] Hellmann 1992, 360.
[786] On the Scholia's comments on Homer's passage: Erbse 1975, 479-80.
[787] Diod. Sic. 1.45.7.
[788] Diod. Sic. 1.45.6-7.

> μετὰ δὲ τὰς σφίγγας πρόπυλον μέγα, εἶτ' ἄλλο προελθόντι πρόπυλον, εἶτ' ἄλλο· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ διωρισμένος ἀριθμὸς οὔτε τῶν προπύλων οὔτε τῶν σφιγγῶν.
>
> And after the sphinxes one comes to a great gateway-entrance, and then, as one proceeds, another, and then another; but there is no prescribed number either of gateway-entrances or of sphinxes.[789]

Strabo dealt with the major architectural components of traditional temples. This passage comes after Strabo's description of the processional road (*dromos*) with the sphinxes 'on each of its two sides', and before his consideration of the rear pronaos and naos. Although there is much variation in their plans, many traditional temples consisted of the *dromos*, often lined with statuary, which leads to the outer brick enclosing wall of the religious precinct, which has one or more gateways, normally in the form of a propylon as at Deir el-Shelwit, Tentyris, and Karanis.[790] In many cases, the temple proper consists of an outer pylon, which leads to an open court, often surrounded by a colonnade, successively giving access to the hypostyle hall, the Hall of Offerings, the Hall of the Ennead, and the sanctuary with its surrounding mysterious corridor and chapels. The temple itself is surrounded by an inner stone enclosure wall into which the pylon is inserted. *Jnb* referred to the large brick wall around the temple complex or the stone walls of the temple proper. Since the Seventeenth Dynasty, *sbtj* synonymously occurs in temple inscriptions recording the building or repair of outer enclosure walls, as the Ptolemaic wall around the Temple of Khonsu-Neferhotep and the Tiberian wall around the Temple of Mut at Karnak.[791] The *peribolos* (encircling wall) mentioned in papyri,[792] such as the one built in the first century at Soknopaiou Nesos by the cattle-feeders of Nilopolis, their wives, and children may refer to the outer brick wall or the inner stone wall.[793] For Strabo, the pylon was an integral structure of temple architecture. He indicated not only that the construction of traditional temples followed an axial arrangement, but also temples often had more than one pylon following each other. One pylon seems to have been standard in traditional temples of the Roman period; however, two pyla are also

[789] Strabo 17.1.28.
[790] Zivie 1982; Arnold 1999, 262; *SB* VIII.10169 (190).
[791] Spencer 1984, 260-4, 275; Wilson 1997a, 823.
[792] *SB* XVI.12531.9 = *PSI* X.1149.
[793] *OGIS* II.655 = *IGRR* I.1116. See also Zignani 2010, 37, fig. 2.5.

confirmed in the Great Temple of Min and Isis at Koptos and the Temple of Isis and Serapis at Kysis (Appendix 1).

In his account of the temple of the goddess Neith whom he calls Athena at Sais, Plutarch, writing in the early second century, dealt with the iconography of the pylon when he states that:

> ἐν Σάϊ γοῦν ἐν τῷ προπύλῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ἀθηνᾶς ἦν γεγλυμμένον βρέφος, γέρων καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἱεραξ, ἐφεξῆς δ' ἰχθύς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δ' ἵππος ποτάμιος.
>
> In Sais, at any rate, on the pylon in front of Neith's temple there had been engraved a child, and old man, and after this a falcon, and then a fish, and behind them a hippopotamus.[794]

Plutarch gave a curious interpretation for the iconography on the pylon, when he states that the figures symbolically mean 'O you who are coming into being (the child) and you who are passing away (the old man), God (the falcon) hates (the fish) shamelessness (the hippopotamus)'.[795] Since nothing remains of the temple of Neith at Sais, the measurement and exact meaning of the iconography on the pylon cannot be identified.[796] This pylon was perhaps a monumental structure and followed other pyla in terms of structure and iconography. The outer walls of the pylon appear to have been decorated with offerings scenes to traditional deities, including Horus.

Since there is no equivalent to the Egyptian monument in Greek architecture, and given that classical writers tried to present an image of Egypt to their Greek audiences, but in Greek terms, or rather translate it into a Greek equivalent, it is not surprising that they often referred to the pylon as propylon. Like Herodotus, Diodorus and Strabo, Plutarch thought that the propylon was the most appropriate term and architectural form to describe the pylon. In Greek architecture, propylon designates a particular type of monumental gateway, which is architecturally distinguished from the Egyptian monument. It refers to the front gateway preceding the enclosure wall of sanctuaries, like propylon A of the Serapeum C at Delos and the Inner Propylaea at Eleusis.[797] It also designates a separate structure within the temple's precinct, where it is approached by a stairway, like the Propylaea on the

[794] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 32.8-10.
[795] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 32.10-11.
[796] Wilkinson 2000, 106-7.
[797] Hellmann 1992, 350-3.

Acropolis of Athens.[798] Propylon is used in Greek papyri in association with houses to mean a 'porch', but also in connection with a temple at Busiris.[799] The appearance of the Greek propylon can be seen in the gymnasia at Epidaurus, Olympia, and Cyrene. The latter was associated with Ptolemaic ruler-cult and remodelled as a Caesareum dedicated to Augustus (fig. 66).[800]

(Fig. 66)

The term propylon was especially used by Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, and Plutarch to describe the temple pylon for two reasons: first, the Greek propylon acted as the outer gateway of religious precincts, a function that is also applicable to the Egyptian monument; second, the Greek propylon was sometimes regarded as a separate, independent structure within the sacred precinct, a character that was true of the Egyptian structure.

Diodorus was the first and perhaps the sole classical writer to use the word pylon in his reference to the Egyptian monument. In his account of the Ramesseum, the mortuary temple of King Ramesses II (Ozymandias) on the west bank of Thebes, Diodorus described the first pylon as follows:

> τούτου δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν εἴσοδον ὑπάρχειν πυλῶνα λίθου ποικίλου, τὸ μὲν μῆκος δίπλεθρον, τὸ δ' ὕψος τετταράκοντα καὶ πέντε πηχῶν·

[798] Hdt. 5.77; Shubert 1981, 136.
[799] For houses: *P.Oxy*. II.243.15. For the temple: *P.Oxy*. XX.2272.5-6, 10.
[800] On those at Epidaurus and Olympia: Lauter 1986, 202-3. On that at Cyrene: Ward-Perkins, Balance and Reynolds 1958.

> At its entrance there is a pylon, built of variegated stone, two *plethra* in width and forty-five cubits in height.[801]

The temple's entrance-pylon, which was once decorated with scenes from the Battle of Kadesh, *c*. 1285 BC, is now badly damaged.[802] Although it was the custom to construct the pylon of Egyptian kings' mortuary temples out of mud-brick, this pylon was built out of sandstone. The huge structure of the pylon can easily be judged from the measurements given by Diodorus, 26.25 m high and 68.25 m wide.[803]

Diodorus then moved on and described the second pylon of the Ramesseum:

> ἐξῆς δὲ τοῦ περιστύλον τούτου πάλιν ἑτέραν εἴσοδον καὶ πυλῶνα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραπλήσιον τῷ προειρημένῳ, γλυφαῖς δὲ παντοίαις περιττότερον εἰργασμένον· παρὰ δὲ τὴν εἴσοδον ἀνδριάντας εἶναι τρεῖς ἐξ ἑνὸς τοὺς πάντας λίθου μέλανος τοῦ Συηνίτου.
>
> Beyond this peristyle there is yet another entrance and pylon, in every respect like the one mentioned before [the first pylon], save that it is more richly decorated with every manner of relief; beside the entrance are three statues, each of a single block of black stone [granite] from Aswan.[804]

Diodorus perhaps distinguished between the two main architectural elements of this pylon. While *eisodos* is used to refer to the central doorway, *pylon* is applied to the two towers and the whole structure. Diodorus easily noticed that temple pyla follow a similar schematic design and iconography. Yet the decoration of a pylon may exceed that of another. The second pylon is also badly destroyed, and the remains of its southern tower are partially covered by the shattered remnants of the colossus of Ramesses II. The three statues mentioned in the paragraph refer to the two statues of the king and a statue of his mother, queen Tuya, which are made of black granite.[805] In Greek papyri, the term pylon is mainly used in association with domestic architecture, but also in connection with the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus.[806] In short, the pylon was used at least in these texts as a typical element of Egyptian traditional religious architecture.

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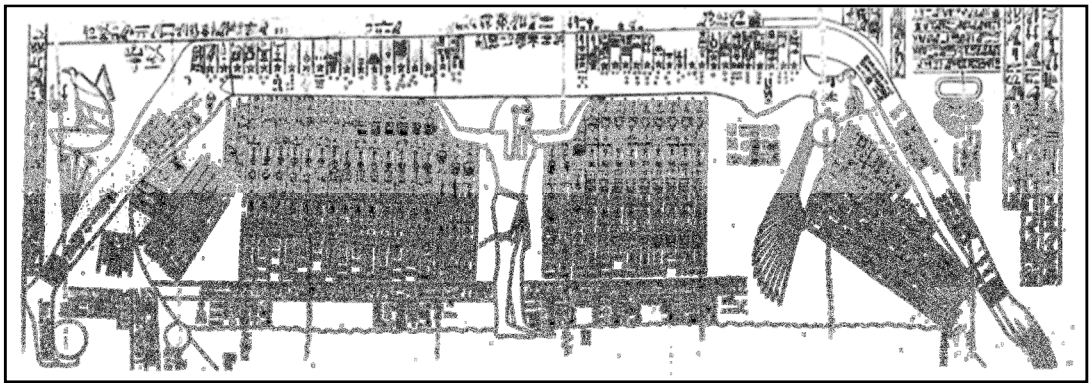
[801] Diod. Sic. 1.47.2. The *plethron* is an ancient measurement and equivalent to 100 Greek feet.
[802] Wilkinson 2000, 185.
[803] Stadelmann 1984, 92.
[804] Diod. Sic. 1.47.2.
[805] Wilkinson 2000, 185.
[806] *BGU* IV.1028.10; *P.Oxy* XLIII.3094.43-4; Husson 1983, 243-6.

II.4. THE SYMBOLISM OF THE PYLON

Much of the cultural and religious significance of the pylon come from its symbolism. Monumental buildings act as important media for communicating identity through the symbolic meanings that they convey and by which people articulate aspects of their identity. The Egyptian pylon is no exception. Above all, its essential architectural symbolism paved the way for the pylon to play a central role in the ritual of the 'coronation of the sacred falcon', during which the ritual and its backdrop might have emphasized the participants' local identity.

As in many other ancient cultures, the land was conceived as the centre of the universe in ancient Egypt. Texts and representations on temples, tombs, sarcophagi, and funerary papyri confirm that the earth was viewed as a god, Geb, and the sky as a goddess, Nut. Occasionally, this worldview is depicted in the image of recumbent Geb with Nut arching over him and touching the surface on which he reclines with her feet and hands, which metaphorically symbolize the four pillars of the sky. The god Shu, the personification of air, is usually shown standing between Geb and Nut, with his hand raised to support the sky-goddess, as in this illustration from the cenotaph of Seti I (1294-1279 BC) at Abydos (fig. 67).[807]



(Fig. 67)

In other representations, Nut's body is often studded with stars and a crescent moon (fig. 68). A solar disc is frequently shown near her womb and at her mouth (fig. 67). This represents the solar cycle in which Nut was thought to swallow the sun in evening and give birth to it in morning. Representations of Nut with her outstretched

[807] Allen 2003, 23-30.

arms on lids of Roman-period coffins like the second-century coffin of Soter, which the corpse would face and are supposed to represent the celestial vault, while giving birth to a scarab beetle, which symbolically alludes to the sun god, confirms the persistence of this religious ideology into the Roman period.[808] The sun would rise between the two mountains of the horizon, the western (*m#nw*) and the eastern (*b#xw*).[809] This idea was visualized in the hieroglyphic sign for horizon (*#Xt*), the determinative of which represents two mountains between which the solar disc rises and sets each day.[810] Akhet was a liminal zone between the Duat, the underworld, and the visible horizon.[811]

In all periods of ancient Egyptian history, the temple was generally known as *Hwt=nTr*, 'Mansion of God'.[812] It was considered a physical representation of the celestial horizon (*#Xt pt*), from which the sun god emerged each day to bring light to the world.[813] It was also a manifestation of the primordial mound, which first appeared from the primordial ocean of chaos after the act of creation. The temple was not only an essential structure to keep the order of the universe, but also 'a stage on which the meetings between the god and the king, as both the son of god and the representative of his subjects, were enacted'.[814] Egyptian temples were physical embodiments of the macro- and micro-cosmos. In other words, they were physical representations of the universe and the environment of Egypt.[815] The organizational layout and decoration of the temple reflected these ideas. Traditional temples followed an axial arrangement to follow the diurnal solar cycle, which was essential for keeping the order of the universe and guaranteeing its continuity.[816] In the liturgical staging of the 'coming of the God' (*prt nTr*), the locked doors of the temple, from the pylon to the naos, were opened in the morning to receive the rising sun.[817] The columns which represent the pillars of the sky were carved in the forms

[808] For the representation on this coffin: Bowman 1986, 135, fig. 80.
[809] On other writings of the two words: Wilson 1997a, 302-3, 403.
[810] Gardiner 1957, Sign List N 27, 477.
[811] Allen 2003, 25-7.
[812] Wilson 1997a, 630; McClain 2007, 88.
[813] Janowski 2003, 179- 80.
[814] De Cenival 1964, 86.
[815] Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 232; Finnestad 1997, 185-237; Allen 2003, 23-30; Janowski 2003, 175-84; Kurth 2004, 297-311.
[816] Petrie 1920, 55-90; Wilkinson 2000, 54-79.
[817] Janowski 2003, 177- 80.

of palm, lotus, and papyrus,[818] the plants which shaped the 'landscape of the first time'.[819] The ceiling was decorated with yellow stars on dark blue colours to imitate the sky.[820] The temple was therefore a codification of the Egyptian cosmos.[821]

Each architectural element in the temple played a role in reflecting the temple's cosmological and solar symbolism.[822] It was essential that the first architectural element of the temple, the pylon, takes the form of the place from which the sun appears each morning, the Akhet.[823] The pylon visualizes the hieroglyphic sign for horizon, and its twin towers represent the two mountains of the horizon between which the sun rises and sets. The pylon was meant to be a monumental structure to mirror the two enormous mountains of the horizon, and to act as a boundary separating the sacred from the secular.[824] The extraordinary size of the pylon far exceeded the requirement of its practical function as an entrance to the temple. Its huge structure and expressive form fit well with its symbolic function as the gate of cosmos.[825]

Several symbolic meanings were bestowed on the pylon. A primary symbolic significance was its capacity to symbolize rebirth.[826] The pylon was thought of as the place from which the sun would be reborn each day.[827] Ancient Egyptian textual and visual evidence clearly refer to this idea. Although this evidence comes mainly from the Dynastic and late Ptolemaic periods,[828] there is no need to underestimate its validity for discussion of pyla in Roman Egypt, when the pylon's symbolism was not a dead language.[829] On one of the rams from the temple of Amenhotep III (1391-1353 BC) at Soleb there is an inscription stating that 'its pyla reach to heaven; it is seen (on) both sides of the river, illuminating the two lands'. Equally, the great stele from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III states that the pylon of this temple

[818] Arnold 2003, 52-6.
[819] Frankfort 1948, 154.
[820] Michalowski 1968, 289.
[821] Finnestad 1997, 198.
[822] Wilkinson 2000, 76.
[823] Baines 1976, 10-11.
[824] Kadish 2001, 68.
[825] Finnestad 1997, 210.
[826] Wilkinson 2000, 77.
[827] Graefe 1983, 62.
[828] Badawy 1968, 178.
[829] Baines 1976, 10; Finnestad 1997, 210, 223.

'resembles the horizon in heaven when Re rises therein. It reaches up to the sky like the four supports of heaven. Its flagstaffs shine forth to the sky, wrought with electrum'.[830] These texts connect the pylon with the horizon of heaven and hint at its monumental scale. Owing to its huge structure, the inscriptions metaphorically compare the pylon with the four pillars of the sky. The pylon was envisaged as a terrestrial representation of the celestial horizon from which Re rises and sets. The two towers of the pylon acted symbolically as the two mountains of the horizon between which the sun rises. Like other gateways of temples, the doorways of pyla were opened at sunrise and closed again at sunset to symbolize the gates of heavens;[831] they were closed with two enormous wooden doors.[832]

The other elements which stood in front of the pylon accentuated its solar symbolism. For example, the two obelisks which stood in front of the pylon were also solar symbols. Pliny states that the two 'obelisks were sacred to the sun god and were symbolic representations of the sun's rays, and this is the meaning of the Egyptian word for it (*obeliscos vocantes Solis numini sacratos. radiorum eius argumentum in effigie est, et ita significatur nomine Aegyptio*)'.[833] They were sometimes dedicated to the morning and evening manifestations of the sun.[834] Moreover, the statues of baboons at the obelisks' base used to herald the coming of the rising sun. Furthermore, the gilded pyramidal-shaped tops of the obelisks are theoretically 'the first and last points to catch the rays of the rising and setting sun'.[835]

Visual evidence is also instructive concerning the pylon's ability to symbolize the Akhet.[836] A relief carved on the ceiling of the New Year Chapel at the Temple of Dendera, which has been dated to Cleopatra VII (51-30 BC), illustrates

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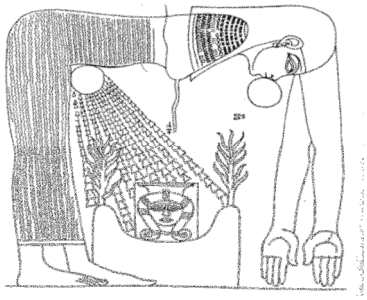
[830] Shubert 1981, 142.
[831] Graefe 1983, 62.
[832] Brewer and Teeter 2007, 162.
[833] Plin. *HN* 36.14.64. The ancient Egyptian word for 'obelisk' is *tXn*, which consists of the word *Xn* 'alight' or 'settle' with a *t*-prefix (Wilson 1997a, 1151-2).
[834] Habachi 1977, 4.
[835] Wilkinson 2000, 58.
[836] E.g. the stele of Nebre (Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin, no. 20377), who was a draughtsman in the reign of Tuthmosis IV (Erman 1934, 142-3, pl. 5).

the goddess Nut swallowing the solar disc in evening and giving birth to it in the morning (figs. 68-69).[837]

(Fig. 68)



(Fig. 69)

The temple is shown in the middle of the two mountains of the horizon bathing in the sun rays, which Nut brings forth in the morning.[838] By analogy, the eastern and western mountains of the horizon, where the sun rises and sets can be envisaged as the two towers of the pylon, behind which the temple proper stands.[839] Yet there is no pattern as to the orientation of temple pyla. The Temples of Talmis, Taphis, Dabod, Biggeh, and Karanis are oriented from east to west with the pylon on the east, but the temple of Min and Isis at Koptos followed a west-east axis. Like the temple of Kysis, the temple of Harsomatus at Tentyris followed a north-south arrangement, whereas the temple of Amenebis at Tchonemyris is oriented south-north (Appendix 1).

The pylon also acted symbolically from the Pharaonic period as a bastion for keeping order (*m#ot*) and dispelling chaos (*isft*).[840] In the course of day, the sun proceeds in the world to give power and life to human beings until sunset.[841] The appearance of the sun each day guaranteed the triumph of order over disorder. By symbolizing the two mountains of the horizon, the pylon helped to maintain the cosmic order. Given their high visibility, the exterior walls of the outer pylon were

[837] Quaegebeur 1991, 64; Zignani 2010, 38, 109-13.
[838] De Cenival 1964, 86.
[839] On the use of gates to symbolize vagina and rebirth among the Ndembu of Zambia: Turner 1977, 25-7.
[840] Shubert 1981; Graefe 1983; Junker 1958.
[841] Dombart 1933, 93.

carved with scenes enhancing such a symbolism.[842] The most common scene represents a king smiting his enemies in the presence of his supreme deities.[843] On the outer walls of the pylon at Edfu, Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus is depicted holding a mace in one hand and grasping the hair of his kneeling enemy with the other before Horus of Behdet (fig. 70).[844]

(Fig. 70)

Although the temple was built in its present state between 237 and 57 BC, it functioned into the Roman period, as one can find Tiberius' name on the temple, and is thus valid for consideration of the symbolism of the pylon.[845] The depiction of the king smiting his enemies has several symbolic connotations. While the ruler was considered both the son of god and a representative of the god Horus upon earth, the enemy was envisaged as the god Seth, with whom all destructive forces of the cosmos are associated. Thus the triumph of the ruler over his enemy symbolized the triumph of Horus upon Seth, and thus the victory of good over evil and order over disorder.[846] Most importantly, it symbolizes the triumph of the sun-god Re over his traditional serpent enemy Apophis, the power of darkness and chaos, who tried in a

[842] Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 232.
[843] Kadish 2001, 87.
[844] Aufrère, Golvin, and Goyon 1997, 250.
[845] Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.* 50) records that the Egyptians hunted crocodiles and slaughter them before the temple.
[846] Shubert 1981, 163.

never-ending battle to swallow the sun.[847] The representation of the ruler needs not to be interpreted as an isolated activity of the governor smiting his enemies. It is rather a symbolic act which not only represents the suppression of the forces of disorder in Egypt and in the cosmos at large, but also accentuates the symbolic significance of the pylon as a stronghold for dispelling chaos.[848]

Although Titus is depicted as a Pharaoh smiting his enemy on the outer wall of the pronaos of Esna, the outer walls of surviving Roman-period pyla are not decorated with battle scenes.[849] Yet the pyla generally followed earlier structures in style and religious ideology.[850] Although there is an imperial relief from the Sebasteum at Aphrodisias showing Claudius conquering the defeated figure of Britannia and pulling her head back by the hair for the death blow, the representation of rulers smiting their enemies had a long tradition in ancient Egypt.[851] The absence of military scenes on pyla is compensated for representations of emperors as Pharaohs on the central doorway of pyla while offering the statue of Maat to Egyptian deities. For example, on the central gate of the pylon at Kalabsha, Augustus is given his hieroglyphic titles and is shown as a 'cultic' Pharaoh offering the statue of Maat to Isis (not shown in fig. 71) (fig. 71).

(Fig. 71)

[847] Finnestad 1997, 210.
[848] Wilkinson 2000, 88-9.
[849] Hölbl 2004, 107.
[850] Baines 1976, 10-11.
[851] On the relief of Claudius: Smith 1987, pls. xiv-xv.

The scene symbolizes Augustus' ability to maintain Maat (law and order), which the gods established and was a principal concept and principle of ancient Egyptian culture.[852] The Egyptians' way of life and way of doing thing was based on Maat. The Egyptians thought that they were the only people to be given Maat from the gods, and that they have to keep it to ensure the continuity of cosmos. Maat was the food of gods and only rulers had the right to offer it to the gods.[853]

II.5. THE RITUAL OF 'THE CORONATION OF THE SACRED FALCON'

The ritual side of the symbolism cannot be neglected here. Since the pylon was a monument of the divine cult,[854] it provided, from the Ptolemaic period onwards, the setting for the ritual of 'the coronation of the sacred falcon', the sacred bird and divine representation of Horus.[855] Ptolemaic and Roman-period pyla perpetuated the solar symbolism of New Kingdom pyla.[856] The proceedings of this ritual are monumentalized on the inner faces of the pylon, on the interior walls of the enclosure wall and on many other parts of the temples of Horus at Edfu[857] and Isis at Philae.[858] The ritual was thus celebrated at least in these two somewhat distant temples, where the reliefs recording the festival are quite similar.

Before considering the 'coronation of the sacred falcon', the issue of access to temple enclosures in Roman Egypt should be addressed as this helps estimate the involvement of worshippers and participants on religious occasions here and elsewhere. Like other gateways of the temple precinct, the doorways of pyla were opened at sunrise and closed again at sunset.[859] As the pylon of Horus at Edfu received its cedar doors in 57 BC[860] and the granite pivot on which the door of the pylon once swung still remains in the temple of Dabod,[861] it is widely accepted that they were closed with two enormous wooden doors.[862] The phrase 'do not enter

[852] Assmann 1990, 15-8.
[853] Bell 1997, 128-9.
[854] Shubert 1981, 159-60.
[855] De Cenival 1964, 90.
[856] Finnestad 1997.
[857] Derchain 1961, 47-9.
[858] Junker 1958.
[859] Graefe 1983, 62.
[860] Cauville 1984, 63.
[861] Roeder 1911, 16-7; Murray 1931, 189-91; Arnold 1999, 237.
[862] Brewer and Teeter 2007, 162.

unclean' is often inscribed on the doors of the gateways through which the priests entered the temple complex, forbidding access to the 'unclean'.[863] Although the temples' huge walls and successive gateways may suggest physical restriction on entry,[864] one should not overemphasize that restriction for there are indications that non-priests enjoyed access to the sacred precinct at least on important festive and social occasions. The notion that the ordinary people were allowed into the open courts of temples on important festive occasions receives some support from the presence of the gate of Ramesses II in the Luxor temple, oriented towards the city east of the temple, and depicting the adoring *pot* and *rXyt* (ordinary people).[865] On this principle, it is possible that the common people approached the temple enclosure during the ritual of the 'coronation of the sacred falcon'.[866] There are some references to dining halls within temples at Oxyrhynchus. A papyrus of the second or third century contains an invitation to dine 'in the *oikos* of the Serapeum', a dining room within the enclosure.[867] According to the Greek inscription carved on the lintel of its portal, the south-east building within the religious precinct of Petesouchos and Pnepheros at Karanis was used as a δειπνητήριον (dining hall) under Vespasian.[868] Another dinner invitation issued by the *exegetes* was held 'in the temple of Demeter'.[869] As dinner banquets were sometimes organised by religious as well as trade clubs and were normally issued by non-priests, it seems clear that non-priests enjoyed access to the temple enclosures.[870] Earlier in the Macedonian period, Alexander's entourage, including the hypaspists, archers, Agrianians, and the royal squadron of the Companions, gained the priests' permission to enter the Temple of Amun at Siwa.[871]

The presence of the niche of the 'Hearing Ear' on the outer side of the back wall of the sanctuary of the Temple of Isis at Deir el-Shelwit, which was used for

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[863] Finnestad 1997, 227.
[864] Alston 2001, 85-6.
[865] Bell 1997, 163-72; Finnestad 1997, 223. *Pot* could refer to people as the original Upper Egyptians, while *rXyt* have been identified with the working fellahin of Egypt or the original Lower Egyptians (Wilson 1997, 347-8, 590).
[866] S
hubert 1981, 160.
[867] *P.Oxy*. XIV.1755.2-3.
[868] *SB* VIII.10167 = *IGRR* I.1120; Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth 1990, 34.
[869] *P.Oxy*. XII.1485.2.
[870] For such invitations: Montserrat 1992; Koenen 1967; Skeat 1975.
[871] Strabo 17.1.43; Arr. *Anab.* 3.1.4.

cult practices taking place outside the temple proper but within the religious precinct, suggests access to the temple complex. This niche also allowed those who were not purified, the common people, indirect access to the inner sanctuary of the temple.[872] Devotional texts (*proskynemata*) also buttress the argument that worshippers entered the temple enclosures at certain times. These are carved, for instance, on the temple pyla of Luxor and Dakka. The latter carries Greek, demotic, and Meriotic *proskynemata*.[873] There is no evidence that these texts were inscribed by priests on behalf of worshippers. Even if *proskynemata* were carved by priests, this does not necessarily mean that worshippers were excluded from entering the enclosures. The imprecise style of *proskynemata*, in contrast to the precision of other temple reliefs and their random arrangement and concentration on outer pyla make it more likely that devotional graffiti were carved by the worshippers. However, priests, accompanying friends, or scribes might have helped the illiterate.[874] Leaving a *proskynema* in commemoration of one's visit to the temple was an important act. So much so that in a third-century papyrus a sender starts his letter with 'I make devotion for you [the recipient] in front of the god Amun'.[875]

The Serapeum in Oxyrhynchus enjoyed the right of asylum as early as the second century BC, indicating that laymen could temporarily live within the temple enclosure.[876] As this privilege was curtailed under Augustus, it is likely that refugees no longer allowed dwelling in temple precincts. Yet the ordinary people could access the temple enclosure in the appropriate circumstances. In 26-6 BC, Canopus contained the temple of Serapis, who was 'honoured with great reverence and produces such healings that even people of the greatest merit believe in him and come to sleep in it for their proper recovery or send others to sleep there in their stead. Some write down their recovery, others the proof of the effectiveness of the oracle of Serapis'.[877] Similarly, in 181 the Hadrianeum at Oxyrhynchus was used as a

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[872] Arnold 1999, 231-2.
[873] Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 189. For two explicit examples of *proskynema* with the name of the god Amun: El-Saghir et al. 1986, 107 (no. 15), 115 (no. 36). On Dakka: Porter and Moss 1951, 40-3; Arnold 1999, 244; and Hölbl 2004, 138-47.
[874] For two contracts where a scribe and a guardian wrote for illiterate: Husselman 1971, Text 553, 77-8; *P.Oxy.* I.106 = *Sel. Pap*. II.424.
[875] *SB* VI.9249.2.
[876] *BGU* 6.1245.5-7.
[877] Strabo 17.1.17.

venue for reading a will, which probably indicates that relatives of the deceased could enter the temple to attend the event.[878] In 207 a copy of a petition made by Totoes, a cultivator from Oxyrhynchus, to the prefect Subatianus Aquila, complaining of his illegal nomination as a donkey-driver, was 'displayed (προτεθέντων) in the temple of Osiris-Antinous' at Antinoopolis.[879] As the petition does not concern a temple or religious matter, it is quite likely that it was posted in the temple to be read by priests as well as non-priests. In short, there is evidence that the ordinary people enjoyed access to temple enclosures at least on important festive and social occasions.

The ritual of the 'coronation of the sacred falcon' was performed on the first four days of the month of Tybi (Julian: 27-30 December), the first month of Peret (sowing) and the fifth of the year. Firstly, the priests would take the falcon-headed statue of Horus with its double crown from the naos in the sanctuary and place it on a portable litter. The litter was then carried upon the shoulders of masked priests: those in front wore falcon masks, whereas those behind wore jackal masks. The masked priests respectively represented the ancestor kings of the archaic kingdoms of Hierakonpolis in Upper Egypt and Buto in the Delta.[880] Then the procession moved in silence and passed through the gate in the south wall of the temenos to the Temple of the Sacred Falcon which is no longer preserved. While the litter of Horus was stationed in the doorway, the falconers would bring a number of falcons reared in a grove within the temple precinct.[881] It was here that the litter faced the shrines of the gods who assembled to select a new ruler. Finally, the god would select and recognize one of these falcons as his heir as well as the new ruler.[882] The method of selection was probably oracular, where the names of the deities were called one by one so that Horus might indicate the one whom he had chosen. As one of the gods was chosen, the procession entered the open court of the temple, into which the ordinary people (*rXyt* or *pot*) were only allowed on festive occasions.

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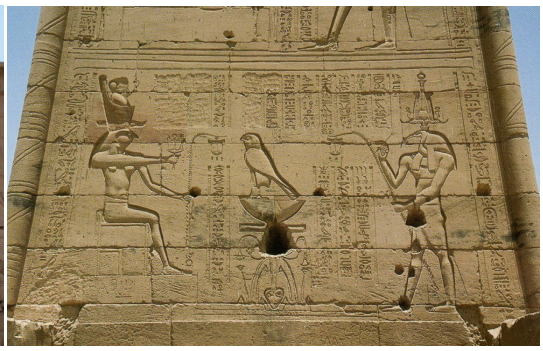
[878] *P.Mert.* II.75.
[879] *P.Oxy*. XVII.2131.4-5 = *Sel.Pap*. II.290.
[880] Fairman 1954-5, 189-93.
[881] Finnestad 1997, 223.
[882] Fairman 1954-5, 190.

The highest point of this ritual was called the 'ceremony of recognition', when a new selected falcon was displayed from the balcony of the pylon to the people gathered below (fig. 72).[883] An important scene of the crowning of the new falcon is depicted on the west inner wall of the east tower of the first pylon in the Temple of Isis at Philae (fig. 73). The reliefs bear the cartouches of Ptolemy XII Auletes. A falcon is shown in the middle standing upon the symbol of the unification of the two lands. To the left Horus wears the double crown and offers 'millions of years, stability, life, and dominion' to a falcon. Thoth is shown behind the falcon recording on the *renpet* sign tens of thousands of years and jubilees.[884]

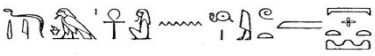
(Fig. 72)



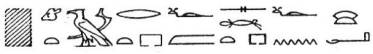
(Fig. 73)

The new selected falcon was described on the opposite side of the scene:

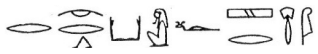
NTr-o# oHo Hr srX



Dd mdw b# onX n Ro jw m Pwnt



Xnt m#rw=f m sSd=f n Xo



r spr k#=f Xr s#b-Swt

r rdj.t n=f HHw m onX Dd w#s

The great god [Horus] who stands on the palace-façade (*srX*); recitation: the living *ba* of Re who comes from Punt in his 'viewing place' (*m#rw=f*) in his 'window of appearance' (*sSd=f n Xo*) in order that his *ka* should reach the many-coloured one and give him millions of life, stability, and dominion.[885]

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[883] Shubert 1981, 160.
[884] Hölbl 2004, 54-5.
[885] Translation: Junker 1958, 77.

The inscription makes clear that the balcony of the pylon and the pylon as a whole played a major role in this solar ceremony. The pylon functioned as the throne of the falcon, the *serekh*. In his aspect as the soul of Re, Horus took the balcony as his 'viewing place', 'window of appearance', and place of coronation.[886] The appearance of the living falcon between the two towers of the pylon symbolized the emergence of the rising sun between the two mountains of the horizon. This also recalls the appearance of Pharaohs from the 'window of appearance' of their royal palaces, where they showed themselves to their subjects or presented gifts.[887]

This celebration probably represented the annual renewal of the coronation of the reigning ruler. It was also perhaps a substitute for the *Sed*-festival, the royal jubilee cerebration in Pharaonic Egypt.[888] It is known that the festival of the resurrection of Osiris, when the dead king was reborn, was celebrated on the last day of Khoiak, the fourth month of the year.[889] On the following day, the first day of Tybi, the coronation of the falcon, the sacred bird of Horus, son of Osiris, was conducted, when Horus assumed kingship.[890] The falcon represented both Horus, the divine sovereign of Egypt, and the reigning ruler (whether a Pharaoh, a Ptolemy or an Emperor), fusing the two ritually and linking the festival with the religious ideology of the country.[891] According to this ideology, the reigning king of Egypt was thought of as a mediator between the sun god and his people. He thus acquired both heavenly and earthly characteristics, through which he became a solar priest.[892] This ritual indicates that the ancient idea of integrating kingship into the temple cult was still important in Ptolemaic and Roman times.[893]

Texts from the first century BC to the fourth century hint at the persistence of this ritual into the Roman period, and possibly later. From the Pharaonic to the Roman period, bird and animal veneration was a distinctive feature of ancient

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[886] Dijkstra 1976, 78.
[887] For the appearance of Akhenaton from the balcony of his royal palace at el-Amarna: Badawy 1948, 106 (fig. 108). On the 'window of appearance' in royal palaces: Davies 1925; Hölscher 1939; Kemp 1976.
[888] Shubert 1981, 161.
[889] Junker 1912, 54-6.
[890] Fairman 1954-5, 192.
[891] Finnestad 1997, 223.
[892] Assmann 1970, 65.
[893] Finnestad 1997, 223.

Egyptian religion.[894] In the first century BC 'the Egyptians [continued to] venerate certain animals exceedingly, not only during their lifetime, but even after their death, such as the falcon (ἱέρακα)'.[895] They regarded the falcons as divine birds sacred to Horus. Certain traditional temples were built for the god Horus the Falcon, (*Hr p# bjk* in hieroglyphs, Ἁρπεβήκις in Greek), like the one attested at Oxyrhynchus.[896] The falcon cult maintained its importance in the Roman period, and falcons were reared in the groves of such temples.[897]

In his account of Philae, Strabo attests to the falcon cult and refers explicitly to the performance of the ritual of 'the coronation of the falcon' at the beginning of Roman rule when he states that:

> Here [at Philae], also, a bird is held in honour, which they [the priests] call a falcon (ἱέρακα), though to me it appeared to be in no respect like the hawks in our country and in Egypt, but was both greater in size and far different in the varied colouring of its plumage. They said that it was an Ethiopian bird, and that another one was brought from Ethiopia whenever the one at hand died, or before. And in fact the bird shown to us at the time mentioned was nearly dead because of disease.[898]

As previously mentioned, a principal function of this ritual was the selection and crowning of a new living falcon 'whenever the one at hand died, or before'. Two of Strabo's statements on the falcon, as Jitse Dijkstra noticed, remarkably agree with the aforementioned Egyptian text: the multi-colours of the falcon and its place of origin. Egyptian texts and Strabo's passage agree on the multi-coloured feathers of the falcon. Yet the *s#b-Swt* epithet does not necessarily indicate a different Nubian falcon species, as Strabo claimed, because the 'multi-coloured' epithet was a standard formula associated with almost all falcon deities in ancient Egypt.[899] For the Egyptian texts, 'the falcon comes from Punt', a place situated to the south of Egypt.[900] For Strabo, the new bird came from Ethiopia (Nubia), the general name for the area to the south of Egypt.

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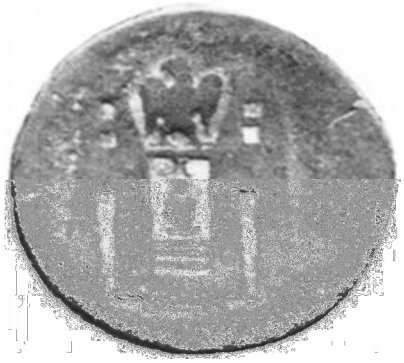
[894] Juv. *Sat.* 15.
[895] Diod. Sic. 1.83.1.
[896] *P.Oxy*. IX.1188.3-4.
[897] Finnestad 1997, 223.
[898] Strabo 17.1.49.
[899] Dijkstra 1976, 79; Dijkstra 2008, 211; Kenning 2002, 43-8.
[900] Junker 1912, 58-60.

A provincial coin minted at Alexandria (fig. 74) during the reign of Marcus Aurelius hints at the maintenance of this ritual into the Roman period. The coin depicts a bird perching over the balcony between the two towers of the pylon of the Temple of Osiris at Canopus (modern Abu Qir) near Alexandria.



(Fig. 74)

There are two interpretations of the bird. The first suggests that the bird is an eagle, and thus its depiction on the pylon was perhaps meant to symbolize the re-conquest of Egypt by Rome following the suppression of the rebellion that broke out at Alexandria under Antoninus Pius. The representation of an eagle perching on a pylon was perhaps meant to maintain control on Egyptian religion.[901] The other interpretation suggests that the bird is a falcon, and thus its depiction hints at the 'coronation of the sacred falcon'. In either case the pylon was thought of as a symbol of Egyptian religion. Given the precise location of the bird over the balcony and the lack of numismatic representations of eagles on other traditional monuments, the identification of the bird as a falcon is more convincing. Yet there is no evidence that the festival was celebrated at temples other than at Edfu and Philae.

The so-called Coptic *Life of Aaron* offers another important clue for the maintenance of falcon cult and the ritual of the 'coronation of the sacred falcon' during the first half of the fourth century. The early fourth-century Bishop Macedonius, whom Athanasius of Alexandria sent as the first Bishop of Philae, reported that he saw people at Philae 'worshipping a bird, which they called the falcon, inside some demonic cage'.[902] Dijkstra has interpreted the 'demonic cage' as

[901] Malalas 11.280.

[902] Spiegelberg 1924, 168-9. The *Life of Aaron* is part of a tenth-century paper codex now in the British Museum, London, and catalogued under the heading Oriental 7029. The entire manuscript is centred around Apa Aaron, who was a holy anchorite of Philae (Budge 1915; Layton 1987).

the ‘window of appearance’ or the balcony between the two towers of the first pylon where the falcon was shown to worshippers.[903] It follows that the ritual of the ‘coronation of the sacred falcon’ was still performed during the fourth century, and possibly later.

Having acknowledged the persistence of the festival into the Roman period, we should now consider the religious significance of the ritual. Architecture reflects and constitutes social practice, which is important evidence for reading from architecture to narratives of identity.[904] Above all, ritual activities and social practices lend dynamism to architectural forms.[905] Ritual is widely defined as ‘a particular type of human behaviour and a mode of social interaction between humans’.[906] Jan Platvoet developed thirteen dimensions dealing with the different traits and functions of rituals, which will be applied to the ritual in question in the next section.[907] However, one should bear in mind that a ritual does not necessarily contain all of them.

The ritual of the ‘coronation of the falcon’ was an important sphere of religious interaction. It was an important rite performed on the first four days of Tybi, which is relatively a long period. The proceedings of the ritual offered for the participants (priests, worshippers, pilgrims, and visitors) opportunities to interact religiously as well as socially. This is the ‘interactive’ aspect of rituals in Platvoet’s terms. The main point of the ritual occurred when the priests displayed a new selected falcon from the balcony to the people gathered in the space in front of the pylon. The priests and other officiants were the ‘senders’, while the spectators were the ‘receivers’. For Platvoet, this is the ‘collective’ aspect of rituals. The ritual in question was one of many during which the priests and other inhabitants of the nome interacted with each other and communicated their local identity through the roles assigned to the participants. While the priests performed the scared rites of the ceremony in the temple and its environs, and thus were the actors, the worshippers,

[903] Dijkstra 2002, 8-9.
[904] Arnheim 1977, 220; Pratt 1998; Pitts 2007.
[905] Price 1984, 101-32.
[906] Platvoet 1995, 27-8.
[907] For further discussion of the thirteen dimensions: Platvoet 1995, 27-37.

pilgrims, and visitors awaited the moment when the divine bird of Horus appeared from the balcony. For Platvoet, this is the 'expressive' dimension of rituals.

The annual celebration of the 'coronation of the sacred falcon' transmitted explicit and implicit messages. This is what Platvoet calls the 'communicative' dimension of ritual. The recurrence of the ritual indicates that Egyptian priests and local inhabitants were keen to maintain it. Apparently the official authorities had no objection to the performance of such a festival. The persistence of the ritual confirms that Egyptian religious ideology that conceived the falcon as a divine symbol of Horus and the reigning ruler as Horus' representative was still important in Roman Egypt. Since the falcon was considered the *ba* of Re, the display of the falcon between the two towers of the pylon was meant to symbolize the appearance of the *ba* of Re between the two mountains of the horizon. Such a symbolic idea was a key aspect of ancient Egyptian religion. Platvoet calls the communication of important symbolic ideas the 'symbolic' dimension of rituals.

The festival of the 'coronation of the sacred falcon' probably represented a public means for the local participants at Edfu and Philae to reaffirm and negotiate their local identity in competition with other cities. Platvoet termed this as 'the integrative' dimension of rituals, which helps incorporate individuals into their community. This traditional ritual was performed at a particular time (the first four days of Tybi), and its highest point was enacted at a definite place (the pylon) and space (the area in front of the pylon). It constituted the display and manipulation of objects, which expressed the distinctiveness of traditional temples. Recurrent rites, festivals, and ceremonies were primary organizational forms of memory, which plays a role in asserting local identity.[908] Through its recurrence, the 'coronation of the sacred falcon' and the pylon had the potential to transmit Egyptian cultural and religious traditions and expressed the identity of the local participants over centuries. Platvoet calls the reiteration of an activity the 'customary' dimension through which ritual is conventionalized and formalized. The repetition of this rite would emphasize coherence of the worshippers of Horus and other participants in space and time.

[908] Assmann 1992, 56-8.

The ‘coronation of the sacred falcon’ was an important festival, which the participants would remember. I shall call the act of remembering a ritual ‘the memorializing dimension’ of ritual. If a ritual does not have the capacity to be recalled by its participants, it will be of no value. The process of memorializing a ritual would be triggered during the ritual’s time, which enables the participants to formalize a mental image about its proceedings. The ritual’s procedures would be kept in the participants’ minds and invoked whenever necessary. Memorializing a ritual is important for extending a ritual’s lifespan beyond the limited time of the event; it is frequently renewed in correspondence with the recurrence of a ritual. It also provides a readable flashback and, simultaneously, creates an eager anticipation for the next ritual.

Consideration of the rituals’ religious and social significance must be studied within the socio-cultural situation prevailing in Roman Egypt, when the temple administration was integrated into Graeco-Roman political structures.[909] As part of the municipalisation of the province, the temples came under the central authority of the High Priest of Alexandria and Egypt.[910] Temples were placed under the civic authority of the community, where magistrates were involved elsewhere in organising festivals.[911] Equally, the sale of temple offices like *propheteia*, *lesoneia*, and *neokoria* was administered by the head of the *idioslogos*.[912] The early Roman period witnessed a dramatic shift from traditional priestly inscriptions recording donations to the temples to standardized Graeco-Roman texts used throughout the Roman period.[913] Like Graeco-Roman sanctuaries, Egyptian temples are not reliable markers of legal or ethnic identities. As far as we can tell, traditional temples were not closely associated with Egyptian legal status. Barth argued that ethnic identity involves the active maintenance of cultural boundaries in the process of social interaction.[914] But there is no evidence that only the Egyptians took part in this festival. That the Egyptians exploited the pylon and this ritual to maintain cultural

[909] Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Alston 1997c.
[910] On the High Priest: Stead 1981; Rigsby 1985. On municipalisation: Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Alston 1997c.
[911] *SB* IV.7336.42; *P.Oxy*. IV.731.5.
[912] *P.Tebt*. II.294; Swarney 1970, 57-9, 83-96.
[913] Bowman and Rathbone 1992, 107.
[914] Barth 1969.

boundaries against non-Egyptians seems historically unlikely. Elsewhere, Romans and Alexandrians honoured local cults and offered patronage to traditional temples.[915] The metropolitan magistrates called Graeco-Roman and Egyptian festivities in the theatre and hippodrome.[916] Traditional festivals were attached not only to Egyptian monuments, but also to classical structures. It is likely that everyone who was interested in the cult of Horus or at least in the festival as a social gathering could attend it without difficulty. In this shared cultural milieu, religion and religious practices cannot be used as criteria for identifying individuals as Roman, Greek, or Egyptian. Since the ritual is confirmed only at Edfu and Philae, and thus cannot be seen as representative of all the Egyptians, it is quite possible that the festival had a local importance. It may have been used to emphasize the identity of the local community in competition with other localities that did not celebrate. Inscriptions recording the dedication of the pronaos in the temple of Tentyris and the pylon in the temple at Kysis emphasized the identity of the local community as a whole.[917]

In 217-18 the gateway of the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus is mentioned in a private letter of one Sarapas *alias* Gaius:

> Εὐτύχει θαλοδοτοῦοντι ὑπὸ τὸν πυλῶνα τοῦ Σαραπείου πρὸς τῇ μεγάλῃ εἰκόνι.
>
> To Eutyches who distributes branches under the pylon of the Serapeum by the Great Icon.[918]

The use of the word pylon here says nothing about its architectural style or physical appearance. In Greek papyri, pylon is the general word for 'gateway'.[919] Although Serapea in Egypt (Table 1) and elsewhere usually followed Graeco-Roman layout, they also incorporated Egyptian architectural features.[920] That the gateway of the Serapeum took the shape of pyla of traditional temples, with either two towers like the Augustan temple at Kalabsha or a single trapezoidal tower like Nero's South Temple at Karanis remains a possibility. Since the material of the Great Icon is

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[915] *P.Mert*. II.63
[916] Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Alston 1997c; *P.Oxy*. IV.731.5.
[917] Tentyris: Letronne 1974, 90-1. Kysis: *SEG* VIII.790 = *SEG* XXIV.1215 = *SB* 5.8438 = Letronne 1974, 120-1; Reddé 2004, 18. See further, below.
[918] *P.Oxy*. XLIII.3094.43-44; Turner 1952a.
[919] Husson 1983, 243-6.
[920] On the Serapea in the Roman world: Wild 1984. On the Serapeum at Ephesus: Akurgal 1973, 163-4.

unidentified, it refers to an unknown work of art executed by the pylon. The pylon of the Serapeum was used as reference point in religious festivals associated with the temple. Eutyches was perhaps the temple's door keeper, a priest, or servant. A late third-century papyrus gives an account of payments to a herald, trumpeter, comedian, dancer, and the doorkeeper of the Serapeum in return for their duties in the festival of Serapis.[921] This festival lasted for two days of public holidays and included a public procession, since the papyrus speaks of 'gifts of the dog-headed one',[922] who refers to 'the official who took the part of Anubis in the festival'.[923] Religious festivals and processions associated with temples were elaborate carnivals to which dancers, trumpeters, musicians, and pilgrims would come. The pylon at Edfu and Philae and the space before it were the arenas for a traditional festival or at least the most important part of it. The connection of a ritual activity with the pylon enhances the monumentality of the structure. Through the actions of its participants, the ritual shifted the pylon from being a static structure into a dynamic one. The association between architecture and ritual activities helps to infer the construction of narratives of identity through dynamic practices instead of the one-to-one relationship between identity and static material culture.

[921] *SB* IV.7336.42.
[922] *P.Oxy.* XXXI.2586.42 (264).
[923] Wormald 1929, 242.

II.6. ROMAN-PERIOD PYLA: VISUAL AND TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

This section offers a typology of the textual evidence on pyla, highlighting the importance of the structure. In contrast to the outer walls of the pylon which carry no hieroglyphic reliefs or texts, the central doorway of most pyla is richly decorated. The outer and inner jambs of the central gateway usually bear reliefs of Emperors as 'cultic' Pharaohs, making offerings, especially the figure of Maat, to Egyptian deities. The eastern jamb of the central doorway of the pylon at Dakka, for example, bears hieroglyphic inscriptions and reliefs of Augustus offering to Egyptian deities, including Thoth, Tefnut, and Isis (fig. 75).[924]

(Fig. 75)

(Fig. 76)

Equally, the central doorway of the first pylon of the Temple of Dendur is richly decorated (fig. 76). The jambs bear reliefs of Augustus as a Pharaoh offering to Egyptian deities, including Osiris, Isis, Tefnut, Khnum, and Horus in addition to the deified Padisis and Pahor.[925] Augustus was given at the Temple of Mandulis at Talmis his hieroglyphic titles. He is represented on the reliefs of the gateway of the pylon as a Pharaoh presenting a figure of Maat to Isis (fig. 71).[926] The reliefs on the central gateway of the pylon of the temple at Biggeh show Augustus offering incense

[924] Leigh 1816, 84-5; Light 1818, 69-71; Belzoni 1820, 126-7; Burckhardt 1822, 95-8; Irby and Mangles 1823, 98-9; Roeder 1930, 16-27; Prokesch 1831, 114-20; Wilkinson 1843, 318-20; Weigall 1906-7, 85-8; Porter and Moss 1951, 40-3; Arnold 1999, 244; and Hölbl 2004, 138-47.
[925] Weigall 1906-7, 78-80; Blackman 1911, 4-20; Porter and Moss 1951, 28-9; Hallof and Hallof 1998, 103-8; Arnold 1999, 244; Hölbl 2004, 135-8.
[926] Weigall 1906-7, 68-73; Gauthier 1911-14; 295-310, pl. xcv-cii; Porter and Moss 1951, 11-3; Siegler 1969, 139-53; Arnold 1999, 240-3; Hölbl 2004, 104-33.

and libation to Osiris-Onnophris, who is followed by Isis and Harpocrates (fig. 77).[927]

(Fig. 77)

Equally, adjoining the Greek texts on the lintel of the pylon of the Temple of Amenebis at Tchonemyris, Antoninus Pius is shown as a Pharaoh offering a figure of Maat and a field-sign to the ram-headed Amun (fig. 78).[928]

[927] Weigall 1906-7, 34-7, 1910, 465-8; Blackman 1915, 3-36; Arnold 1999, 235; Hölbl 2004; 98.
[928] Naumann 1939, 1-16; Letronne 1974, 124-35; Wilkinson 1943, 369; Porter and Moss 1951, 293-4; Arnold 1999, 267; Wilkinson 2000, 237-8.

(Fig. 78)

These scenes show the integration of emperors into the cult of Egyptian temples, and symbolize their ability to maintain Maat. As a physical representation of the Akhet, the construction of pyla was important for the maintenance of Maat.[929]

Based on their content, texts on pyla can be roughly divided into four types:

Type I: Devotional inscriptions (*proskynemata*)

An example occurs on the west jamb of the doorway of the pylon at Dakka. It is in Greek and measures 41 cm high and 80 cm wide, and reads as:

> Apollonius, son of the Arabarchos [financial president] Ptolemaios, strategos of the Ombite nome and the districts of Elephantine and Philae, controller of the customs of the Red Sea, I came and worshipped the great Hermes [Thoth of Pnubs] with my friends.[930]

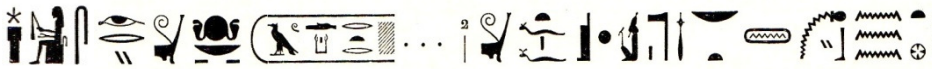
High officials like the strategos visited the temple and left obeisance to the god on its pylon. The placing of devotional texts on the pylon reflected its visual significance and accessibility. The pylon was an appropriate divine structure where individuals perpetuated their visits to traditional temples and deities. Other demotic and Meriotic *proskynemata* were also carved on the towers of this pylon, suggesting that

[929] On Maat: Assmann 1990, 15-8.
[930] Roeder 1930, 36-7.

individuals who wrote in different languages or scripts had the chance to leave graffiti recording their visit to the temple's deity.

Type II: Foundation inscriptions

There are two forms of this type. The first is hieroglyphic texts. It is simple and begins with the name and titles of the Emperor, followed by the work that is carried out. It finishes with the divinity to which the work is dedicated. The second is more complex. It is in Greek, and provides additional information. It begins with the name and titles of the Emperor. Then it mentions in sequence the official hierarchy, the donor(s), the work that is carried out, the divinity or divinities to which the work is dedicated, and ends with the dating. A well-preserved text of the first form is carved on the west jamb of the doorway of the Augustan pylon at Biggeh. It reads:



sb# Sps jry.n nswt-bjtj nb t#wy #wdkrtr &...\ n jt=f ws|r nTr o# nb j#t-wobt

The august gate (i.e. the pylon) made by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Autocrator (lord of diadems, Kaisaros-living-for-ever-Beloved-of-Isis) for his father Osiris, the Great God, Lord of Abaton.[931]

Here the pylon is referred to as *sb#* followed by *Sps*, literally 'noble' or 'august'. Since *Sps* is often used as a divine attribute, the pylon was thought of as a divine structure. The verb used in the text is *jry*, which means to 'make' or 'create' something new.[932] It is distinguishable from *orQ*, which is used in other foundation inscriptions and means 'to complete' something that has been started earlier.[933] Although the archaeological reliability of imperial epigraphic inscriptions has been questioned, where there is often disagreement between epigraphic statements and archaeological realities,[934] archaeological investigations of the temple confirm that

[931] Blackman 1915, 4.
[932] Gardiner 1957, Sign List D4, 450.
[933] Wilson 1997a, 167.
[934] Thomas and Witschel 1992; Fagan 1996.

this pylon dates to Augustus.[935] In hieroglyphic texts, it is acceptable to regard the Emperor as 'the son of god', a title which is missing in similar Greek inscriptions.

An example of the second form is carved on the lintel of the pylon at Kysis. It consists of five Greek lines, and reads:

Ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκρατορος Καίσαρος Νερούα
Τραιανοῦ, Ἀρίστου, Σεβαστοῦ, Γερμανικοῦ, Δακικοῦ, τύχης, ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ρουτιλίου Λούπου
ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου, Σαράπιδι καὶ Ἴσιδι, θεοῖς μεγίστοις, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Κύσεως, οἱ γράψαν-
τες τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πυλῶνος, εὐσεβείας χάριν, ἐποίησαν. Ι.ΙΘ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Νερούα Τραιανοῦ, Ἀρίστου, Σεβαστοῦ, Γερμανικοῦ, Δακικοῦ, παχὼν Λ.

For the fortune of the lord Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan, excellent, Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, under Marcus Rutilius Lupus, prefect of Egypt, those from Kysis, having written, erected from a principle of piety this pylon for Serapis and Isis, the two great deities; the nineteenth year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan, excellent, Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Pachon the thirtieth.[936]

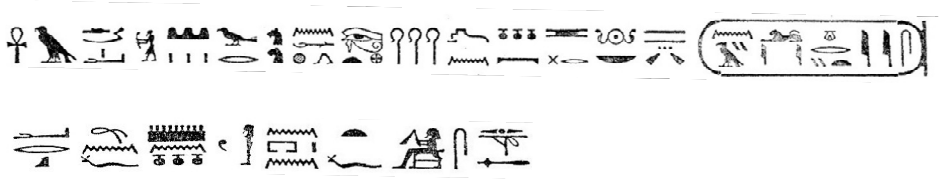
In 116 'the inhabitants of Kysis' dedicated the pylon to Serapis and Isis. Osiris and Horus were also worshipped in the temple as small bronze figures of the deities, along with a linen wrapped gilded statuette of Isis and a golden crown depicting the god Serapis sitting in a *naiskos* were unearthed from the temple's western magazines in 1989.[937] There is no reason for assuming that the expression 'those from Kysis' meant only those who were legally defined as 'Egyptian'. Such a designation rather places an emphasis on the identity of the local community as a whole. A Roman fort is already confirmed near the temple and it is possible that Roman soldiers offered their patronage to the temple. The Serapeum at Luxor was a private initiative of Gaius Julius Antoninus who was ex-decurion and *neokoros* of Serapis.[938] The temple of Souchos in Arsinoe asked for pious contributions from Romans, Alexandrians, and other inhabitants of the nome.[939] The legal or ethnic status of the donors was not an issue.

[935] Blackman 1915, 3-5.
[936] *SEG* VIII.790 = *SEG* XXIV.1215 = *SB* 5.8438 = Letronne 1974, I, 119-24; Reddé 2004, 18.
[937] On the so-called Doush Treasure: Reddé 1992.
[938] Golvin et al 1981.
[939] *P.Mert*. II.63.7-10.

The construction of the pylon was thus a private initiative. Money was probably collected through fund raising and from private donations. A Greek metrical inscription on the outer pylon records the collection of money by the high priest of Isis on behalf of the reconstruction of the temple, including 'the *prothuron* which was built up within the enclosure wall'.[940] In religious contexts, *prothuron* means porch, vestibule, or the space before the main entrance.[941] It could also mean entrance to the *aule* or vestibule preceding the main entrance of the house.[942] Out of piety, the inhabitants of Kysis wrote to an undesignated authority asking for permission to build the pylon. The priests played a key role in collecting the money and apparently supervising the construction of the pylon. The building of stone pyla was a financial burden, making it unsurprising that its towers were built of mud-brick and central doorway of stone.

Type III: Completion inscriptions

The structure of these texts follows the first form of foundation inscriptions. A good example is inscribed on the southern jamb of the doorway of the second pylon of the temple of Min/Pan at Koptos.[943] It runs in two lines. Of special concern is the first line:



onX Hr Tm#-o X#swt wr-pHty nXt b#Qt stp n Hk#w mrj wr nwt nswt-bjtj nb t#wy n#yry klytys orQ n=f mnw n pr n jt=f Sps mnw o#

The living Horus, mighty arm of the foreign lands, great of potency, strong of Baqt,[944] chosen of the princes, greatly beloved of Nut, King of Upper and Lower

[940] *SEG* XXXVIII.1796 = *SEG* LIV.1738 = Bernand 1969b, 471-5 = Letronne 1974, II, 521-2.
[941] Hellmann 1992, 348-9.
[942] Husson 1983, 237-8.
[943] Petrie 1896; Weil 1911; Reinach and Weil 1912.

[944] For the use of Baqt as indicative of Egypt: Erman and Grapow 1926, 425; Daumas 1988, 153.

Egypt, lord of the two lands, Nero Claudius completed [this] monument [the pylon] in the residence [temple] of his august father, Min, the great.[945]

Here the text refers to the pylon as *mnw*, the general word for monument. It is noteworthy that the divine adjective attached to Min is *Sps*, which described the pylon in the foundation inscription at Biggeh. Standard hieroglyphic inscriptions were still used on traditional monuments under Nero, as Graeco-Roman texts recording donations to Egyptian temples do elsewhere.[946]

Type IV: Repair inscriptions

This type follows the second form of foundation texts, however, the sequence differs. An example is carved on the lintel of the pylon of the temple of Amenebis at Tchonemyris. It consists of seven Greek lines, recording repair works under Antoninus Pius:

Ἀμενήβι θεῷ μεγίστῳ Τχονεμύρεως καὶ τοῖς
Συννάοις θεοῖς, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς αἰῶνα διαμονῆς Ἀντωνείνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος αὐτοῦ οἴκου, ὁ σηκὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὸ
Πρόναον ἐκ καινῆς κατεσκευάσθη, ἐπὶ Ἀουιδίου Ἡλιοδώρου ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου,
Σεπτιμίου Μάκρωνος ἐπιστρατήγου, στρατηγοῦντος Παινίου Καιπίωνος·
ἔτους τρίτου αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου,
σεβαστοῦ, Εὐσεβοῦς, μεσορὴ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ.

To Amenebis, the supreme god of Tchonemyris, and to the associated gods of the temple, and for the eternal preservation of Antoninus Caesar our lord, and his whole house, the *sekos* of the temple and the *pronaos* were repaired under Avidius Heliodorus, prefect of Egypt, Septimius Makro being epistrategos, Panius Kaptius being strategos, in the third year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus, the pious, Mesore the eighteenth.[947]

The hierarchy of the text seems quite natural. The divinity comes first, followed by the Emperor and finally by the province and nome officials. According to the inscription, the *sekos* which designates either the temple-house or the sacred precinct

[945] Reinach and Weil 1912, 15.

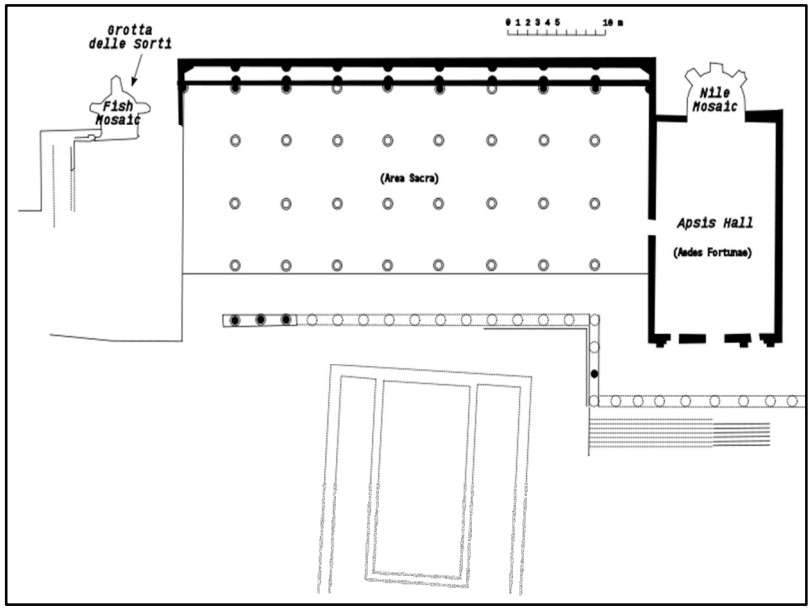
[946] Bowman and Rathbone 1992.
[947] Letronne 1974, I, 124-35.

as a whole[948] and the *pronaos* were restored in 140. There is no mention that the 'inhabitants of the nome' restored the temple. The work was undoubtedly a state project as the text only enumerates authorities from the Emperor to the strategos.

II.7. THE PYLON DEPICTED ON THE PALESTRINA MOSAIC

Ancient Egyptian culture seems to have exercised a peculiar fascination on Roman minds at all levels and in all periods. This attraction resulted in the emergence of mosaics representing different features of life, fauna, religion, art, and architecture of Egypt.[949] These are displayed within a rich framework of Nilotic landscapes. The scenes depicted on Nilotic mosaics are interpreted as images of Egypt at the time of the inundation.[950] Such scenes were popular in almost all parts of the Roman Empire. These were executed in different forms and contexts from the second century BC to the sixth century. The Palestrina mosaic offers important evidence for how the Romans viewed Egypt and its religious architecture. There are three reasons for its particular importance: its location; its date; and the depiction of a traditional temple with a pylon on it. The lower complex that once formed the centre of ancient Praeneste (Latium, Italy) had a forum, around which there were several public buildings (fig. 79). These included a vestibule, a basilica, buildings for administrative purposes, and the curia. A semi-circular nymphaeum was cut into the rock of the mountain against which the curia was built and adorned its rear part. The floor of the nymphaeum was decorated with the Palestrina mosaic.[951] In addition to private houses, villas, and sanctuaries, Nilotic mosaics thus penetrated civic buildings of Roman cities.

[948] Liddell and Scott 1968, 1592.
[949] Roullet 1972.
[950] Ward-Perkins 1981, 366-8.
[951] Balty 1991, 18-23.



(Fig. 79)

The Palestrina mosaic has been dated to the last quarter of the second century, or more particularly to the decade between 120 and 110 BC.[952] It is plausible that the mosaic originally came from Ptolemaic Alexandria, although there is no concrete evidence.[953] The Roman interest in Egypt, therefore, began before the annexation of Egypt in 30 BC. Indeed, there were diplomatic contacts between Egypt and Italy since the third century BC.[954] Between 215 and 210 BC, when Roman Italy was devastated by Hannibal, the Romans requested grain from Ptolemy Philopator (221-205 BC). From the beginning of the first century BC onwards, Egyptian and Egyptianizing scenes and motifs appeared in Romano-Campanian art. The earliest known sanctuary for an Egyptian deity on Italian soil is the Serapeum in Puteoli, which is mentioned in an inscription of 105 BC, recording repair works between the front gate of the Serapeum and the harbour.[955] Obviously, these Egyptian or Egyptianizing monuments do not represent mass immigration from Egypt.[956]

[952] Meyboom 1995, 8-19.
[953] Balty 1991, 20.
[954] Lampela 1998.
[955] Versluys 2002, 4-12.
[956] Roullet 1972; Alston 1997c; Davies 2011.

The Palestrina mosaic is divided into two sections: the upper represents the area below the first cataract at Syene, namely Nubia and the northern part of the Sudan; while the lower depicts the landscape of the Nile Valley from Syene to the Delta.[957] The Palestrina mosaic is the only surviving mosaic on which a traditional temple with a pylon is depicted (fig. 80). The pylon depicted on this mosaic can be compared to the temple pyla represented on Alexandrian coins (figs. 81-82) and bone tesserae from the imperial age (fig. 83). The pylon plays in this mosaic an important role in identifying the temple as Egyptian in style. The façade is dominated by the two towers of the pylon with its central doorway. The towers have sloping sides and are topped with a cavetto cornice. There are eight dark patches in the upper part of the towers, four on each side, which look like small openings.[958] Undoubtedly, these are the openings through which the flagstaffs were held through brackets. Above the doorway is a balcony upon which a figure of a falcon stands.

(Fig. 80)

There are two statues on each side of the entrance standing on small bases and casting their shadow on the towers. Since the statues are mummiform figures

[957] The mosaic is now kept in the Museo Nazionale Prenestino, Palestrina.
[958] Meyboom 1995, 30-1.

with crossed arms, they probably represent the god Osiris.[959] Upon the heads of the statues are lotus flowers, symbolising regeneration and rebirth.[960] The temple precinct is surrounded by an enclosure wall. At the corners there are towers that might have served as accommodation for the temple priests and personnel.[961] The towers are of the familiar type; they have windows, strengthening beams, and the typical sagging upper edge. The tower on the right-hand side has a door. There is a water jar standing on top of each tower. Behind the entrance pylon there is an open court, at the rear of which there is a rectangular building, the hypostyle hall, with a large door crowned with a straight lintel. This building is placed on the same axis of the pylon. This agrees with the Egyptian tradition of constructing the temple architectural parts on an axial arrangement to follow the solar cycle along its processional road. There are two men depicted to the left-hand side of the road in front of the temple. One of them is riding a donkey, possibly a master, and the other is walking behind him, possibly a servant. Each person is wearing a sleeved *chiton* and a *pilos*. Obviously, they are travellers.[962] The walking man points in an astonished manner to the temple, while the rider looks at the same direction.

Several attempts have been made by scholars to identify the temple depicted on the Palestrina mosaic. Ladislas Castiglione identified it with the Temple of Osiris at Canopus. He based his argument on the presence of the statues of Osiris before the pylon and the characteristic landscape, which included a harbour with small boats, a warship in addition to a canal, which, in Castiglione's words, 'könnten für sich allein kaum lokalisiert werden, doch in ihrer Gesamtheit vermitteln sie uns- auf fast erschöpfende Weise- jenes Bild, welches den Kanopos betrefenden antiken Vorstellungen entspricht'.[963] This opinion was adopted by Paul Meyboom[964] and recently by Judith McKenzie.[965] Angela Steinmayer-Schareika, on the other hand, argued that the temple should be identified with either the temples of Horus at Edfu or Isis at Philae. She based her argument on the presence of a falcon standing over

[959] The god Ptah of Memphis, the patron of crafts and artisans, is also known to have such an appearance (Van Dijk 2001, 74).
[960] Meyboom 1995, 30-1.
[961] Castiglione 1957, 216.
[962] Meyboom 1995, 31.
[963] Castiglione 1957, 216.
[964] Meyboom 1995, 53-5.
[965] McKenzie 2007, 61.

the balcony, which, in her view, refers to the ritual of the 'coronation of the sacred falcon' confirmed at Edfu and Philae.[966] Generally, the structure depicts a traditional temple built in Ptolemaic and Roman times. Such a representation reflects the ideal image of ancient Egyptian culture and its religious architecture. However, if identification should be made, it would be in favour of the temples of Horus at Edfu or Isis at Philae, following Steinmayer-Schareika's suggestion, but of course this needs more clarification.

The first indication comes from the position of the temple in the mosaic. The temple is depicted on the lower part of the top section of the mosaic, which represents the area between Nubia and Syene. The temples of Horus at Edfu and Isis at Philae were among the most important sanctuaries in that area. The falcon cult is evident in both sanctuaries, and a falcon was annually shown to the people from the balcony of the pylon of the two temples. It is sometimes suggested that the bird over the balcony is an eagle.[967] However, eagles are often represented in a quite different manner on Ptolemaic coins of Egypt. The scholars who adopt this view suggest that the representation of eagle upon pyla was a sign of the annexation of Egypt to the Roman Empire. Given the date of the mosaic, there is no reason to assume that the figure is an eagle.

Given the specific location of the figure over the balcony, and given the lack of numismatic representation of eagles on other traditional monuments, it is more plausible that the bird represents a falcon, particularly given the presence of the 'coronation of the sacred falcon'. The falcon cult, it is known, attracted scores of followers even among the Greeks living in Egypt.[968] The presence of statues of Osiris in front of the pylon can be explained as follows: the ceremony of the 'coronation of the falcon' is an annual renewal for the coronation of the reigning ruler. On the last day of Khoiak was celebrated the festival of the resurrection and interment of Osiris. The festival of the 'coronation of Horus', son of Osiris, was

[966] Steinmayer-Schareika 1978, 94.
[967] The eagle did not play any role in ancient Egyptian religion before the Ptolemaic period, and the hieroglyph for eagle is unknown (Spiegel 1975, 64). However, Diodorus (1.87.9) states that 'the eagle is honoured by the Thebans because it is believed to be a royal animal and worthy of Zeus (Amun)'. On the importance of falcons in Egyptian and Greek religions, see respectively Houlihan 1986, 48-9 and Pollard 1977, 76-8.
[968] On a first century BC Greek *ostracon* which is found at Edfu, containing a hymn to the falcon (ἱεραξ): Manteuffel 1950, 331-2, no. 326.

performed on the following day, the first of Tybi. The connection between the two festivals probably provides the basis for the presence of the Osirian statues. The two festivals were highly important in Ptolemaic and Roman times. Apart from the Palestrina mosaic, the form of a pylon typical of traditional temples is also found on tomb facades in Petra, most of which date to the first century. Like temple pyla, the façade-tower of some of these tombs is topped by a horizontal torus moulding on which a cavetto cornice stands; both architectural elements have no internal decoration. The presence of such distinct elements reflects the influence of Egypt on funerary architecture at Petra.[969]

In short, the pylon depicted on the Palestrina mosaic identifies the temple as Egyptian in style, and is thus a symbol of ancient Egyptian religion and its sacred architecture. The presence of the mosaic beyond Egypt indicates that the pylon articulated the image of traditional architecture abroad, as it had done in cities of Roman Egypt. Numismatic evidence, as the next section shows, confirms that Alexandria and Canopus had temples with pyla as their façade-entrance.

[969] McKenzie 1990, 22-4 (pls. 7-19).

II.8. PYLA DEPICTED ON COINS MINTED AT ROMAN ALEXANDRIA

In a multi-cultural, ethnic and -lingual world such as the Roman Empire, provincial coins serve as a visual language and thus have the potential to articulate local identity through the representations of its conspicuous buildings. According to Christopher Howgego, religion was the most common way in which identity was expressed on Roman provincial coins. The representations of temples on coins clearly indicate the primacy of religion in the expression of identity. Both imperial and provincial coins principally represent religious buildings; however secular structures like city gates and lighthouses were also depicted.[970] The coins of Roman Egypt are generally divided into three types: Roman, Greek, and Egyptian. Roman coins have images of members of the imperial family, scenes from the Roman mythology and events in Rome and elsewhere in the empire. Greek coins represent deities and scenes from Greek pantheon and mythology. Egyptian coins depict Egyptian religious life, which is represented in a wide range of images, including Egyptian deities and temples with monumental pyla.[971]

A large number of the temples built under the Ptolemies and Romans in Alexandria and its neighbourhood are depicted on drachmae and half-drachmae minted at the city from Galba (68-69) to Marcus Aurelius. Alexandrian coins represent more varied architectural types than those of other provincial mints.[972] A characteristic feature of Alexandrian coins is that they depict temples built in three different styles: Egyptian, usually distinguished by the pylon; Graeco-Egyptian; and classical.[973] Although the small size and lack of architectural details of numismatic representations confine the use of coins in archaeological investigations, the proper interpretation of coins provides valuable information inaccessible from other sources. The coins of Alexandria have kept an important record of the monuments of the ancient city, which are now virtually inaccessible to excavation due to the modern town and the rising sea level.[974] The next pages consider the temple of Isis (figs. 81-

[970] Howgego 2005, 1-14.
[971] Geissen 2005, 167.
[972] Handler 1971, 57.
[973] McKenzie 2007, 185.
[974] Handler 1971, 57.

82) at Alexandria and the temple of Osiris at Canopus (figs. 74, 83) as evidence for the difficulty of using temples as markers of legal or ethnic identity.

(Fig. 81)

(Fig. 82)

From 332 BC onwards, Alexandria possessed Greek and Egyptian temples.[975] The Temple of Isis was built from the outset in traditional style, like so many temples built outside the capital.[976] Although historical sources refer to a number of temples and shrines dedicated to Isis in and around Alexandria, it is difficult to draw a definite conclusion about the architectural details and location of this temple.[977] It is also unclear whether the remains of the pylon which has been recently uncovered from the sea at Alexandria come from this temple.[978] The Temple of Isis is usually depicted on coins with a pylon, and is often interpreted as the first temple to be built at Alexandria after its foundation.[979] Arrian wrote:

> He [Alexander the Great] marked out where the city's market-place (*agora*) was to be built, how many temples (*hiera*) there were to be and the gods, some Greek, and Isis the Egyptian, for whom they were to be erected, and where the enclosure wall (*peribolos*) was to be built round it.[980]

Alexander probably dedicated a temple to Isis to 'mark his desire for friendly relations with the Egyptians'.[981] Alexander thus took ancient Egyptian religion and architecture into consideration when he constructed the new capital. There is little doubt that the Temple of Isis depicted on coins is the same sanctuary ordered to be

[975] Fraser 1972, 193-212, 246-76.
[976] Arnold 1999.
[977] Handler 1971, 63.
[978] See http://www.masrawy.com/News/Arts/Reuters/2009/December/18/1124120Update.aspx for a photograph. Last accessed on 10/02/2012.
[979] McKenzie 2007, 39.
[980] Arr. *Anab.* 3.I.5.
[981] Bell 1927, 173.

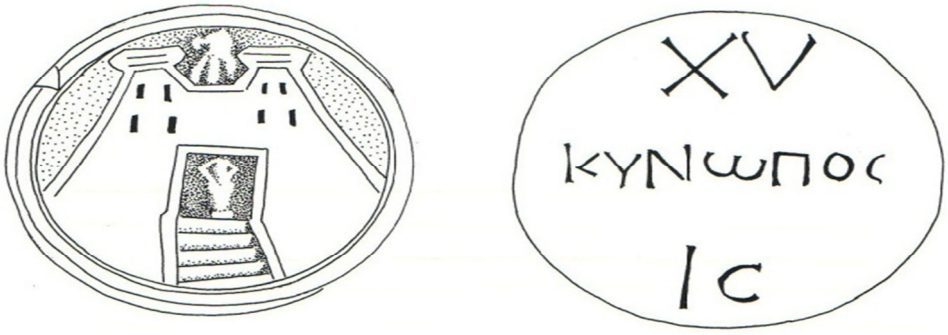
built for Isis after the foundation of the city. The temple must have been a landmark at Ptolemaic Alexandria, and its depiction on Roman coins indicates that it survived and functioned in the early second century.[982]

The Temple of Isis is always depicted with its pylon. The pylon architecturally corresponds with those of the Dynastic, Ptolemaic, and Roman periods. The vertical lines which flank the central doorway of the pylon are the prismatic recesses of the flagstaffs. The vertical recesses accord with the small openings or windows depicted at top of the pylon, through which the flagstaffs were held in place by brackets. Since architectural representations on coins were changed on an annual basis, it is natural that the same monument exhibited slight differences in its minor details. For example, the pylon of the Temple of Isis is sometimes shown with two openings for the flagstaffs which are placed beside or above each other.[983] Paul Naster has identified the figure that stands upon the balcony of the pylon as Isis, the goddess of the temple.[984] The statue of Isis might refer to the epiphany or miraculous appearance of the goddess to her worshippers.[985] That those responsible for issuing the coins at Roman Alexandria tried not only to represent Egyptian deities, but also reflected the peculiar aspects of the local cult is undeniable. The nome coins in Roman Egypt reflect a specific knowledge of traditional cults, indicating the involvement of Egyptian priests in choosing the deities and buildings that would be depicted on coins.[986] The depiction of the Temple of Isis with a pylon and a figure of Isis on numismatics were probably intended to disseminate images of ancient Egyptian cults and architecture in cosmopolitan Alexandria.

The Temple of Osiris at Canopus is also depicted on Alexandrian coins. Canopus was located near to the Canopic branch of the Nile, which once led to Naucratis.[987] The town was named after Canopus, the pilot of Menelaos and Helen, who at the end of the Trojan War took the couple as far as the Egyptian shore and died in this locality, leaving it his name.[988] In 238 BC the Temple of the *Theoi*

[982] McKenzie 2007, 185.
[983] Handler 1971, 58-61.
[984] Naster 1968, 181-90.
[985] Handler 1971, 61.
[986] Geissen 2005, 170.
[987] McKenzie 2007, 58.
[988] Strabo 17.1.17. Cf. Hdt. 2.179.

Euergetai was the venue for the meeting which issued the Canopus Decree, which authorised the introduction of the royal cult into Egyptian temples. In 1816 a golden foundation plaque was unearthed at Canopus, when the Mahmoudiya canal was being dug. It records a dedication to the sanctuary (*temenos*) of Osiris by Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice. The text is inscribed in Greek; however, its presence accords with Egyptian customs. It is possible to identify the temple of Canopus on coins minted at Alexandria with that depicted on the bone tokens and inscribed with the word 'Canopus' on their reverse (fig. 83).



(Fig. 83)

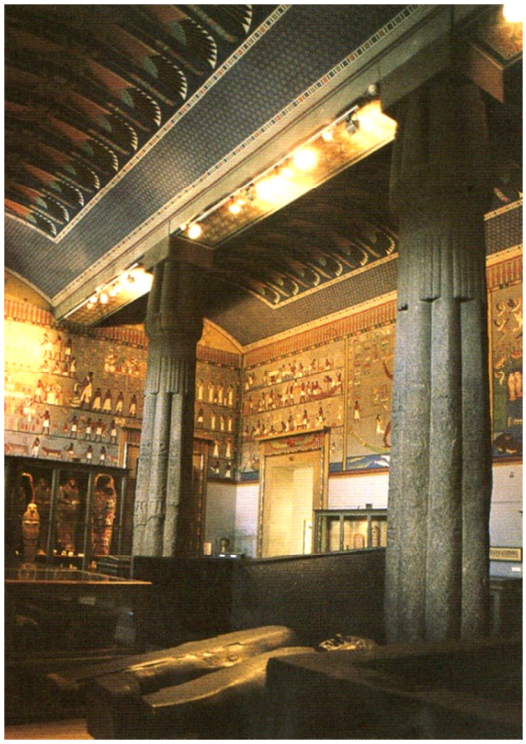
Both have similar features. Osiris of Canopus (Osiris in the form of a deity-headed jar) is usually depicted in the doorway, and what seems to be a falcon bird is shown over the central doorway of the pylon.[989] Although the pylon is much less carefully represented than that of Isis, it has similar architectural details. There is a vertical line, flanking the entrance on the side towers and representing the recess of the flagstaff. It also has the traditional openings at the top of the pylon intended to hold the flagstaff (fig. 74).[990]

Undoubtedly, the pylon signals the temples of Isis at Alexandria and Osiris at Canopus as works of traditional religious architecture. The two temples still functioned in the Roman period, and their pyla were landmarks in the landscape of Alexandria and Canopus. Yet consideration of their cultural significance should take into account all groups who might have patronized or were served by the sanctuaries. Such traditional sanctuaries cannot be associated with legally-defined Egyptians alone for Roman and Greek citizens equally patronized sanctuaries of Serapis and Isis. The Temple of Isis at Taposiris Parva was a private initiative of Isidoros, who

[989] McKenzie 2007, 58-61.
[990] Handler 1971, 63.

was apparently an Alexandrian citizen.[991] Similarly, Sarapion *alias* Isidoros who was a priest of Antinous, presumably at Antinoopolis, dedicated an altar to the temple of Serapis at Canopus,[992] which was famous for its healing abilities and oracles,[993] implying that the temple exceeded its local importance, as is the Alexandrian Serapeum.[994] Since Alexandrians, citizens of other Greek poleis, and the Hellenized metropolites must have conceived traditional cults and temples as part of their own religious culture, they could participate in traditional festivals without difficulty. The archaeological material brought to light during the excavations of Canopus and Herakleion imply a strong presence of Egyptian and Hellenistic cults in the towns.[995] Alexandria was connected to these nearby towns by the Canopic canal, whereas the three localities were connected to the Nile Valley by the Canopic branch of the Nile. Early in the Roman period, pilgrims and revelers from Alexandria and elsewhere went to Canopus to attend the public feast days, during which the Canopic canal 'day and night is crowded with shipping where men and women play flutes and dance without restraint with the people of Canopus'.[996] Recent excavations of the canal yielded a considerable number of oblatory dishes, votive barques, and lamp dishes, apparently evidence of such celebrations.[997]

[991] Naerebout 2006, 122-37.
[992] Letronne 1974, I, 444-6.
[993] Strabo 17.1.17.
[994] *P.Tebt*. II.407.10-11 = Johnson 1963, 284-5 (no. 175).
[995] Goddio 2007.
[996] Strabo 17.1.17.
[997] Goddio and Clauss 2006, 195-7.



(Fig. 84)

In addition to Pharaonic statuary like obelisks and sphinxes, the presence of traditional temples in Roman Alexandria clearly reflects the diversity of architecture and may suggest that certain areas of the city had an Egyptian appearance.[998] Egyptian architecture, statuary, and sculptures contributed to the organisation of the cityscape of Alexandria, as Graeco-Roman buildings equally did. Traditional architecture in the city was sometimes constructed by reusing earlier elements of the Pharaonic period, particularly those of the New Kingdom and Saite period. Heliopolis provided Alexandria with a large number of traditional architectural elements. Equally, the impression of Syene granite was overwhelming in the landscape of Alexandria. Although the Ptolemies represented themselves as the patrons of the Greek world, the visual impact of their capital included an Egyptian component. Four hundred Pharaonic architectural and sculptural elements were reused in traditional architecture of Alexandria. These were found in Alexandria, but originally came from other sites in the *chora*. For example, three monolithic papyriform columns of red granite with cartouches of Tuthmosis IV, Merenptah (1213-1204 BC), and Seti II (1204-1198 BC) originally came from a building in Memphis and were reused at Alexandria and then moved to Vienna in 1869 (fig.

[998] Bagnall 2001, 229.

84).[999] McKenzie suggested that the columns were reused and kept their Pharaonic appearance because they bear no signs of recutting. Another column was recently found bearing the cartouches of Trajan in addition to those of Tuthmosis IV and Seti II. Despite the absence of an equivalent cartouche, it is possible that they were first reused during the Ptolemaic period and were still in use in the Roman period.[1000] In short, the temple pyla of Isis at Alexandria and Osiris at Canopus are images of traditional religious architecture, but cannot be used as reliable markers of a particular legal group.

II.9. CONCLUSION

By contrast with the unreliable assumption that the common people were banned from entering the temple enclosure, there is evidence that they enjoyed such access at least on important festive and social occasions.[1001] The visual accessibility of the outer pylon may provide the rationale for placing imperial and communal inscriptions recording donations to traditional temples and personal devotional graffiti on its walls. Temple pyla of Horus at Edfu and Isis at Philae continued to provide architectural backdrops for 'the coronation of the sacred falcon', during which the inhabitants of these localities might have entered the religious precinct and emphasized their own identity in competition with other cities. Consideration of ritual activities associated with architectural forms helps to understand the multilayered nature of identity in Roman Egypt. Elsewhere, the dedicatory inscription at Kysis emphasises the identity of the local community as a whole.[1002] It

[999] Savvopoulos 2010, 83-85.
[1000] McKenzie 2007, 186.
[1001] On invitations to dine in temples at Oxyrhynchus: *P.Oxy*. XIV.1755; *P.Oxy*. XII.1485.
[1002] *SEG* VIII.790 = *SEG* XXIV.1215 = *SB* 5.8438 = Letronne 1974, I, 119-24 = Reddé 2004, 18.

is not impossible that Roman soldiers at Kysis participated in the construction of the pylon for Isis and Serapis, particularly given that a Roman soldier built the Temple of Isis and Serapis at Luxor at his private expense and Romans were asked to offer pious contributions to the Temple of Souchos in Arsinoe.[1003] The continued Roman sponsorship of traditional temples, which is clear from the inscriptions on pyla, confirms that official authorities helped to preserve Egyptian religious traditions. As new traditional sanctuaries were built and pre-existing structures were rebuilt or restored by the state and from private donations by private citizens, Roman soldiers, and non-Egyptian elites, and since Greek, demotic, and Meriotic *proskynemata* are confirmed on temple pyla, the use by different groups of the apparently monolithic pylon, presented on Classical literature on Egypt and the Palestrina mosaic as a cliché of Egyptian culture, reflected the complexity of identity under Roman rule. The temples of Isis at Alexandria and Osiris at Canopus, which are characterized on coins by their pyla, cannot be associated with a particular legal or ethnic group. The temple of Serapis at Canopus received a private dedication from an Antinoite citizen[1004] and pilgrims from Alexandria celebrated the public festivals at Canopus.[1005]

[1003] *P.Mert*. II.63.
[1004] Letronne 1974, I, 444-6. Cf. *P.Tebt*. II.407.10-11.
[1005] Strabo 17.1.

CHAPTER III: HOUSES AND EGYPTIAN CULTURAL IDENTITY

In some cultures, the house can be seen as the primary *locus* of culture.

Alston 2001, 50.

Domestic spaces provide a nucleus for exploring cultural identities and memories because the *locus* itself dialectically shapes, and is shaped by, its inhabitants.
Boozer 2005, 1.

III.1. APPROACHING THE ROMANO-EGYPTIAN HOUSE

As a particular form of private architecture, houses are usually looked upon as significant architectural and spatial units within ancient as well as modern cultures.[1006] Houses are considered spaces indispensible to human existence and the construction of social identity.[1007] They are also important vehicles for gaining information about individuals from cultural, social, religious, and even funerary perspectives.[1008] This chapter considers different forms of cultural practices and ritual activities associated with levels of identity assertion, which are performed in or around the domestic space.

Since the study of domestic architecture and space has attracted a good deal of scholarly attention, it is important to start with a theoretical overview of the subject. However, it is not my aim in this section to provide a comprehensive survey of the literature on the topic, but rather to highlight some of the most relevant approaches to the Romano-Egyptian house. Over the past two decades, the cultural, social, and religious dimensions of domestic architecture and space have presented a major framework for debate in the humanities and social sciences. In that respect, the work of the French anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu on the Berber house is now an important reference point. Based on ethnographic and archaeological data, he drew attention to the close relationship between the internal arrangement and nomenclature of the Kabyle house and cultural practices and domestic activities of its inhabitants. The larger part of the house, where the fireplace and weaving-loom are,

[1006] Alston 2001, 44-127.
[1007] Heidegger 1975, 145-61; Hales 2003.
[1008] Hodder 1994, 73-86.

is reserved for human use and guests. The weaving-loom, where the light is, stands in front of the wall opposite the door of the house. It is a symbol of protection and virginity. The umbilical cord of the girl is buried behind the weaving-loom. Favoured guests are honoured by allowing them to sit in front of the weaving-loom. The opposite wall, where the front door is, is called the wall of darkness. The bed of the sick person is placed next to this wall. When a person is badly received, he says 'he made me sit before his wall of darkness as in a grave'. The smaller part of the house, which is kept for the animals, is associated with death and the washing of the dead takes place at the entrance to the stable. The house has thus the capacity to act as a cultural and social space, contributing to our understanding of the social interrelations and domestic life.[1009]

In attempting to understand aspects of social relationships and domestic activities, the attention of scholars of antiquity has turned mainly to the study of the Roman atrium house, the *domus*, as the arena in which social relations and activities between inhabitants, the family and its associated dependents (freedmen and slaves) on the one hand and their visitors and friends on the other were enacted.[1010] The Roman atrium house in Pompeii was an important arena for public representation and social relations.[1011] The atrium, for example, played a significant role in certain social occasions and ritual activities, such as marriage and the morning *salutatio*, the reception of guests by the head of the household, the *paterfamilias*.[1012] Equally, the display of a collection of portrait busts and spoils in the atrium promoted the family's memory and current status.[1013] The spatial layout and mural decoration of the house were used to display the social status, luxury and wealth of its owner.[1014]

The internal division and religious implication of the Roman house have also received scholarly attention. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill analysed the gradations between public and private spaces of Roman houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum and the use of domestic space by visitors of different status and with varied social

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[1009] Bourdieu 1973, 98-110.
[1010] Gazda 1991; Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997; Laurence 2007.
[1011] On the architecture of Roman Pompeii in general: Engelmann 1929; Zanker 1987, 18-46; Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997; Laurence 2007, 20-38; Beard 2008.
[1012] Dwyer 1991, 25-48.
[1013] Hales 2003, 46.
[1014] Grahame 1998; Hales 2003, 135-63.

relations to the occupants. He also explored houses from Cosa and Pompeii to trace the development of the Roman atrium house in Italy. The atrium could have been used for a greater range of house types than has traditionally been assumed.[1015] The Roman house was the focal point of the family's religious life; the Pompeian houses have wall paintings with religious and mythological themes. Private gardens in late Republican Rome, from Lucullus to Pompey and Caesar, appear to have been home to a number of temples of Fortuna. The hearth which enjoyed practical and spiritual significance was associated with the goddess Vesta, whose fire burned in the domestic hearth as it did in her temple at Rome. The figurines of the *lares familiares*, who represented the spirits of the family's ancestors, were kept in the *lararium*, a niche or cupboard usually stood near the hearth or in a corner of the atrium. Short prayers and small offerings were often made to the *lares*. The house could be seen as a visual, architectural, and ritual construct of the occupants' identity as well as signifying social and ancestral status to visitors.[1016]

In addition to material evidence, classical scholars rely heavily upon written sources to approach the Roman house.[1017] The writings of Vitruvius provide a key to understanding the nomenclature, ideal dimensions, and construction techniques of the house.[1018] Yet Vitruvius was not primarily concerned with human behaviour and ritual activities within domestic space. Michele George has explored written sources to outline the major groups of players and their behaviour within the Roman house, stressing a need for an awareness of the relationships between occupants, guests, and slaves. She articulated the use of the internal space in Pompeian houses by their various occupants through the application of Vitruvian terminology to these spaces.[1019] Yet Vitruvian nomenclature does not always apply to the spaces in houses from North Africa, whose internal arrangements differ in many ways from those in Italian cities.[1020]

Domestic architecture in Egypt has also attracted the attention of not only Egyptologists, but also classical scholars. Yet the studies of the latter have been

[1015] Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 1994, 1997.
[1016] Hales 2003; Clark 2007, 162-204.
[1017] For a review of these studies: Allison 2001.
[1018] Vitr. *De arch*., especially books 6 and 7.
[1019] George1997a, 1997b; 2004.
[1020] Thébert 1987.

concerned primarily with the layout, function, and terminology of houses and issues of demography.[1021] Fritz Luckhard considered the function of domestic space in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt on the basis of the papyri then known.[1022] Geneviève Husson followed a similar approach, addressing the organization of houses from the third century BC to the seventh century AD from a philological perspective.[1023] In contrast, Deborah Hobson considered demographic implication of domestic architecture, estimating that the average number of people living in an individual village house in the first two centuries of the Roman period was 4.44. In this way, it was possible not only to understand the relationship between house and household, but also to gain insights into living conditions where, as Hobson put it, 'Greek and Roman influences were least conspicuous in the lives and practices of the native inhabitants'.[1024] The location of houses within the urban fabric and the prices of private properties have also received attention.[1025] By combining archaeological and textual data from House B17 at Karanis, the House of Socrates, the collector of money taxes, Peter van Minnen drew attention to the importance of context for the establishment of meaning of archaeological and papyrological material. In so doing, he offered a new interdisciplinary approach to reconstruct contextual meaning in texts and artefacts and thus understand the occupants' social history.[1026]

Given the absence of ethnographic data and contextual significance of most artefacts, it is difficult, if not impractical, to gauge the inhabitants' ethnicities from houses. But this does not mean that we cannot extrapolate from domestic architecture to understand other aspects of personal, social, and cultural identities such as status, luxury, religious affiliation, and cultural heritage. Some scholars have begun to deal with social and ritual features of domestic properties.[1027] Elaine Gazda considered terracotta figurines of deities and domestic shrines at Karanis as archaeological evidence for the diversity of religious life of the house occupants.[1028] Alston addressed social and ritual activities, including dining, household relationships with

[1021] Davies 1929; Maehler 1983; Husson 1983; Alston 2001, 44-127.
[1022] Luckhard 1914.
[1023] Husson 1983.
[1024] Hobson 1985, 212.
[1025] Montevecchi 1941; Husson 1990, 123-37; Drexhage 1991.
[1026] Van Minnen 1994.
[1027] Maehler 1983, 119-37.
[1028] Gazda et al 1978; Gazda 1983. See also Allen 1985.

regard to incestuous marriage, and the status of women inside and outside the home.[1029] Recently, Boozer explored the association between wall-paintings, statuettes, and remains of food uncovered from two Romano-Egyptian houses in Trimithis and concepts of memory and identity to illustrate the complex situation under Roman rule. The material culture uncovered from the houses points to families with mixed cultural heritage.[1030]

Connecting domestic space with ritual activity offers a promising approach to understanding the life of the occupants through the interaction between the house and its residents. The use of houses in Roman Egypt as arenas for social practices and ritual activities provides important evidence for the understanding of the construction of narratives of identity. At important times of social or religious gatherings, ritual acts enabled their domestic settings to play a vital role in articulating aspects of identity. Particular consideration will be given in this chapter to the integration of the front door of houses with the public space of streets. The relation of houses to the public arena is important.[1031] The evidence which forms the basis of these investigations is drawn from classical authors and papyri. Of particular importance are the results of previous and current excavations in the Fayum sites, particularly Karanis, which provides the best surviving archaeological remains of domestic architecture, and the Dakhla oasis, especially Kellis (Appendix 2).[1032] Although such late houses as those of Syene lie beyond the scope of this thesis,[1033] earlier and late papyrological references to terminology for houses will be cited where relevant.

Any consideration of houses in the Roman period should start with the question of architectural layout and internal organization. Before attempting to reconstruct the architectural and spatial elements of houses in Roman Egypt, we should first consider the materials from which they were built. In contrast with temples and tombs which were enormous and constructed out of stone,[1034] houses

[1029] Alston 2001, 44-127. On incestuous marriage in Graeco-Roman Egypt: Shaw 1992.
[1030] Boozer 2005. See Introduction, above.
[1031] Laurence 2007, 102-16.
[1032] Karanis: Boak 1926; Boak and Peterson 1931; Husselman 1979; Donadoni 1980; Gazda et al 1978, Gazda 1983. Kellis: Knudstad and Frey 1999; Boozer 2005.
[1033] Jaritz and Rodziewicz 1994, 115-41; Husson 1990, 123-37.
[1034] For temples: Arnold 1999. For tombs: Venit 2002a.

were often built in smaller scale and from mud-brick.[1035] However, wooden beams, posts, frames, windows, and doors as well as stone lintels were also used.[1036] As representations of houses in tombs suggest, it was common in the Pharaonic period for wealthy Egyptians to inscribe their names and titles in prominent positions on or by the main doorway of their houses, advertising the owner's social status.[1037] In Herodotus's time, the Egyptians used to sleep on the roofs of their tower houses (*purgoi*), a practice which the historian ascribes to their desire to escape mosquitoes that were unable to fly so high in the wind.[1038] In ancient Egyptian literature the house was regarded as a place of peace and rest as well as safety for the entire family,[1039] and this notion continued into the Roman period.[1040] Not infrequently, travellers asked the general of the night guards to keep an eye on their households and houses.[1041]

Diodorus provides an insight into the Egyptian conception of domestic space:

> While they [the Egyptians] give the name of lodgings (καταλύσεις) to the houses (οἰκήσεις), thus intimating that we dwell in them but a brief time, they call the tombs of the dead eternal homes (αἰδίους οἴκους), since the dead spend endless eternity in Hades (the underworld). Consequently, they give less thought to the furnishings of their houses, but on the manner of their burials they do not abstain from any excess of zeal.[1042]

At first glance, the passage reveals a remarkable similarity to Roman funerary inscriptions which refer to the earthly house (*aedes*) as an ephemeral lodging (*hospitium*) and to the tomb (*monumentum* or *sepulchrum*) as an eternal home (*aeterna domus*).[1043] As in many other cultures, the Roman living house was considered to have less permanence than the house of the dead.[1044] The Roman tomb,

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[1035] Luckhard 1914, 46-7; Hobson 1985, 214.
[1036] Husselman 1979, 33-48.
[1037] Perrot and Chipiez 1882, 457.
[1038] Hdt. 2.95. But the real reason may have been a wish to enjoy the fresher air, as in Egypt today.
[1039] On a review of this literature: Parlebas 1977.
[1040] Alston 2001, 85.
[1041] *P.Oxy*. VI.933.24-26.
[1042] Diod. Sic. 1.51.2.
[1043] On a particular, explicit example of Roman funerary inscriptions: *CIL* VI.27788 = *CLE* 1488 = Borg, Herberg and Linfert 2005, 144 no. 91.
[1044] Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 39-78.

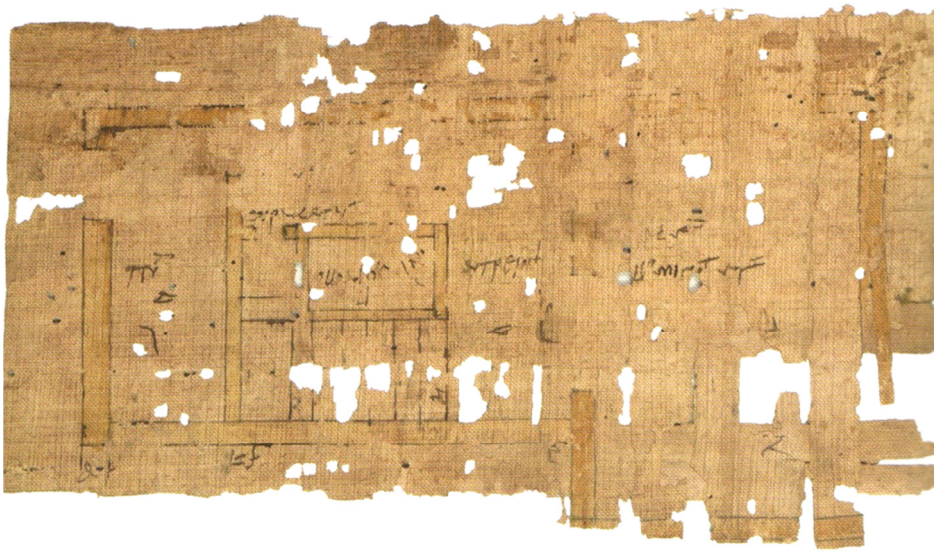
on the other hand, was regarded as an eternal abode, a function confirmed by its monumental structure, imperial Latin literature, and formulaic inscriptions.[1045]

The custom reported by Diodorus may to some extent reflect Graeco-Roman conceptions of domestic and funerary space. But funerary papyri of Roman Egypt, written mostly in demotic, confirm that tombs continued to be used and conceived as homes of the dead.[1046] By serving as an ephemeral resting-place of mummies, houses appear to have shared this funerary function, even if temporary.[1047] Being a place of impermanent stay for occupants does not mean that inhabitants in Roman Egypt always gave less attention to either the construction or adornment of houses, which were sometimes equipped with good furniture that might reflect an extravagant life.[1048] In most cases, however, houses were equipped with furnishings that provided the inhabitants with the basic necessities of life.

III.2. THE INTERNAL DIVISION OF HOUSES

The lack of archaeological evidence for urban housing makes it hard to form a clear picture of the architectural layout and internal organisation and thus to understand their inhabitants. Papyri from urban and rural sites and archaeological remains of village houses together partly compensate for these deficiencies. *P.Oxy.* XXIII.2406 sheds light on the αἴθριον or court-house, which is frequently attested in urban and rural contexts (fig. 85), and helps to reconstruct the internal arrangement of domestic space in Roman Egypt.[1049]

[1045] For a discussion of Latin funerary texts: Thomas 2007, 183-4.
[1046] E.g. Smith 2009.
[1047] Willeitner 2004, 313-21.
[1048] On the furnishings of houses in Roman Egypt: Gazda 1983, 24-30.
[1049] *P.Oxy*. XXIII.2406 contains only a drawing of the ground plan of a house; Husson 1983, 29-36.



(Fig. 85)

According to Eric Turner, the papyrus dates to the second century and shows the ground plan of a house. The architectural layout of the house, in Turner's view, consists of a single entrance door (on the left), giving access to three successive courtyards, rather than rooms. The first of them was called πυλ(ών), the second as ἀτρείον and the third was left undesignated. In the second courtyard there is a door named θύρα καταγ(αίου) leading down to a cellar.[1050] Since pylon has never been attested in papyri to mean a courtyard, Turner's interpretation of the pylon as a court is untenable.[1051] Herwig Maehler, on the other hand, argued that the house consists of a tower-like gateway (πυλών), giving access to a central courtyard open to the sky in the form of an *aithrion* (αἴθριον), rather than an *atrium*. In the middle of the *atreion* there is a structure named *obolisk(os)* and a flight of steps leading up to the upper stories and a door leading down to a cellar. Finally, the central courtyard leads directly to an unnamed court or yard, probably an *aule*.[1052] The plan of this house is similar to that of House 3 at Kellis, which consists of an entrance hall leading to two successive courts acting respectively as an *aithrion* and an *aule* (Appendix 2).

As for the size of the house, Turner noticed that the 'measurements given on the plan, if they are measurements, cannot be reconciled with each other or

[1050] For the edition of *P.Oxy.* XXIV.2406: Turner 1957.
[1051] Husson 1983, 243-46.
[1052] Maehler 1983, 136.

interpreted in absolute terms as dimensions of the house'.[1053] For example, δ = 4 under πυλ(ών) could be applied to the distance between its parallel walls, β = 2 under ὀβολίσκ(ος) could be applied to the distance between the two horizontal limits, and d = 4 upside down under ἀτρεῖον could be taken to be the same unit and applied to the distance from the wall to the exit door leading to the undesignated court. However, it is not a unit that will fit the figure εγ́ = 5⅓ of the horizontal measurements of the undesignated room, or the two γ's (one in the πυλ(ών) and one by the exit door from the ἀτρεῖον). Although the Egyptian cubit (52.5 cm) was still in use in the Roman period as a unit of measurement for traditional monuments,[1054] the figures are not meant to be measured against the Egyptian cubit, or the Roman cubit (44.4 cm), particularly when compared to house measurements in other papyri.[1055]

Despite the incompatibility of measurements and the inadequacy of the plan, which is clear from the absence of room-divisions, the plan throws light on the internal organization of domestic space in Roman Egypt. The πυλ(ών) is the first architectural structure in the house. The term is used in papyri to designate the entrance to the gymnasia at Oxyrhynchus and Alexandria.[1056] It also referred to the main gate of a theatre in the Fayum and of the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus.[1057] It appears in domestic contexts in relation to granaries and houses. The word πύλη is never attested in domestic contexts, and the word πυλ(ών) is not used to designate the front door of houses. This suggests that the inscription of the word πυλ(ών) is over a court-shaped space in *P.Oxy*. XXIII.2406 indicates not a simple doorway, but a huge tower-gateway with an extension in depth. However, the pylon itself must have had an entrance-door (θύρα).[1058]

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the physical appearance of the domestic pylon. However, papyri provide information on its internal arrangement and utilities. The domestic pylon is frequently mentioned in papyri as a self-contained structure.[1059] *P.Oxy.* XXIII.2406 confirms that the pylon was an integral

[1053] Turner 1957, 145.
[1054] Arnold 1999, 229.
[1055] Cf. *P.Lond*. I.50.7 in which a house measures 21 × 13 cubits and its *aule* measures 4 × 13 cubits.
[1056] Oxyrhynchus: *P.Oxy*. I.55.9-10 (283). Alexandria: *P.Flor*. III.382.15-16 (222/3).
[1057] Theatre: *BGU* IV.1028.9-10 (the second century). Serapeum: *P.Oxy*. XLIII.3094.43-4 (217-8).
[1058] *P.Princ*. III.153.5-6.
[1059] Luckhard 1914, 55-6; Husson 1983, 243-46.

part of the house, forming the centrepiece of its façade-entrance. This position recalls the pylon of Egyptian temples. The domestic pylon appears in papyri as a multi-storied structure, serving numerous functions that would suit a domestic context.[1060] According to a papyrus of the second or third century, '19 jars of wine each holding 4 choes and 8 jars each holding 2 choes' were stored in the pylon.[1061] *P.Oxy*. III.495 of A.D. 181-4 refers to the presence of 'an exedra and a room in the upper (*sc*. storey) of the pylon'.[1062] This papyrus confirms that a domestic pylon consisted of at least two stories with different rooms, some of which served as living suites. *P.Oxy*. I.104, written in 96, is a will of Soeris in which she bequeaths her house to her son, Areotes. Her husband has the right to live in it, with a yearly payment of 48 drachmae till the husband has received 300 drachmae, which is the amount she had borrowed from him. If the father dies, the son has to pay the sum to his sister, Tnepheros. Soeris allocated 'one room on the ground floor in the pylon' as the dwelling-place of her daughter, Tnepheros, if she becomes separated from her husband.[1063] The high cost of constructing a multi-storied pylon suggests that such pylon-gateways were associated only with wealthy houses. The occupants used the pylon to create an imposing frontage and probably to assert their social status and position within society.

The pylon is also found in a different context in the Fayum, where in 240 the estate centre of Sphex contained a number of workshops, rooms, and a pylon in which there is a porter's lodge used by Saprion.[1064] It is unclear whether this structure had the same architectural form as the gate-houses. There is no other attestation of a pylon in a rural estate context in Roman Egypt. However, one might compare tower-houses illustrated in late Roman mosaics and the fortified farms in north Africa such as the castellum at Nador. The façade of the latter is characterized by the presence of an impressive central arched gate, which is framed by two monumental rectangular towers. The inscription which is carved over the entrance

[1060] *BGU* VI.1222.23 (144 BC): πυλῶνος διστέγου.
[1061] *P.Princ*. III.153.5-6.
[1062] *P.Oxy*. III.495.8: τε ἐξέδρᾳ καὶ κέλλῃ τῇ ἐπάνω τοῦ πυλῶνος.
[1063] *P.Oxy*. I.104.25-6 = Lindsay 1963, 206: ἐν οἰκῳ ἑνὶ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι.
[1064] *P.Mich*. XI.620.9, from Theadelphia: πυλὼν ἐν ᾧ θυροουρικὸν.

between the towers gives the name of the owner of the estate as M. Cincius Hilarianus.[1065]

Being at the house frontage, rooms within the pylon were appropriate spaces for hosting social events and thus for communicating the family's social status through the furnishings of its rooms. A papyrus of 333 from Hermopolis Magna confirms an *andron* in the first floor of the pylon.[1066] As late as 647 a *symposion* is located in an upper storey of a domestic pylon of a house located in Oxyrhynchus.[1067] Similarly, at Tebtunis in the first century Thasos, daughter of Konnos, sold to Paches, son of Peteeus, 'a dining room with three couches (*sc*. located) in the pylon, in which there are a storehouse and a silo (τρίκλινον ἐπι τοῦ πυρῶνος, ἐν ᾧ ταμῖον καὶ σιρὸς)'.[1068] Given the common λ–ρ shift in papyri from Egypt, the meaning of the word πυρών should not be puzzling.[1069] It is almost certain that πυρών occurs in Egyptian domestic contexts to designate the πυλών.[1070] In contrast with Roman houses elsewhere, as at Pompeii and Ephesus, where *triclinia* were located deep within the house,[1071] *triclinia* are normally located in Roman Egypt near the house frontage, although they could also be located in courts.[1072] The construction of *triclinia* in houses in Egypt might have been a Graeco-Roman influence; however, banquets in domestic space are attested since the Pharaonic period. Some invitations to dine in Roman Oxyrhynchus were connected with the *kline* of Serapis in the Serapeum.[1073] Yet others invite the guests to dine at private houses.[1074] Simon Ellis stressed the capacity of western Roman *triclinia*, which were usually fitted out with fine mosaic floors and wall-paintings, to articulate social relations and communicate the social status of the owner.[1075] Since the domestic pylon was an important space for dining, it is possible to see how it might have strengthened social relations as an arena for ritual activities, which reinforced the

[1065] Anselmino et al 1989, 46-52, fig. 13.
[1066] *P.Lond*. III.978.13.
[1067] *SB* VI.8988.57-8: συμποσίου ἐπάνω τῆς πυλῶνος τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίας.
[1068] *P.Mich*. V.295.4.
[1069] Πυρών also occurs in a second-century BC inscription from Delos (*Inscr.Délos* 444 *B* 107: καὶ πυρῶνα παρ' Ἀγάθωνος).
[1070] The word is absent from the monographs of Husson 1983 and Hellmann 1992.
[1071] Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 43-97.
[1072] Husson 1983, 279-81.
[1073] For such invitations: Montserrat 1992, 301-7; Koenen 1967, 121-6; Skeat 1975, 251-4.
[1074] *P.Oslo*. III.157.4: ἐν τῇ ἰδιᾳ οἰκίᾳ.
[1075] Ellis 1991, 1997.

social and cultural identity of the participants. Given its location at the house frontage, the association of the *triclinium*, *symposion* and *andron* with the pylon may also indicate that the residents wanted to limit access and maintain the privacy of the internal areas of the house.

In the light of its architectural layout and domestic use, the domestic pylon should be distinguished architecturally from other structures connected with houses, such as the πρόθυρον, προπυλών, θύρα, and πύργος. Unfortunately, not much information is given in papyri concerning either the architectural design or function of the domestic *prothuron* and propylon. However, both were undoubtedly, as their names imply, associated with the house frontage. The *prothuron* probably refers to a kind of 'vestibule' preceding the main entrance to the house, and it was probably used in the already mentioned metrical inscription of Kysis to mean a porch before the doorway of the temple.[1076] Yet in a late papyrus from Oxyrhynchus a *prothuron* of a landlord's house is exceptionally mentioned to have a small room within it.[1077] The propylon, on the other hand, has several meanings in connection with different forms of architecture. It was probably used in connection with domestic architecture to mean a 'porch' of the entrance. In that case, it was an important feature forming an essential part of the house.[1078] It may have projected from the façade of the house and preceded the entrance gateway, the pylon, as its combined name implies.[1079]

Papyri and classical literature on Egypt indicate that θύρα is the normal word for 'doorway', including the front door of the house.[1080] In a petition of 110/12, Heraclas son of Pausirion accused Apollos son of Heraclides, both from Oxyrhynchos, of attacking his wife, Taamois, while she was standing 'before the front door' of the house.[1081] However, there were different ways of referring to the front door. One is the παρόδιος θύρα, i.e. the traversing or passing door.[1082] The παρόδιος θύρα was mentioned in two petitions from Kerkeosiris in the Arsinoite, where a number of villagers complained about a gang of intruders who 'crushed the

[1076] Husson 1983, 237.
[1077] *P.Oxy*. XVI.2044.16 (564).
[1078] *P.Oxy*. II.243.15 (79).
[1079] Husson 1983, 238.
[1080] *P.Oxy*. XXXVI.2758.10 (110/12); Hdt. 2.48; Husson 1983, 93-107.
[1081] *P.Oxy*. XXXVI.2758.10: πρὸ τῆς θύρας.
[1082] Husson 1983, 98-9.

front door' of their house.[1083] Another word for the front door is ἡ ἐξωτέρα θύρα, i.e. the outer door,[1084] which is also mentioned in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, testifying a lease of a workshop with its front door (ἡ ἐξωτέρα θύρα).[1085] The third phrase used to designate the front door is ἡ αὐλεία θύρα.[1086] Whether followed by θύρα or not, the αὔλειος or αὐλεία can be used to refer to the main entrance of the house.[1087]

The annotated drawing in *P.Oxy.* XXIII.2406 also refers to the central spatial feature next to the *obolisk*(*os*) as ἀτρεῖον. However, since the ἀτρεῖον has never been attested elsewhere in Egyptian domestic architecture,[1088] and only occurs in papyri in connection with public and religious buildings,[1089] it is probable that the central court of the house took the form of an *aithrion* (αἴθριον), rather than an *atrium*. The absence of the *impluvium*, which is a characteristic feature of *atria* in Roman houses, may support the assumption that this was an *aithrion* house-type.[1090] In fact, there is no need for the presence of the *impluvium* as it is rainless in the *chora*.[1091] Houses in Roman Egypt had instead a draw-well (φρέαρ) in their courtyards.[1092] Since the house is not architecturally recognisably as an *atrium*-house, it is widely accepted that the *atreion* corresponds to the *aithrion*.[1093] The two words are even etymologically related.[1094] The *aithrion* is the central, internal court of the house; it is the open courtyard which provides light to the interior of the house. Since it could not be sold separately, the *aithrion* was an integral part of the house.[1095]

The *aithrion* should be distinguished from the αὐλή (*aule*), which could be sold separately or even shared with another house. In that sense, the *aule* was not

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[1083] *P.Tebt*. I.45.21-2 (113 BC); *P.Tebt*. I.47.13-14 (113 BC): συντρίψαντες τὴν παρόδιον θύραν.
[1084] Husson 1983, 99. Cf. *P.Oxy*. VI.903.20 (the fourth century) in which it occurs as τὰς ἔξω θύρας.
[1085] *P.Oxy*. XVI.1966.14-15 (505).
[1086] *P.Tebt*. III.1.795.7 (the early second century BC): τῆς αὐλείς θύρας τῆς οἰκιας.
[1087] Husson 1983, 99-100.
[1088] The ἀτρεῖον is not included in Husson's monograph on domestic vocabulary in Egypt.
[1089] *P.Fouad* I.21.4 (63): ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀτρίωι, ἐπὶ βήματος; *SB* V.8247.15-16 (63-4); *P.Yale Inv*. 1528; *IGR* I.1048, 1175 (the representation of Isis known as the Ἴσις ἐν ἀτρίωι).
[1090] Maehler 1983, 137.
[1091] Diod. Sic. 1.10.4.
[1092] *P.Oxy*. III.502.18 (179) = *SB* XX.14199.
[1093] Alston 1997b, 25-39.
[1094] Chantraine 1964, 7-15.
[1095] Husson 1983, 29-36.

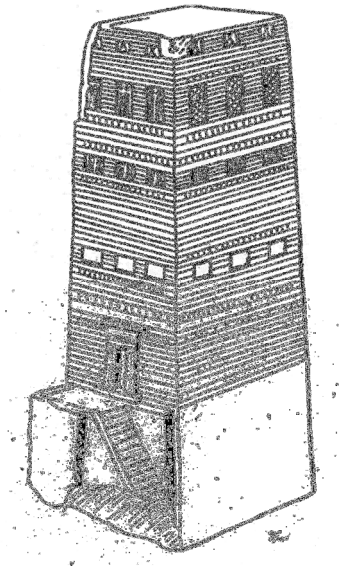
integral to the house. The expressions αὐλήν περὶ τετιχισμένην[1096] and τῆς προσούσης αὐλῆς[1097] indicate that the *aule* was a small yard 'surrounded by walls' and 'annexed to the house'. It was probably used for agricultural or household works.[1098] Houses may have had an *aithrion* and an *aule*, as in a papyrus of 164 from Oxyrhynchus, attesting the lease of a house with its appurtenances for 18 months at a rent of 200 drachmae per year. The tenant, Ptolema, daughter of Theon, is bound to deliver the buildings in good condition at the end of the lease, and the landlord, Dionysia, daughter of Chairemon, is responsible for the police-tax and brick-tax. The house contained 'a courtyard (αὐλὴν) and two yards (αἴθρια δύο), in one of which is a well (φρέαρ)'.[1099] An unclear structure, the ὀβολισκ(ος), appears in the middle of the courtyard in *P.Oxy.* XXIII.2406. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the structure and function of the *obolisk(os).*[1100] Turner hesitantly suggested that it was used to designate 'water-pipes' or 'conduit'.[1101] In a late papyrus from Herakleopolis, the *oboliskos* is mentioned in association with a domestic pylon, suggesting that it was an important element of the house with certain unknown functions.[1102] Nothing can be said about the undesignated part of the house behind the *aithrion*. However, it was perhaps another court or a backyard.

Another house-type that is more often connected with urban rather than rural sites is the οἰκία διπυργία (the two-towered house).[1103] Strictly speaking, the *purgos* or tower is a distinctive structure that is frequently mentioned in papyri.[1104] In Greek military architecture, the *purgos* refers to a defensive tower as well as a place of habitation for soldiers.[1105] In contrast, it is mentioned in domestic contexts in Egypt to designate a distinct form of tower used for certain purposes, possibly for storage of agricultural products.[1106] A papyrus of 79 from Oxyrhynchus registers the mortgage of a house in which there are 'a two-storied tower (πύργος δίστεγος), a propylon, an

[1096] *P.Oxy*. III.505.7 (179) = *SB* XX.14199.
[1097] *P.Oxy*. III.482.11-13 (109).
[1098] Husson 1983, 45-54.
[1099] *P.Oxy.* III.502.17-18.
[1100] The ὀβολισκος is not included in Husson's monograph on the vocabulary of houses.
[1101] Tuner 1957, 145.
[1102] *P.Lond*. II.391.2 (601/50).
[1103] Alston 1997a.
[1104] Husson 1983, 248-51.
[1105] Hellmann 1992, 361-4.
[1106] Preisigke 1919, 424-32; Nowicka 1972, 53-62.

exedra, an *aithrion*, and a vaulted room'.[1107] The *purgos* is also used in Egypt as a form of tower-house used for habitation.[1108] Multi-storied tower-houses were known since the Pharaonic period.[1109] Together models of houses in the form of towers (figs. 86-87) and excavations at Karanis (fig. 88) confirm that tower-houses were common in Roman Egypt.[1110]

(Fig. 86)

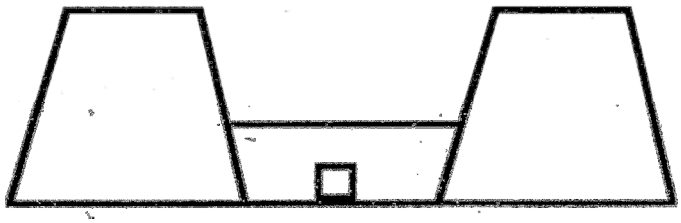


(Fig. 87)

[1107] *P.Oxy.* II.243.15-17 (79).
[1108] Hdt. 2.95; *P.Tebt.* I.47.15-16 (113 BC).
[1109] Davies 1929, 236-9.
[1110] Engelbach 1931, 129-30; Gazda 1983, 19.

(Fig. 88)

The *oikia dipurgia* was a distinctive house-type related in some cases to wealthy families. A papyrus of 90 mentions 'a two-towered house in the middle of which there is a court'; the house also contained an annexed *aule*.[1111] A papyrus of 261 concerns the cession of a two-towered house, which belonged to magistrates and was located in an Oxyrhynchite village.[1112] *P.Oxy.* LXIV.4438 of 252 is the only surviving reference to a three-towered house (οἰκια τριπυργία), which contained an *aithrion* and two *aule*. The house was bought by the wife of a former magistrate of Oxyrhynchus from a gymnasiarch of the same city, suggesting that it was a residence for the elites.[1113] The *aithrion* and *aule* were distinctive features of the *oikia dipurgia* and *oikia tripurgia*. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the physical appearance of these towered houses and little is known about their internal arrangement. However, it seems safe to say that the towers were integral and prominent architectural features of the houses, as their names imply. Alston suggests a reconstruction of the physical appearance of the *oikia dipurgia* on the basis of ancient Egyptian representations which show large houses with two slanting towers attached to the frontage (fig. 89).[1114]



(Fig. 89)

The façade of the *oikia dipurgia* may have been flanked by two towers, which were perhaps used for habitation.[1115] According to Alston, the construction of two huge towers was meant to create a more imposing frontage. Impressive house frontages might have the potential not only to 'assert the status of the occupants of the house in

[1111] *P.Oxy.* II.247.23: οἰκίας διπυργίας ἐν ᾗ κατά μέσον αἴθριον.
[1112] *P.Oxy.* XIV.1703.
[1113] *P.Oxy.* LXIV.4438.14-5.
[1114] Alston 2001, 62. For an illustration of a two-towered pylon in a Pharaonic house: Davies 1929, pl. xxxii.
[1115] Nowicka 1973, 175-8.

the public space of the street', but also to 'demarcate the boundary between public and private'.[1116]

The occupants of such houses probably exploited the two towers as an architectural means to assert their social status on the public space of streets. Representations of houses in Pharaonic tombs show that wealthy Egyptians inscribed their names and titles on the main doorway of their houses, advertising their social status. Prominent and externally visible towers served to identify the house in the Roman period, as did the names of neighbours in sale and lease contracts.[1117] The identification of a house by the name of its owner continued into the Roman period.[1118] Houses of named individuals were used as landmarks in directions to couriers.[1119] Similarly, the use of houses of named residents as topographical points in surveys unrelated to taxation confirms this assumption of a close relationship between the occupant and his or her house.[1120]

There is no archaeological evidence for two-towered houses, three-towered houses, bath-houses, and gate-houses in the well-excavated sites of the Fayum and the Dakhla oasis. Although they have not been identified in urban sites, it is possible that they are closely associated with cities, given their frequency in urban contexts. The court-house, however, has been identified in surviving houses at Karanis and Kellis. In urban and rural sites, some of the houses comprised just one storey;[1121] however, two-storey houses seem to have been standard,[1122] as was the case in the Pharaonic period.[1123] Three- and four-storey houses were not uncommon, as papyri and rural archaeological material confirm.[1124] The construction of multi-storied houses in the Roman period is a tradition preserved from the Pharaonic period and confirms the persistence of traditional structures and techniques.[1125]

[1116] Alston 1997, 30-7.
[1117] *P.Mich*. V.294.
[1118] E.g. *P.Oxy*. XVII.2145 (building measurements for a bath in the house of [---] Severus, AD 185); Husson 1983, 58-60. Cf. *P.Theon.* 15 (the mid-second century).
[1119] Llewelyn 1994, 71-87.
[1120] Alston 1997a, 36.
[1121] *P.Oxy*. VII.1027.3 (the first century): οἰκ[ίας] μονοστέγου.
[1122] *P.Oxy*. IV.719.15 (193): οἰκιῶν δύο διστέγου.
[1123] Badawy 1966a, 15-8.
[1124] *P.Oxy*. XLVII.3365.ii.77 (241): οἰκία τρίστεγος; Gazda 1983, 19 (fig. 30).
[1125] Husson 1981, 519-26; Gros 2001, 216.

A clearer picture of the internal divisions of rural houses can be formed from the archaeological remains at Karanis.[1126] The topographical study of the site suggests that it was occupied from the late Ptolemaic period to the early fourth century.[1127] However, papyri and coins suggest a lengthier occupation from *c*. 270 BC to *c*. AD 500, and possibly later.[1128] In the Roman period, the villages of Egypt had substantial houses that were used over longer periods of time. More than 106 houses were excavated in Karanis by the University of Michigan between 1924 and 1935; however, the excavations were never completely published (for a sample, see Appendix 2).[1129] The villages were also dominated by modest houses constructed of mud-brick with a floor space measuring about sixty square meters.[1130] These houses were smaller than those at Pompeii, which have mean areas of 266 square meters (Region I) and 289 square meters (Region VI), and Herculaneum, which have a mean area of 241 square meters.[1131]

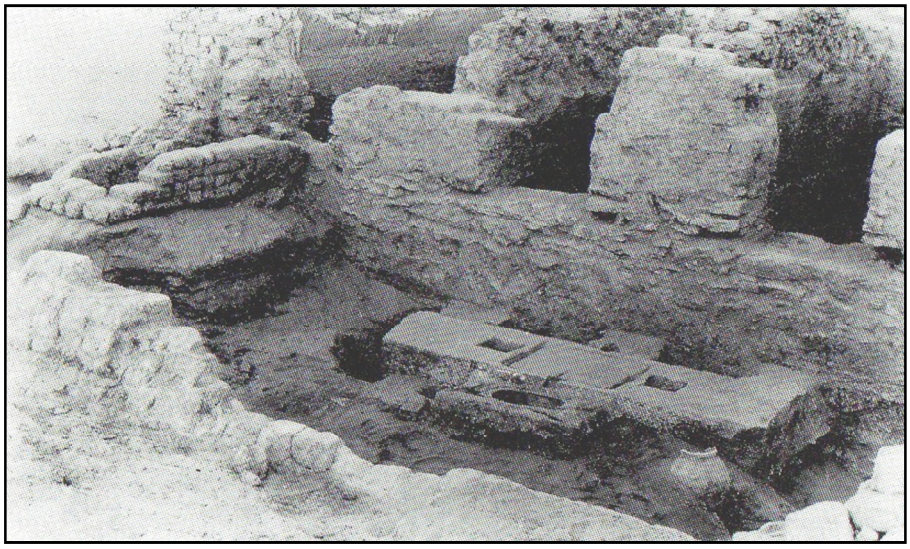
Although many houses in Karanis reveal a pattern in their internal arrangement, other houses of the same village do not. Houses in Karanis usually had an underground basement with vaulted ceilings, serving as storage bins for keeping the family's cereal stock and other foodstuffs.[1132] The dominant feature of the houses is the central courtyard, which occupies about a quarter of the total floor space. It was usually situated at one end or at the side of the house, where there was direct access to a street or a passageway. It sometimes occupied the centre of the house with a number of adjoining rooms. The courtyard was open to the sky and enclosed with walls. It was around these courtyards that household activities generally revolved. The presence of fireplaces, ovens (fig. 90), grain bins, Theban millstones (small hand-mills of a traditional design) and other cooking pots and jars in the courtyards of many houses at Karanis indicates that the courtyard was the kitchen.

[1126] Boak and Peterson 1931.
[1127] Husselman 1979.
[1128] Haatvedt and Peterson 1964.
[1129] Husselman 1979.
[1130] Luckhard 1914, 16-23.
[1131] These figures are taken from Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 76.
[1132] Bowman 1986, 149.

(Fig. 90)

Given that pigs, sheep, goats, geese, and other domesticated animals and birds were reared in the courtyards of houses, the inhabitants looked upon the interiors of their houses, particularly courtyards, as an important source of income. Storage bins, animal pens, feeding troughs, and mangers were largely located in the courtyards of houses at Karanis.[1133] In addition to helping the inhabitants in field works by transporting seeds and hoeing the earth, domesticated animals supplied the inhabitants with their dietary needs from milk, butter, and meat, not to mention the economic value obtained from selling them.[1134] The presence of bases of olive presses in many courtyards (fig. 91) also suggests that the courtyard functioned also as a small factory producing highly economic products.

[1133] Husselman 1979, 49-54.
[1134] Bowman 1986, 149-50.



(Fig. 91)

Leaving the courtyard aside, the internal stairway is another important feature of multi-storied houses at Karanis. It is a continuous staircase connecting all the floors of the house.[1135] The living accommodation on the floors of houses consisted of two or three rooms of relatively considerable size with plastered walls and wall-niches.[1136] Excavations revealed that houses at the nearby village of Soknopaiou Nesos (Dimê) (Appendix 2) bore a remarkable resemblance to those of Karanis in both layout and material. Yet much less pottery and household furniture were found in houses at Dimê. Similarly, houses at Dimê consisted of an entrance-doorway leading directly to a courtyard or to a short passage and a courtyard, around which a number of rooms were arranged. Houses also had a stair unit, which led down to the underground rooms and up to the upper floors.[1137] Like other houses in the Dakhleh oasis, houses at Kellis typically consist of a single storey with vaulted roofs. A staircase provided access to the roof, which was often used as a storage space. Within the house, there was a central courtyard surrounded by living and work spaces. Walls were mud-plastered and often contained strips of white wash along the rear walls and around doorways and wall niches (Appendix 2).[1138]

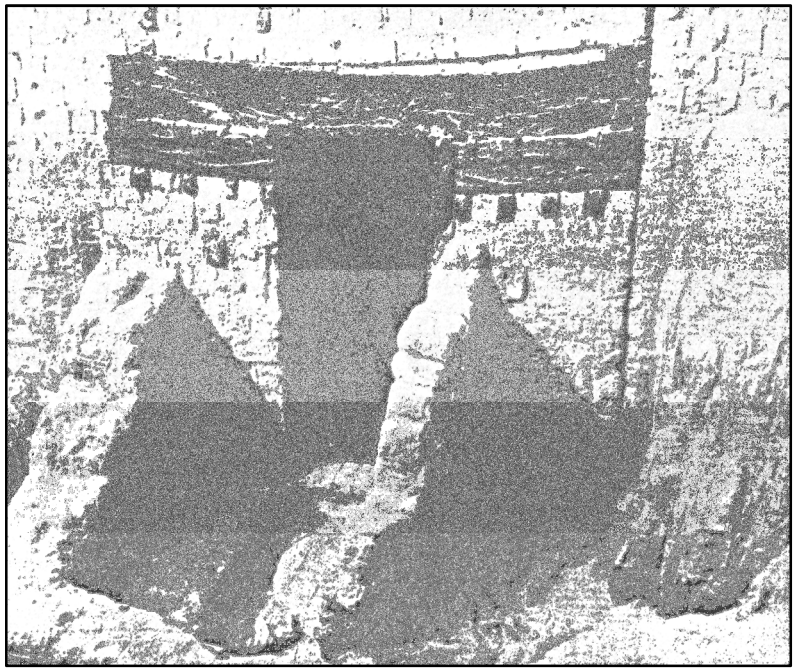
[1135] Husselman 1979, 38-9.
[1136] Bowman 1986, 149.
[1137] Boak 1935.
[1138] Hope 1988; Gardner and Lieu 1996; Knudstad and Frey 1999.

III.3. RITUAL ACTIVITIES ENACTED BEFORE THE FRONT DOOR OF HOUSES

As in many other cultures, the front door of the house served as a suitable place for social interaction, particularly involving women.[1139] In the Roman period, women used to stand at the front door of the house to chat with neighbours and watch what was going on in the street. However, they were sometimes subject to harassment by drunken pedestrians.[1140] Papyri suggest that the residents of the house placed a particular emphasis on the material of the front door. Generally made out of wood (θύραν ξυλίνην),[1141] doors of high-quality material such as tamarisk (θύρας μυρικίνας) and acacia (θύρας ἀκακίας), which are attested both papyrologically and archaeologically and were cultivated in the Western Desert and the Nile Valley, maximized their ability to assert the social status of their owners.[1142]

Archaeology in particular has revealed that the front doors of houses were often well designed and constructed in the Roman period.[1143] The entrance-door of House C68 in Karanis (fig. 92), which is made of acacia wood, is a case in point.[1144]

[1139] Laurence 2007, 102.
[1140] *P.Oxy*. XXXVI.2758.10 (110/12).
[1141] *BGU* III.731.11-12 (180).
[1142] *P.Tebt*. I.45.22, 37; *P.Tebt.* I.47.14. 35 (113 BC); Husselman 1979, 40-4. Cf. Hdt. 2.96. Later papyri indicate that doorways within houses were sometimes made out of iron (σιδηρᾶ θύρα) (Bell, Nock and Thompson 1933, verso A, I. 12.).
[1143] Gazda 1983, 24.
[1144] On the construction of doors in Pharaonic Egypt: Koenigsberger 1936.



(Fig. 92)

The lintel consists of four superimposed parts: a strip of wood projects slightly across the top of the lintel. Beneath this strip of wood is a heavy beam, which is curved to match the concave courses of bricks in the wall in which it was set and is held in place by means of tenons. Below this beam and supporting it on either side of the doorway is a series of smaller binding blocks with short facing strips of wood between them. Under these binding blocks, again on either side of the entrance doorway, is a long strip of wood supported by four blocks set horizontally into the wall. The doorway was locked by a wooden bolt, still *in situ*, set in a heavy case on the left side of the doorway.

This common method of fastening the lintel to the jambs is also used in the front door of House C50 in Karanis (fig. 93), which is also made of acacia. The width of the doorway between the jambs is 75 cm; the length of the lintel is 2 m and its height is 30 cm. Within the door jamb on the right side there is a large bolt case, which is framed by a common type of carving in the form of a doorway of traditional temples, the lintel of which is curved outward in imitation of a cavetto cornice and

rests on jambs like square pilasters with a supporting threshold at the bottom (fig. 94).[1145]

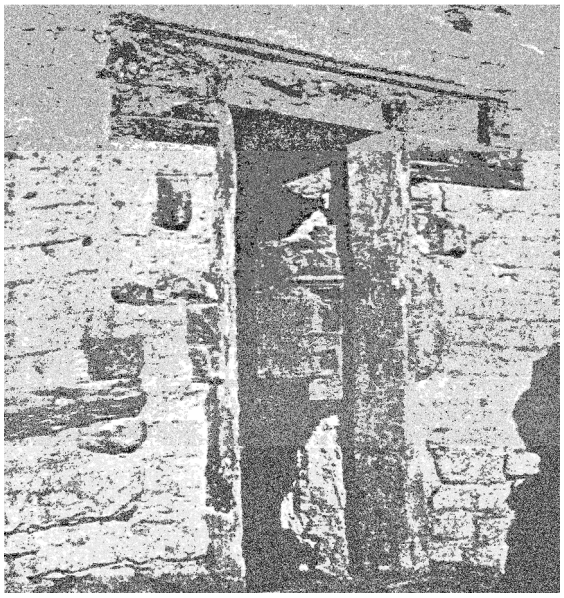


Fig. 93)

(Fig. 94)

Such examples illustrate the common and longstanding tendency to secure the house from the street.[1146] It is likely that the inhabitants of some houses in Roman Egypt looked upon the front door of their houses as a sacred entrance with religious connotations. In Pharaonic Egypt, the front gate of houses had some religious significance. In the Eleventh Dynasty, the front door of the two models of a house from the Tomb of Maket-Re carries a decoration consisting of the Djed pillar of Osiris surmounted by two bunches of lotus flowers.[1147] Equally, the house depicted on the Papyrus of Nakht of the Eighteenth Dynasty is textually described as 'the house from the [front] door of which he pays adoration to the gods'. This gate is bordered with a torus moulding and topped with a cavetto cornice, recalling the monumental doors of traditional temples.[1148] The front door is neither inside nor outside the house. Rather, it is a sacred boundary and a liminal zone between the private and public spaces associated respectively with the house and the street.[1149] For this reason, it is unsurprising that traditional Egyptian ritual activities were

[1145] Husselman 1979, 40-1.
[1146] Alston 2001, 85.
[1147] Kemp 1989, 151-2 (fig. 54).
[1148] Davies 1929, 248; Endruweit 2004, 392 (fig. 107). British Museum, EA 10471/72.
[1149] Bourdieu 1977, 130-2.

performed before the front door of houses. It is these privileges that paved the way for the space before the front door to integrate their houses with the public space, strengthening social relations, and to communicate aspects of personal and social identity in times of social and religious gatherings.

III.3.1. The ritual celebrated on 9 Thoth (Julian: 7/8 September)

At certain times of year, the space before the front door of some houses in ancient Egypt played a fundamental role as a religious place and a social focus.[1150] One of these times was 9 Thoth. In his treatise *De Iside et Osiride*, Plutarch reports an important ritual associated with the front door of houses, when he states:

> Οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς ἀπέχονται πάντων· Πρώτου δὲ μηνὸς ἐνάτῃ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων ἑκάστου πρὸ τῆς αὐλείου θύρας ὀπτὸν ἰχθὺν κατεσθίοντος οἱ ἱερεῖς οὐ γεύονται μὲν κατακαίουσι δὲ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοὺς ἰχθῦς.
>
> The [Egyptian] priests, on the other hand, abstain from all fish, and on the ninth day of Thoth, when all the other Egyptians eat roast fish before the front doors of their houses, the priests do not taste the fish, but burn them before their front doors.[1151]

Scholars often consider Plutarch's monograph a philosophical text, reflecting middle-Platonic metaphysical ideas about the genesis of the soul and the structure of the universe.[1152] For Scott-Moncrieff, the treatise reflected Plutarch's narrow interest in the Hellenised Alexandrian cult.[1153] However, Daniel Richter has recently argued that the *De Iside et Osiride* is a metaphysical discourse, demonstrating the superiority

[1150] The performance of rituals around and within the domestic space was known since the Pharaonic period such as the Festival of Lamps (λυχνοκαίη) during which lamps were illuminated at night on 13 Epeiph (Julian: 13 July) around and within Egyptian houses in commemoration of Osiris' death and resurrection: 'At Sais, on the night of the sacrifice, they (the Egyptians) all keep lamps burning in the open air around the houses. These lamps are flat dishes full of salt and oil, with a floating wick which keep burning all night. This is called the Feast of Lamps and even the Egyptians who do not come to this assemblage mark the night of sacrifice by burning their own lamps at home, so that on that night lamps are burning not only at Sais but throughout all Egypt (Hdt. 2.62.1-2). The Rite of Illumination (λυχνοκαίη), characteristic of this festival, was maintained in the Roman period (*P.Hib* I.27.xii.166; Perpillou-Thomas 1993; Rutherford 2005, 132). Even in the fifth century AD, the Christian abbot Shenoute of Athribis criticised people who light lamps and burn incense in their home on the day of the god Shai (Johnston 2004, 249).

[1151] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 7.

[1152] E.g. Froidefond 1972, 1987; Dillon 1989. Christopher Jones gives 115 as the date of this composition (Jones 1966b, 73), but Gwyn Griffiths suggests 120 (Griffiths 1970, 16-18).

[1153] Scott-Moncrieff 1909.

of Greek philosophy over Egyptian cult.[1154] As the treatise provides a wide range of information about τὴν Αἰγυπτίων θεολογίαν in general, and expresses deep knowledge of the cult of Isis and Osiris in particular, the Egyptian material in the *De Iside et Osiride* cannot be dismissed as worthless.[1155] In fact, Plutarch's accounts of Egyptian myths and rites, 'showed, on the whole, a remarkable reliability when compared with the evidence of the Egyptian sources'.[1156] Although the sources of Plutarch's composition cannot be identified with certainty, it is not impossible that some Egyptian texts were at his disposal during his visits to Alexandria,[1157] Athens or Delphi. At Athens, Plutarch pursued his studies under the Platonist Ammonius, who had an Egyptian name and came to Athens from Egypt.[1158] For evidence on the contemporary cult of Egyptian deities, Plutarch also partly relied on his friend Clea, to whom the book is dedicated. Clea was a priest of Isis and of Dionysus at Delphi and was thus acquainted with Egyptian cults.[1159] Plutarch himself, according to an inscription, was still priest at Delphi and epimelete of the Amphictyons in 117.[1160]

Plutarch's passage does not make it clear whether the ritual was performed in urban or rural sites. The statement comes in his account of the taboos which the Egyptian priests observed in metropoleis like Memphis, Heliopolis, Oxyrhynchus and Syene, establishing an urban context for the ritual. Yet the possible association of the ritual with inundation and the river Nile seems to suggest a widespread festival. Be that as it may, the passage indicates that the space before the front door of Egyptian houses served as the arena for an important festival, during which the front door acted as its physical setting. The αὐλεία θύρα is one of the Greek designations used to refer to the front door of the house.[1161] Since the passage does not speak of a ritual enacted 'in the houses (ἐν τοῖσι οἰκοισι)' or 'in the streets (ἔξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι)', but rather 'before the front door (πρὸ τῆς αὐλείου θύρας or πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν)', it is clear that this ritual was performed before the main entrance to the house.

[1154] Richter 2001.
[1155] Hani 1976; Froidefond 1978, 1979.
[1156] Griffiths 2001b, 54.
[1157] Plut. *Symp*. 5.5.1. Plutarch voyaged to Alexandria, but whether he travelled further into Egypt is doubtful. On Plutarch's life: Trench 1873; Griffiths 1970.
[1158] Jones 1966a. Many Greek philosophers and scholars visited Egypt. Cf. Dio. Sic. 1.69.2-3.
[1159] Jones 1966b, 73.
[1160] *SIG* II.829.A: ἐπιμελητεύοντος ἀπὸ Δελφῶν Μεστρίου Πλουτάρχου τοῦ ἱερέως; Swain 1991, 320.
[1161] *P.Tebt*. III.1.795.7 (200/176 BC); Husson 1983, 99-100.

While 'ἔξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι' only referred to public space,[1162] 'πρὸ τῆς αὐλείου θύρας' or 'πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν' meant in private or semi-public space.[1163]

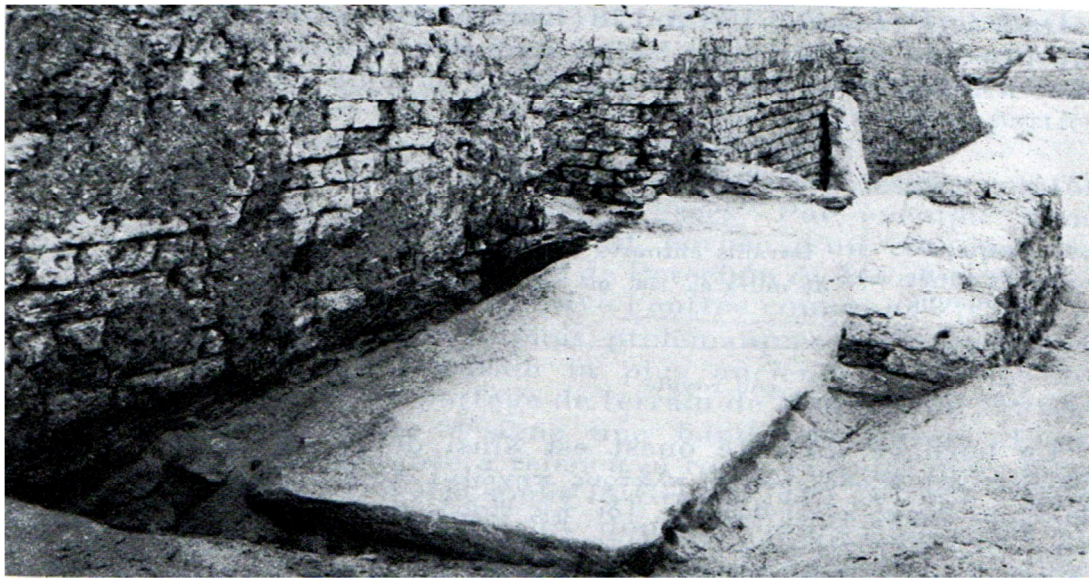
Since the Pharaonic period, the living space extended beyond the limits of houses to include the streets.[1164] Several domestic activities like spinning and weaving were enacted before the front door of the house in the street. In Herodotus's time, the Egyptians used to 'eat out of doors in the streets (ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι)'.[1165] In Pharaonic Egypt, the front door of houses served as a focus of religious domestic practice, and Plutarch's passage seems to suggest the persistence of religious domestic activities in the Roman period.[1166] Classical literature and Greek papyri refer to a number of festivities held in honour of both Graeco-Roman and Egyptian deities all the year around in Roman Egypt.[1167] Equally, demotic papyri confirm a number of traditional festivals celebrated in the month of Thoth, including the Festival of Drunkenness and the *W#g* festival.[1168]

There is no doubt that the festival in question, which was celebrated on 9 Thoth, the first month of inundation (Akhet) and of the year, was associated with inundation and the river Nile, which symbolized the discharge and effusion of Osiris.[1169] In Roman Egypt, the month of Thoth represented the commencement of the inundation season, which in turn symbolized the victory of Osiris over Seth.[1170] Yet this festival must be distinguished from 'the sacrifice to the most sacred Nile' on 30 Pauni.[1171] From the Pharaonic to the Roman period, Egypt owed its fertility to the river's annual flood, which brought a new soil adding to the fertility of the land and

[1162] Hdt. 2.35.
[1163] *P.Oxy*. XXXVI.2758.10 (110/12). It is noteworthy that in contemporary Egypt, Muslim Egyptians usually slaughter their cows or goats at Eid el-Adha (Feast of Sacrifice) before the front door of their houses. They also soak their hands in the blood of the sacrifice and stamped them on the front side of the front door. This custom has nothing to do with Islam, but it seems that it passed over generations through social tradition and enculturation.
[1164] Alston 1997a, 38.
[1165] Hdt. 2.35.
[1166] Davies 1929, 248; Endruweit 2004, 392.
[1167] E.g. *P.Oxy*. IV.731 (8/9) in which the festivals of Isis and Hera are mentioned. For public and religious festivals in Roman Egypt: Vandoni 1964; Perpillou-Thomas 1993.
[1168] Smith 2009, 412.
[1169] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 33; Assmann 2005, 355-63; Abbas 2010, 4-13.
[1170] Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 144.
[1171] *P.Oxy*. IX.1211 (the second century); Lewis 1983, 95.

resulting in an increase in agricultural produce.[1172] Successive prefects continued to sacrifice to the god of the Nile in the Roman period.[1173]

Given that levels of identity in the past were expressed through a variety of different media,[1174] festivals, as times of social gatherings, were important media for articulating identity. In the festival of 9 Thoth, the front doorway of houses was integrated with the public space of the street in solidifying social relations and articulating the social status of the occupants within the community. The front door was an important physical feature of the house frontage, leading from and to the house as well as from and to the street. The front door is a frontier of crossing from one place/space to another. In other words, it is a place of passage, but also of meeting between the two spaces.[1175] Since the front door of the house was sometimes called ἡ παρόδιος θύρα, it was envisaged as a liminal space between the domestic and public space.[1176]



(Fig. 95)

Domestic properties in Roman Egypt extended to include certain spatial and physical features located before the front door of the house in the street, including the πρόθυρον, προπυλών, and εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος. The εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος, i.e. entry and exit, took

[1172] Strauss-Seeber 2004, 376-85.
[1173] Bowman 1986, 183.
[1174] Millett 2007, 71-82.
[1175] Bourdieu 1973, 98-110.
[1176] Husson 1983, 98-9.

the form of a paved passage giving access directly to the main entrance of the house (fig. 95).[1177] They were legally considered the outer physical limits of the house.[1178] Such physical features were practically located in the public space of the street. However, they were considered essential parts of the house since they could be sold or leased with it.[1179] Equally, windbreaks were sometimes constructed before houses at Karanis to protect doorways from dust and keep the privacy of the interiors by preventing pedestrians from watching the inside. Although the windbreak was actually located in the public space of the street, it was considered a physical part of the house.[1180] In times of Egyptian religious activities, the front door of houses integrated between two types of spaces, one inside the house and the other outside in the street. Indeed, this festival was an important ritual activity and a suitable time of social interaction in front of the house. In this festival, the front door of houses did not divide, but rather integrated private and public space. It was expected that the front door was kept open during the whole period of celebration. Thus it marked the meeting point of space and the interplay between public and private.[1181]

It is unknown whether Roman and Greek citizens participated in such rites. Whether Plutarch means the Hellenized metropolitan elites when he mentions 'the other Egyptians' is unclear. In Roman Egypt, *Aiguptios* designated any inhabitant who was neither a Roman nor a citizen of Greek poleis or Jew. Metropolites and villagers alike were classed as "Egyptian". Although Plutarch visited Alexandria, it is doubtful whether he travelled further into the *chora*. Whether Plutarch was familiar with such a legal hierarchy when he visited Alexandria in the early second century is a matter of guess. It is difficult to argue from Plutarch's text alone that only those legally-defined as Egyptian performed the rite before the gate of their houses. That Egyptian priests and other participants used the rite to solidify their group identity as opposed to non-Egyptians seems historically unlikely. Romans, Alexandrians, and the Hellenized metropolites equally patronized traditional cults and temples. The metropolitan magistrates called Graeco-Roman and Egyptian festivities and

[1177] Husson 1983, 65-72.
[1178] Taubenschlag 1927.
[1179] *P.Oxy*. III.502.20-21 (164).
[1180] Windbreaks are still used in contemporary Egypt, especially in villages.
[1181] Wallace-Hadrill 1988.

sacrifices in the theatre and hippodrome. It is likely that any resident who was interested in such rituals could partake of them without difficulty.

Plutarch's passage mentions that the Egyptians, including priests, took part in this festival. However, their actions were quite different from each other. While priests burnt the fish, other inhabitants would eat the fish before the front gate of their house. The priests could not only mark the high position of their profession, but also emphasized the superior status of their houses within the community.[1182] According to the Gnomon of the Idioslogos, priests were required to dress in linen rather than wool and were forbidden to wear long hair.[1183] This legislation made a long-standing ritual dress compulsory, visibly and legally marking the priests apart from other residents of Egypt. Some Egyptian priests were even exempted from the poll-tax.[1184] By burning fish rather than eating it, the priests probably marked their high status as opposed to non-priestly residents of other houses. Thus the priests might have used the ritual to assert their personal and social identities. In that sense, the ritual might have served to define the house in relation to other houses. Identity could thus be multi-layered.

Fish was a favourite diet in Roman Egypt.[1185] The probable connection of this festival with inundation and the river Nile explains the reason for which fish was particularly associated with this celebration. Some of the proceedings of this festival might have occurred within the house, including the preparation of food, whereas others took place before the front door in the street, including eating the food. In such a celebration, it was expected that the participants saluted and congratulated each other, and possibly exchange fish as well. It is through participation in the ritual that the social identity of the house occupants was articulated before the front gate. I suggest that the domestic pylon was influenced in some features by that of traditional temples. Both were huge structures acting as façade-entrances to the structures with which there are associated. The domestic pylon contained a *triclinium*, *symposion*,

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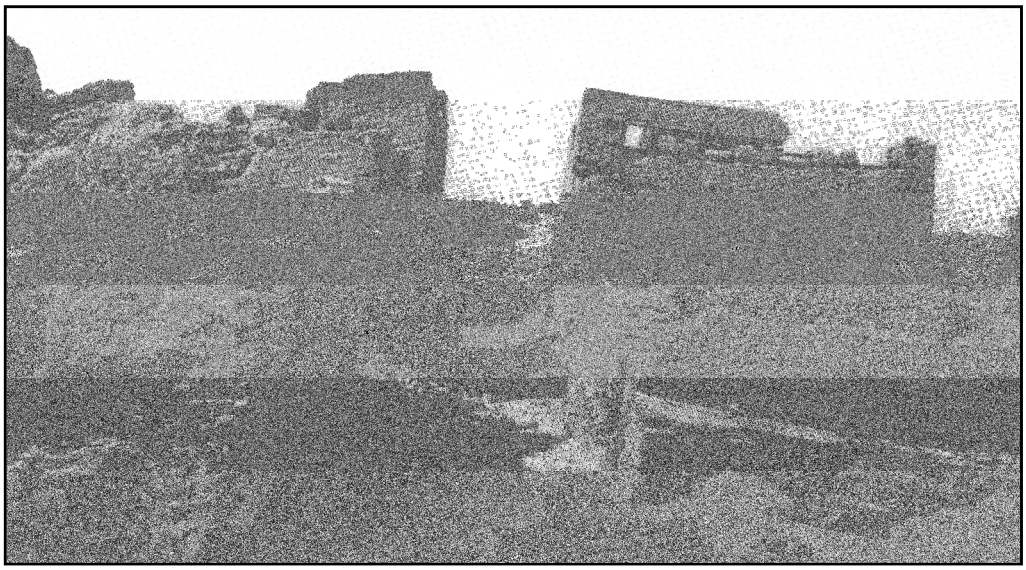
[1182] Alston 2001, 85.
[1183] Riccobono 1950, 58.
[1184] *P.Tebt*. II.294.
[1185] On fish trade in the Roman Empire: Jones 1974, 140-50. On papyrological references to fish and salted fish in Roman Egypt: *P.Oxy*. VI.928 (the second century); *P.Oxy*. VI.937 (the third century); *P.Oxy*. VII.1067 (the third century).

and *andron*, which could be easily used in times of ritual and social gatherings.[1186] The occupants of houses might have invited their neighbours to join them in the meal in the dining-rooms of such domestic pyla. Due to its religious significance and architectural and spatial abilities to address all inhabitants, the front door of houses and the space before it was an appropriate arena for ritual activities associated with personal, social, and cultural identity in the Roman period. It is argued that rituals enacted in the street are important features of any culture. Such practices often enhance cultural and social communications.[1187] Thus culture is widely regarded as 'the outcome of the processes by which values and beliefs pattern social and individual identity, which, in turn, are influenced by them'.[1188] The front door of houses and the space before it in the street together became a place for shared religious activities and a focus of personal and social identities. Ritual times often provide opportunities for social interaction between individuals. Experiences of the street shape social practices and identities.[1189]



(Fig. 96)

Apart from the main thoroughfares of cities and villages, streets were generally narrow in Roman Egypt, measuring 1.5 m in Karanis (fig. 96). Karanis has two main thoroughfares running from south to north, CS210 on the east and CS400

[1186] *P.Mich.* V.295.4 (the first century); *P.Lond*. III.978.13 (331); *SB* VI.8988.57-8 (647).
[1187] Fyfe 1998, 1-10.
[1188] Davies 2008, 9.
[1189] Fyfe 1998, 1.

on the west, with a possible third main street connecting the North Temple and South Temple. Apparently no main east-west thoroughfare ran across the village. The blocks of houses were arranged along main streets, minor streets, and passageways. Although the front doorways of many houses were easily accessible from streets, others were obstructed by steps leading to doorways or by the windbreaks, as House C68 from Street CS95, C56 from CS52, C151 from CS160, and to C146 from CS160.[1190] As the average size of families of all household types was higher in villages (4.46 people) than in cities (4.04),[1191] it could be suggested that social interaction between the inhabitants was stronger in villages than in cities. Narrow streets and more family members meant more social interaction, particularly since 'extended families and multiple family households were more common in villages'.[1192] In any case, a dynamic interplay occurred in this celebration between the front door of the house and the street, forming together a joint space of action and solidarity. The front door of houses was thus an important site of ritual practices, which are part of the image of the streets.[1193] As a ritual practice, the festival held on 9 Thoth constituted engagement, communication, interaction, contact, enjoyment and articulation of personal and social identity. It also possessed the capacity to foster social and cultural interaction among its participants. Ritual behaviour is often regarded as both a 'social act' and a 'form of communication'.[1194] Equally, there is a general consensus that ritual act is 'a special mode of social intercourse'.[1195] In this ceremony, the participants engaged in a shared practice, the 'habitus' in Bourdieu's terms, whereby they engaged in a repeatedly renewed familiarity with and commitment to their cultural values and ideas.[1196]

The American anthropologists Eliot Chapple and Carleton Coon called the ritual moments in which members of communities gather to re-engage with their basic values and ideas 'rites of intensification'. The Christians' participation in the Eucharist and the Muslims' daily prayers are good examples of 'rites of

[1190] Hobson 1985, 214; Husselman 1979, 29-31.
[1191] Bagnall and Frier 1994, 66-71.
[1192] Alston and Alston 1997, 207.
[1193] Crouch 1998, 160.
[1194] Bell 1992, 54-89.
[1195] Platvoet 1995, 36.
[1196] Bourdieu 1990.

intensification'.[1197] The annual inundation of the river Nile, with which this festival was associated, was an important event in the life of inhabitants in Roman Egypt. The fundamental role that the Nile played in the life of the population, with the prosperity and fertility it guaranteed, necessitated its veneration and probably provided a reason for such a ceremony. Festivals and rituals contribute to the inclusion and integration of individuals within their local communities.[1198] Festal and ritual times often involve the inculcation of cultural values and ideas that become second nature to the individuals concerned, whose sense of identity is partly composed of these values and ideas. Ritual is a process in which individuals bring their basic ideas to mind and engage with them in and through the acts performed, the objects used, and the place of performance. The participation of the Egyptians renders the ritual a collective character, but the participants could articulate layers of identity assertion. This celebration was performed at a prescribed time (9 Thoth) and at a certain space (before the front door of houses) and in the special manners in which its participants acted (eating and burning fish) to communicate their personal and social identities.

The role of a particular place is of fundamental significance in 'the rites of intensification', when the cultural ideas and values of individuals, according to Douglas Davies, are brought to a spatial and behavioural focus.[1199] As the arena for and the physical focus of the ritual held on 9 Thoth, the front door of the house and the space before it together were important for remembering the ritual, particularly since architectural and spatial features were used in ancient cultures as environments of memory.[1200] It is argued that a sense of identity emerges in domestic space through a variety of cultural practices.[1201] The annual integration of the house and the street on 9 Thoth seems to have set the scene for emphasizing the occupants' familial identity. Repetition and fixity of time and place have been consistently cited as

[1197] Chapple and Coon 1942, 507-28.
[1198] Platvoet 1995, 36.
[1199] Davies 2008, 13.
[1200] Crouch 1998, 166.
[1201] Davies 2008, 13.

central features of the communicative function of rituals, which play a major part in the formation of social identity.[1202]

III.3.2. The ritual celebrated on 15 Pachon (Julian: 10 May)

The ritual on 9 Thoth was not the only celebration held before the front door of the house for Herodotus reports another festival when he states that:

> Τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῇ δορπίῃ χοῖρον πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν σφάξας ἕκαστος διδοῖ ἀποφέρεθαι τὸν χοῖρον αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν συβωτέων.
>
> To Dionysus, on the evening of his festival [15 Pachon] every [Egyptian] sacrifices a pig which he kills before his front door and then gives it to the swineherd himself who has sold it, for him to take away.[1203]

This passage refers to another ceremony performed at the front door of houses. As it stands, the sacrifice of pigs before the gate of the house was the most important feature of this ritual.

First, I would suggest that the festival in question was associated for the most part with the god Osiris, his wife, the goddess Isis, and their son, the god Horus. As far as we can tell, the frenzied rites associated with the festivals of Dionysus lacked such a ritual.[1204] It is highly likely that Herodotus had the god Osiris in mind when he wrote this passage. It is a common feature in Herodotus' writings on Egypt to give the names of Greek gods to the Egyptian deities. Hence for Herodotus Ptah was Hephaestus,[1205] Neith was Athena,[1206] Osiris was Dionysus,[1207] and Isis was Demeter.[1208] Equally, classical writers of the Roman period used to equate Egyptian and Greek deities. For example, Plutarch mentioned that 'Amun is the proper name of Zeus among the Egyptians'.[1209] I would argue that this celebration persisted into the Roman period. Before considering the evidence for the continuity of this ritual and the role it played in expressing Egyptian religious traditions and aspects of the participants' social and local identities under Roman rule, a brief digression is

[1202] Platvoet 1995, 28; Bell 1992, 91-2.
[1203] Hdt. 2.48.
[1204] On the cult, myth, and frenzied festivals of Dionysus: Otto 1965.
[1205] Hdt. 2.121.
[1206] Hdt. 2.59.
[1207] Hdt. 2.47-48.
[1208] Hdt. 2.59, 122.
[1209] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 9.

necessary to discuss the role and status of pigs in ancient Egyptian religion and culture.

Throughout the successive periods of ancient Egyptian history, pigs were among the most common domesticated animals.[1210] In Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, pig-breeding continued to be a relatively important economic activity. Pigs were reared alongside other domesticated animals in the courtyards of houses in both towns and villages.[1211] This activity led to the emergence of a 'pig tax' levied from those breeding and trading on pigs[1212] and even from those sacrificing pigs.[1213] Pigs played a role in the diet of the inhabitants,[1214] and were consumed at least by the lower classes.[1215] Pigs were closely associated in ancient Egyptian religion and mythology with the god Seth, lord of chaos.[1216] Together with hippopotami and donkeys, pigs were considered the evil animals of the god Seth.[1217] No Egyptian god took the form of a pig, however.[1218] Due to their connection with Seth, pigs had an ambiguous status in ancient Egyptian religion and culture.[1219] Pork was never used in traditional temple offerings. However, pigs were included in lists of temple properties.[1220] The association of pigs with dirt and filth may explain their lowly status in ancient Egyptian culture.[1221] However, the taboo on pigs was reinforced due to the connection of pigs with Seth.[1222]

In ancient Egyptian religion, it was believed that Seth transformed himself into a black boar when he attacked the god Horus. Chapter 112 of the Book of the Dead, which is entitled 'Spell for Knowing the Souls of Pe', reads:

> Now the black pig was Suti [Seth] who had transformed himself into a black pig. It was he who had aimed the blow of fire [the thunderbolt] which struck

[1210] Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 35. On textual, pictorial and zooarchaeological evidence for pigs in ancient Egypt: Hdt. 2.14; Newberry 1928, 211; Houlihan 1996, 25-8.
[1211] Bowman 1986, 102.
[1212] *P.Oxy*. IV.733 (171).
[1213] *P.Giss.Bibl.* I.2 (the second century BC).
[1214] Pedding 1991, 25.
[1215] Hecker 1982, 62.
[1216] Bonnet 1952, 112.
[1217] Dieleman 2005, 130-8.
[1218] Houlihan 1996, 26.
[1219] Helck 1984, 764.
[1220] Newberry 1928, 211.
[1221] Houlihan 2001, 47.
[1222] Lloyd 2007, 271.

> the eye of Horus. Then said Re unto those gods: 'The pig is an abominable thing to Horus; but he shall be well, although the big is an abomination to him'.[1223]

Having looked at the boar, a serious injury occurred to the left eye of Horus associated with the moon.[1224] Plutarch indirectly referred to this spell when he mentioned that 'according to the belief and account of the Egyptians, Typhon (Seth) at one time smites the eye of Horus, and at another time snatches it out and swallows it, and then later gives it back to the Sun'.[1225] The pig was associated with Seth, because Seth took the shape of a pig, whereby it became a symbol of chaos. Pigs continued to be regarded as 'unclean animals' in the Roman Period.[1226]

Although the first passage of Herodotus does not indicate the date or time of this festival, another passage seems to clarify the time in which the sacrifice of pigs was performed:

> Τοῖσι μέν νυν ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι θύειν ὗς οὐ δικαιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, Σελήνῃ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ μούνοισι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῳ, τοὺς ὗς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν.
>
> Nor do the Egyptians think it right to sacrifice swine to any god but the Moon and Dionysus. To these they sacrifice swine at the same time, in the same season of full moon, and then they eat of the flesh.[1227]

Herodotus emphasized the religious context of the festival by twice using the verb 'to sacrifice', θύειν and θύσαντες. Since it is widely accepted that Selene is used in Herodotus' writing on Egypt to refer to Isis and Dionysus to Osiris, it follows that sacrificing pigs was associated with a festival held in honour of Osiris and Isis.[1228] This religious festivity was recurrently held on the evening of a full moon night of a certain month. Since sacrificing pigs was primarily associated with the Osirian cult, it is tempting to suggest that pigs were also sacrificed for the god Horus.[1229]

[1223] Faulkner 1972, 85.
[1224] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 52; Budge 1909, 159.
[1225] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 55.
[1226] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 8; Ael. *NA* 10.16. On the low status of swineherds in Pharaonic Egypt: Hdt. 2.47.
[1227] Hdt. 2.47.
[1228] Bonnet 1952, 691.
[1229] Lloyd 2007, 271.

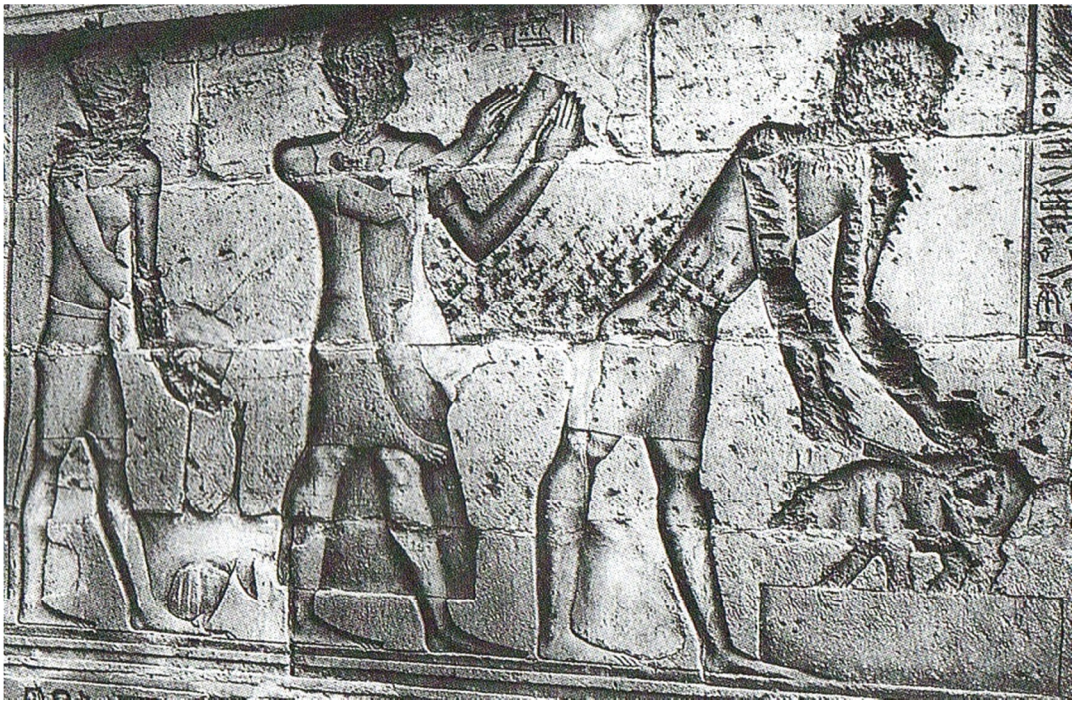
Egyptian textual and visual evidence, papyri, and classical literature argue for a remarkable continuity of this festival into the Roman period. Before studying this evidence in detail, we should first consider the evidence for the Ptolemaic period. In the calendar of the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu, which is approximated to 88-80 BC and continues to function in the Roman period, a text reads:

> The festival of the 15 day of the month [of Pachon], the day of full moon: it is a big festival all over the country (Hb o# m t#) when a pig is being sacrificed (snQ=tw |pH).[1230]

The inscription indicates that the sacrifice of pigs on 15 Pachon continued in the Ptolemaic period. A distinctive feature of this event was to sacrifice a pig on the full moon night of 15 Pachon, the first month of harvest (*Shemu*) and the ninth of the year. Although Herodotus' passage does not explicitly refer to the date of the festival, there is no room for doubt that the ritual mentioned by Herodotus was the one held in the month of Pachon.

The presence of a ritual during which a pig is being sacrificed at the front door of the house raises a number of questions, the most important of which is concerned with its religious significance and symbolism. Visual evidence from the temple of Edfu, which records the struggle between Horus and Seth, may provide an answer to this question.[1231] On the western wall of the inner ambulatory there is a relief representing the sacrifice of a hippopotamus (fig. 97).[1232]

[1230] Alliot 1949, 331 = Bonneau 1991, 334.
[1231] Bonnet 1952, 691.
[1232] Contrary to Newberry's assumption that the animal is a pig (Newberry 1928, 214).



(Fig. 97)

Ptolemy X Alexander is depicted to the left feeding a goose, which symbolizes the king's triumph over his enemies. In the middle a priest representing the deified Imhotep is reading from the book of rituals. The slaughterer is shown to the right cutting a hippopotamus (*nS* in the accompanying inscription) with a knife, although no blood is spilled.[1233] The sacred drama in which the triumph of Horus, heir of Osiris, over Seth, Horus' coronation as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, and his marriage with the goddess Hathor of Tentyris were annually performed at Edfu.[1234] The triumph of Horus is frequently represented in terms of Horus' harpooning a hippopotamus,[1235] which, according to an inscription at Edfu, occurs on 15 Pachon,[1236] as the sacrifice of pigs, but in this relief in terms of slaughtering the hippopotamus. Since Seth is shown here in the form of a hippopotamus, and given that the sacrifice of a pig, another evil animal identified with Seth/Typhon, is also confirmed from the Edfu calendar on 15 Pachon, the sacrifice of pigs at the front

[1233] Chassinat 1934, XIII, pls.441-2; Blackman and Fairman 1943, 30. This hieroglyphic word for a hippopotamus comes from a verb, *nS*, which means 'to drive away' (Wilson 1997a, 549). It is interesting to know that this verb is still used in modern Egypt to give the same meaning especially in contexts such as 'drive away flies or mosquitoes'.
[1234] Blackman and Fairman 1942, 1943.
[1235] Chassinat 1934, XIII, pls. 508, 510, 512-13. Cf. Mettinger 1988, 196, fig. 15.
[1236] Blackman and Fairman 1943, 5.

door of houses may have been similarly meant to commemorate the triumph of Horus over Seth and, by extension, Osiris over Seth and order over chaos. The festival also commemorated the time when Seth turned into a black boar and destroyed the left eye of Horus associated with the moon, and this is why the festival was held on the full moon night.[1237] As Seth transformed himself into a black pig and injured the left eye of Horus, the participants probably wished to prevent the recurrence of this incident by sacrificing a pig annually on the night of the full moon in the month of Pachon. The full moon was the most suitable moment for this rite because of the moon's association with the left eye of Horus which Seth destroyed. Pigs were mainly offered to the god Horus, Lord of the Moon Eye, at Edfu,[1238] and the festival was undoubtedly one of the most splendid all over the country, as the inscription indicates.

Classical authors confirm the continuity of this ritual into the Roman period.[1239] Although the space where the ritual is celebrated is not mentioned, the circumstantial evidence of later sources would suggest that we are dealing with the same ritual. Writing in the early second century, Plutarch unmistakably refers to his festival when he states that:

> ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ὗν ἀνίερον ζῷον ἡγοῦνται· τὸν δὲ λόγον, ὃν θύοντες ἅπαξ [τοῦ ἔτους] ὗν ἐν πανσελήνῳ καὶ κατεσθίοντες ἐπιλέγουσιν, ὡς ὁ Τυφὼν ὗν διώκων πρὸς τὴν πανσέληνον εὗρε τὴν ζυλίνην σορόν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ἔκειτο, καὶ διέρριψεν.
>
> In the same way they [the Egyptians] consider the pig to be an unclean animal; when *they sacrifice a pig once every year in full moon* and eat it, they narrate a story that Typhon, as he was pursuing a pig in full moon, found the wooden coffin, in which the body of Osiris lay, and tore it up.[1240]

Plutarch agrees with other classical writers that pigs continued to be regarded as 'unclean animals'. However, he referred to another reason for associating them with the god Seth. In Plutarch's passage, Seth was chasing a pig in full moon when he came across the wooden coffin of Osiris, which he promptly destroyed into pieces. In contrast, Egyptian sources confirm that Seth himself took the form of a pig and

[1237] On the sacrifice of pigs in the ancient Near East: de Vaux 1966, 252-69.
[1238] Newberry 1928, 214; Bonnet 1952, 691.
[1239] On Christian sacrifices of pigs in the sixth century: *P.Oxy.* XLVI.3866.3.
[1240] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 8.

injured the moon eye of Horus. Of special interest in Plutarch's passage is his statement that a religious festival was celebrated once a year in full moon time, during which pigs were sacrificed and their flesh would be eaten.

Based on Manetho of Sebennyte, Aelian, who lived in the late second and early third century, refers to this festival when he states that:

> Πεπιστεύκασι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν ὗν καὶ ἡλίωι καὶ σελήνηι ἐχθίστην εἶναι· ὅταν δὲ [Αἰγύπτιοι] πανηγρίζωσιν τῆι Σελήνηι, θύουσιν αὐτῆι ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ὗς, ἄλλοτε δὲ οὔτε ἐκείνηι οὔτε ἄλλωι τῶν θεῶν τόδε τὸ ζῶιον ἐθέλουσι θύειν [ὡς μυσαρόν].
>
> The Egyptians believe that swine are particularly abhorrent to the sun and moon: they sacrifice these animals once a year when they held the annual lunar festival, but on no other occasion do they offer them either to the moon or to any other gods.[1241]

Aelian's passage makes clear that swine continued to be regarded as hateful animals to the sun (Horus) and moon (Isis). The reason for regarding pigs as detestable animals to the sun and moon is traced back to Chapter 112 of the Book of the Dead. The passage also confirms that a religious festival was annually held on a full moon night. Although sacrificing pigs was the most distinctive feature of this celebration, sacrificing pigs on other occasions appears to have been prohibited. Although the passages mentioned above state that the participants in this ritual were Egyptians, one should not overestimate the validity of such literary texts since the reality on the ground was more complex. The fact that the ritual is typically traditional does not necessarily mean that only those legally-defined as Egyptian sacrificed pigs. It is also unclear whether the house occupants would slaughter the animal by themselves or butchers were required to slaughter on their behalf.

It is unclear whether the pig sacrifice on 15 Pachon was part of the famous Pachon festival, which lasted, according to a papyrus of 253, from 13 to 19 Pachon which were granted public holidays,[1242] and to which a *mimus*, a musician, a dancer, and a Homericist were invited to conduct their performances in the theatre at Oxyrhynchus.[1243] Investigations of the archaeology of poleis and metropoleis have

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[1241] Ael. *NA* 10.16.
[1242] *P.Oxy*. XXXI.2586.39-42; Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 110-12.
[1243] *P.Oxy*. XVII.2127 (171).

confirmed that urban centres were multicultural sites, where Graeco-Roman and Egyptian cultural traditions were closely integrated. It is even argued that Egyptian religious traditions were preserved in the Roman period through their incorporation into the dominant Hellenic milieu.[1244] The sacrifice to the 'most sacred Nile' occurred in the hippodrome at Oxyrhynchus and the festival of Kronos/Souchos was held in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Ptolemais Euergetes. Like the ritual on 9 Thoth, it is unclear whether Romans and Greeks participated in this ritual. If the ritual of 15 Pachon was part of the long Pachon festival of papyri then we have another example of the integration of a traditional ritual into a classical structure. Given the lack of evidence, this connection between the two Pachon festivals cannot be proven.

Unlike the festival on 9 Thoth where the role of Egyptian priests is stated, nothing is known about their behaviour during the ritual on 15 Pachon in the Roman period. The participants in this ritual sacrificed pigs and ate their flesh at the front door of their houses. Even the poor who could not afford a pig were perhaps not precluded from sharing this cult activity with other individuals. It is plausible that the poor continued to 'mould swine of dough, which they then bake and sacrifice'.[1245] The symbolism of sacrificing pigs at the front door of houses was probably so simple and clear that it needed no explanation and was apparent to the participants. By killing pigs, the animals of Seth/Typhon, the participants might have symbolically wanted to kill Seth and thus took part in the triumph of Horus and his father Osiris over their arch-enemy.

After acknowledging the maintenance of this festival into the Roman period, it is necessary to understand how the front door of houses and the space before it played a role in the articulation of Egyptian religious traditions and the occupants' personal and social identities. Through the performance of ritual activities, the 'space' before the front door of the house becomes a 'place' of festivity.[1246] In addition to the ritual held on 9 Thoth, the celebration of a second ceremony before the front door of the house on 15 Pachon indicates that the front door was used as a

[1244] Alston 1997c, 89.
[1245] Hdt. 2.47.
[1246] On the distinction between 'space' and 'place': Larmour and Spencer 2007, 11.

sacred place and social focus at certain times of year. The first ritual was performed in the first month of the year, while the second was held in the ninth. In the festival of Thoth, the participants ate and burnt fish at the front door of houses, whereas pigs were sacrificed in the festival of Pachon. Although it is stated that the Egyptians partook of both festivities, their actions differed according to their social status and position. In the first ritual, the priests burnt the fish to mark their superior status as well as that of their houses, whereas the rest of the inhabitants ate roast fish. In the second ritual, the priests might have sacrificed pigs within the temples, although they never tasted it.[1247] Other inhabitants sacrificed and eat pigs at the front door of houses, whereas the poor perhaps moulded pigs of dough, which they baked and ate.

Such collective celebrations also had the potential to bring members of the local community together. Being at the house frontage, it is no wonder that these rituals were performed before the gate of the house, linking the private with the public. The space before the front gate was the arena for such 'rites of intensification', during which the participants not only emphasised their social identity, but they might have also constructed a sense of belonging to their local community. It is noteworthy that the two rituals were performed in the first month of two of the three seasons of the Egyptian year. 'Rites of intensification' are often performed in correspondence with environmental change, such as the alternation of day and night, the phases of the moon, and the progression of the seasons in their annual cycle.[1248] As a liminal threshold between two spaces, the area before the front door of the house was unsurprisingly an appropriate place for performing the rites connected with such transitional periods as the change of seasons.[1249]

The performance of these rituals at the beginning of the seasons was probably thought of as restoring equilibrium to Egyptian life after the disturbance caused by seasonal change. These rituals were performed for religious reasons and had a wealth of symbolism. In these rituals, the participants gathered to perform certain acts (eating and burning fish and sacrificing pigs) at certain times (9 Thoth and 15 Pachon) and at a prescribed place and space (the front door of houses). The space

[1247] Sext. Emp. *Pyr*. 2.223: 'the Egyptian and Jewish priests would prefer to die rather than to eat pigs'.
[1248] Chapple and Coon 1942, 507-8.
[1249] Bourdieu 1990, 228-33.

before the front door was a remarkable place of religious activity and social engagement. In addition to other festivals and sacrifices attested in papyri, these rites made up the great periodic ceremonies of the participants. In such rituals, the front door was integrated with the public space, providing a spatial framework around which the celebrants engaged socially and performed their specific rites that emphasized aspects of their personal, social, local, and cultural identities. We should now consider the use of the interior domestic space for different forms of ritual activities associated with aspects of identity.

III.4. RITUAL ACTIVITIES ENACTED WITHIN HOUSES

The interior of houses functioned as a social, religious, and funerary space, where different forms of intertwined ritual activities associated with Egyptian cultural traditions were enacted. The next section explores the use of the interiors of the house for social activities.

III.4.1. The house as social space

There was an intimate relationship between the house and its occupants. The house was not only identified by its major architectural and physical features,[1250] but also by the name of its owner, a male person in most cases.[1251] Houses of named individuals were often mentioned in directions to letter carriers, where they served as important physical markers on the public space of the street.[1252] Domestic properties in Egypt sometimes had a tower-gateway (pylon) at their frontage, acting as a physical marker of the house.[1253] The domestic pylon probably limited access to the internal space of the house. Equally, the bolt-cases on jambs of the front door of many houses at Karanis are sometimes framed by a carving in the form of a gateway of Egyptian temples, suggesting some religious significance attached to the front gate.[1254] The capacity of the house to assert the social status of its occupants through

[1250] *P.Oxy*. XXIV.2406.
[1251] *P.Oslo*. III.111.
[1252] Llewelyn 1994.
[1253] *P.Oxy*. XXIII.2406.
[1254] Husselman 1979, 41.

the architectural emphasis on the house frontage was realised above all in times of ritual activities.

Different forms of social and commercial activities were performed in the public space. Business contracts, for example, were conducted in the street, where the house had no importance for asserting social status.[1255] In contrast, the domestic space served as the arena for many social activities. A *triclinium*, *symposion*, and *andron* are located within the domestic pylon, suggesting that the physical arrangement of pylon-houses was not only meant to assert social status, but also limited access to the interior areas of the house.[1256] However, *triclinia* were also probably arranged to take maximum advantage of views. Although there is no archaeological evidence for a dining room in houses at Karanis, which might indicate how they were decorated and used, there is no reason for doubt that dining rooms referred to in papyri were used during festivals and social gatherings.[1257] *Symposia*, the Greek equivalent of *triclinia*, are also mentioned in papyri.[1258] For example, 'two rooms which are *symposia*' are mentioned in a rental agreement from Oxyrhynchus.[1259] The occurrence of a *symposion* in an upper storey of a domestic pylon[1260] indicates that *symposia* could be approached and used 'without breaching the privacy of the rest of the house'.[1261] The decoration and furnishing of *triclinia* and *symposia* might have asserted the social status of the occupants. A third-century letter from Oxyrhynchus asks for the retrieval of a cushion from a *symposion*.[1262] A second letter, of the same period, asks for a basket to be brought from the *symposion*.[1263] Undoubtedly, *triclinia* and *symposia* were fitted with good furnishings.[1264]

[1255] Alston 1997b, 38.
[1256] *SB* VI.8988, 57-58; *P.Lond*. III.978.13; *P.Mich.* V.295.4.
[1257] Husson 1983, 279-81.
[1258] Husson 1983, 267-71. *Symposion* also designates an architectural and physical term in Lucian, *Dial D.* 4.1.
[1259] *P.Oxy*. VIII.1129.10 = *Sel. Pap*. I.46 (449): δύο τόπους ἤτοι συμπόσια.
[1260] *SB* VI.8988, 57-8: συμποσίου ἐπάνω τῆς πυλῶνος τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίας.
[1261] Alston 2001, 84.
[1262] *P.Oxy*. VIII.1159.25-6.
[1263] *P.Oxy*. XXXVI.2784.24-5.
[1264] Husson 1983, 267-71, 279-81.

It is unclear whether men and women dined together in Roman Egypt. Dinner invitations were normally held by men;[1265] however, some invitations were issued by women.[1266] The existence of a male dining area (ἀνδρών), which is infrequently mentioned in late papyri, is insufficient in itself to suggest that the internal arrangement of houses reflected any gender differentiation.[1267] The presence of an *andron* in the second floor of a pylon does not indicate that women dined separately.[1268] In Greek houses like those at Olynthos, dinner parties were presumably held in the *andron* and were probably limited to males.[1269] The *andron* was sometimes so separated that it could be entered without approaching the main house (οἶκος).[1270] In Roman society, women participated in private dinner parties, and this practice is taken for granted as a major distinctive feature of Roman social life.[1271] Dining rooms were a major feature of Roman houses, and were important space for the display of wealth and luxury.[1272]

Surviving dinner invitations are issued by individuals who invited unnamed guests to celebrations, usually the next or the same day.[1273] The invitations to dine attested in *SB* X.10496 and *P.Oxy*. LII.3694, however, are notionally sent by the god Serapis and Amun respectively.[1274] A dinner party was held on the occasion of the birthday of a son in a private house[1275] and the first birthday of a daughter in the Oxyrhynchite Serapeum.[1276] Another dinner invitation issued by the *exegetes* was held 'in the Temple of Demeter'.[1277] A feast organised 'in the Thoereum' of the same city was related to a coming-of-age ceremony.[1278] A dinner party was located in the birth house (λόχιον)[1279] and in the Sebasteum in connection with marriage.[1280] The

[1265] *P.Oxy*. XIV.1755.
[1266] *P.Oxy*. XII.1579; *P.Coll. Youtie* I.52 (the second or third century).
[1267] On attestations of the ἀνδρών in papyri: Husson 1983, 37-40.
[1268] *P.Flor*. III.285.12: ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ στέγῃ.
[1269] Robinson and Graham 1938, 75-80.
[1270] Nevett 1994, 1995. For the architecture of Greek houses in general: Nevett 2005.
[1271] Vitr. *De arch*. 6.4.
[1272] Clarke 1991; Salter 1991.
[1273] Milne 1925; Youtie 1948; Koenen 1967; Skeat 1975; Alston 2001, 81-3.
[1274] Serapis: *SB* X.10496 = *P.Köln* I.57 (the third century). Amun: *P.Oxy*. LII.3694 (218/25).
[1275] *P.Oxy*. IX.1214 (the fifth century).
[1276] *P.Oxy*. XXXVI.2791 (the second century).
[1277] *P.Oxy*. XII.1485.
[1278] *P.Oxy*. I.110; *P.Oxy*. XII.1484; *P.Oxy*. XXXI.2592; *P.Oxy*. XXXVI.2791; *P.Oxy*. LII.3693; *PSI* XV.1543; *SB* XVIII.13875.
[1279] *P.Köln* I.57.3; *P.Oxy*. VI.927; *P.Oxy*. XII.1484 (the second or third century).

Hadrianeum was a venue for a dinner invitation issued by the *agoranomos*.[1281] A banquet is confirmed 'in the gymnasium' in relation to the crowning of a son (as a magistrate?).[1282] In addition to public structures and temples, houses provided dining facilities for a variety of important social occasions.

Many invitations to dine at Oxyrhynchus are connected with the *kline* of Serapis 'in the Serapeum'[1283] or 'in the *oikos* of the Serapeum'.[1284] Some of the regular monthly banquets of guilds appear to have been held in temple dining halls.[1285] Four square dining halls of unfired bricks have been identified along the *dromos* of the Temple of Soknebtunis at Tebtunis. Based on the presence of a stone altar in front of each building on the *dromos* and architectural similarities to dining halls in other sanctuaries of the Fayum, these structures have been identified as *deipneteria*.[1286] A mud brick *deipneterion* with a stone portal is confirmed within the religious precinct of Petesouchos and Pnepheros at Karanis but separate from the temple proper.[1287] Seats and tables must have been essential physical features of dining halls. The dining room in the temple at Karanis apparently had thirteen tables[1288] and a dining club at Tebtunis could meet in a hall that accommodated 22 persons, of whom 18 were members and 4 were guests.[1289]

Banquets were sometimes organized by religious as well as trade clubs.[1290] The *kline* of Anubis at Oxyrhynchus was probably a funerary feast 'in the *oikos* of the Serapeum' in the presence of a statue of the god.[1291] Grafton Milne claimed that the *kline* of Serapis was an exclusively secular affair.[1292] However, Herbert Youtie reasonably argued that it referred to social and religious banquets, around which the hosts and guests celebrated a variety of social occasions and perhaps honoured the

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[1280] *P.Oxy*. XXXIII.2678 (the third century).
[1281] *SB* XVI.12596 (the second century).
[1282] *P.Oxy*. XVII.2147 (the early third century).
[1283] *P.Oxy*. I.181 (the third century); *P.Coll.Youtie* I.51 (the second or third century).
[1284] *P.Oxy*. XIV.1755 (the second or third century); *P.Coll.Youtie* I.52; *SB* XX.14503 (the third century).
[1285] *P.Mich*. V.243.1; *P.Mich*. V.244.14-5; *P.Mich*. V.245.34-5; Boak 1937, 216; Alston 2001, 208-9, 212.
[1286] Anti 1931, 389; Rondot 2004.
[1287] *SB* VIII.10167.
[1288] *IGRR* I.1120.
[1289] *P.Tebt*. I.118.3-4.
[1290] *P.Tebt*. I.118.
[1291] *SB* XX.14503 (the third century); Montserrat 1992.
[1292] Milne 1925.

god with a sacrifice of some kind.[1293] Although dinner invitations organized by clubs were nominally held for sacrifices, drinking remained a distinctive feature of the gathering.[1294] In addition to temples, the *kline* of Sarapis occurred in private houses like those of Sarapion, a former magistrate, and Claudius Sarapion,[1295] suggesting that it was not necessarily held in the Serapeum or in a temple at all.[1296] Yet the difference between the *kline* of Serapis in temples and those organized in houses remains unclear.

Unsurprisingly, the majority of invitations to dine in private houses were issued on the occasion of wedding.[1297] Since marriage is an important social activity and *rite de passage* when family members, relatives, and friends meet together, the house was the most appropriate space where a wedding ceremony was held.[1298] The celebration of wedding ceremonies in private houses suggests that the undesignated location at which a guest was invited to attend a wedding ceremony, whether a marriage with a written contract (γραφος γάμος) or without (ἄγραφος γάμος), was the house of the host.[1299] The rituals associated with birth, marriage, and death occurred largely within the house, offering the occupants opportunities to articulate the wealth of their home and assert their social status to their guests. Although the precise location of such social activities in the house remains uncertain, the central light-courtyard could be easily adapted for such ceremonies, particularly given its spacious measurement and function as the kitchen of the house. Heavy tables in courtyards were used at family meals and on other social occasions. Like the domestic pylon, the court was multifunctional.

III.4.2. The house as a religious space

Houses were not only significant social places, but also important religious spaces. The religious role of the house is confirmed by the presence of terracotta figurines of

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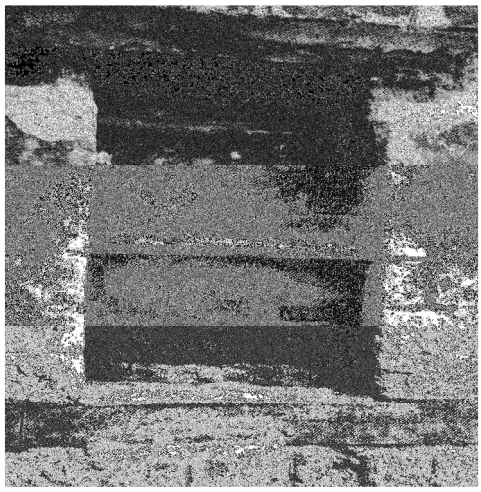
[1293] Youtie 1948, 14.
[1294] *P.Tebt*. I.118 (the second century BC).
[1295] *P.Oslo*. III.157 (the second century); *P.Oxy*. III.523 (the second century).
[1296] Milne 1925, 6.
[1297] *P.Oxy*. XII.1579.
[1298] On marriage in Roman Egypt: Pestman 1961.
[1299] For wedding invitations to unstated locations: *P.Oxy*. VI.927; *P.Oxy*. XII.1486; *P.Oxy*. XII.1487; *P.Oxy*. XII.1580.

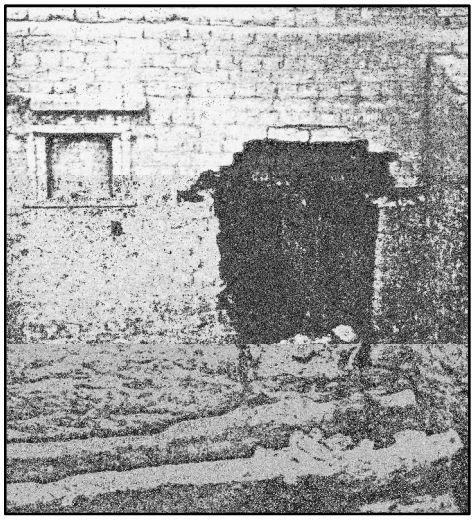
Graeco-Roman and Egyptian deities and wall niches serving as domestic shrines.[1300] The niches of the houses in Karanis provide the best, if not the only surviving examples. They have been divided into two types: cupboard niches and domestic shrines.[1301] Cupboard niches are usually found on the first floor of the house below the windows with their sloping sills (fig. 98). In most cases, they measure one meter in height, and are located about one meter above floor level. They often have shelves for keeping small portable objects and holding lamps, as carbon deposits on the niches' walls and sills indicate.



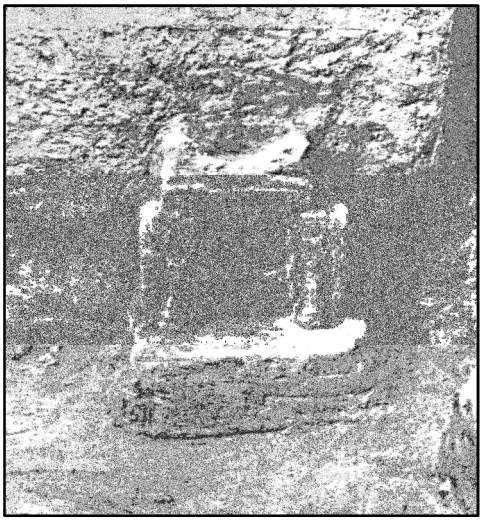
(Fig. 98)

The domestic shrines were probably used to hold the small figurines of deities and once had paintings of religious themes.[1302] Since the paintings are so badly obliterated, it is not possible in most cases to determine their subject-matter. Based on their occurrence in houses at Karanis, domestic shrines were closely connected to the rest of the house. They occurred in different rooms and at prominent positions within houses, and were built out of different material and took numerous forms.

[1300] Gazda et al 1978; Allen 1985.
[1301] Gazda 1983, 25-6.
[1302] Husselman 1979, 47-8.



(Fig. 99)



(Fig. 100)

Domestic shrines sometimes took the form of small niches hewn in the walls. For example, in the north wall to the left side of the doorway into room B in House C60 in Karanis, and on the same level as the lintel of the doorway, there is a rectangular shrine-niche, which has a frame of moulded mud plaster and is surmounted by a projecting cornice of plaster (fig. 99). Domestic shrines of mud-brick also took the form of temple gateways. At floor level in the south wall of House C71 in Karanis, for example, there is a small niche, made of mud brick and plaster, in the form of a portal (fig. 100). It rests on a rectangular base, measuring 41 cm in width, 39 cm in length and 20 cm in height. The shrine measures 36 cm in width and 43 cm in height; it consists of two pillars supporting a lintel, the top of which is moulded into a concave pattern in imitation of a cavetto cornice. At the front of each pillar is an attached column in relief.[1303] Even such simple examples of domestic shrines demonstrate how important religion was for the domestic life of inhabitants in Roman Egypt.

[1303] Husselman 1979, 47.

(Fig. 101)

There were more elaborate niches used as domestic shrines in Karanis, such as that in House C119 (fig. 101). At first glance, the architecture of the shrine shows specifically classical features, which resulted from the Graeco-Roman presence at Karanis. It is known that Karanis was a village with a high number of veterans, 'the vast majority of whom owed their [Roman] citizenship to military service'.[1304] Archaeology indicates that Karanis was a multicultural village, where Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditions were evident. Such domestic shrines indicate that worshipping gods in houses was not limited to a particular group of inhabitant. The back of the niche in House C119 is curved and flanked by two engaged, fluted columns similar, for example, to those in the House of the Labyrinth at Pompeii.[1305] The columns rest on high pedestals and support capitals with helices, beneath which are narrow bands moulded into a zigzag pattern. The helices look like those of Alexandrian Capital Type II, where these are set back to back and spring directly

[1304] Alston 1998, 180. For an example of papyrological reference to those veterans: Husselman 1971, Text 571, 121-2. See also Boak 1955; Husselman 1971

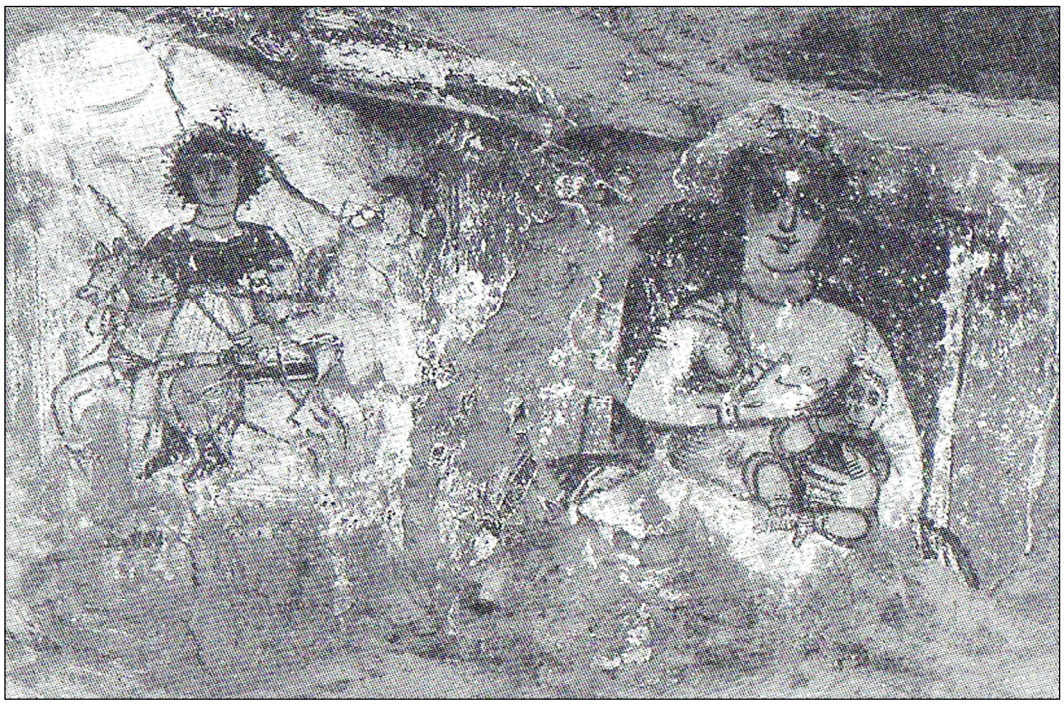
[1305] McKenzie 2007, 90 (fig. 143). Although fluted columns are used in the Third Dynasty in the colonnade of King Djoser at Saqqara, they are rarely used in Egyptian architecture. On the remains of a fluted column uncovered from Tell el-Amarna: Borchardt 1897, 50 (fig. 79).

from the collar of acanthus leaves, but in this example are suspended from the arch and held upside down.[1306]

The top of the curved niche takes the shape of a shell framed by an arch, which consists of four decorated bands surmounted by a projecting arched course of bricks. Both the niche and its surrounding frame are covered with a thin coat of white lime wash, and it measures about 1.5 m in width and 2.15 m in height.[1307] Like the domestic shrine in room D of House C57 (Appendix 2), this shrine is flanked on either side by a plain square opening, which was meant to hold brackets by which lamps for the shrine could be clasped. Since domestic shrines are the most decorated spaces of houses, it is clear that there was a tendency to visualize and illuminate the religious space in the house. The decoration of domestic shrines also shows the significance of architectural ornament in some houses in Roman Egypt.

Worshipping gods in domestic space had a long history in Graeco-Roman and ancient Egyptian cultures. The presence of Graeco-Roman and traditional deities at Karanis is confirmed in papyri, on wall paintings, and from terracotta figurines.[1308] A mural representation which survives in Karanis on the eastern side of a niche in the southern wall of House B50 represents the goddess Isis holding Harpocrates, Horus the Child, to her breast and suckling him (fig. 102). The Thracian god Heron is shown riding a horse beside the goddess. The blending of Graeco-Egyptian cults and religious themes in one single mural painting shows the different cultural traditions of the inhabitants of this house. It is noteworthy that the facial features of the goddess (the round face, the wide open eyes, and the thick eyebrows) are similar in style to those of many of the mummy portraits uncovered from the Fayum.[1309]

[1306] McKenzie 2007, 87 (fig. 132).
[1307] Husselman 1979, 48.
[1308] Gazda et al 1978; Allen 1985; Gazda 1983.
[1309] Cf. Bierbrier 1997, pls. 2.1, 8.2.



(Fig. 102)

The depiction of Isis recalls the bust of Isis depicted on the ceiling of House B/3/1 at Kellis (Appendix 2.1.2), where Isis is shown with her characteristic headdress, consisting of two bovine horns and solar disc and two plumes in between. Next to Isis, the god Serapis-Helios is depicted with a thick beard and a modius upon his head, suggesting that the god played a role in the domestic sphere. Along with Soknopaios and Isis, Serapis-Helios was worshipped in the North Temple at Karanis, where a large horned altar bearing the head of the god was found in the outer court.[1310] Based on their consideration of the archaeology and mural paintings of House B/3/1 at Kellis, Colin Hope and Helen Whitehouse concluded that the occupants had a shared cultural heritage with Graeco-Egyptian features.[1311] By contrast, the representational media in the House of Serenos in Trimithis visualized Graeco-Roman heritage through mythology (Appendix 2.2.1).[1312] Nothing can be said about the legal or ethnic status of the occupants, however. The variety of material remains mirrors the complexity of Romano-Egyptian society and suggests

[1310] Gazda 1983, 41, fig. 71.
[1311] Hope and Whitehouse 2006.
[1312] Mills 1980, 18-25, 1993, 192-8, 1998, 84-91; Walter 2005; Whitehouse 2005; Boozer 2005.

that the occupants of many houses experienced a culture in which Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditional features were intermingled.

The presence of Isis in the domestic sphere seems a natural result of her widespread cult in the Roman period, and of her maternal aspect that appears to have appealed to women in Roman Egypt.[1313] Following her syncretism with the cobra goddess Thermouthis, whose particular duty was to protect the harvested grain, Isis-Thermouthis was worshipped in houses. Sculptures of the goddess with serpentine tail were found, for instance, in House 5021F at Karanis. As the economy of Karanis was dependant on agriculture, Isis-Thermouthis had unsurprisingly gained popularity in the village. A bronze statue of the goddess Aphrodite was also found in House 418 at Karanis, confirming her presence in the domestic sphere.[1314] The crocodile god Soknopaios is depicted on the right side of the domestic shrine in House II 204 at Dimê, where the deity holds a palm branch in his upraised left hand and faces the centre of the shrine. Next to the god are an altar and a tall palm branch (Appendix 1.2.2). The presence of Soknopaios in houses at Dimê is natural, but his depiction here suggests that the occupants wanted to have his figure while they performed their prayers or perhaps made sacrifices around the domestic shrine.

Judging from the great number of his amulets that were found in houses, the dwarf-god Bes, the patron of women in childbirth, had a strong presence in the domestic sphere. A papyrus of 144 from Oxyrhynchus records a complaint about the theft of a golden statue of Bes, which probably stood in a domestic shrine.[1315] The god Osiris is also attested in houses at Karanis and elsewhere in Roman Egypt. A terracotta figurine found in House C11 at Karanis has been interpreted as Osiris in the form of a bust-length mummy (fig. 103).[1316] Given that religious symbols were common in houses, it is not surprising that Osiris, the principal god of death and of the underworld, was esteemed in the domestic sphere. Osiris was the principal deity from whom the living as well as the dead sought protection.[1317]

[1313] On the cult of Isis in the Roman Empire: Witt 1972; Donalson 2003. On the cult of Isis among women in the Graeco-Roman world: Heyob 1975.
[1314] Isis-Thermouthis: Gazda 1983, 40, fig. 69. Aphrodite: Gazda 1983, 41, fig. 72.
[1315] *P.Oxy*. X.1272.10-11.
[1316] Gazda 1983, 40.
[1317] On the role of Osiris in tomb iconography, see Chapter IV.

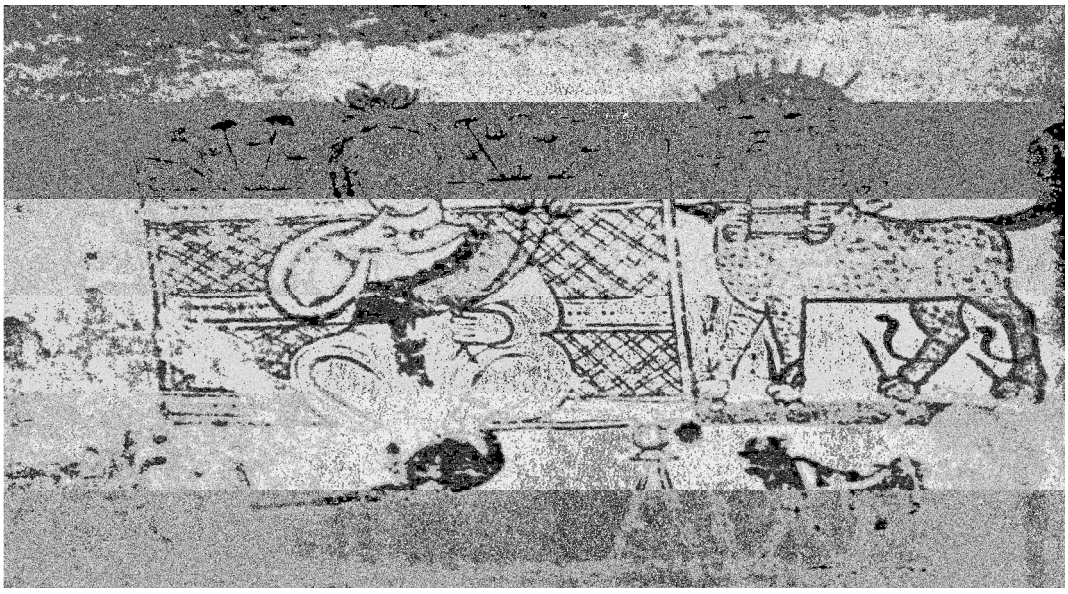
(Fig. 103)

The presence of domestic cults of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian deities in the Roman period suggests that religion was 'not limited by the sacred precincts of a temple or the liturgy of a priest'.[1318] The visual and physical presence of deities in houses was an integral part of the domestic religious life of the inhabitants. Mural representations, statuettes, and terracotta figurines of several deities probably served to extend the protective powers of these deities to the house occupants. Papyri indicate that children were taught to honour the gods and maintain their household shrines:[1319] 'Please light a lamp for the shrines and spread the cushions', wrote Apollonia and Eupons in a domestic context to their younger sisters, Rhasion and Demarion.[1320] In the light of oil lamps, cushions were spread, prayers were performed by family members, and offerings were perhaps made to the protector deities of the family. The small sculptures of deities, made in stone, bronze, or clay, uncovered from houses were probably deposited in domestic shrines. These family

[1318] Bowman 1986, 183.
[1319] Gazda 1983, 31.
[1320] *P.Athen.* 60.5-8 (323-30 BC).

ceremonies were ‘rites of intensification’, which provide recurrent times of family gatherings around the domestic shrines. Domestic shrines probably helped inhabitants to adhere to their religious values and cultural traditions. A father or mother might have found it a good opportunity to teach his or her children their own religious ideas and practices. It is known that children learn the basic, but important information about their culture in the house. Above all, culture is a ‘learned behaviour’ comprising a set of shared practices, beliefs, customs, and habits. Religious ideas and cultural practices are constructed by individuals and passed on over generations through enculturation or socialization.[1321]

Religion was essential to house-dwellers in Roman Egypt; houses were not merely living quarters. Mural paintings with Egyptian religious themes are also confirmed in alcoves of courtyards in large houses. On the south wall of alcove CF4 of House C65 in Karanis, for example, a striking wall painting with an Egyptian religious theme survives (fig. 104).



(Fig. 104)

The painting measures 1.14 m wide and 68 cm high. In the middle of the scene the god Harpocrates is shown sitting upon a throne-like chair. Harpocrates is depicted with his distinctive attributes: a lock of hair hanging down on the right side of his head, a finger to the mouth and a bulla suspended on a cord around his neck.

[1321] Sewell 1999, 40-1.

Harpocrates wears red sandals, anklets and bracelets. He holds two long stemmed lotus flowers in his left hand. On each side of his head above the chair are shorter stemmed lotus flowers. To the left of Harpocrates a striding sphinx is depicted with a lion's body, a long curved tail, and a human head with a radiant *nemes* headdress. It possibly represents the sphinx god Tithoes. In each paw, the sphinx holds a black dagger, while a black cobra is entwined about each leg. A black head of a jackal projects from the right side of the sphinx's head. On each side of the legs of the chair stands a black Apis bull with a sun disc between the horns of each bull. Before each bull stands an altar, however, little remains of the altar on the left side.[1322]

It is difficult to determine the exact significance of such a religious theme in a place that was primarily used for storage. The close association of Harpocrates with abundance suggests one possible reason. Owing to his connection with fertility, the inhabitants perhaps thought that Harpocrates would amplify the supplies stored in alcoves, and this may be why the god is shown with a symbol of fertility, the lotus flower. The visual and physical presence of Harpocrates in houses is also connected with his role as a patron deity of childhood. No fewer than eight figurines of the god were uncovered from the sacred precinct of the South Temple at Karanis, testifying his cult in the temple.[1323] As it stands, the wall painting indicates that Egyptian religious subjects were painted in domestic architecture, as mural paintings with classical themes elsewhere do.[1324]

III.4.3. The house as funerary space

In addition to serving as a social and religious place, the internal space of houses had an important funerary role. This is represented in the rituals performed within the house following the death of animals associated with traditional deities and of family members whose mummies would be kept in houses at least for a short period before burial.[1325]

[1322] Husselman 1979, 61-2.
[1323] Gazda 1983, 38, fig. 65.
[1324] On classical mural paintings in the House of Serenos at Trimithis, see Appendix 2.2.1.
[1325] On animals: Diod. Sic. 1.84.2. On mummies: Diod. Sic. 1.92.6; Cic. *Tusc*. 1.45.108; Sext. Emp. *Pyr*. 3.226; *P.Princ*. III.166.4-7.

It was customary for the Egyptians to keep animals in their houses, a practice that held to be unique by ancient classical writers.[1326] Some animals like geese were kept for economic and nutritional purposes. Others, such as dogs, however, were kept because the Egyptians held them in particular honour.[1327] Animal veneration was a widespread practice in Egyptian religion of the Roman period.[1328] Thus the sacred animals associated with traditional deities were not used in sacrifice. Certain animals were honoured during their lifetimes and likewise after the death of the animals. The house was not only a residential quarter for the inhabitants, but also a home for animals. Anthropological studies suggest that animals which live in the house together with humans are usually given unlimited access to the different internal parts of the house.[1329] But it is unlikely that they were allowed into domestic shrines.

On the death of certain animals, the Egyptians used to perform certain rituals of lamentation in their houses. For example, 'whenever a dog is found dead in any house, every resident of it shaves his entire body and goes into mourning'.[1330] This period of mourning presumably terminated with the burial of the dead animal. Following the demise of certain animals, it was expected that neighbours and relatives would come to the house to console its residents during that period of bereavement.[1331] Literary and archaeological evidence confirm that the certain animals were not only embalmed, but they were also buried in private tombs.[1332] This practice led to the construction of huge animal cemeteries or *hypogea* like the one attested at Oxyrhynchos from a papyrus of 13.[1333] The local Egyptian population dedicated their sacred animals and birds to the gods with whom these creatures were associated.[1334] They also paid for embalming and keeping the dead animals and birds in *hypogea*. Demotic documents indicate that certain Egyptian priests were

[1326] Hdt. 2.36.
[1327] Diod. Sic. 1.83.1.
[1328] Bell 1948, 82-97.
[1329] Bourdieu 1973.
[1330] Diod. Sic. 1.84.2.
[1331] It is quite extraordinarily that in contemporary Egypt, especially in villages, whenever a cow dies people sometimes go to the owner of the cow to console him or her. Of course, this modern custom has nothing to do with Islam or Christianity, but seems to have passed over generations through social tradition.
[1332] Diod. Sic. 1.83.5-6; Vos 1993.
[1333] *P.Oxy*. IX.1188.4.
[1334] On some examples of these associations: Görg 2004, 433-43.

responsible for travelling to different parts of the province to collect the dead bodies of sacred animals and birds and bring them to be embalmed and buried in their burial places at Tuna el-Gebel.[1335] Venerating domestic animals and offering them good burial was *de facto* one of the earliest customs that not only had been obtained in the Pharaonic period,[1336] but also was maintained in the Roman period.[1337] The practice of venerating animals appeared so strange and aroused no little surprise in Greeks and Romans.[1338]

Houses were dwelling places not only for members of the living family and their consecrated animals, but also for family members who had passed away. This function is confirmed by textual sources and apparently also by archaeological finds. Cicero states that 'the Egyptians embalm their dead and keep them in the house'.[1339] The Egyptian custom of keeping mummies of family members and relatives in houses is also confirmed by Sextus Empiricus, who reports that 'the Egyptians take out their entrails and embalm them and keep them above ground with themselves'.[1340] Diodorus also confirms the Egyptian practice of keeping mummies in houses:

> Those [Egyptians] who have private tombs lay the body in a box [coffin] reserved for it [in the tomb], but those [Egyptians] who possess none construct a new chamber in their own house (κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν) and stand the coffin upright against the firmest wall.[1341]

Diodorus attributes this practice to financial reasons alone. Well-off Egyptians, in his view, would have the mean to construct private tombs due to their financial abilities, whereas poor Egyptians erected a new chamber in their house to receive the dead. It is, however, misleading to follow Diodorus and think that only the houses of the poor served a mortuary role as temporary sepulchres. To Greek and Roman writers writing from an outsider's perspective, this alien practice was seen as an expression of the cultural distinctiveness of the Egyptians. Yet there is no reason to assume that mummies were kept in houses only of legally-defined Egyptians; Roman citizens

[1335] Nur el Din 1992, 253-4.
[1336] Diod. Sic. 1.69.2.
[1337] Germer 2004, 469.
[1338] Juv. *Sat*. 15; Diod. Sic. 1.83.8.
[1339] Cic. *Tusc.* 1.45.108: *Condiunt Aegyptii mortuos et eos servant domi*.
[1340] Sext. Emp. *Pyr* 3.226: καὶ σὺν ἑαυτοῖς ὑπὲρ γῆς ἔχουσιν.
[1341] Diod. Sic. 1.92.6.

identified by their *tria nomina* were similarly embalmed and buried in an Egyptian manner.[1342]

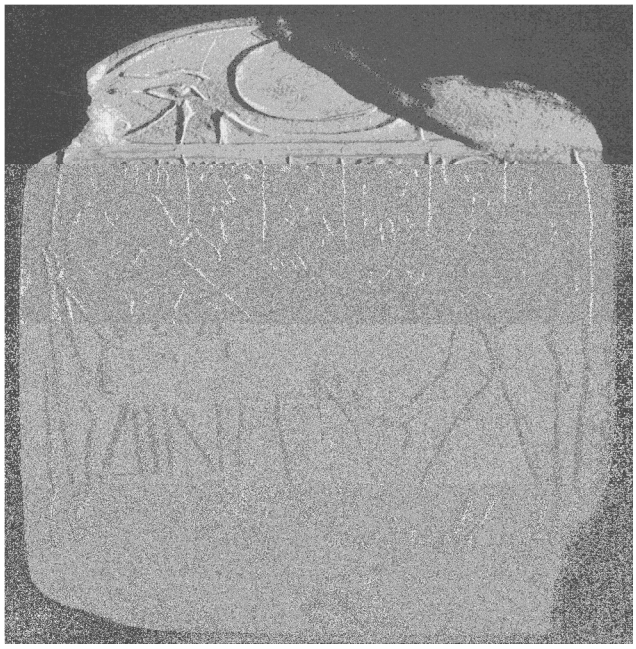
That Diodorus's explanation that the dead were kept in houses for financial reasons alone is mistaken is clear for several reasons. First, even the construction of a new chamber to receive the deceased would require a significant financial outlay. Second, the provision of a coffin, set 'upright in the firmest wall', could also be expensive. Third, it is clear that what had been placed in the coffin was the mummy. It is known that embalming the dead was a costly practice.[1343] Any person who could afford the construction of a new chamber in his or her house, the provision of a coffin for the deceased, and the embalming of his or her dead relative must have been wealthy enough to offer at least a small private tomb. Equally, wealthy Egyptians in Roman Thebes, who held important priestly titles and presumably could afford a private tomb, consciously avoided new tomb construction in favour of reusing earlier graves and pits dating to the Pharaonic period.[1344]

In the light of all these indications, a different reason for preserving mummies within houses should be sought. Since keeping mummies in houses was an Egyptian practice, the reason for its emergence needs to be looked for within ancient Egyptian religion. Barbara Borg has argued that the practice of keeping mummies in houses was derived from ancient Egyptian ancestral cult as part of the domestic cult of the dead. She based her argument on the lack of any literary or archaeological evidence in Greek and Roman cultures for a domestic cult of the dead, although the Romans did have cult associated with their ancestors. In contrast, a domestic cult for the deceased in the house of the relatives already existed in Pharaonic Egypt.[1345] The so-called *#X |Qr n=Ro* stelae (fig. 105) indicate that a domestic cult of the dead was known in the Pharaonic period at least since the Eighteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.

These stelae came mainly from Deir el-Medina, Abydos, and Thebes. The stelae uncovered in Deir el-Medina were all found in the living quarters of the town in different rooms of houses. The inscriptions on the stelae often state that they were

[1342] Riggs 2005, 21-2.
[1343] On the costs of funerals: Montserrat 1997, 40-1.
[1344] For some examples of wealthy Egyptian priests buried in earlier structures: Montserrat and Meskell 1997, 179-97.
[1345] Borg 1997, 28-9. On ancestral cult in Roman culture: Toynbee 1971.

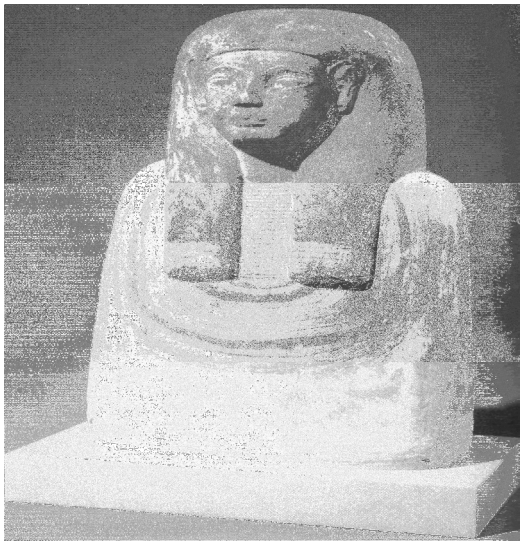
dedicated to the deceased by his or her family members.[1346] These stelae were a suitable means whereby the relatives could engage with the dead and offer them sacrifices.[1347]



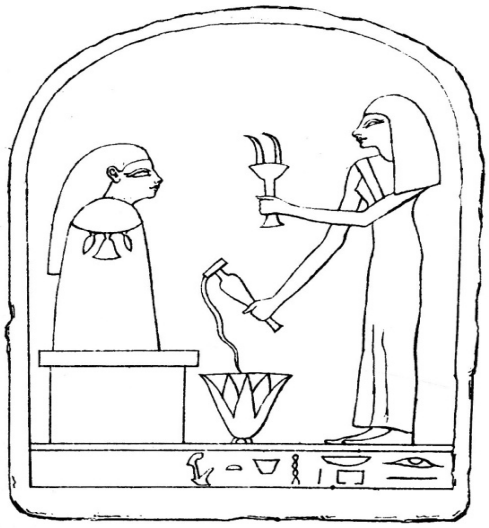
(Fig. 105)

Equally important is a group of anthropomorphic busts belonging to a domestic cult of the dead (fig. 106). These busts represent images of dead persons to whom the living paid honour and offered sacrifices.[1348] A domestic cult of the dead is also confirmed by a group of stelae uncovered from Abydos, showing individuals involved in worshipping ancestral busts (fig. 107).[1349]

[1346] Demarée 1983.
[1347] Borg 1997, 28.
[1348] Kaizer 1990, 269-85.
[1349] Borg 1997, 29.



(Fig. 106)



(Fig. 107)

Ancestral cult continued to be an important feature of ancient Egyptian religion in the Roman period.[1350] In contrast, Roman ancestor masks (*imagines*) of family members who held high offices, which were kept in houses and were indeed a vital part of Roman culture, were not used for a domestic cult of the dead. The Roman *imagines* were not related to beliefs about life after death; however, although they were used in funerary processions.[1351] Since the Egyptians used to honour their parents and ancestors after their death, it follows that mummies were kept in houses as part of an ancestral cult.[1352] This practice allowed the deceased to participate in family life and even in the meals of the living.[1353]

From the Pharaonic to the Roman period, mummies were not only kept in houses before burial,[1354] but also their departure journey and funeral procession (κηδεία) to the necropolis started from the house.[1355] On the day of the funeral, the funeral procession made its way from the house, through the city or village, to the necropolis, demonstrating the interaction of private and public spaces. Before their departure, mummies were kept in houses to allow family members, relatives, and

[1350] Fitzentreiter 1994.
[1351] Flower 1996, 209-11. On the use of *imagines* in funerary processions of Roman office-holders: Flower 1966, 91-106.
[1352] Diod. Sic. 1.93.1.
[1353] Parlasca 1966, 288-9.
[1354] Petrie 1889, 15.
[1355] Wilson 1944, 203; Montserrat 1997, 40; Assmann 2005, 299.

friends to come and watch the deceased. In fact, family members and relatives made efforts to attend the funeral and console each other in houses: 'Your mother has gone to Antinoopolis for a funeral', writes Didymus in a third-century letter.[1356] Attending a member's funeral and participating in its costs were important features of guild life in Roman Egypt.[1357] During the period of consolation, it was expected that interior parts of houses, possibly the courtyard, would turn into funerary spaces and temporary abodes of the dead. Such occasions of sorrow, mourning, and funeral gatherings provided opportunities for the inhabitants to strengthen social relations.[1358] The relatives and friends would come to the deceased's family house to console each other while the dead awaiting burial, as it is the case in contemporary Egypt.[1359] Some bodies awaited burial for long periods. For example, the so-called mummy label of Takhenmet, daughter of Petarsomtheus, records that a year and four months have elapsed between her dates of death and burial.[1360] Stephen Quirke suggests that one of the aims of keeping mummies in family houses during this period was to ease the passage of departure from this life to the next.[1361]

Dead bodies were often kept in the house of their relatives and sometimes of their friends until their associates could come and arrange their funerals. In a papyrus of the second or third century, Besas, a goldsmith, asks a friend, Eidos, to 'fetch the body of my father and keep it safe until I sail back, God willing, for the funeral'.[1362] By functioning as an ephemeral dwelling of the dead, the house played an important funerary role in the Roman period. The presence of the so-called coffin cupboards, inside which mummies were kept, offers archaeological support for literary and papyrological accounts of keeping mummies in the house for a short period before burial.

[1356] *P.Oxy*. IX.1218.6-7.
[1357] *P.Mich*. V.243, 244, 245.
[1358] Cf. Ariès 1981.
[1359] On death rituals in contemporary Egypt: El-Aswad 1987; Abu-Lughod 1993.
[1360] Montserrat 1997, 38.
[1361] Quirke 1988, 229.
[1362] *P.Princ*. III.166.4-7.

(Fig. 108)

Numerous examples of these wooden pieces of furniture have come to light from Abusir el-Melek, near the Fayum, like that of Padikhons of the first century (fig. 108).[1363] It is likely that mummy cupboards were kept in houses; however, their exact location within houses remains obscure.[1364] Diodorus's statement that the Egyptians used to 'stand the coffin upright in the firmest wall' of their houses seems to suggest that mummy cupboards were probably placed against the strongest and thickest wall of the house, possibly one of those shared with neighbours. Given the heavy weight of wrapped mummies, sometimes over a hundred kilograms, it is likely that mummy cupboards were positioned against the strongest wall of the house to bear the heavy weight of the cupboard and its content.[1365] Mummy cupboards have double doors that could be easily opened whenever family members or relatives wanted to see the

[1363] The coffin cupboard of Padikhons is now kept in the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin, 17039.
[1364] Willeitner 2004, 319.
[1365] Petrie 1911, 16.

deceased. In short, mummies were kept in houses to participate in family life and received a domestic cult before their departure to their final destination, the necropolis.

III.5. CONCLUSION

Although the Roman period is characterised by the diversity of domestic properties, urban housing appears to have been more diverse than rural housing. The bath-house, the *oikia dipurgia*, and the *oikia tripurgia* were closely associated with wealthy families, including magistrates. Houses were not only places of rest, safety, and privacy, but also arenas for different forms of ritual activities associated with Graeco-Roman and Egyptian cultural traditions and through which the occupants had the potential to express their personal and social identities. There was a close relationship between the house and its residents. Equally, there was a tendency to create an imposing house frontage, which asserted the resident's social status and marked the boundary between the private and public. The front door was a liminal zone between public and private space, and had some unclear religious significance. As a private and semi-public area, the space before the front door of houses served as a social and religious focus. On 9 Thoth and 15 Pachon, the front door had incorporated the public space before it, forming together a spatial framework where the residents performed certain rituals related to their cultural and religious life and asserted aspects of their personal and social identities within society. These rites probably enabled the participants to promote a sense of belonging to their local community in the domestic sphere.

The internal arrangement and mural decoration of houses explicitly indicate that the use of domestic space exceeded its basic function as an ephemeral abode of the living. The house had important economic, social, religious, and funerary functions. The central courtyard was a focus of domestic and other forms of ritual activities. The house was a dwelling place of sacred animals associated with traditional deities. The death of these animals stimulated the performance of certain

rituals in the house. Other forms of social ceremonies such as birth and marriage were also celebrated in the house, where the courtyard or rooms of a domestic pylon could easily be adapted for such activities. The *kline* of Serapis is confirmed in the Serapeum and other temples as well as private houses; however, the difference between the *kline* in temples and houses is vague. As part of the domestic cult of the dead, mummies were also kept in the house at least for some time before burial. The performance of domestic rituals is a manifestation of the family's social identity. Birth, marriage, and death and their associated rituals all occurred largely within the house, shaping the social identity of the residents.

Inhabitants in Roman Egypt experienced religion in all spheres of their life, including the domestic. Papyri, terracotta figurines, and mural paintings on domestic shrines and elsewhere in the house confirm a cult of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian deities in the house. The visual and physical presence of deities in the domestic property was an integral part of the Romano-Egyptian culture. Archaeological and other material remains from houses cannot determine the ethnic and legal status of the residents. The occupants of many houses had a shared cultural heritage with Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditions. The co-existence of Graeco-Egyptian religious themes and terracotta figurines of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian deities in a number of houses indicates that the occupants of such houses had a mixture of differing cultural traditions. The shared cultural heritage is a prominent feature of Romano-Egyptian archaeology, and houses are no exception.

CHAPTER IV: TOMB ICONOGRAPHY AND EGYPTIAN CULTURAL IDENTITY

> Images are to those who cannot read what letters are to those who can.
> Pope Gregory the Great
> Gombrich 1999, 25.

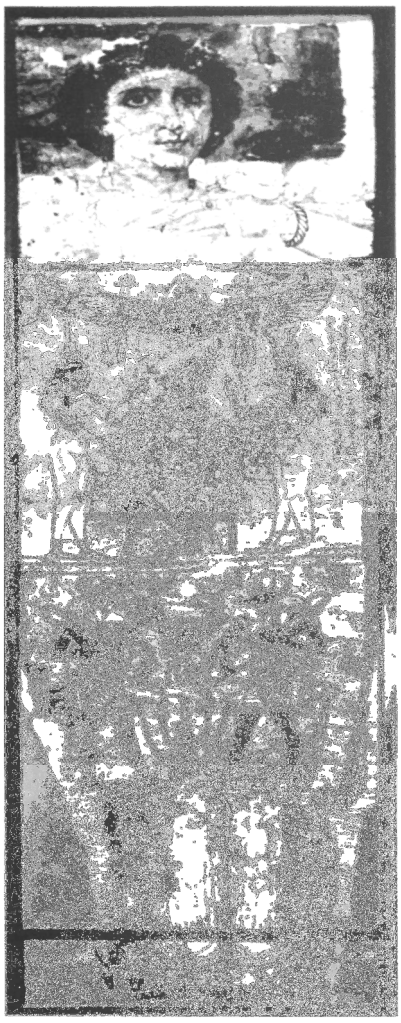
IV.1. FUNERARY ART IN ROMAN EGYPT: THE CURRENT SITUATION

Although the Second Commandment enjoins the Christians not to make 'any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth below, or that is in the water under the earth' (Exodus 20:4), the Christian Church in the west continued to use images in religious contexts. The concession which made this possible is best formulated by the pronouncement of Pope Gregory the Great quoted above, which acknowledges the didactic purpose of images.[1366] This announcement also underlies the potency of images in articulating meaning like texts. In Roman Egypt, diverse forms were used to commemorate the dead. Riggs lists a range of funerary art forms: portrait panels; commemorative shrines; painted shrouds; mummy cases of mud-mixture or cartonnage; wooden coffins; plaster and cartonnage mummy masks; funerary stelae in addition to decorated tombs and tomb sculptures.[1367] Despite this variety of forms of expression, however, scholars have mainly focused on the naturalistically painted mummy portraits of the deceased, which skews our perceptions of ancient funerary art and, by extension, of contemporary society.[1368]

Klaus Parlasca in a series of studies analysed the wooden portrait panels typical of mummies from the Fayum and arranged the known corpus of portraits in chronological order.[1369] Similarly, Günter Grimm grouped mummy masks and coffins by find-spot and created chronological typologies in comparison with Roman

[1366] Gombrich 1999, 24-5.
[1367] Riggs 2002, 86.
[1368] Riggs 2005, 36.
[1369] Parlasca 1969, 1977, 1980.

art.[1370] The Hungarian Egyptologist László Castiglione's investigations of the subject have identified a 'dualité du style', or double style. His argument, expounded in a paper at the 25th International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in 1960, is a fundamental point of reference for subsequent research on funerary art of Roman Egypt. By the double style in funerary art, he meant the way of depicting the deceased in Graeco-Roman manner in terms of naturalistic appearance and dress, but at the same time in association with Egyptian deities and themes shown in Egyptian style (fig. 109).[1371] Castiglione interpreted this duality as an indication of two spheres, the 'real' and the 'spiritual', which corresponded in his view to the Graeco-Roman and the Egyptian respectively.[1372]



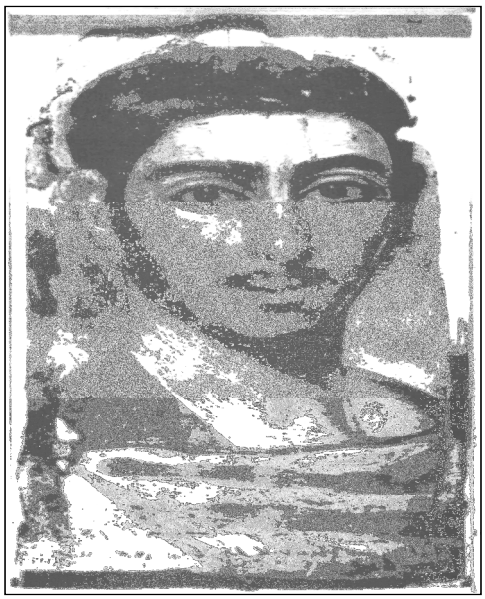
(Fig. 109)

[1370] Grimm 1974.
[1371] The height of this funerary shroud is 90.5 cm, while the width is 4.7 cm (Corcoran 1988b, 204).
[1372] Castiglione 1961, 209-30.

In the 1990s, Egyptology, classical archaeology and related disciplines witnessed a resurgence of interest in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Continuing archaeological explorations have contributed to this revival by helping to fill the large gap left in the record by earlier excavators whose primary concern was with Pharaonic remains. Urban, rural, and mortuary sites, from Alexandria to the western oases and beyond, have yielded new evidence. In recent scholarship, a marked trend has emerged, recasting older conceptions of cultural processes in multi-cultural societies. New finds highlighted by scholarship and high-profile museum exhibitions marked a revived interest in funerary art of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.[1373] Naturalistic portraiture in the form of mummy paintings on wooden panels has received particular scholarly attention.[1374]

Because these studies focused mainly on mummy portraits, they did not pay enough attention to iconography of Roman-period tombs. Scholars have used mummy portraits to understand the expression of identity in Roman Egypt. Borg drew attention to the importance of mummy portraits for self-representation, which was the basis for determining personal identity and establishing social relations. The self-consciousness of individuals and their positions within society, in her view, depended on the images which were placed before other people's eyes. Thus the owner of a mummy portrait represented in a habit typical of soldier emperors of the third century is considered a Roman soldier (fig. 110).[1375]

[1373] Riggs 2002.
[1374] Montserrat 1993.
[1375] Borg 2000, 75.



(Fig. 110)

Just as scholars have used mummy portraits for reading personal identity, it is my intention to use iconography of Roman-period tombs as a way of interpreting the expression of aspects of personal, social, and cultural identities. While some studies have begun to explore the relationship between funerary architecture and ethnic identity, such as Venit's study of the tombs of Alexandria, the possibility of reading levels of identity assertion from tombs has not yet been well explored.[1376] Equally, none has paid enough attention to the power that images have as texts conveying religious and cultural information about the patrons and, by extension, contemporary society.[1377] For example, Riggs only focuses on the naturalistic representations of the deceased in tomb paintings, especially those using both Graeco-Roman and Egyptian systems of representation, without considering the overall iconography.[1378]

In chapter six of her study, Venit considers Roman-period tombs of Alexandria without fully taking account of tombs of other nomes in the same period. Not only does her deployment of classical scholarship overshadow consideration of the Egyptian context, but she unconvincingly claims:

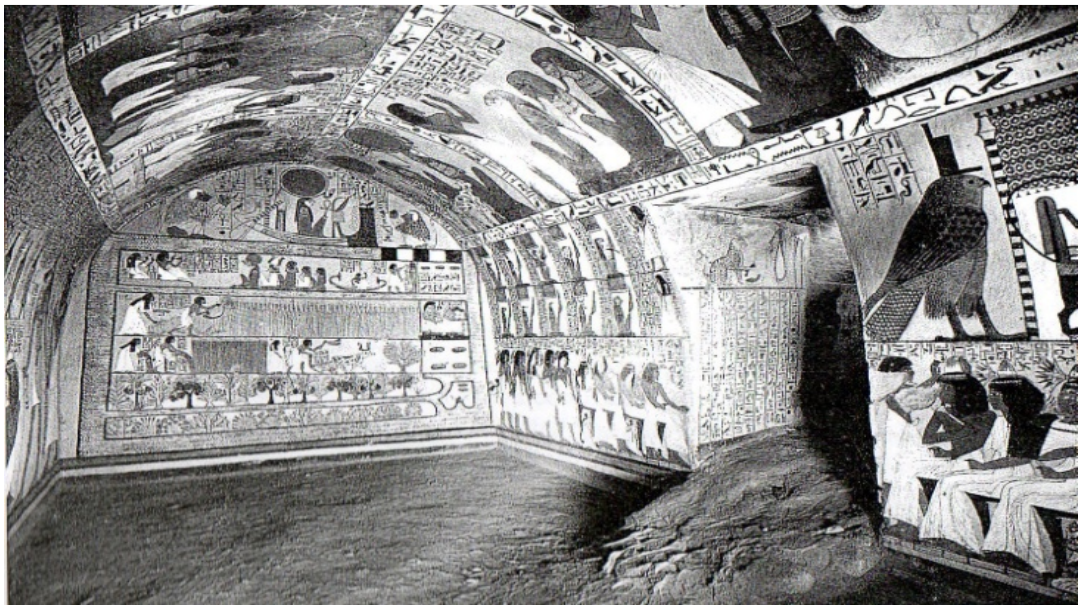
[1376] Venit 2002a.
[1377] I shall use the term 'images' in a broadest sense to stand for visual themes and representations either carved or painted in Roman-period tombs.
[1378] Riggs 2005.

> The scenes chosen for representation in Roman-period Alexandrian tombs avoid narratives central to Egyptian beliefs related to the afterlife and other abstractions of the Egyptian religious symbolic system. Instead, narrative decoration in Roman-period Alexandrian tombs focuses on deities and images associated with the cult of Isis.[1379]

However, the most frequent scene in tombs of Roman Alexandria and in the *chora* is that of Osiris lying on the lion-headed couch and being attended by Anubis (figs. 114, 116, 121-3, 133, 137). This scene is central to Egyptian conceptions of the afterlife. Its significance is threefold: first, it denotes the rejuvenation of the god through being mummified by Anubis, which itself plays a role in the transfiguration of the deceased; second, it recalls an important episode in the myth of Isis and Osiris when Isis collected with the aid of her sister Nephthys the dismembered body of Osiris, and then Anubis helped in the god's resurrection through mummification; and finally, since this by analogy guarantees the same fate for the deceased, it indicates their identification in the afterlife with Osiris, the main god of death.

Moreover, representations of Isis in Roman-period tombs of Alexandria and elsewhere always occur in association with the central figure of Osiris (figs. 117, 122-3, 133, 137) or the Apis bull as the living image of Osiris (fig. 120). The presence of Isis in tomb iconography is explained by her role as the wife and sister of Osiris, and not vice versa. Isis is always depicted in subordination to Osiris, flanking his lion-headed couch or protecting the Apis bull and similar, but never as a central figure. However, Roman-period tombs of Alexandria do not embrace such diverse programmes as can be seen in tombs of the Pharaonic period (fig. 111) or in those of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods in the *chora* (fig. 129, 132-3, 135-6, 140).

[1379] Venit 2002a, 120. For representations of Isis in tombs of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt: Venit 2010.



(Fig. 111)

Given the multi-cultural and multi-lingual aspect of Roman Egypt in general, and of cosmopolitan Alexandria in particular, the lack of diversity may be explained by the perception of a need, by most patrons and their commissioned artists, to condense the diverse and complex traditional funerary repertoire in tombs into a number of scenes, acting as archetypes or synecdoche and addressing the major concerns of the religion. A scene like that of Osiris lying on the lion-headed bier might have the potential to do so. In contrast with Pharaonic and Ptolemaic non-royal tombs, where iconography combines religious and secular scenes, the thematic content of Roman-period tombs concerns only the afterlife. That is, Roman-period tombs do not represent any scenes derived from the secular life of the tomb owner. It is difficult to identify the reason for this dramatic shift. Perhaps they were thought to be no longer consistent with a funerary context and thus less significant.

This chapter argues that the architecture and iconography of tombs mirror the complexity and fluidity of cultural markers of identity in Roman Egypt. Neither funerary architecture nor iconography can be used as a reliable signifier of legality or ethnicity. The fusion of architectural and iconographical features is a prominent, if not the most prominent feature in Roman-period tombs, which depended on architectural features and funerary vocabulary typical of both Graeco-Roman and Egyptian cultural traditions. The Graeco-Roman element is expressed through

architecture, iconography, dress, but rarely text. The Egyptian component is represented in narratives and themes derived from the Osirian and solar mythologies or rebirth, associated respectively with Osiris and Re, the terrestrial and celestial gods of the afterlife, architectural details, and inscriptions. This biculturalism of tombs suggests a mixed cultural heritage in which Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditions could each play a part.

The intertwined mythology of Osiris with Re which is linked with the ideology of kingship was one of the bases of Egyptian funerary thought. When Seth murdered Osiris and dismembered his body, Isis looked for and collected the parts of Osiris' body. Together with Nephthys, she mourned the loss of Osiris and supplicated for his resurrection. Anubis reassembled Osiris' body through mummification. Isis and Nephthys hid the body from Seth, a vigil ritually commemorated during the twelve hours of the night. By restoring the procreative powers of Osiris, Isis became pregnant by him and bore Horus, who reclaimed the throne of Osiris for earthly kings. Living rulers were thus associated with Horus.[1380] From the Fourth Dynasty (*c*. 2400 BC) onwards, the ruler was considered the son of Re. The solar cycle from its birth at sunrise to its death at sunset formed a parallel to the Osirian cycle. After the twelve hours of the day, the sun god died in the form of Atum and entered the *Duat*. In the twelve hours of the night, his solar boat encountered several dangers. In the sixth hour, he unites with his own corpse, embodied by Osiris.[1381] The dawn heralded the rebirth of the sun god in the form of a scarab beetle pushing the solar disc (fig. 109). The deceased also requested the protection of Re and the concept of the 'double soul' was developed, whereby Osiris was considered the *ba* of Re and the 'night sun'.[1382] The two gods are inseparable in the afterlife. Osiris and Re were subject to physical harm until their reappearance as newly transformed deities. In the same way, the deceased overcomes the threats and dangers of death and is transfigured to a new status as an *akh*. Through

[1380] Smith 2009, 6-7.
[1381] Riggs 2005, 28.
[1382] Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 214.

mummification, the body and aspects of the soul, the *ba* and *ka*, are protected in order for this process to occur.[1383]

Funerary iconography draws on imageries associated with Osirian and solar mythologies to enable the protection and transfiguration of the deceased. These included, but were not limited to, the *ankh* sign, symbol of life, the *djed* pillar associated with Osiris, Horus in his falcon form, the winged sun-disc associated with Horus and the sun god, armed guardian deities, and manifestations of Isis and Nephthys. Of particular importance are symbols of kingship, including uraei, sphinxes, and crowns.[1384] In addition to other funerary compositions like the mummification scene, these symbols can be traced back to the Pharaonic period, indicating the persistence of Egyptian religious traditions. In a multi-cultural society like Roman Egypt, there was always room for negotiation and mutual influence between different legally defined groups. Funerary iconography in Roman Egypt cannot be simply described as 'the most opportune, if not the only, venue in which people could both record and negotiate various aspects of identity'.[1385] Unsurprisingly, classical narratives and motifs are used alongside Egyptian ones in funerary iconography, serving a religious ideology of the afterlife (figs. 122-7). The compatibility of classical and Egyptian funerary themes and motifs probably provided the basis for their fusion.

The chapter focuses on tombs of the first and second centuries to give as clear a picture as possible of the use of funerary iconography as a permeable marker of identity. Earlier tombs, shafts, and pits which were reused in the Roman period as burial places are not included in this chapter, because they carried no new tomb paintings. Theban inhabitants avoided new tomb construction in the Roman period in favour of reusing earlier structures dating back to the Pharaonic period, including pits and shafts of cemeteries and temples. The lack of new tombs in Upper Egypt appears to have been a conscious avoidance and not a result of financial deficiencies.[1386] For example, the Tomb of Djehutimes from the time of Ramesses II (TT 32) was reused

[1383] Smith 2009, 4.
[1384] Riggs 2005, 28.
[1385] Riggs 2002, 99. The first three chapters of this thesis have shown that inhabitants negotiated different levels of identity assertion in public, religious, and domestic spheres.
[1386] Riggs 2005, 175-244.

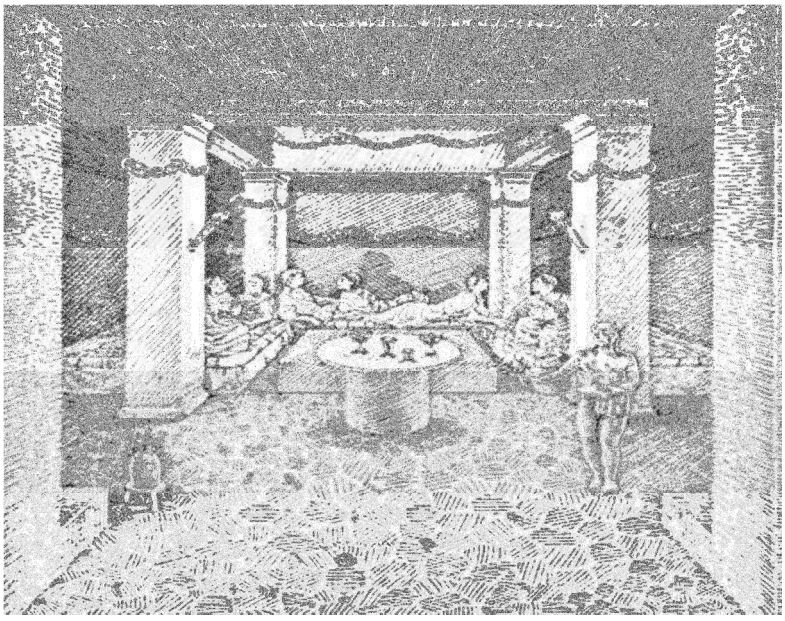
by a priestly and scribal family for five generations in Ptolemaic and Roman times. Some family members held the title 'scribe of the king and Amun'. This tomb was used for the burial of the noble Soter family in the second century.[1387] Equally, Tomb 1407 in the cellar of House C3 at Deir el-Medina, originally used for the burial of a priest of Amun in the Third Intermediate Period, was reused in the mid-second and early third century by the noble family of Peobs son of Krates, who was νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος, a high-ranking priestly office.[1388]

Some tombs of the Meir necropolis, which is best known for its decorated Old and Middle Kingdom tombs, were reused under Roman rule. The site provides many Roman-period coffins, mummy masks, and naturalistic portraits with demotic and Greek inscriptions, but always Egyptian funerary imagery. At Abusir el-Meleq, numerous rock-cut burial shafts and chambers were uncovered. These mainly contained burials dating to the Late Period, and some chambers were reused in the Roman period, with coffins, mummies, and grave goods. The largest burial is that of Harsaphes' priests, who lived in the Third Intermediate and Late Periods. This underground tomb consisted of a corridor, *c*. 30 m long, opening into twenty-one chambers. Mummy masks and portraits from Abusir el-Meleq show the deceased in Graeco-Roman manner, but in association with Egyptian eschatological imagery related to Osiris and Re.[1389]

In Roman Egypt, mummies were kept on display in houses for some time after death to participate in family life.[1390] After burial, they were visited on certain days as part of the cult of the dead.[1391] Even in Christian Egypt it was the custom not to bury the dead immediately, but to keep them in houses for a certain period. Only when the Theodosian Code of 392 forbade the custom as pagan superstition were residents forced to remove the dead from houses. The edict banned the construction of tombs inside the city walls and the celebration of funerary meals in the

[1387] Kákosy 1995, 61-7.
[1388] Bruyère and Bataille 1937, 145-74; Montserrat and Meskell 1997, 179-97. On the interpretation of the religious imagery of the Soter and Peobs coffins and mummy shrouds and masks: Riggs 2005, 182-205 for Soter and 205-17 for Peobs.
[1389] For textual and visual evidence on Meir coffins and mummy masks and portraits: Riggs 2005, 105-29. For the funerary goods and artefacts uncovered from the Third Intermediate or Late Period tomb of Harsaphes' priests at Abusir el-Meleq: Riggs 2005, 148-55.
[1390] See Chapter III.
[1391] *P.Oxy*. III 494.22-5 (165); Montserrat 1993, 216.

necropolis.[1392] Funerary iconography was intended to serve the deceased in the afterlife and was seen by members of his or her family, relatives, and friends, who visited and annually celebrated a meal at the tomb.[1393] As in Rome, funerary meals could be celebrated in Roman Egypt on both birth and death days of the deceased.[1394] Inhabitants attached high importance to visits to the dead and meals in the tomb or elsewhere in the necropolis. At Alexandria, a dining room is located in the catacomb of Kom el-Shouqafa, whereas in the *chora* the relatives of the deceased may have dined near the tomb in the necropolis, as in Tune el-Gebel.[1395] The funerary banquet was undoubtedly an important feature of religious and funerary life in Egypt and elsewhere in the Roman Empire.[1396] These regular visits to the tomb and funerary banquet reflected the respect that inhabitants had for their dead and indicate the importance of the banquet (fig. 112) as an occasion when members of the deceased's household, relatives, and friends gathered to commemorate his or her death.[1397]



(Fig. 112)

[1392] *CTh* XVI.10.19.3; Montserrat 1992, 305; Willeitner 2004, 320.
[1393] *P.Oxy*. III.494.22-5.
[1394] Rome: *CIL* VI.10248 (the second century); Hopkins 1983, 226-34; Carroll 2006, 180-6. Egypt: *P.Oxy*. III.494.22-5 (A.D. 165).
[1395] Montserrat 1992, 304. Cf. *P.Oxy*. III.494.24. The *kline* of Anubis is also confirmed in the *oikos* of the Serapeum (*SB* XX.14503).
[1396] *P.Tebt*. I.118; *P.Oxy*. III.494.22-5; *CIL* VI.10248. On the association of banquets with clubs in Roman Egypt: Milne 1925; Youtie 1948; Montserrat 1992.
[1397] *P.Tebt*. I.118; *P.Oxy*. III.494.22-5.

The funerary banquet offered a suitable occasion for viewing the iconographical programme. The death of the deceased provided a reason for social gatherings, when not only his or her good deeds were remembered, but also the tomb's iconography was mediated, understood, and even transmitted over generations.[1398] The son(s) of the deceased or his or her relatives usually took responsibility for the burial, the organization of the offerings, and the subsequent rituals,[1399] but this task could also, if necessary, be given to another individual.[1400] From the New Kingdom onwards, the priest in charge of the tomb had the title w#H=mw or choachyte 'the pourer of the water', as in Ptolemaic and Roman Thebes. The choachyte was engaged by the family of the deceased to perform the role of the son(s) in his care of the dead. Before the funeral, he was responsible for preparing the funeral and tomb and for storing and transporting the mummy. He also sold the tomb to the family of the deceased. Although the tomb was the property of the family, it remained in the care of the choachyte, who, after burial, took care of the deceased and food offerings in the tomb.[1401]

VI.2. IMAGE AND TEXT: COMPLEMENTARITY AND INTERCHANGEABILITY

This section considers the importance of images and texts used in funerary iconography for constructing meaning and articulating beliefs and ideas associated with identity. It is unclear whether the tomb was accessible to visitors at all times. Most Roman-period tombs, like those in Tuna el-Gebel, originally had a locked entrance, suggesting a restriction on entry. It is worth considering what happens when one enters a room in a tomb or any other building. One first looks around to see where he or she is. Then, he or she notices the wall and ceiling and inspects their details.[1402] These perceptions require different ways of scanning and focusing

[1398] Carroll 2006.
[1399] *P.Princ*. III.166.4-7; *P.Oxy*. III.494.22-5.
[1400] Englund 2001, 568.
[1401] Vleeming 1995.
[1402] Cf. Lucian, *De Domo* 2.

attention.[1403] The visual evocation of a representation needs individuals to focus on it mentally and scan it visually to interpret its meaning. This is what Frederick Bartlett called 'the effort after meaning'.[1404] This may not take long if the scenes concern common beliefs or ideas of contemporary life, but it takes a measurable time. The visual decoration of a room does not slow down this effort. In contrast, it may facilitate the scanning by articulating the walls and ceiling.[1405]

Depending on context, different languages or scripts were more prominent than others in Roman Egypt. Hieroglyphs continued to be carved on traditional monuments until at least 394.[1406] While hieratic was used for literary texts, demotic was employed for writing contracts, letters, and mortuary literature.[1407] Together, mortuary literature like the Book of the Dead and the Books of Breathing and textual evidence from the tombs allow a better understanding of the meaning and significance of funerary iconography to issues of identity. Equally, knowledge of Greek is essential for interpreting the verse inscriptions in the Tomb of Isidora.[1408] It is from knowledge of such texts that the meaning of images might be interpreted and understood. Literary texts are closely associated with funerary themes. Certain episodes from the Book of the Dead and the Books of Breathing, for instance, represent a common repertoire. Most Egyptian funerary literature of the Pharaonic and Ptolemaic period continued under Roman rule.[1409] Certain spells from the Pyramid and Coffin Texts are found on Roman-period papyri.[1410] The Book of the Dead remained in use since the New Kingdom. Chapter 125 which is inscribed with an excerpt from the Book of Traversing Eternity is the last surviving copy of the Book of the Dead on a demotic papyrus of 64.[1411] A Greek papyrus using parts of Chapter 125, namely the Negative Confession, was used as part of the initiation of a *stolistes* priest in the early second century.[1412] A copy of the Book of Entering the God's Domain and Promenading in the Hall of the Two Truths survived into the

[1403] Gombrich 1999, 22.
[1404] Bartlett 1950, 180.
[1405] Gombrich 1999, 22-3.
[1406] Winter 1976, 6 (fig. 7); Grenier 1983, 204-5.
[1407] Lewis 1993; Gallo 1992; Riggs 2005; Smith 2009.
[1408] Graindor 1932, 97-112; Bernand 1969b, 342-57, nos. 86-7; Raimondi 1998.
[1409] Coenen 1995.
[1410] Allen 1950; Gestermann 1992, 117-32.
[1411] Stadler 2003, Coenen 2001, 83.
[1412] Merkelbach 1968.

second century.[1413] Other funerary literature like the Books of Breathing and the Book of Traversing Eternity are known from the Roman period.[1414] Although most of these copies were inscribed for priests and priestesses,[1415] there is no evidence that persons who were not priests, on whose tombs, coffins, and mummy shrouds traditional Egyptian funerary texts and imagery occur, were unfamiliar with such a repertoire.[1416]

It is worth referring here to the Roman notion of *decor*, which signified what is 'appropriate'.[1417] Particular circumstances demand particular behaviour; a certain style of speech fits a given occasion and a specific subject suits a given context.[1418] Yet the funerary repertoire from which patrons and artists chose 'appropriate' themes was so rich and varied. The search for *decor* was carried out by professional artists, who knew the significance of each theme and allocated for it the most convenient space in tombs. For example, the scene of Osiris on the funerary couch is represented on the wall above *klinai* or around *loculi*, both locations were intended to receive the deceased. Since the burial place was the most important part of the tomb and the spot at which the eyes of visitors were directed, the scene of Osiris was one of the most, if not the most important scene in tombs. This scene could thus direct the sight of visitors to the burial place of the deceased (fig. 119), highlighting its visual significance.

Texts and images could sometimes be complementary, working together to clarify a certain meaning. Elsewhere, they might be interchangeable, serving the same function and giving the same meaning.[1419] In the Pharaonic and, to some extent, Ptolemaic periods, funerary iconography relied heavily on textual and visual elements to express religious ideas and possibly articulate the same subject (fig. 111). In the Roman period, however, there was a general preference for iconographical programmes based upon images, rather than upon inscriptions. The potency of images in articulating the meaning of texts was probably a reason for that

[1413] Smith 2009, Text 20, 389-94; Text 34, 526-34.
[1414] Hornung 1999, 23-5, 151-2; Rhodes 2002; Herbin 2008.
[1415] Smith 2009.
[1416] Riggs 2005.
[1417] Vitr. *De arch.* 1.2.5; Cic. *De Off.* 1.27.
[1418] Gombrich 1972, 6-7.
[1419] On the use of image and text in Roman funerary reliefs: Koortbojian 1996.

dependence. Although a number of tombs in Tuna el-Gebel, Panopolis, and the Dakhla oasis employ hieroglyphic and demotic texts, certain tombs at Alexandria (figs. 114-15, 122-7), Oxyrhynchus, and Panopolis (Appendix 3) contain *pseudo*-hieroglyphic columns, suggesting that a need was felt to supplement images by texts, even if indistinct ones. Although the use of *pseudo*-hieroglyphs may suggest a lack of familiarity with indigenous scripts in certain areas, the accompanying images could illustrate ideas by relying on their visual and symbolic potency. Images have the same efficacy as texts; however, their visual effect on observers is more immediate and powerful.[1420] Unlike texts, which can be either verbal forms of expression, if recited, or visual, if inscribed, figurative images are always visual. The meaning of a text is only established by knowing the language or script in which it is written. In contrast, the main advantage of an image is that one often needs no interpreter simply to describe or sometimes interpret and understand its significance. It is argued that 'images owe their potential impact to visual elements alone without recourse to any additional medium'.[1421] They are statements of a visual language and convey expressive meanings.[1422]

The interpretation of images is not an easy task, but their meaning can sometimes be understood when they illustrate episodes derived from literary texts. The identification of texts illustrated in a given picture is a principal part of its iconography.[1423] The representation of the deceased on the lion-headed couch attended by Anubis would suggest only one thing to contemporaries: the mummification of Osiris. Some visual aspects of the representation, of course, facilitate the identification, like the emblems or crowns worn by the figures. Texts give plenty of scope to the artists' imagination. Since a text can be illustrated in different ways, it is not possible from a given image alone to reconstruct the text it illustrates. However, the identification of subjects is possible because of continued repertoires of funerary texts. The accessibility of images seems to have been a reason for their prevalence in the funerary iconography of Roman Egypt. Given the multi-lingual character of the period, funerary iconography depended largely on images

[1420] Reynolds 1997, 241.
[1421] Abell 1971, 122.
[1422] Krautheimer 1942; Lehmann 1945; Crossley 1988, 116.
[1423] Gombrich 1972, 6.

that needed neither Greek nor Egyptian scripts to be understood. Visual language, at least in this specific context, was more powerful than textual language. It is this potency that gives images their distinctive character as effective forms of expressing identity. Images have a fundamental influence on mentalities, and vice versa. If a tomb depends in its iconography on images and texts, and since images attract the attention of observers before texts do, it follows that meaning flows out of images before texts carry the process further. Images occur in the minds of observers and are remembered more easily than texts, particularly if observers do not know the language or script in which a text is written. Like texts, images are direct and indirect forms of expression.[1424] Images leave a space in the observers' mind to contemplate the representations. This is what Ernst Gombrich called the 'beholder's share in the reading of images', that is, his capacity to collaborate with the artists who made them.[1425]

If images are taken in isolation from the context in which they are embedded, they often cannot be interpreted correctly. Unfortunately, this is customary in dealing with the funerary art of Roman Egypt, where scholars concentrate on the self-presentation of the deceased in tomb paintings without fully taking into account the overall iconographical programme.[1426] The integration of the self-representation of the deceased into tomb paintings was important to patrons, but the overall significance of the funerary programme certainly stood at the heart of their thought. The function of the tomb as a threshold of the underworld reflects how iconography was uppermost in the minds of its contemporaries. The tomb was designed to be a dwelling place of the deceased, and its iconography was a communicative channel through which his or her social status, cultural traditions, and religious beliefs were articulated. Funerary iconography was a means by which patrons visualized the culture in which they lived. Based on their iconography, Roman-period tombs (Appendix 3) can be roughly divided into two main categories: first, tombs which equally combine Graeco-Roman and Egyptian architectural and iconographical features like the Main Tomb in Kom el-Shouqafa and the Tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhla oasis; second, tombs without surviving imagery of any kind like tombs 2-6 at

[1424] Bartlett 1950, 216.
[1425] Gombrich 1959, 246, 1972, 12.
[1426] E.g. Riggs 2005, 95-174.

Ezbet Bashendi. Since full consideration of funerary themes of all tombs is impracticable, some tombs representing the first type are selected for discussion. As they carry no surviving scenes, tombs of the second group are excluded.[1427]

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the process of executing the iconography in tombs or the persons in charge of choosing the programme. But Roman wills and tomb epitaphs from the West indicate that the patron or members of his or her family or household were responsible for the construction of the tomb and its furnishing.[1428] Equally, recent scholarship on sarcophagi from the West places a greater emphasis on the consumer as responsible for their iconography, rather than the workshop.[1429] It is not unreasonable to suggest that adult patrons in Roman Egypt, such as Petosiris in the Dakhla oasis, would have had the chance to choose, perhaps with the help of artists, the iconography that would be painted in their tombs. In the case of the prematurely dead, such as Ta-Sheryt(…) and Isidora in Tuna el-Gebel, presumably the parents were responsible for choosing and following up the execution of the funerary iconography.

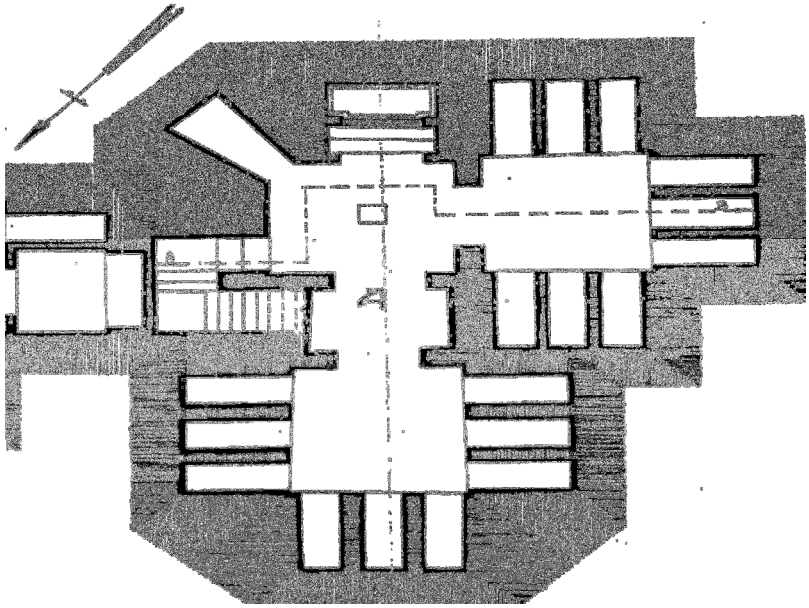
IV.3. ROMAN-PERIOD TOMBS AT ALEXANDRIA

Unlike Venit who has considered the iconography of Alexandrian tombs from an Alexandria *ad Aegyptum* perspective, highlighting classical themes and underestimating Egyptian ones, I shall interpret funerary iconography from an Alexandria *in Aegypto* approach, aiming to give weight to traditional architectural and iconographical features alongside classical ones in order to understand better the biculturalism of tombs.

[1427] This selection does not distort the argument since the iconography of the tombs not discussed follows the same category of those explored.
[1428] *CIL* XIII.5708; Hopkins 1983, 226-8, 247-8; Carroll 2006, 180-8.
[1429] Russell 2011, 138-9.

IV.3.1. Habachi Tomb A

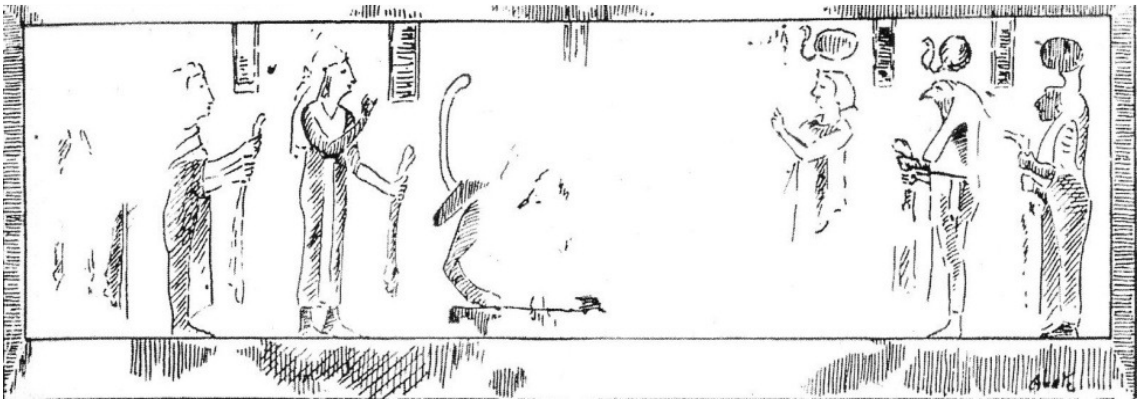
This tomb was excavated in the district of Gabbari by Banoub Habachi in 1935 (fig. 113).[1430] It dates to the early first century, and thus gives insights into the iconography of an early Roman-period tomb.[1431] Architecturally, the tomb is a continuation of funerary traditions established in Ptolemaic Alexandria (Appendix 3.1.1). The surviving iconography draws upon imagery derived from the Osirian and solar mythologies of rebirth, reflecting the presence of Egyptian religious and eschatological conceptions in inhabitants' life.[1432]



(Fig. 113)

Only the main burial chamber has representations. The walls and ceiling of the room as well as the front of the sarcophagus bear scenes of Egyptian deities.[1433] The scenes depicted on the walls of the sarcophagus-niche are well preserved. They show a central composition with two side scenes. The rear-wall shows the most common scene in tombs: the mummy of Osiris on the lion-headed funerary bier, which rests upon a small pedestal and is flanked on each side by three Egyptian deities (fig. 114).

[1430] Habachi 1936, 270.
[1431] Venit 2002a, 120.
[1432] Habachi 1936.
[1433] Venit 2002a, 120.



(Fig. 114)

The deities on the right side of the bier carry solar discs with *uraei* upon their heads. The scene combines symbols of Osiris (mummy), the sun god (solar disc) and kingship (*uraeus*). Habachi interpreted the first figure on the right as the hippopotamus goddess Tauret.[1434] Judging from the facial features, however, Venit rightly suggests that the figure shows a lion-headed deity, Sekhmet or Bastet.[1435] Little can be said about the second group of deities, whose identification was unclear to Habachi and his draftsman, Abate. The six deities hold in their hands linen strips or mummy bandages. Between the figures are *pseudo*-hieroglyphic columns, reflecting the desire of the patron and artist to imitate Pharaonic and Roman-period tombs in the *chora* which still use legible hieroglyphs. It was important to accompany images with texts, even if the texts are indistinct. The complementarity of image and text in funerary iconography might have been a reason for the presence of *pseudo*-hieroglyphs.

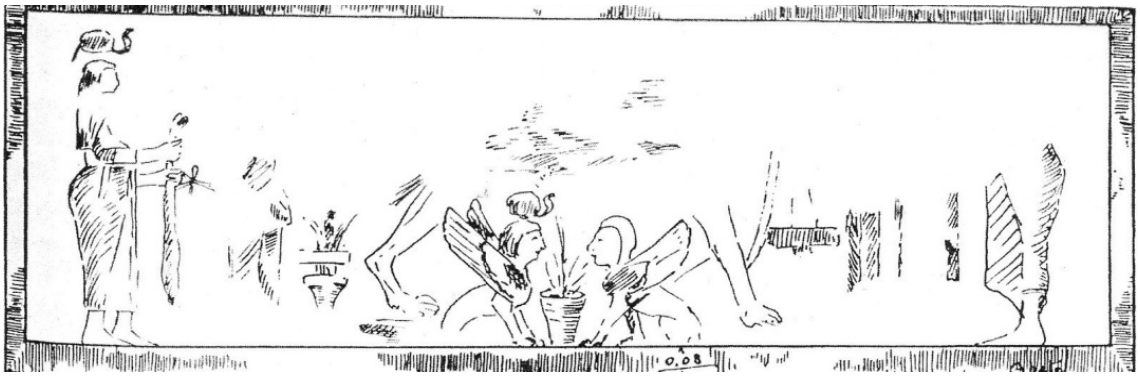
Since the side walls of the niche carry two identical scenes, only the right-hand scene is considered (fig. 115). It shows Maat in profile wearing a long robe. She holds in one hand a feather of truth, and grasps in the other a crook and a flail, the sacred symbols of Osiris associated respectively with dignity and authority.[1436]

[1434] Habachi 1936, 276.
[1435] Venit 2002a, 120.
[1436] Habachi 1936, 276.

(Fig. 115)

A vertical *pseudo*-hieroglyphic column and a small pedestal are shown in front of the goddess. Maat sits upon the pedestal and holds a feather of truth, a crook, and a flail. The standing figure of Maat embraces with her outstretched wings the other sitting figure of Maat, thus guaranteeing protection and eternal life for the deceased.

Another theme is depicted on the front of the sarcophagus in the burial chamber. In the centre are the remains of the funerary bier, which carried the mummy (fig. 116).



(Fig. 116)

On both sides of the couch is a pair of deities. Only the deity on the far left is well preserved. It depicts a human figure wearing a solar disc with a *uraeus* and a long garment and holding an *ankh* sign and a mummy bandage. Below the couch, two

figures described by Habachi as 'crouching human-headed' with 'wings outspread' are drawn by Abate as winged sphinxes, one with a solar disc with a *uraeus*, faced each other on either side of a flower.[1437] The figures represent Greek winged sphinxes, unlike the wingless Egyptian sphinxes which guard the entrance to the burial chamber of the Ptolemaic Tomb 1 at Moustafa Pasha.[1438] Wingless sphinxes have been interpreted as apotropaic, but the meaning of winged sphinxes in this instance is unclear. It is possible that they were meant to play the same funerary role as the *ba* birds represented in the Saqiya Tomb (Appendix 3.1.11).[1439]

If the figures were meant to play the role of the *ba* birds smelling a lotus flower, as Habachi suggested, its two different forms would then indicate the transition of the soul of the deceased from mortality to immortality. This meaning of the representation recalls the content of *P.BM. EA* 10072, a late first or early second century funerary text from Thebes inscribed for a woman called Tikos, daughter of Esoeris:

> Your *ba* will live. It will be renewed and capable forever and ever. It will proceed to the place where Osiris is. It will go and come on earth eternally.[1440]

Like the Book of Traversing Eternity, the text addresses the deceased, confirming that her *ba* will live, be renewed, enjoy proximity to Osiris, and exit and enter the tomb freely.[1441] It is not impossible that the artist was familiar with such a funerary text. Alexandria is far away from Thebes, but not totally detached from the *chora*. From time to time, the Egyptians of the *chora* travelled to the capital to offer services and attend religious festivals.[1442] Alexandria had Egyptian temples and priests, who would have been familiar with such mortuary literature.[1443] The representation of the *ba* birds elsewhere under or near the couch of Osiris was perhaps thought to articulate their content. The notion that a scene could stand for a text goes back to the

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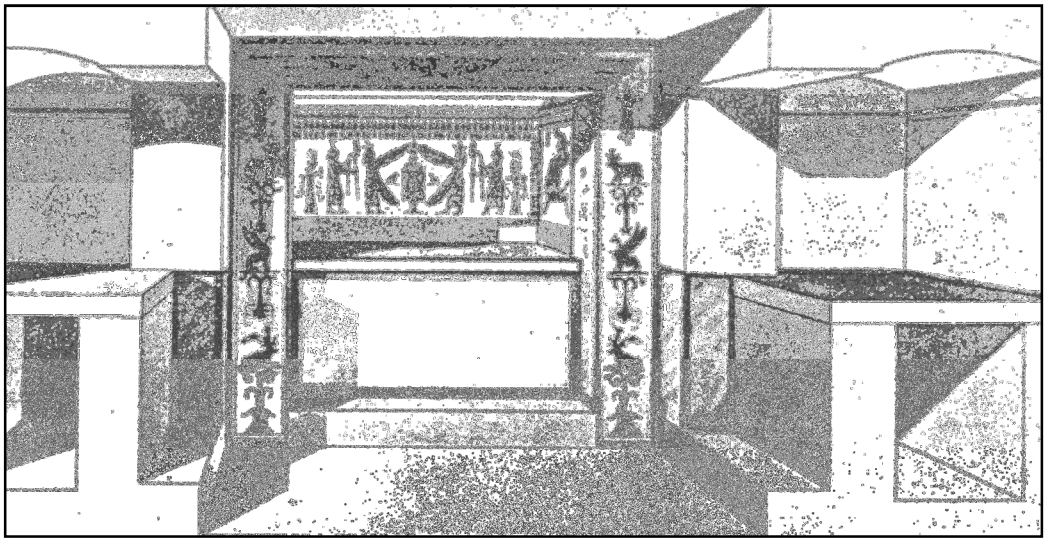
[1437] Habachi 1936, 274.
[1438] Venit 2002a, 121.
[1439] Riad 1964, 169-71; Weitzmann-Fiedler 1979, 273, no. 250; Barbet 1980, 391-400; Rassart-Debergh 1983, 229-30; Rodziewicz 1989, 329-37; Rodziewicz 1993, 281-90; Kaplan 1999, 150-51, pls. 67-8; Venit 2002a, 101-12, fig. 83-93.
[1440] Reich 1931, 88; Smith 2009, Text 43, 568.
[1441] Cf. the funerary text discussed below in the tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhla oasis.
[1442] Chapter One.
[1443] Chapter Two.

Pharaonic period, when in certain visual versions of mythological papyri, spells of the Book of the Dead are represented only by vignettes.[1444] This idea is widely applied in tombs of the *chora*.[1445] The patron's legal status cannot be determined on the basis of the tomb's architecture and iconography. Obviously, the patron and artist were familiar with both classical and Egyptian traditions. The amalgamation of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian architectural and iconographical features indicates that neither was meant to express the patron's self-conscious adherence to a particular group of inhabitants. It rather suggests a culture in which there was fluidity between different traditions.

IV.3.2. The Sieglin Tomb

The Sieglin Tomb was discovered in 1900 at Gabbari during the first Sieglin expedition. It is only known from a drawing by Ernst Fiechter, the architect who accompanied August Thiersch during the excavations at Kom el-Shouqafa between 1898 and 1902.[1446] Like Habachi Tomb A, the Sieglin Tomb fuses Graeco-Roman and Egyptian architectural and iconographical traditions. Fiechter's drawing illustrates a burial chamber taking the shape of a *triclinium* with three undecorated sarcophagi set within niches (fig. 117), reflecting Graeco-Roman architectural traditions, while the surviving iconography incorporates Egyptian and Greek vocabularies.

[1444] Hornung 1999, 14-21.
[1445] E.g. in the tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhla oasis.
[1446] Adriani 1966, 180.



(Fig. 117)

Only the central niche of the burial chamber bears representations. Osiris is depicted in the centre of the back wall in a frontal position wearing the *atef* crown and being flanked by Isis and Nephthys.[1447] The two goddesses are depicted with outstretched wings in a gesture of protection. This scene is common in other tombs of Roman Alexandria. As the two sisters protected Osiris, the deceased, by analogy, would be protected. A small figure of a falcon is depicted on each side of Osiris. Behind Isis and Nephthys are two deities with indistinct headdresses. They probably carry the linen strips necessary for mummy wrappings. At the far left and right sides there is an unclear object placed on a high pedestal or an altar. The top of the scene is perhaps decorated with a *kheker* frieze. A falcon is also represented on the right-side wall of the niche, standing upon a pedestal from which a feather of Maat emerges. A winged sun-disc is depicted across the façade of the tomb above the opening to the central niche. On each door jamb a striding Apis bull, a winged griffin, and a recumbent Apis are shown vertically stacked upon floral stands. Griffins standing with one foreleg raised to a wheel are associated with the goddess Nemesis,[1448] who was personified as a deity who punished mistreatment of the dead.[1449] Although the griffin is not shown here with a wheel, her depiction for apotropaic reasons is likely.

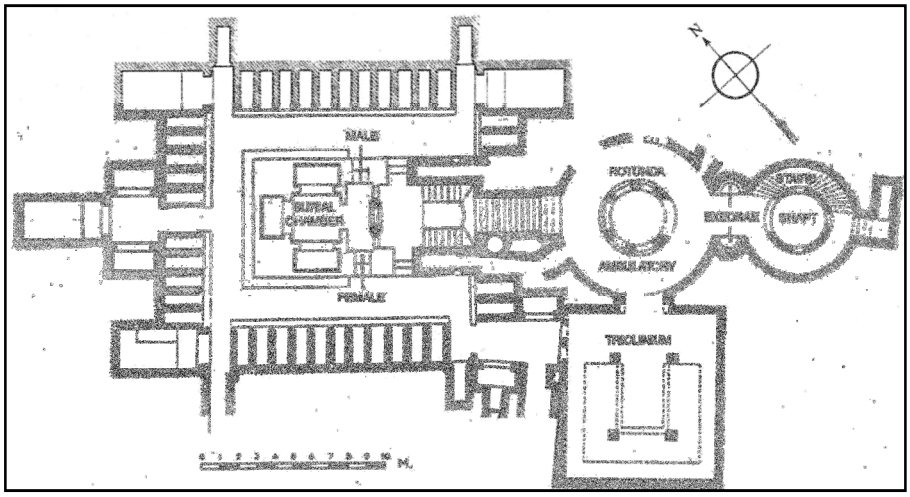
[1447] Adriani 1966, 179.
[1448] Riefstahl 1956.
[1449] Venit 1999, 648-9.

The Apis was thought to be the soul of Osiris,[1450] and represented the sacred image of the god Serapis who was associated with rebirth.[1451] It is impossible to gauge the patron's legal status from the funerary iconography. Whereas Barth argued that ethnic identity involved the active maintenance of cultural boundaries,[1452] it is clear that the blending of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian funerary traditions blurred cultural differences and confused ethnic categories in a manner which might be called 'hybridization'. By fusing Graeco-Egyptian iconography into a classical architectural framework, the tomb has the potential to visualize the culture in which the patron lived.

IV.3.3. The Main Tomb in the catacomb of Kom el-Shouqafa

The catacomb of Kom el-Shouqafa was discovered by El-Sayed Gibarah on 28 September 1900. It is located to the south-west of Diocletian's column in the Rhakotis quarter.[1453] To the west of the column was the Egyptian necropolis, 'in which there are many gardens and graves and halting-places fitted up for the embalming of corpses'.[1454] The presence of embalming-places is a clear proof of the Egyptian character of this part of the city. The Main Tomb in the catacomb illustrates the most fully conceived and convincing example of the fusion of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian architectural and iconographical traditions in Roman Alexandria.

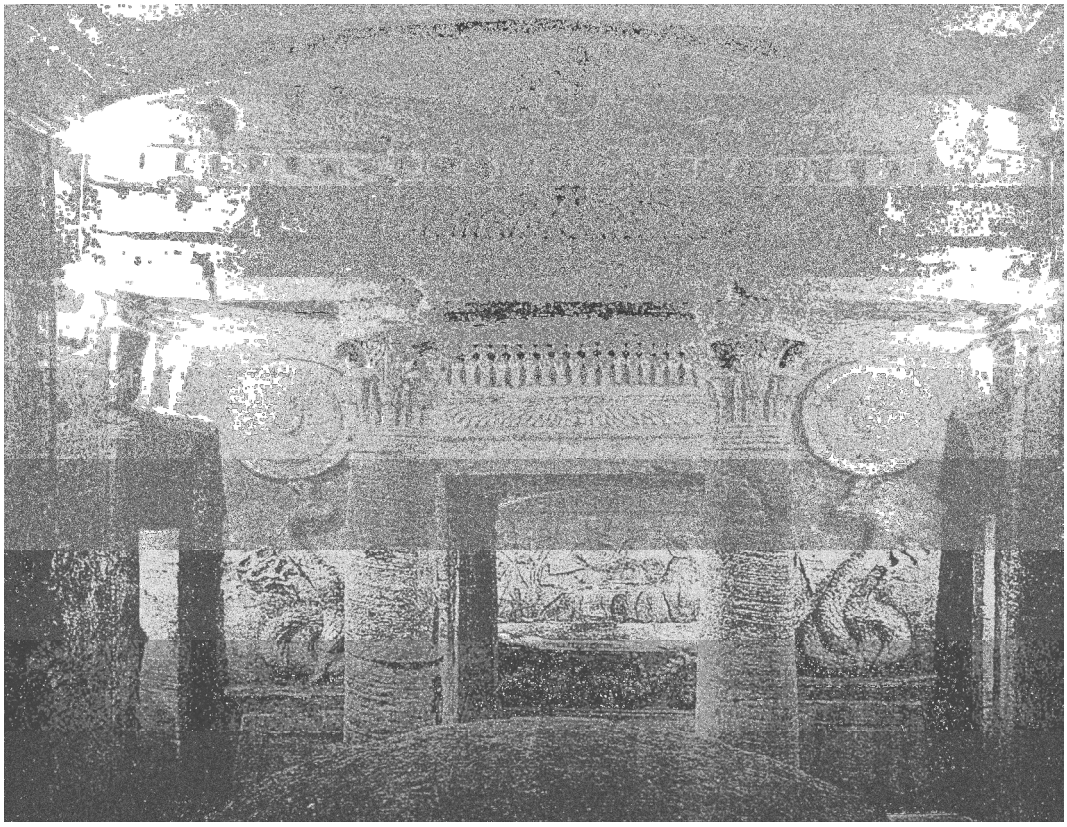
[1450] Diod. Sic. 1.85.4.
[1451] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 43.
[1452] Barth 1969.
[1453] McKenzie 2007, 193-4.
[1454] Strabo 17.1.10.



(Fig. 118)

The monumental structure of the catacomb (fig. 118) and the decoration of the Main Tomb suggested a patron with high economic status and perhaps important political connections.[1455] The façade of the pronaos equally combines Egyptian and classical symbols (fig. 119), but the naos depends largely upon Egyptian funerary themes.

[1455] Venit 2002a, 127-9.



(Fig. 119)

The façade consists of two columns *in antis*. The antae take the shape of engaged pilasters, the lowest part of which is carved with papyrus relief, while the upper part is topped by a five-tiered band and anta capital in Egyptian composite form, including palm, papyrus, and lotus. Floral elements are used in funerary architecture in accordance with Egyptian religious thoughts. Papyrus and lotus mirror features of the 'landscape of the first time', in which they played important parts. By memorializing it into architectural form, this landscape was made as permanent and sustainable as possible to keep the order of the universe. In a funerary context, the presence of this landscape was so important that the deceased might enjoy a blessed afterlife.[1456] Moreover, each plant has its symbolism which is connected more or less with Osiris, Re, and kingship. The lotus is a reminder that the sun god Re emerges as a sitting child from the flower during the creation of the universe. The papyrus refers to the place where Isis hid Horus after the murder of Osiris by Seth. The palm was

[1456] Frankfort 1948, 92-6, 154-5.

sacred to the gods of the sun, moon, and fertility.[1457] The columns consist of disk bases carved with papyrus relief, from which rises a shaft with entasis topped by a five-tiered band. The capital takes the form of the so-called Alexandrian Type III characterized by the helices rising apart back to back and flanked by corner volutes. However, the acanthus leaves from which the helices rise are replaced by papyrus stems.[1458] The capitals carry an abacus characteristic of traditional architecture and an architrave with a plain epistyle, a torus moulding, a frieze with a winged sun-disc flanked by falcons and topped by a row of dentils and a segmental pediment with a solar disc in the middle of the tympanum.

On each side of the Egyptian-style doorway to the burial chamber is a group of identical funerary icons. Each group represents the Agathodaimon upon a stand with sloping sides. Each snake wears the Egyptian double crown, symbolizing the unity of the province. It also carries on its coil a Greek thyrsus rod and a kerykeion. The thyrsus is rarely if ever depicted with Agathodaimon elsewhere, but the kerykeion is a common attribute of Agathodaimon on imperial coins. The association of Agathodaimon with Serapis probably explains the presence of the kerykeion in a funerary context.[1459] The thyrsus is related to Dionysus, who as a dying and regenerating deity was syncretised with Osiris. Thus for Plutarch, 'Osiris is the same as Dionysus'.[1460] The Agathodaimon is also carved at the entrance to the burial chamber for what are generally regarded as apotropaic reasons. The tomb is a sacred place and needs to be protected against those tending to violate its privacy. The shields of Athena which carry the head of Medusa ready to petrify whoever violates the tomb enhance the apotropaic role of Agathodaimon.[1461]

The burial chamber depends largely on Egyptian funerary themes associated with Osiris and Re. The identical Egyptian scenes of the two lateral niches are similar to those depicted in Pharaonic tombs and on mortuary papyri.[1462] The relief on the back wall of the left niche represents the Apis bull facing the central niche and

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[1457] Wilkinson 1994, 2.
[1458] McKenzie 2007, 117.
[1459] Venit 2002a, 129.
[1460] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 35.
[1461] On the full myth of Perseus and the Gorgon Medusa: Graves 1955, 237-40.
[1462] Venit 2002b, 270-1.

standing upon a trapezoidal pedestal with dentils (fig. 120). The scene is topped by a classical band of egg-and-dart which is repeated in the burial chamber.

(Fig. 120)

The bull wears a solar disc between his horns and a naos-shaped amulet. Before the bull there is an altar, from which papyrus and lotus spring in a similar arrangement to the *sm#-t#wy* symbol. An Emperor is depicted as a Pharaoh, wearing the kilt and double crown and presenting a collar to the bull. Behind the bull, Isis-Maat stands with her outstretched wings and holds the feather of Maat in her left hand and is crowned with a solar disc with a uraeus.[1463]

Images of deities and kings in tombs are meant to help the deceased in the afterlife. The figure of Maat dominates religious and funerary architecture. In a funerary context, the deceased should be declared *m#o-Xrw* or 'justified' to pass safely to the afterlife.[1464] Venit argued that the Emperor who makes offerings to the Apis bull is Vespasian (AD 69-79).[1465] She based her argument on the fact that the Main Tomb dates to an early Flavian date and the early emperors who are associated with Serapis and the Apis Bull and visited the Serapeum at Alexandria are Vespasian

[1463] Venit 2002a, 138-9.
[1464] Bell 1997, 128.
[1465] Venit 2002a, 143.

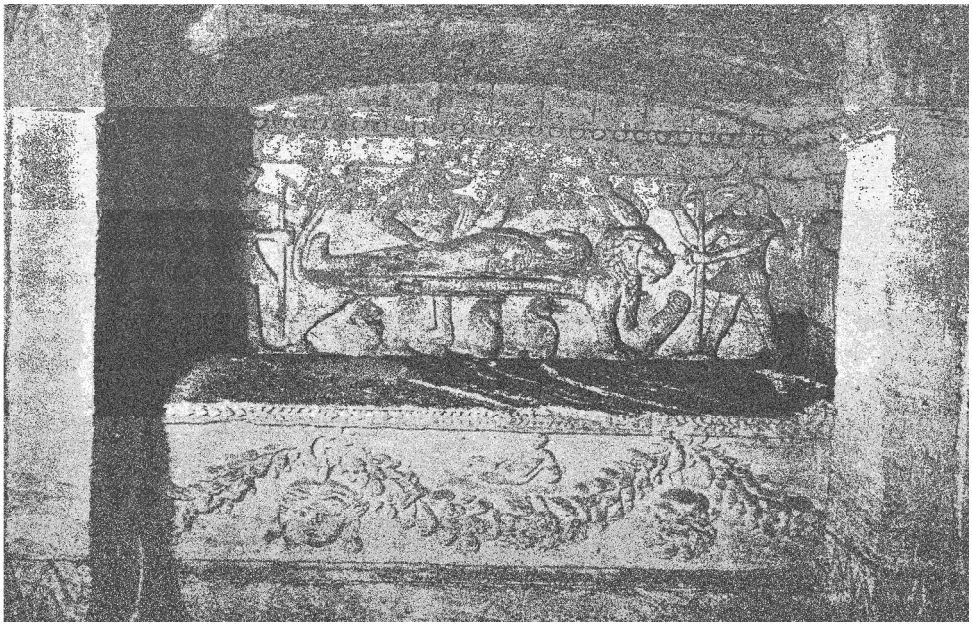
and Titus. Since Vespasian's connection with Alexandria is stronger than that of his son, she concludes that the figure represents Vespasian, who participated in the consecration of the Apis bull and was declaimed at Alexandria as son of Re, God Caesar, and son of Amun.[1466] Vespasian's visit to the city was a momentous event in the social, political, and religious life of Alexandria. But why does an Emperor offer to the Apis bull in a non-royal tomb? I would suggest that the Emperor is depicted as a Pharaoh making offerings for the benefit of the deceased. As a solar priest, the ruler was the most important officiant before the gods.[1467] Only the ruler enjoyed a dual nature as mortal and immortal. He was the son of Re and a god himself. He makes offerings on behalf of his subjects so that they could enjoy a blessed afterlife. He acts as an intercessor between the gods and his people. This intervention was thought to facilitate the deceased's journey into the afterlife.[1468] The making of offerings was important for maintaining Maat in the earthly life and in the next. Gertie Englund argued that the offerings are related to the concept of Maat, guaranteeing the order of the universe.[1469] The depiction of Isis-Maat, the personification of order, while she holds the feather of Maat perfectly accords with this view. The scene states that the deceased stood on the side of Maat in his earthly life so that he deserves to join the gods in the afterlife.

Unsurprisingly, the Apis bull is the central figure in the composition. The association of the Apis bull with Osiris provides a reason for the bull's depiction. Although Serapis was the main god of Roman Alexandria, his funerary role cannot be compared to that of Osiris. In magical papyri of Roman Egypt, Osiris remains the leading figure and Serapis is rarely mentioned.[1470] Serapis was a fusion of the dead Apis with Osiris in the form of Osiris-Apis.[1471] Osiris was the main god of death and had a double role as a dead and resurrected god. When the deceased is depicted as a mummified Osiris, he gains certain privileges, including being resurrected as Osiris and being protected by Isis and Nephthys.[1472]

[1466] Henrichs 1968, 53.
[1467] On the depiction of Augustus as a Pharaoh/high priest: Mond and Myers 1934, II, nos. 13-14.
[1468] Assmann 1995, 16.
[1469] Englund 2001.
[1470] *P.Oxy*. VI.886.
[1471] Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 36.
[1472] Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2004, 136.

Although the actual meaning of the images of Anubis shown in Roman military garb on the walls flanking the entrance to the burial chamber is problematic, they could have multiple meanings. It is not inconceivable that both reliefs of Anubis had an apotropaic significance. They could also represent Anubis-Hermes ready to lead away and protect the soul of the dead if necessary. In the context of Kom el-Shouqafa, any or both of these interpretations is probably correct. The scene of Osiris on the lion-headed couch is depicted on the rear wall of the central niche (fig. 121). Given its location, the scene was meant to be seen from the pronaos (fig. 119). All the figures depicted in the tomb direct the visitors' orientation and focus their attention on this central scene. The dining hall in the first floor of the catacomb suggests that banquets were held by family members, who must have come to the tomb at certain times of year. The scene on the back wall of the central niche shows Anubis embalming the mummy. Horus and Thoth flank the couch, the head of which takes the form of a lion's head wearing the *atef* crown of Osiris and holding the feather of Maat in its paw.[1473] The figures are depicted in traditional style. Horus holds a *was* scepter in his right hand and a small pot with a sprouting plant in his left. Thoth holds in his left hand a *was* scepter, an *ankh* symbol and crossed lotuses, and a handless cup in his right hand. Anubis places his right hand on the mummy and holds in his left hand a lotus-patterned cup filled with Nile water, which symbolized the discharge of the corpse of Osiris.[1474] Beneath the bier are three of the four viscera jars capped by lids representing three of the four sons of Horus. They are, from left to right: the jackal-headed Duamutef, who protects the stomach; the human-headed Imesty, who guards the liver; and the falcon-headed Qebehsenuef, who protects the intestines.[1475]

[1473] Venit 2002b, 271.
[1474] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 33; Assmann 2005, 355-63; Abbas 2010, 4-13.
[1475] Venit 2002a, 136-7.



(Fig. 121)

The scene is associated with Osirian mythology and embodies solar symbols. Osiris is the main focus of this composition. Although numerous Egyptian deities played a role in the afterlife,[1476] Osiris was the central ideological figure and ruler of the underworld.[1477] His female counterpart in this role was Hathor.[1478] The assimilation of the deceased to the form of Osiris facilitated the justification of the deceased. From at least the Fifth Dynasty (2492-2345 BC) onwards, the deceased ruler was equated with Osiris, while the living ruler was identified with Horus. From the First Intermediate Period (2181-2055 BC) onwards, the so-called 'democratization of the afterlife' guaranteed the same fate for any deceased.[1479] This ideology was maintained in Roman Egypt, when visual art and funerary iconography enriched the repertoire of earlier themes. Traditional Egyptian religious ideas about resurrection became clearer in the Roman period, when they were more graphically illustrated than in the previous periods.[1480] In Roman Egypt, Osiris continued to be honoured, and there were hieroglyphic carvers associated with his cult.[1481] The deity remained the central figure in rites of burial and mummification. Anubis was the

[1476] Smith 2008, 2.
[1477] Parlasca 1985, 98.
[1478] Smith 2008, 2.
[1479] Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 214.
[1480] Parlasca 1985, 99.
[1481] *P.Oxy*. VII.1029.

embalmer who mummified the deceased as he did to Osiris. The deceased was assimilated with Osiris and was represented in the form of the god, while the mummy imitates the appearance of Osiris to gain eternity.[1482]

Given its apotropaic significance, the lion's head of the couch provides the deceased with protection. In ancient Egyptian religion, lions, because they lived on the desert margins, were guardians of the eastern and western horizons, the places of sunrise and sunset.[1483] In this connection, a pair of lions supporting the sun disc between them sometimes replaced the eastern and western mountains on the hieroglyphic sign for horizon, the Akhet.[1484] Since the sun is born each morning and dies each evening, the lion is connected with death and rebirth and thus was portrayed on funerary couches to help the deceased in his rebirth in a similar way to the daily solar cycle. The lion wears an *atef* crown surmounted by a solar disc, suggesting a solar symbolism of renewal.[1485] Although crowns played a role in Greek and Roman funerary rituals, it is unnecessary to look for an explanation for their use in Egyptian contexts outside the sphere of Egyptian religion.[1486] Katja Goebs has argued that crowns are used in funerary contexts to symbolize ascent to the sky and rebirth.[1487] They play a role in the rites of passage, which transformed the deceased into an inhabitant of the sky. The hieroglyphic *Xow* embodies meanings like 'arising' and 'crowns'.[1488] This symbolism provides the rationale for placing crowns on the heads of mummies or lion-headed funerary biers.

The feather of Maat which the lion seizes in its paw is closely associated with the sun god. Maat is the daughter of Re, who is fashioned by him for the benefit of humans.[1489] It was necessary for the deceased to stand on the side of Maat as much as it was essential to be declared *m#o-Xrw* to enjoy eternity after death. Maat is the force by which chaos is kept away from overwhelming the earthly world as well as the next.[1490] By driving away the forces of chaos which abstract the dead, the feather of

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[1482] Griffiths 2001a, 617-8.
[1483] Rössler-Köhler 1980, 1085-6. See also Schweitzer 1984.
[1484] Houlihan 2001, 514.
[1485] Goebs 2001, 323-4.
[1486] Corcoran 1995, 62.
[1487] Goebs 2001, 322.
[1488] Wilson 1997a, 709.
[1489] Corcoran 1995, 63.
[1490] Teeter 2001, 319-21.

Maat guarantees a smooth transformation of the deceased into an *akh*. The sprouting plant which emerges from the cup which Horus holds represents resurrection. It indirectly recalls the funerary practice known as 'Osiris Bed', which is a mould in the form of Osiris filled with sprouting plants representing rebirth and resurrection as Osiris is associated with the Nile and its annual inundation.[1491] The pot is filled with elements of natural fertility: water; mud; and vegetation. The process of vegetation sprouting recalls rebirth and resurrection. The symbol of life, *ankh*, is shown near the nose of the lion's head endowing the mummy with life. In short, a one-to-one relationship between classical funerary architecture and iconography and Roman and Greek citizens cannot be assumed. Equally, there is no close correlation between traditional funerary themes and Egyptian legal identity. The hybridization of the tomb suggests that there were no strict cultural boundaries between legally-defined Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians.

IV.3.4. Tombs 1 and 2 (Persephone tombs) at the Hall of Caracalla

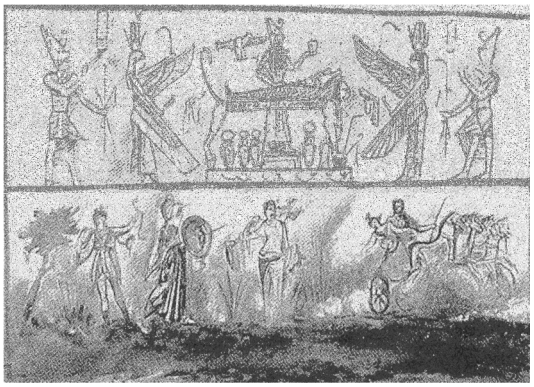
The Hall of Caracalla contains four individual rock-cut tombs.[1492] The paintings of Tomb 1 are badly damaged. The paintings of Tomb 2 are invisible in normal light, whereas those of Tombs 3 and 4 have totally disappeared. The iconography of Tombs 1 and 2 has recently been reconstituted by ultra-violet light.[1493]

Since the iconography of Tombs 1 and 2 is almost identical, the two tombs are considered together. Each tomb has a central wall and two lateral ones. The walls are divided into two registers: the upper shows scenes in Egyptian style, while the lower represents scenes in a Greek manner. The upper register on the central wall of each tomb shows the embalming of Osiris (figs. 122-123), where Osiris lies on the funerary bier, which is placed upon a base. In Tomb 1, two of the four viscera jars, Qebehsenuef (to the left) and Hapy (to the right), are placed upon the base (fig. 122),

[1491] Griffiths 2001a, 618.
[1492] Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 1997, 355.
[1493] Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2004, 133.

whereas the four jars are shown in Tomb 2 (fig. 123).

(Fig. 122)

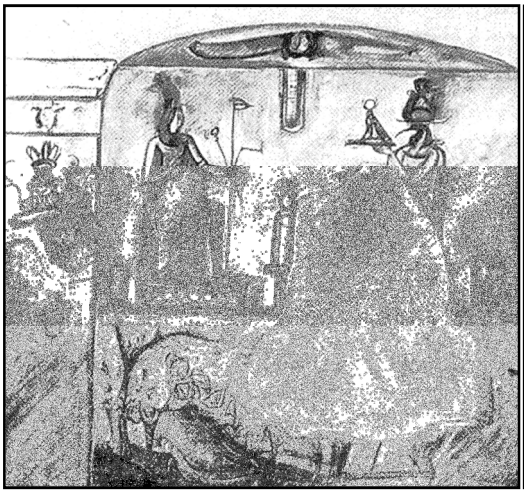


(Fig. 123)

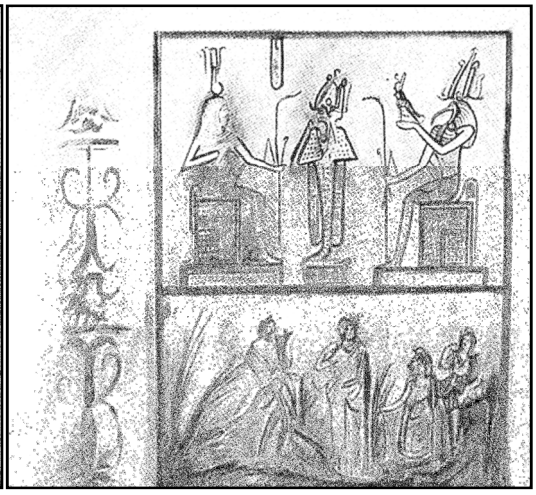
Anubis attends the mummy and wears a solar disc with a uraeus in Tomb 1 and the double crown in Tomb 2. The solar disc incorporates the sun god into the funerary ritual and refers to the intertwined link between Osiris and Re. Textual evidence from traditional temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods specifies two locations of the Duat, the realm of death: the first is the nocturnal sky, the realm of Re, and the second is the underworld, the realm of Osiris.[1494] The deceased did not only take the form of Osiris, but also requested the protection of Re. Isis and Nephthys protect the funerary bier with their outstretched wings. By fluttering their wings, the goddesses protect and recall Osiris and, by analogy, the deceased to life. In this context, Nephthys has an equal role to that of Isis and both are depicted in subordination to Osiris. Horus is depicted as an anthropomorphic and a falcon-headed deity. Between the heads of the standing figures are four columns of *pseudo*-hieroglyphs.[1495]

On the upper register on the left-hand wall of Tomb 1 (fig.124), Osiris sits upon his throne and wears the *atef* crown and holds his divine insignia. To the right, Thoth offers an image of a falcon to Osiris, a ritual which is thought to guarantee resurrection. The Osirian reliquary which contains the head of Osiris at Abydos is shown in the middle of the scene. It is placed upon a support and carries the Hathoric crown. The lunette is decorated with the winged sun-disc with two uraei.[1496]

[1494] Finnestad 1997, 212.
[1495] Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2004, 134-6.
[1496] Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 1997, 369.



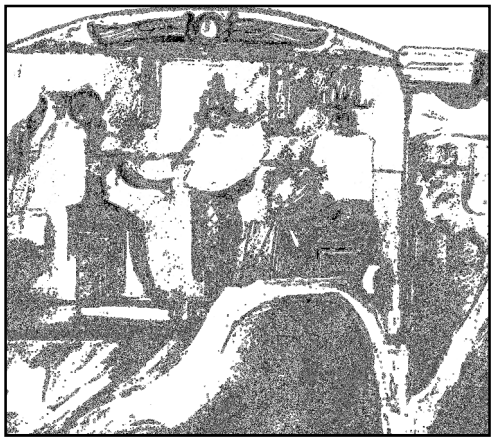
(Fig. 124)



(Fig. 125)

The upper register of the left-hand wall of Tomb 2 shows a similar scene (fig. 125). In the centre Osiris is shown as a mummiform figure standing and facing Isis. He is flanked by Isis and Thoth. Thoth offers to Osiris an image of a falcon and holds in his right hand the *heqa* scepter, the *nekhakha* flail and the *rnpt* sign. These guarantee for Osiris resurrection and eternal sovereignty over the realm of death. By having these images in his or her tomb, the deceased wished to be resurrected like Osiris.

The scene on the upper register of the right-hand wall of Tombs 1 and 2 concerns the resurrection of Osiris. In Tomb 1 (fig. 126), Osiris stands on a pedestal, wears a solar disc and is flanked by two deities: Horus the Child to the right and Sekhmet to the left. Sekhmet gives Osiris the *ankh* sign as an indication of his rebirth and resurrection.[1497] Between the figures are two columns of *pseudo*-hieroglyphs.



[1497] Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 1997, 369-70.

(Fig. 126) (Fig. 127)

The upper register on the right-hand wall of Tomb 2 shows a similar scene (fig. 127), but Osiris is flanked by Sekhmet to the left and Ptah-Sokar to the right. The identification of Osiris with Ptah-Sokar in the form of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris provides a reason for the presence of the god. Osiris was sometimes assimilated with Sokar, another underworld god associated with Ptah, the main god of Memphis.[1498] Sekhmet was the consort of Ptah. Both Sekhmet and Ptah-Sokar hold the *heqa* scepter, *nekhakha* flail and *renpet* sign.[1499] Two columns of *pseudo*-hieroglyphs are depicted between the figures.

The lower registers of Tombs 1 and 2 show three episodes from the Greek myth of the abduction of Persephone. Persephone was the daughter of Demeter, but the embodiment of the earth's fertility and queen of the underworld. She was picking flowers with the Oceanids when Hades burst through a cleft in the earth, abducted her in his chariot, and took her to the underworld. Demeter searched everywhere for her lost daughter. Finally, Zeus forced Hades to return Persephone, who was released to Hermes and reappeared in a cave at Eleusis.[1500] The central wall of the lower register in Tomb 1 (fig. 122) and 2 (fig. 123) has an identical scene: the abduction of Persephone by Hades in his chariot, one of the most common themes in Graeco-Roman funerary art. The scene appears in tombs at Vergina, northern Greece, which date to the fourth century BC, and in Roman tombs like the Flavian Tomb of the Haterii and on sarcophagi.[1501] The depiction of this part of the myth stresses her departure to the underworld, but 'the pain and violence of untimely death'.[1502]

In the Alexandrian tomb the scenes of Persephone are presented in the form of a narrative triptych which complements the funerary meaning of the Egyptian scenes above. The lower scenes on the left-hand wall of Tomb 1 (fig. 124) and 2 (fig. 125) show Persephone picking flowers in a rustic setting, accompanied by Demeter at least in Tomb 2, which illustrates her mortal life as a young woman. On the central wall Persephone is shown struggling with Hades, while in the left half of the scene

[1498] Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 214.
[1499] Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 1997, 382.
[1500] Graves 1955, 120-5.
[1501] Linder 1984; Andronikos 1994, Davies 2011, 37-9.
[1502] Newby 2011, 220.

three goddesses appear to respond to the act of abduction. On the left Artemis and Athena seem to be trying to intervene, while obscure traces of a figure above Aphrodite's shoulder have been identified with a small Eros shooting an arrow towards Hades and Persephone.[1503] However, the figures are shown in stereotypical poses, and their resistance is unconvincing. On the right-hand wall of Tomb 1 (fig. 126) and 2 (fig. 127) the lower scenes express the resurrection of Persephone and her return from the underworld, while Hermes is shown pouring libation to guarantee her safe passage from the underworld.[1504] The upper, Egyptian register also shows a narrative sequence in three distinct stages. On the left wall, Isis and Thoth make offerings to a headless Osiris or to the reliquary with his scattered remains. The central wall shows the mummification of Osiris by Anubis who restores his body with the water of the Nile. The paintings on the right-hand walls depict the final award to Osiris of the *ankh* symbol of life by Sekhmet and Isis. Through the representation of the preservation of body and soul together in eternal life the upper, Egyptian register consolidates the potentially ambiguous consolatory message of the Greek myth through a clearly delineated picture of the afterlife of the deceased. A comparison of Egyptian and classical scenes reveals a remarkable similarity in their religious conception; both Osiris and Hades are sovereigns of the underworld. Anubis and Hermes guide the deceased back to the world of living, and this why Anubis was identified with Hermes Psychopompos.[1505] Like Isis who searched for the dismembered body of her husband, Demeter searched for her daughter.[1506] Unlike many other tombs in Alexandria, these tombs strikingly do not fuse Egyptian and classical imagery. Rather, they represent three stages articulating the life, death, and rebirth of both Osiris and Persephone in two distinct styles.

The tombs have no direct representation of the deceased. Equally, nothing is known about the age of the deceased; there is even no reason to assume that she was a young girl because the myth occurs on funerary urns, chests and altars of children, men, and mature women.[1507] The Egyptian and pagan iconography suggests that their religious affiliation was not Jewish or Christian. One can surmise that the

[1503] Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2004, 135.
[1504] For the act of visiting and returning from the next life in Pharaonic Egypt: Hdt. 2.122.
[1505] Doxey 2001, 98.
[1506] Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2004, 135.
[1507] Newby 2011, 220.

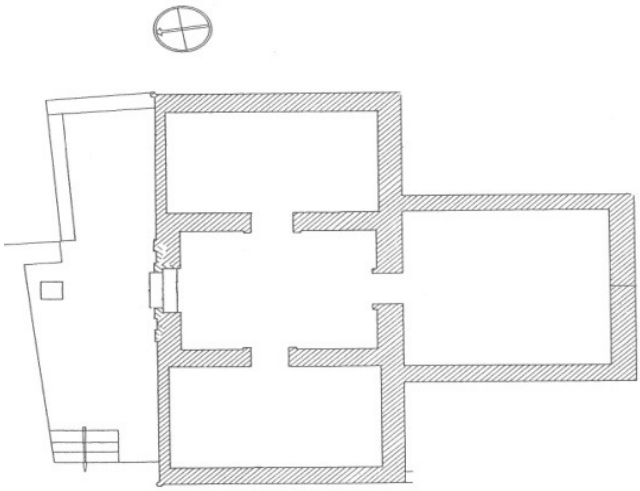
combination of Greek and Egyptian mythological and religious themes shows a high degree of inter-cultural awareness which was perhaps found only among Roman citizens or educated groups within Alexandria. As ethnicity concerns the expression of the self-conscious adherence to group identity,[1508] the co-existence of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian architectural and representational media cannot be understood as intended to visualize the patrons' belonging to a particular group. In this shared multicultural milieu, cultural markers such as funerary architecture and iconography were not given a particularly ethnic subjective significance. The tombs of Persephone articulated 'the intermingled cultural values and the dynamic interaction among ethnic identities in Roman Alexandria'.[1509] The Persephone tombs express compatible Egyptian and Graeco-Roman religious ideas through the depiction of a familiar myth in two distinct traditional styles. There is no other example of such parallel iconography in Egypt. As far as the culture of the patron is concerned, the tombs' programmes hints at the presence of families in whose life Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditions equally found a place.[1510] Egyptian and classical ideas are memorialized in tombs so that the deceased enjoys immortality. Identity is more complex that it first appears. The tombs argue for an extremely complex and sophisticated form of cultural identity in which Egyptian and Graeco-Roman traditions were amalgamated.

[1508] Morgan 1991, 131.
[1509] Venit 2002a, 145.
[1510] Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2004, 135-7.

IV.4. ROMAN-PERIOD TOMBS IN THE *CHORA*

IV.4.1. Tomb 21 at Tuna el-Gebel

The tomb is in the necropolis of Hermopolis Magna.[1511] In the Dynastic period, the area held several names like *t#-Hsrt* (the necropolis)[1512] and *%mnw p#-mkt* (Khemenu, the protector).[1513] Since the Ptolemaic period, it was called Θωνις, the Greek adaptation of *t#-Hnt* (the lake or the basin), one of the Egyptian names of the necropolis. *T#-Hnt* is preserved in the modern name of Hod Tuna (Basin of Tuna).[1514]



(Fig. 128)

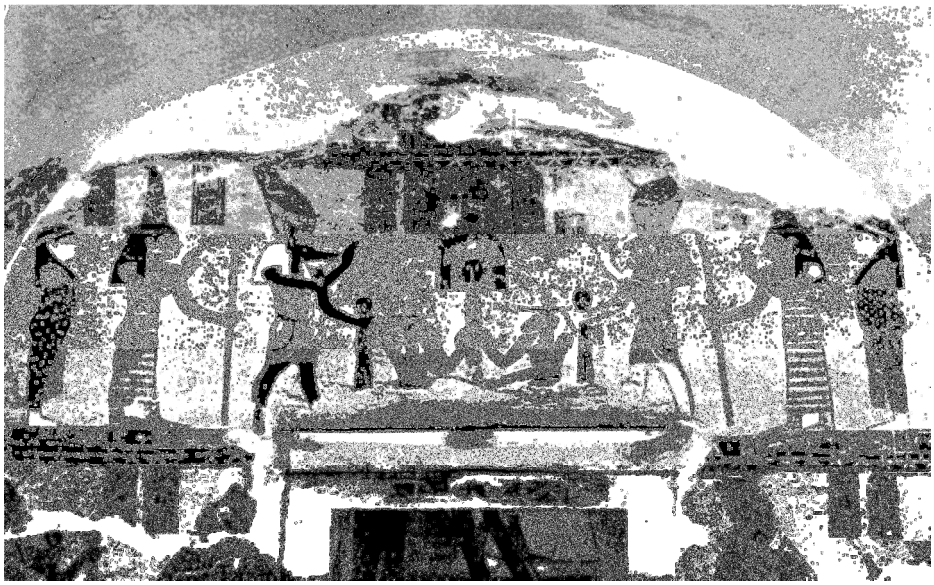
Upon its discovery, Sami Gabra, the tomb's excavator, called it a funerary house, because tombs at Tuna el-Gebel are arrayed along streets and have multiple rooms, doors, and windows. The architectural arrangement of the tomb (fig. 128) reflects contemporary conceptions which considered the tomb a dwelling place of the dead.[1515] The tomb dates to the first century and is the burial place of Ta-sheryt (. . .). Inscriptions in the tomb do not indicate her age, but the first part of her name implies that she died as an unmarried girl. Young women who died before marriage were worthy of a fine burial: 'Richer burials may compensate the prematurely dead for what they have missed in life and a girl's family might have supported an

[1511] Zayed 1960, 83.
[1512] Gardiner 1948, 29.
[1513] Gabra et al.1941, 11.
[1514] Yoyette 1958, 428-9.
[1515] Gabra et al. 1941, 11.

independent burial for her more readily than a husband would have'.[1516] In Roman Egypt, the prematurely dead were the objects of special veneration.[1517]

The adjacent Tomb of Isidora, a Greek girl for whom her father constructed the tomb, gives a good parallel. The tomb is an example of the fusion of eastern Mediterranean layout with classical elements of architectural ornament, the spirally fluted columns and conch, above an Egyptian funerary couch. The Greek verse inscriptions on the side walls of the opening onto the burial chamber follow a typically Greek mythological idea.[1518] Tombs 1 and 2 at Terenuthis equally blend Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditional features, where the deceased is shown in the funerary niche wearing a toga and reclining on a *kline* in the company of the god Anubis and figures of Horus-falcon and Anubis-jackals.[1519]

The lintel of the front door of Tomb 21 is carved with a cavetto cornice, itself surmounted by a triangular pediment. In Tomb 21 the first scene of interest is the Osirian reliquary (fig. 129) on the south wall of the first decorated chamber; it recalls the scene on the left wall of Persephone Tomb 1 (fig. 124).



(Fig. 129)

[1516] Riggs 2005, 131.
[1517] Chauveau 1990, 6.
[1518] Graindor 1932, 112-15; Gabra et al. 1941, 67-72; Gabra 1971, 71-92; Thomas 1992, 319.
[1519] Farid 1973, 21-6, pls. i-xvii; Hawwass 1979, 75-87; Abdel All 1983, 73-8, pls. i-xxxiii; Montserrat 1992, 306 ; Kaplan 1999, 157-8, pls. 71c-72. See also (Appendix 3).

The scene symbolizes the rebirth of Osiris, who is represented through the Abydos reliquary, which is supported by the creator god Khnum. Horus and Anubis present Osiris with mummy bandages indispensable for his resurrection. Isis and Nephthys adore the god and give him the *renpet* sign of 'million of years'. The representation of the deceased twice as a mummiform figure indicates her desire to be mummified, resurrected, and enjoys an eternal life like Osiris. The presence of a *seshed* band around her head signals her transfigured state after justification.

The purification of the deceased by Horus and Thoth, depicted on the west wall of the first room, is unique (fig. 130). The female deceased wears a short-sleeved tunic with narrow stripes. An overskirt wraps her lower body and a shawl passes over her right shoulder. Although it lacks the typical knot which fixes the overskirt and shawl, Riggs argued that the garment is 'another version of the Egyptian tunic-and-mantle group'. The scene is interpreted as 'the liminal stage at which she [the deceased] enters the afterlife'.[1520]

(Fig. 130)

(Fig. 131)

Purification by gods began as a prerogative preserved only for kings. Its earliest occurrence is on the Twelfth Dynasty temple of Narmuthis. Whenever a king is shown being purified by Horus and Thoth, who pour a libation over him from upraised vessel, usually *Hs* vases, the scene expresses a ritual of purification, which was a prerequisite to kingship. The scene is referred to as 'the Baptism of the Pharaoh' by analogy with Christian baptism, through which a symbolic cleansing by water serves as an initiation into a legitimized religious life.[1521] Since the Ramesside

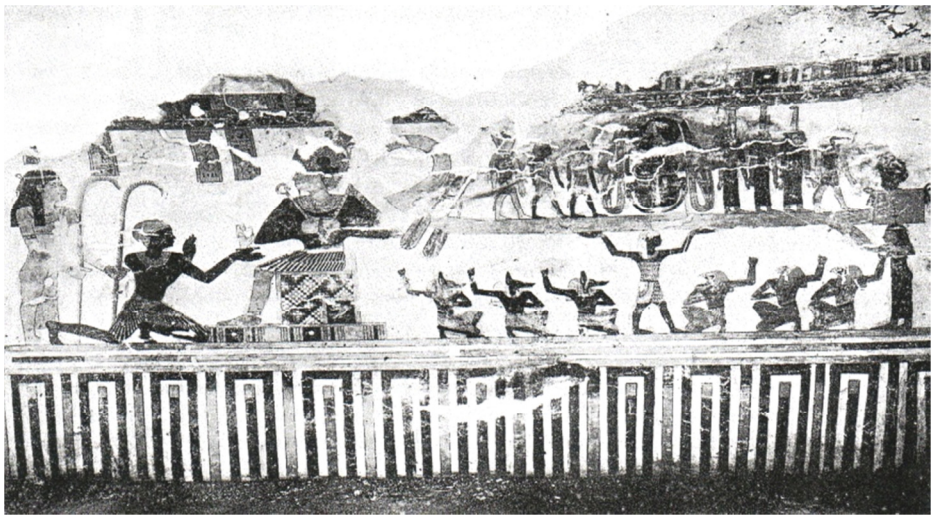
[1520] Riggs 2005, 135.
[1521] Gardiner 1950, 3-12.

period, the rite ceased to be a royal privilege and was depicted on private cartonnage coffins of non-royal individuals.[1522] The royal motif was popularly adapted to non-royal funerary use.[1523] Purification was a rite of passage between life and death and between profane and sacred spaces. The scene is depicted near the main entrance, indicating that the deceased was still connected with the earthly world and thus had a human appearance. However, the indigenous dress and the unbound hair declare that she approaches a new state.[1524]

The deceased is accompanied by her shadow (*Swt*), which is depicted as a black and shrivelled corpse.[1525] It is an important aspect of the Egyptian self. Representation of shadows in funerary iconography was probably transferred from the Egyptian practice of 'carrying an image of a corpse in a coffin at rich men's banquets'.[1526] Probably, the practice of bringing a skeleton to symposium and its representation in funerary art transferred to the Hellenistic and Roman worlds from Egypt by way of Alexandria.[1527] Another scene, depicted on the opposite wall, announces the transfigured state of the deceased, who wears a sheath dress, broad collar, and a *seshed* fillet (fig. 131). She raises a hand in adoration and is followed by her shadow, which is depicted as an animated skeleton raising hands in adoration. A goddess, certainly Hathor, holds the deceased from her left hand and leads her to a god, presumably Osiris. In case of female deceased, Hathor takes on the role of Anubis and guides the deceased to Osiris. The scene equals the deceased with Egyptian deities in appearance and artistic execution.[1528] The presence of self-representations of the deceased and the figure of Hathor instead of Anubis stresses the patron's female gender as an important aspect of her personal identity in a similar way to the use of attributes of female deities in the Stagni Painted Tomb at Alexandria.[1529]

[1522] Corcoran 1997, 47.
[1523] Corcoran 1995, 59.
[1524] Riggs 2005, 135-6.
[1525] Gabra 1971, 93-99.
[1526] Hdt. 2.78; Plut. *De Is. et Os.*17.
[1527] Dunbabin 1986, 208-11.
[1528] Riggs 2005, 136.
[1529] See Venit 1999.

A vigil from Chapter 16 of the Book of the Dead is depicted on the eastern wall of the burial chamber (fig. 132).[1530] It shows the solar boat, which is carried upon the hands of the god Shu, sailing towards the eastern mountain.[1531] In the middle of the boat the sun god takes the form of Khepri, the scarab beetle, who pushes the solar disc. He is encircled by the *mHn* serpent. The ibis-headed Thoth is shown at the prow, being followed by Maat, Isis, and Nephthys. Horus, Sia and Hu are depicted behind the sun-god. As personifications of perception and utterance, Sia and Hu were responsible for the resurrection of the sun from the primeval waters.[1532]



(Fig. 132)

Under the boat there are six falcon- and jackal-headed genii.[1533] By raising one of their hands and striking the heart with the closed fist of the other, they perform the *hekenou* gesture. Osiris is shown sitting upon his throne to the left side of the solar bark of Re, reflecting the intertwined link between the two gods. A youth offers an

[1530] This spell lacks texts, except for legends. It consists merely of vignettes applicable to Spell 15. Spell 15/a reads as 'Adoring Re as he rises from the eastern horizon of the sky. Osiris NN (the deceased) shall say: O you are disc, lord of rays, who rises from the horizon every day, may you shine in Osiris NN's face when he adores you in the morning and gladdens you in the evening. May you let Osiris NN's soul ascend with you to the sky. Spell 15/b reads as 'Hail to you, Horakhti, you are Khepri who came into being of himself. How beautiful is your rising from the horizon, when you illuminate the Two Lands with your rays. All the Gods are rejoicing when they see you as King of the whole sky with the *wnwt*-cobra abiding on your head and the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt on your pate. She (the cobra) has taken her seat on your brow, while Thoth abides at the prow of your bark, punishing your enemies' (Allen 1974, 12, 26).

[1531] Gabra et al.1941, 50.

[1532] Corcoran 1995, 59.

[1533] The six genii may represent the souls of Buto and Hierakonpolis, who exalt the sun god when he rises by performing the *hekenou* gesture of rejoicing (Allen 1974, 17).

image of Maat to Osiris. Behind the youth, Maat holds two *renpet* signs.[1534] As the scene symbolizes sunrise, its depiction on the eastern wall of the burial chamber reflects a notion of *decor* and indicates a clear understanding of Egyptian religious conceptions.

Of special interest is the scene of Osiris on the funerary bier (fig. 133). All figures in the tomb are oriented towards this scene, highlighting its significance.[1535] It was intended to attract and focus the attention of visitors on Osiris. This recalls the direction of figures at Kom el-Shouqafa (fig. 120). The scene occupies the southern wall of the burial chamber, where Anubis places his hands on the mummy, whereas Isis and Nephthys kneel upon plinths, raise a hand in a gesture of mourning, and place the other on their thighs.[1536] A jackal-headed and a baboon-headed figure are depicted raising hands in adoration. While the jackal-headed figure is another representation of Anubis, the baboon-headed represents Thoth. [1537]

(Fig. 133)

The composition represents the rejuvenation of Osiris accompanied by protective formulae and complementary texts, which are hanging from a starred band. This mode of representation repeats a wider Pharaonic motif of the divine text

[1534] Gabra et al. 1941, 50.
[1535] Riggs 2005, 132, fig. 57.
[1536] Gabra et al. 1941, 49.
[1537] The depiction of a baboon in a funerary context recalls Chapter 126 of the Book of the Dead, where four baboons sit at the prow of the solar boat of Re (Allen 1974, 102).

hanging from heaven. The text in front of Isis (first from right) reads as: 'The two arms are upon you, her brother, Osiris, I am'. The two columns facing Anubis read as: 'Recitation by Osiris, living eternally' and 'Recitation by Anubis, son of Osiris'. Finally, the column in front of Nephthys (to the left) reads as: 'Recitation by Wadjet, the sister of gods'.[1538] The presence of hieroglyphs confirms that this indigenous script was still used in first-century tombs, and shows again how images and texts could be used in a complementary manner in funerary iconography.

The inscriptions allude to the *Stundenwachen* texts of Egyptian temples built in Ptolemaic and Roman times. These are spells recited on the night of burial to place the mummy under the protection of traditional deities. The *Stundenwachen* included the recitation of protective formulae by priests and priestesses assuming the roles of deities associated with death.[1539] These rituals were originally performed in the cult of Osiris, but they were adapted to serve the deceased in a similar way to the addition of the deceased's name after Osiris in tomb inscriptions and on mortuary papyri.[1540] The deceased wishes to be escorted by the protective arms of Isis and Nephthys. Then the text alludes to the words recited by the priests playing the roles of Osiris and Anubis in the rites. It hints at the words recited by the goddess Wadjet, the sister of Nephthys. The placing of such mortuary texts on the walls of tombs lends the rituals eternity and thus ensures their recurrence without human intervention.[1541] By possessing a copy of such texts, the deceased wished to participate in the rejuvenation of Osiris and wanted be resurrected like the deity.

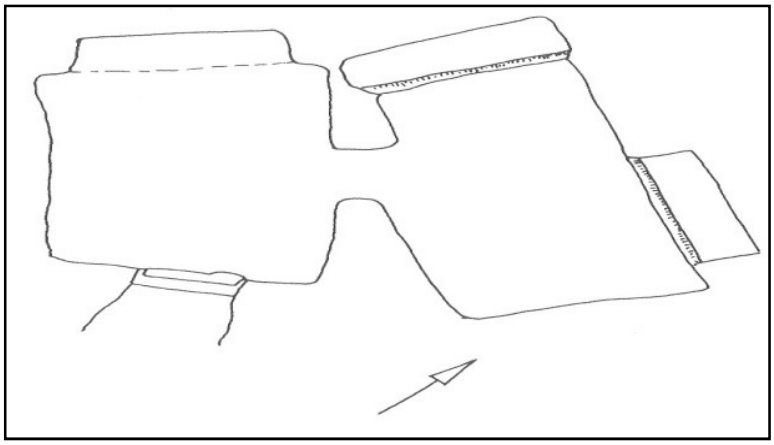
From an artistic point of view, the scene accords with 'the pairing conception' of Egyptian art. For example, this happens where the central figure of Osiris is flanked by Isis and Nephthys. The scene thus indicates the importance of 'antithetical arrangement' in Egyptian art and confirms that funerary iconography in Roman Egypt continued to use such pairs of duplicates. This recalls the scene of Osiris on the lion-headed couch at Kom el-Shouqafa (fig. 121). The scene also exploits ornaments which are mainly used in royal tombs of the Dynastic period. It is topped by a starred band and is framed from below by a band of coloured rectangles

[1538] Gabra et al. 1941, 49.
[1539] Assmann 1986, 104.
[1540] Smith 2006b, 218.
[1541] Smith 2009, 12-3.

suggesting a palace-façade.[1542] A clear example of the starred band occurs in the burial chamber of the Tomb of Tuthmosis III (KV 34) in the Valley of the Kings, while a good example of the palace-façade panelling occurs in the burial chamber of the Tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9) in the Valley of the Kings.[1543] The use of Egyptian ornament in the Roman period indicates the presence of competent artists, who were trained in the execution and application of traditional decorative features in funerary architecture. The combination of Graeco-Egyptian architectural details and traditional vocabulary suggests that Ta-sheryt(…) and probably her family had a mixed cultural heritage. The same holds true of the contemporary Tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhla oasis.

IV.4.2. The Tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhla Oasis

This rock-cut tomb (fig. 134) is located at Qaret el-Muzawaqa (the decorated hill). The approximate date of a demotic graffito in the neighbouring, similarly aligned tomb of Petubastis, a priest of Thoth, provides the basis for dating the Tomb of Petosiris to the first century.[1544] The tomb's decoration is devoted only to Petosiris, suggesting that the tomb originally was the burial place of Petosiris. Later on, it probably received other members of his family.

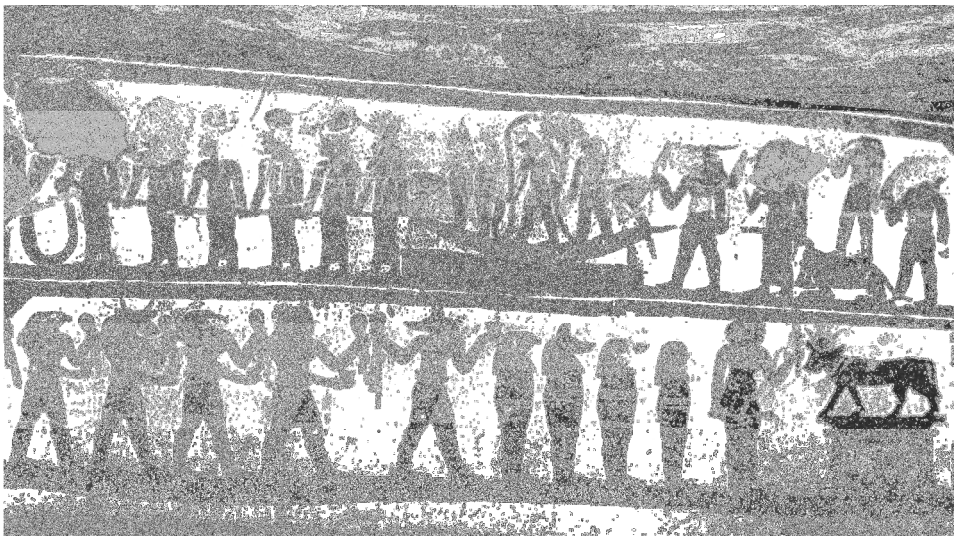


(Fig. 134)

[1542] Riggs 2005, 132.
[1543] Seidel 2004, 221 (fig. 139) and 226 (fig. 141) respectively.
[1544] Riggs 2005, 161.

The tomb sheds light on religious and funerary life in the Dakhla oasis in the first century.[1545] The tomb is a good example of the biculturalism of funerary iconography. While Petosiris is shown in Roman dress, the iconographical vocabulary relies upon Egyptian traditional themes related to Osiris and Re.

The upper register of the south wall of the outer room (fig. 135) has an important scene, the content of which is derived from the Book of the Dead.[1546]



(Fig. 135)

Petosiris is depicted on the left of the scene (not shown in fig. 135). Maat is shown behind him. Then six hour goddesses, characterized by solar discs on their heads, are shown pulling the solar boat.[1547] In the middle of the boat the ram-headed sun god is standing and grasping the *mHn* serpent that encircles the god like a canopy.[1548] Horus steers at the back of the boat, while two mummies are shown at the front of the boat. A ram-headed god and a partially preserved goddess are shown behind the boat holding knives on their hands. Behind them Thoth is represented standing upon a lioness. In the rear part of the scene a Bes-shaped god and an ape-headed goddess (not shown in fig. 135) hold knives.[1549] The scene represents the participation of the

[1545] Whitehouse 1998, 253.
[1546] On the Book of the Dead: Allen 1974; Hornung 1999, 13-22.
[1547] Osing et al 1982, 83.
[1548] Winlock 1936, 36.
[1549] Osing et al 1982, 83-4.

deceased in the night journey of Re in the hope that he would pass safely the threats of the underworld.

The lower register of the same wall has a funerary scene, representing seven deities to the left holding mummy bandages and Natron cups (fig. 135). Anubis is shown in the middle holding the same objects. Before him the four sons of Horus are shown as mummiform figures. A solar goddess is depicted with a characteristic head in the form of a solar disc containing the *Oudjat* eye. She holds the *sekhem* scepter and a torch. On the right of the scene is the funerary shrine containing an anthropoid mummy upon which a falcon is shown standing. A cow goddess is shown over the shrine wearing a solar disc between her horns surmounted by two feathers.

The intent and content of this scene recall vignettes of Chapter 162 of the Book of the Dead, which places the deceased under the protection of the heavenly cow.[1550] An episode from this chapter states that: 'This is a greatest protection which the heavenly cow used for her son Re at his setting, when his seat was surrounded by enthusiastic troops with kindled faces. If you put this goddess at the throat of the king after death, he shall be divine in the god's domain and shall not be kept from the gates of the underworld'. The episode continues 'O Father, Most Hidden of the Hidden Ones, watch over this corpse of your son Osiris NN [the deceased] that you keep him sound in the god's domain'.[1551] The scene articulates profound Egyptian traditional ideas about the afterlife. The placing of the mummy under the protection of the heavenly cow guaranteed to the deceased safe passage through the gates of the underworld.

[1550] Osing et al 1982, 83.
[1551] Allen 1974, 157-8. On the concepts 'Osiris NN' and 'Osiris of NN': Smith 2006a.

(Fig. 136)

Another scene is depicted on the upper register of the northern wall of the outer room (fig. 136). It depicts eight jackal- and human-headed *ba* birds adoring the sun god, who is shown in the middle of the scene raising the sky upon his hands.[1552] The scene mirrors a vignette of Chapter 16 of the Book of the Dead.[1553] The transfiguration of the deceased and his passage from life to death and then from death to life was a major concern of ancient Egyptian religion.[1554] These ideas were communicated in tomb iconography by showing the deceased in different forms and aspects (mummy, *ba*, *ka* and *akh*).[1555] The *ba*, literally 'what is immanent' or 'visible manifestation', represented the deceased who live an animated existence after death. It is often translated as 'the soul', however. The *ba* is not a part of an individual, but the whole of a person as he or she appears after death.[1556] Like Greeks and Babylonians, manifestations of the dead were perceived in ancient Egypt as birdlike spirits fluttering near their former haunts. An individual's complete personality after death consisted of the body and *ba*.[1557] This is why the *ba* is normally depicted hovering near the deceased's body (figs. 116, 122); over his mummy (figs. 126-7) or upon his figure (fig. 138). The scene thus represents Petosiris in his *ba* aspect

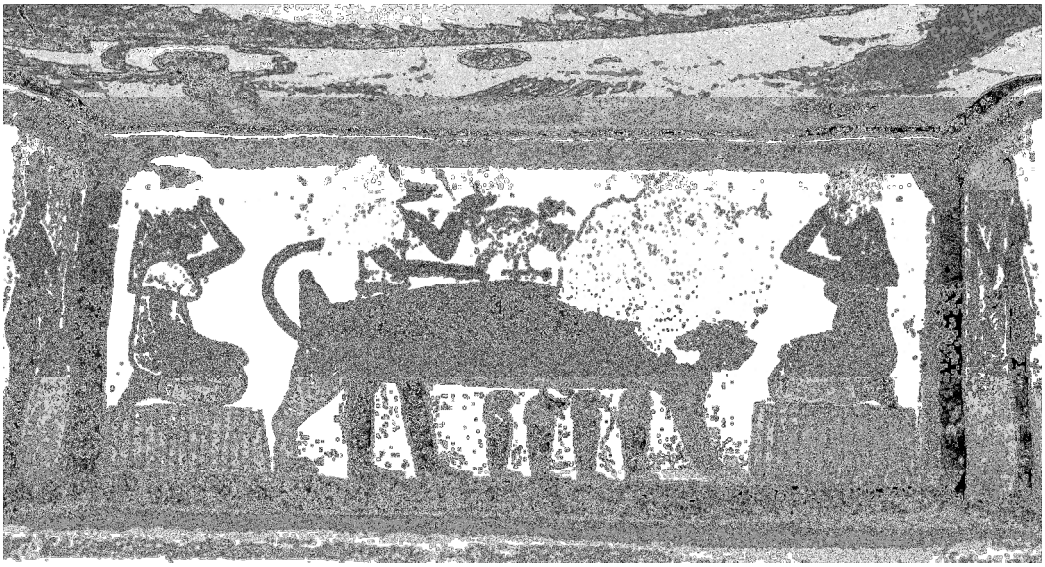
[1552] Whitehouse 1998, 257.
[1553] Osing et al 1982, 85. For this vignette: Allen 1974, 12-26.
[1554] Frankfort 2002, 100-2.
[1555] Riggs 2005, 126.
[1556] Smith 2009, 4-5.
[1557] Frankfort 1948, 96-8.

adoring the sun god. It places a particular emphasis on the *ba* bird, as the inscription on to the left wall of the entrance to the second room does.

The lower register of the same wall shows the central topic of Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, the Judgment of the Dead. As the ruler of the underworld, the scene places Osiris as the supreme arbiter in the Judgment of the Dead.[1558] To the right, Osiris sits on his throne, wears the *atef* crown, and holds his royal insignia. Behind him Horus wears a solar disc and stands upon a papyrus blossom. In front of Osiris, Ammut stands upon a shrine-shaped pedestal, upon which is an altar. Behind Ammut, Thoth records the results of the weighing of the deceased's heart, while Anubis and Horus attend the balance. Petosiris is depicted beside the balance as a *ba* and as anthropomorphic on the top of the scene. He is clad in a jubilee mantle, where Maat raises his hand in a gesture of triumph.[1559] The scene represents the judgment of Petosiris and his innocence in the Hall of the Two Truths. Within the mixed cultural heritage of this society such funerary vocabulary was not preserved only for legally-defined Egyptians, but was available for Roman and Greek citizens.[1560]

The scene of Osiris on the lion-headed funerary bier occurs on the rear wall of the three body-length niches. Since the scene is nearly identical, only the one depicted on the upper register of the west wall of the outer room is considered (fig. 137).

[1558] Griffiths 2001a, 618; Allen 1974, 101.
[1559] Osing et al 1982, 85.
[1560] Compare the mask of T. Flavius Demetrius below.



(Fig. 137)

Anubis is shown placing a hand over the mummy and holding a cup with the other. Under the couch the four sons of Horus are depicted as mummiform figures. Isis and Nephthys are represented as kneeling females; they place one of their hands upon their heads in mourning and place the other on their thighs. The two side walls of the niche represent two standing female figures grasping a mummy bandage and a Natron cup.[1561]

The last scene to be considered is depicted on the northern wall of the outer room, just to the left of the doorway opening onto the second chamber. To the left, Petosiris wears a Roman toga and is accompanied by a hieroglyphic inscription (fig. 138).[1562] It is the only wall in the tomb that has not been divided into registers.[1563] Petosiris holds a papyrus roll in his left hand.[1564] Whitehouse suggests that the roll is not an attribute connected with earthly life, but has a specific funerary role. It represents, in her view, the 'letter of recommendation' which the deceased presents

[1561] Osing et al 1982, 87.
[1562] On the full transliteration of the text: Osing et al 1982, 92-3.
[1563] Riggs 2005, 63.
[1564] For statues of Emperors and senatorial members who are represented carrying similar scrolls in their hands: Goette 1990, pls. 4, 19, 21-22.

to Anubis in funerary stelae.[1565] However, it was probably a document containing a ritual for his passage through the underworld or his introduction to it.[1566]

(Fig. 138)

Petosiris is shown as the recipient of a funerary cult, a key aspect of traditional mortuary practices.[1567] The priestly figures who offer to Petosiris are depicted in differing styles. The priest further from Petosiris is shown in traditional style as a fecundity figure, whereas the other priest is shown with a bald head and wears a white garment, which envelops his body from the chest down.[1568] Above Petosiris there is a *ba* bird.[1569] Adjacent to the *ba* is a row of three standards, hawk, ibis, and

[1565] Whitehouse 1998, 261.
[1566] Coenen 1995, 32.
[1567] Riggs 2002, 96.
[1568] The shaven heads and the linen garment are characteristic of Egyptian priests in general (Hdt. 2.36-7). Yet the Greek representation of the priestly figure seems to fit more with the devotees and priests of Isis (Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 3; Apul. *Met*. 11.10).
[1569] Riggs 2005, 163.

jackal. A fourth standard of another jackal might be added in allusion either to the burial procession or to the festival of Sokar referred to in the adjacent inscription.[1570]

The inscription starts in a vertical column behind Petosiris and continues into horizontal lines beside his head:

> O Osiris-Petosiris, may you be great, strong, and powerful. May you follow Osiris; may your *ba* follow Sokar; may you follow Osiris everyday; may you enter and leave the Necropolis [the tomb] freely, may your *ka* travel to heaven to join the gods and goddesses living there, may you receive a wreath during the day of the twenty-fifth and on the morning of the twenty-sixth [the mysteries of Osiris and the festival of Sokar held in Khoiak], may this [your] body reach Osiris, may you take wing like an ibis, may you alight as the alighting hawk without your *ba* coming across any obstacle in the underworld, forever.[1571]

This text contributes to the iconography, supplying additional information about Petosiris' religious and funerary beliefs which could not be represented visually.[1572]. It starts by addressing Petosiris as an Osiris-Petosiris. The addition of the Osiris appellation before the name of the deceased signals the altered state of the dead. Since Osiris has a distinct identity, the phrase should not be understood as the deceased becoming Osiris. Instead, being an 'Osiris-NN' is another aspect of the deceased. This is clear from the presence of the alternative phrase 'Osiris of NN', where the genitive *n* was sometimes inserted between Osiris and the deceased's name.[1573] Mark Smith argued that the acquisition of an Osiris-aspect meant that the deceased was recognized as and became one of the worshippers of Osiris in the underworld.[1574] By being a follower of Osiris, Osiris-Petosiris could enjoy eternity.

The text then addresses the *ba* and *ka* aspects of Petosiris. It refers to the intertwined relationship between the festival of Sokar and the mysteries of Osiris annually celebrated in Khoiak.[1575] The festival of Sokar was an important traditional celebration that enlivened the life of Theban inhabitants down to the Roman period. However, the history of Sokar and his feasts first appeared *c*. 3000-2686 BC. As

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[1570] Griffiths 1982, 243-4; Brovarski 1984, 1055-74; Whitehouse 1998, 258.
[1571] Translation: Osing et al 1982, 92, pl. 71.
[1572] Parker 2003, 211.
[1573] Riggs 2005, 42.
[1574] Smith 2009, 6-7.
[1575] Riggs 2005, 35.

gods of the necropolis, the mysteries of Osiris and the festival of Sokar were linked together. In cultic terms, the festivals of Sokar were influenced by the rites and festivals of Osiris.[1576] From the Ptolemaic period Sokar became a form of Osiris and the feast of Sokar was assimilated into the Khoiak festival of Osiris. Thus the Khoiak festival was lengthened and began on 12 Khoiak and lasted until the end of the month.[1577] Sokar only had 26 Khoiak as his feast day. The resurrection of Osiris and his interment took place on the festivals of Osiris and Sokar.[1578] On 30 Khoiak, the erection of the *Djed* pillar was celebrated.[1579]

The festivals commemorated the triumph and justification of Osiris over Seth. The text wishes the participation of the *ba* of Petosiris in the festival of Sokar, and hopes that Petosiris reaches Osiris and receives a wreath on the day of 25 Khoiak and the morning of 26 Khoiak. By possessing a copy of this text, Petosiris wished to participate in the resurrection and triumph of Osiris. In Egyptian mortuary literature, the dead were not confined to the tomb and the underworld. Rather, they were free to leave and return to the underworld in the right circumstances. The tomb was just a resting place for the dead.[1580] The *ba* could leave the tomb and engage in the sacred festivals associated with Osiris and Sokar.[1581] This is why the text wishes the deceased a free exit and entry from the tomb. After engaging in such activities, the *ba* rejoins the body in the underworld and maintains it in a state of life.[1582]

The participation of the *ba* in such festivals granted the deceased certain privileges. Petosiris was resurrected like Osiris and triumphed over his enemies. This is why the text ends with a wish that the *ba* may not face any obstacle in the underworld. Moreover, it renews the transfiguration of the deceased into an *akh*. Receiving a wreath marked the justification of Petosiris in a similar way to the 'wreath of justification' (*m#H=n m#o-Xrw*) of Chapters 19 and 20 of the Book of the Dead, which were recited when a wreath was bound on the brow of the deceased in

[1576] Gaballa and Kitchen 1969, 1-23.
[1577] Chassinat 1966, 69-73.
[1578] Fairman 1954-55, 182-92.
[1579] Gaballa and Kitchen 1969, 71.
[1580] Smith 2009, 3-9.
[1581] Assmann 2001, 120-31.
[1582] Smith 2009, 5.

anticipation of his/her reward in the Hall of the Two Truths.[1583] The wreath symbolizes the vindication of Osiris by Horus against Seth and his companions.[1584] By justification, Osiris triumphed over death and became immortal. Likewise, all the dead hoped to be revived and justified.[1585] The toga was the official garment of Roman citizens and could serve as a visual badge of citizenship. Pliny says that the toga was worn by kings, and mentions Tullus Hostilius and Servius.[1586] Vergil and Tacitus presented the toga as a symbol of Roman culture.[1587] Suetonius states that 'He [Augustus] was also keen to bring back the style and dress of yesteryear. He once saw a crowd of men at a meeting clad in dirty cloaks. Filled with indignation he cried, 'Look at the Romans, the conquerors of the world, the race that wears the toga'.[1588] The privilege of wearing the toga, its colour and decoration were prescribed by Roman law. As wearing the toga was forbidden for slaves, exiles, and non-citizens, the garment can been seen as a marker of Roman citizenship.[1589] Since Roman citizens are often shown in portrait statues and funerary reliefs draped in the toga, modern scholars have emphasized that the wearing of the circular garment was a strong ideological statement of Roman civic identity.[1590] Although the use of hieroglyphic inscriptions and traditional iconography does not guarantee that the patron was Egyptian, it too was a religious ideological statement. Being Roman in dress and Egyptian in religion indicates that Petosiris did not attach himself to one specific cultural mode. Instead, he presented a mixture of cultural traditions in his tomb.

[1583] Hornung 1999, 24.
[1584] Corcoran 1995, 62.
[1585] Smith 2009, 6.
[1586] Plin. *NH* VIII.74, IX.63.
[1587] Verg. *Aen.* 1.282; Tac. *Ann*. I.59.4, *Agr*. 21.
[1588] Suet. *Augustus* 40.5.
[1589] Suet. *Claudius* 15; Plin. *Epist*. IV.11.3; Goette 1990, 2.
[1590] Wilson 1924; Vout 1996, 213-6; Goette 1990.

IV.5. THE 'DOUBLE STYLE', HYBRIDIZATION, AND BICULTURALISM IN FUNERARY ART

This section considers the so-called 'double style', hybridization, and biculturalism in funerary art. Mummy portraits and dress in tomb paintings are two cases in point. This section is divided into two parts: the first stresses the integration of portrait and mummy and suggests that mummy portraits should be understood within Egyptian religious and funerary contexts. It aims to show that the modern concepts of hybridity or creolisation are not applicable to the shared cultural situation in Roman Egypt.[1591] But the concepts of 'hybridization' and 'biculturalism' are more appropriate. Second, the integration of Graeco-Roman dress in tombs that combine or blend classical and Egyptian funerary traditions suggests that legal status was not closely associated with cultural markers.

Throughout ancient Egyptian history, the mummy was a distinctive feature of traditional funerary rites.[1592] In Roman period, classical writers considered the mummy an Egyptian means of dealing with the dead in a different way to their experiences.[1593] The placing of a naturalistic portrait of the deceased on the head of his or her mummy is interpreted by Castiglione as a duality of two artistic traditions: a Roman portrait and a mummy with its wrapping decorated with Egyptian funerary imagery (fig. 109).[1594] The combination of portraits and mummies indicates that those patrons experienced a culture in which Graeco-Roman and Egyptian cultural traditions were closely integrated. But does this combination of naturalistic portraits and Egyptian iconographical themes represent hybridity of the modern postcolonial experience? According to Homi Bhabha, hybrid identities emerge when two different cultures coming into contact with each other are juxtaposed and transformed into a new third identity that represents 'neither the one nor the other'.[1595] The hybrid identity is sometimes paralleled with creolization, which refers to the transformation of two different languages into a new form that completely differs from the two originary ones.[1596] It is clear that what we have here is not a hybrid identity that

[1591] On hybridity: Bhabha 1994. On Creolization: Abrahams 1983; Webster 2001.
[1592] Walker 1997, 1.
[1593] Dawson 1928, 106-12.
[1594] Castiglione 1961, 209-30.
[1595] Bhabha 1994, 211.
[1596] Abrahams 1983; Webster 2001.

reflects membership of neither Graeco-Roman nor Egyptian traditional culture. In contrast, it is a blending of a Graeco-Roman artistic feature, the portrait, into Egyptian religious and funerary traditions. The significance of incorporating mummy portraits into Egyptian funerary traditions needs to be studied within the context of contemporary funerary beliefs and practices: 'they must be seen as part of a large ensemble: the mummy'.[1597]

The portrait is an integral and inseparable artistic element of the mummy. Portraits were introduced in the first half of the first century for both artistic and funerary reasons.[1598] They were used before their inclusion in the mummy wrappings as they were hung in houses during the life of their owners.[1599] Portraits remained in use during the first four centuries of Roman rule in funerary contexts, because they depicted the deceased's facial features in a naturalist, but mostly ideal way. Hence, they were suitable for self and public presentation.[1600] Equally, the use of portraits in funerary contexts suited Egyptian traditional funerary beliefs, because they facilitated the identification of the *ba* with the deceased through his or her naturalistic facial features. This is why the *ba* is often depicted on mummy shrouds.[1601]

Borg argues that the meaning and function of portraits differ between Rome and Egypt:

> The portraits of the Romans, including sepulchral ones, were neither cult object nor necessary for life to come. They contributed to the survival of the deceased in the memory of their social surroundings. The portraits was never identified with the person depicted but was always understood as a representation. In contrast, the Egyptian mummy was *de facto* as well as symbolically the deceased himself. The Egyptian mask was the deceased's image as Osiris NN, and was therefore provided with his or her ideal, divine features.[1602]

The deceased wished to overcome death and gain eternal life through his close assimilation to Osiris. Both mummification and the divine appearance of the mummy

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[1597] Borg 2000, 75.
[1598] Walker 1997, 2.
[1599] Corcoran 1997, 48.
[1600] Borg 2000, 72.
[1601] Corcoran 1988a, 1988b.
[1602] Borg 1997, 28.

contributed to the protection of the deceased on his or her dangerous journey to the afterlife. The identical outer appearance of mummies did not result from a lack of imagination of Egyptians. Rather, it is a repetition of the appearance of Osiris which was an integral part of the hope for an afterlife. The replacement of the mask with the divine face of Osiris by the human portrait did not diminish the magic powers of the Osirian form. In addition to mummification and other funerary rituals, the naturalistic portrait facilitated and guaranteed the identification of the dead with Osiris.[1603]

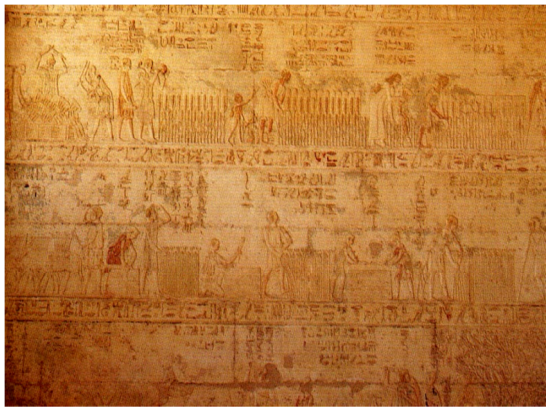
In short, portraits served the funerary context in which they were embedded. The incorporation of portrait and mummy does not create the hybrid identity or 'third space' of Bhabha. The inclusion of portraits in Egyptian funerary space seems to have deprived them of their meaning elsewhere in the Roman world. The combination of Graeco-Roman portraits and Egyptian eschatological themes on mummy wrappings indicate that the patrons presented themselves as the possessors of a shared cultural heritage.

As for dress in tomb paintings, it is likely that patrons or their families were, within the constraints of their legal status, able to choose from a variety of garments in which they, members of their families, and other figures depicted were represented. In tombs, the combination of Graeco-Roman dress and Egyptian iconography mirrors the permeability of social boundaries in Roman Egypt. The biculturalism of funerary iconography already occurred in the Ptolemaic-period. The tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel is a good example of this.[1604] Petosiris was a man of high status, who served as a royal secretary,[1605] a *lesonis* priest,[1606] and the high priest of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna under Nectanebo and Ptolemy I Soter.[1607]

[1603] Corcoran 1997, 46.
[1604] On the date and architecture of this tomb: Roeder 1920.
[1605] Bingen 2007, 218.
[1606] Redford 2001, 38.
[1607] Bevan 1927, 81.

(Fig. 139)

Architecturally, the tomb consists of two successive parts: a pronaos and a naos (fig. 139). The pronaos is primarily decorated with reliefs showing traditional Egyptian scenes, including secular scenes of agricultural work (fig. 140).[1608]



(Fig. 140)

(Fig. 141)

Throughout the tomb, Petosiris and other members of his family are shown in Egyptian style and dress, but some figures are shown in the pronaos wearing the Greek *chiton* (fig. 141). Greek influence is thus limited to the outer part of the tomb. In contrast, relief decoration of the naos is confined to Egyptian scenes. These

[1608] On the entire decoration of the tomb: Lefebvre 1920; Zayed 1960.

include chapters from the Book of the Dead and imagery derived from the Osirian and solar mythologies of rebirth. Since the naos was the most important space in the tomb functioning as the actual burial place, and given that Greek influence is limited to the pronaos, it follows that Petosiris permitted the inclusion of Greek elements into the outer, less important part of his tomb. It is a common feature in Roman-period tombs that the outer section of the tomb, the pronaos, equally fuses classical and Egyptian iconographical features, whereas the iconography of the naos remains largely Egyptian. By incorporating figures in Greek garb in a style strongly influenced by Greek art, the Tomb of Petosiris suggests that the combination of Graeco-Egyptian elements predated the Roman period, although in a limited way.[1609]

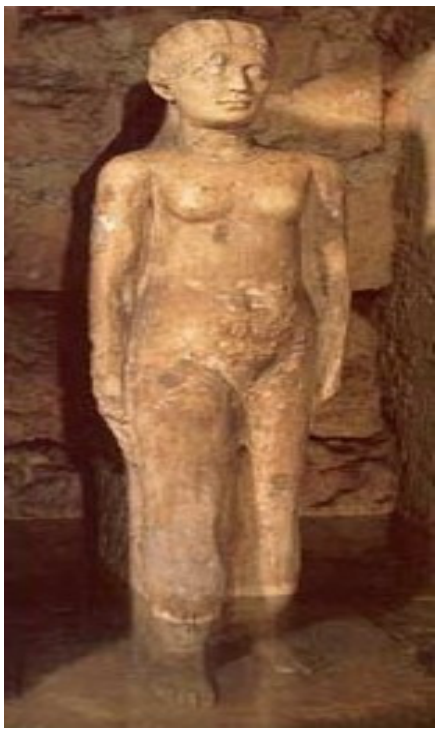
In Roman-period tombs, however, the incorporation of classical and traditional architectural and iconographical features became a prominent feature. Petosiris is depicted in his tomb at the Dakhla oasis in Roman style with naturalistic appearance and a *contrapposto* stance. He wears a coloured tunic and a Roman toga (fig. 138).[1610] But the iconographical programme of his tomb relies predominantly upon Egyptian traditional imagery.[1611] The same holds true of other tombs at el-Salamuni Cemetery C in Panopolis, where the tomb owners of Bissing's Tomb of 1897 and Tombs nos. 5 and 8 are shown wearing Roman toga, while other pictorial and textual evidence from their tomb are typically Egyptian (Appendix 3). For the patrons of such tombs, there was no contradiction between being Roman in dress and Egyptian in religion. Judging from the monumental structure and decoration of their tombs, Petosiris and other patrons must have enjoyed some authority in their regions. These tombs must have belonged to the elites. By displaying Graeco-Roman and Egyptian cultural traditions, the patrons could be seen as creating a new form of bicultural expression. It is in this context that iconography of funerary architecture needs to be considered.

Like tomb paintings, tomb sculptures reflect the same observation. In the main tomb at Kom el-Shouqafa, the statues of the original tomb owner (fig. 142) and his wife (fig. 143) are shown in Egyptian dress and pose, but in Roman coiffure and

[1609] Willeitner 2004, 316.
[1610] For a discussion of the toga in Roman sculpture: Goette 1990.
[1611] See further, above.

veristic representation of facial features. The man wears a short *shendjyet* kilt, whereas the woman wears a long tight garment. The statues show a combination of Egyptian dress and pose and Roman coiffure.[1612]

(Fig. 142)



(Fig. 143)

The beardless portrait with short curly hair is similar to examples from the reign of Vespasian. The portrait head of the woman with hair pulled to the sides in neat waves is common from the Classical period to the Late Antique. However, the tiny round curls that frame the forehead resemble portraits from the reign of Claudius (41-54).[1613] By constructing a monumental tomb with their own statues, the patrons could display their gender and wealth. The composite iconography of their tomb is buttressed by the complex form of their self-representation.

Consideration of dress in tomb paintings should not be isolated from the broader funerary and religious context in which it is embedded. Dress is an integral feature of funerary iconography. Yet the kind of dress in which the deceased is depicted does not always determine his or her ethnic or legal identity. In his account of Alexander's visit to the temple of Amun at the Siwa oasis, Strabo states that:

[1612] Venit 2002a, 129. This combination recalls statues of Antinous (Meyer 1994, fig. 18).
[1613] Venit 2002a, 129.

> The priest permitted the king [Alexander the Great] alone to pass into the temple in his usual dress, but the rest [Alexander's companions] changed their clothes.[1614]

Alexander's entourage, including the hypaspists, archers, Agrianians, and the royal squadron of the Companions,[1615] changed their Greek costumes to gain permission to enter the temple of Amun. They probably wore typical Egyptian linen clothing. As far as we know, Alexander's associates had no objection to the priestly request to change their garbs and probably understood it as a religious prerequisite. As Greeks changed their costumes and could honour local deities, dress and temple worship are not a straightforward reflection of ethnic identity.

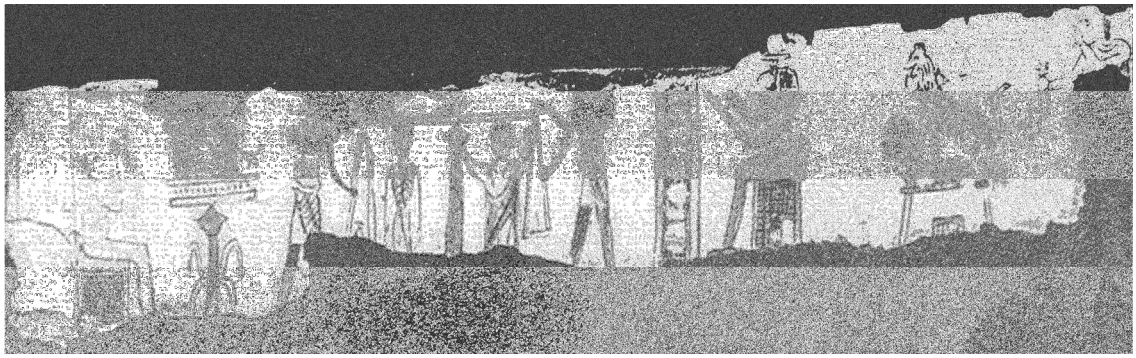
The tomb owner could wear the *himation* or toga and use Egyptian traditional iconography without difficulty. The use of traditional artistic repertoires is also found in other funerary objects such as sarcophagi and coffins. A good example is a first-century sarcophagus from Maghagha, El-Minia (fig. 144).[1616] The scene depicts the Judgment of the Dead. On the right side of the balance where the heart of the deceased is weighed against the figure of Maat, the feathered-head Maat embraces the deceased, who wears a jubilee garment and raises his hand in a gesture of triumph.[1617]

(Fig. 144)

Like tombs, there are many mummy shrouds in which the dead are depicted wearing Greek or Roman dress, but involved with traditional deities. A fragment of a

[1614] Strabo 17.1.43.
[1615] Arr. *Anab.* 3.1.4.
[1616] It is now kept in the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin.
[1617] Riggs 2005, 105.

painted cartonnage mummy case, which dates to the first century and is uncovered from the Baharia oasis, is a good example. The scene represents the Judgment of the Dead (fig. 145).[1618]



(Fig. 145)

Osiris sits on a throne on the far left. Before him there is an offering table, from the sides of which emerges the *sm#-t#wy* symbol. Anubis and Horus tend the balance to weigh the deeds of the deceased against the feather of Maat. At one side of the balance the deceased wears a Greek *chiton* and *himation*. On the other side of the balance, he is shown as a near-skeletal figure, presumably his shadow. Thoth records the outcome of the judgment. On the far right Ammut is depicted standing upon a pylon-shaped pedestal.[1619]

The above example suggests, as Riggs put it, 'the insertion of Greek images of the deceased into Egyptian scenes at liminal points'.[1620] By offering possibilities for the afterlife, inhabitants in Roman Egypt exploited Egyptian traditional iconography, which represents meaningful religious concepts and facilitates the identification of deceased with Osiris. Thus it is unsurprising that a Roman citizen like Titus Flavius Demetrius, whose citizenship is inferred from his *tria nomina*, was mummified and buried in an Egyptian manner (fig. 146).[1621]

[1618] It is now kept in the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria.
[1619] For the Judgment of the Dead on mummy shrouds: Griffiths 1982.
[1620] Riggs 2005, 146.
[1621] The mask is uncovered from Hawara and kept in Ipswich Borough Council Museums and Galleries, Ipswich Museum, R1921-89.

(Fig. 146)

Demetrius was born under the Flavian emperors in the late first century, and was probably a freedman of the Flavians. Although he was a Roman citizen, his mummy mask is more conservative than earlier examples of Hawara masks, which incorporate Roman coiffure and contemporary clothing.[1622] In short, dress and funerary iconography do not always correspond in a straightforward manner.

IV.6. ETHNICITY, CULTURE, AND IDENTITY IN TOMB ICONOGRAPHY

This section suggests that there was no close correlation between cultural signifiers such as language, dress, physiognomy, architecture, and iconography and legal status. It aims to show that there is a gulf between theoretical statements and complex realities on the ground. A preserved section of the Letter of Caracalla of 215 states:

> All Egyptians who are in Alexandria, especially country people (ἄγροικοι) who have fled from other districts and can easily be detected, are to be expelled with all thoroughness, with the exception, however, of pig dealers and river boatmen and the men who bring down reeds for heating the baths. But expel all the others, who by their numbers and uselessness disturb the city… For the true Egyptians (οἱ ἀληθινοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι) can easily be recognized among the linen weavers by their speech (φωνῇ), or through their alien appearance and dress (ὄψεις τε καὶ σχῆμα). Moreover, the way that they

[1622] Riggs 2005, 21-2.

> live with their far-from-civilized manners reveal them to be Egyptian country people (ἀγροίκους Αἰγυπτίους).[1623]

Caracalla's letter indicates that there were commercial contacts between the Egyptians of the *chora* and inhabitants of Alexandria. Such recurrent contacts might have been 'mutually beneficial'. While they provided the capital with essential services, the Egyptians might have improved themselves by immersion in its dominant Hellenic culture.[1624] The 'true Egyptians', however, were expelled because they persisted in their language, dress, and mode of life. In fact, these social markers were so permeable in Roman Egypt that they cannot be used as objective criteria to recognise individuals as Roman, Greek or Egyptian.[1625] As inhabitants spoke and wrote a variety of different languages or scripts, the use of which completely depended on context, a none-to-one relationship between languages and groups cannot be assumed.[1626]

Willingly or unwillingly, there were many inhabitants who were unable to speak or write in Latin or Greek.[1627] Equally, Egyptian and indigenous scripts must have been unknown to a large number of inhabitants, whether Egyptians or non-Egyptians.[1628] Social boundaries caused by language barriers, however, could be overcome by bilingual inhabitants. The presence of bilingual contracts and mummy labels suggest that many individuals were bilingual.[1629] The Egyptian priest Hor of Sebennyte, for instance, wrote in demotic and Greek.[1630] The bilingualism of ostraca, such as the archive the temple scribe Phatres uncovered from Narmuthis, has recently been cited as evidence for the mixed cultural heritage and the bicultural environment in Roman Egypt.[1631] Egyptians learned and spoke Greek in order to communicate with the Greek-speaking community, compete in the bureaucracy, and deal with administrative authorities. Other inhabitants similarly had reasons for learning

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[1623] *P.Giss.Lit*. 6.3 = *P.Giss*. 40.ii.16-29 = *Sel.Pap*. II.215.
[1624] Rowlandson and Harker 2004, 79-111.
[1625] De Vos 1975, 15-6; Fenton 1999, 8-10.
[1626] On Greek and demotic mummy label of Sionsis son of Tithoes uncovered from Panopolis: *P.Mich. inv. 4534.4 = PColl Youtie. II.113*.
[1627] *P.Mich. V.226.*
[1628] Tac. *Ann.* 2.60-1.
[1629] Haaland 1969, 58-74. For a Greek and demotic contract: *Papyrologica Lugd.-Bat*. 25. For a demotic and Greek contract: *Papyrologica Lugd.-Bat*. 5.
[1630] Ray 1976.
[1631] Bresciani and Pintaudi 1987; Rutherford 2009, 207. See also Fewster 2002

demotic, including teaching apprentices which could offer a means of support.[1632] In the Roman period, the care of the deceased remained the domain of Egyptian priests and mummification workshops; in these circumstances indigenous scripts remained the writings of choice. Greek is sometimes used, as in the Tomb of Isidora. Tombs 18 and 21 at Tuna el-Gebel, Tombs 6, 7 and 8 at El-Salamuni Cemetery C, Tomb of the Two Bothers at Wannina and the Tombs of Kitynos, Petubastis, and Petosiris in the Dakhla oasis contain hieroglyphic inscriptions, which articulate profound Egyptian religious and eschatological ideas (Appendix 3). Yet there is no evidence in tombs of the *chora* for bilingual texts. Although many mummy labels are written in Greek and demotic, indigenous scripts and Greek are never used together in tomb paintings. The reason for the absence of bilingual texts in tomb paintings is unclear.[1633]

Caracalla's letter also claims that dress and physiognomy can be used to identify the Egyptians. However, consideration of funerary iconography in terms of self-representation reveals that dress and facial features cannot always be used as reliable markers of identity. The letter also posited that the Egyptians could be identified through their uncivilized mode of life. But there is no evidence that the Egyptians experienced a different, inferior culture from those of Romans and Greeks.[1634] Consideration of the archaeology of poleis and metropoleis has already suggested that cities were shared multicultural milieus, where Graeco-Roman and Egyptian cultural traditions were equally apparent.[1635]

As there was no close association between legal status and cultural markers, the emphasis in the letter of Ammonius to Julius and Hilarus on the barbarity and inhumanity of the Egyptians should not be taken seriously.[1636] Neither should we overestimate the already mentioned statement of the Alexandrian gymnasiarch Isidoros.[1637] Although Roman law firmly banned close-kin marriages and the Gnomon of the Idioslogos prohibited intermarriage between Romans, Alexandrians,

[1632] *UPZ* I.148.
[1633] Quirke 1988.
[1634] Turner 1952, 84.
[1635] See Chapter I. Cf. *P.Mert.* II.
[1636] *P.Oxy*. XIV.1681.4-7.
[1637] *CPJ* II.156c. ii. 25-7.

and their freedmen and the Egyptians, many incestuous marriages are confirmed and intermarriage between these groups sometimes occurred even in Alexandria.[1638] Intermarriage between different legally-defined groups was probably more common in the *chora*.[1639] The children of such intermarriages will have been familiar with the cultural and linguistic traditions of both parents.[1640]

The architecture of Alexandrian monumental tombs follows Graeco-Roman models, where triclinium-shaped chambers for burial and memorial banquets were incorporated into the fabric of tombs. The impetus for a funerary banquet in tombs might have been Egyptian, however.[1641] The architecture of tombs in the *chora* is more conservative and generally follows traditional style. In Alexandria, burial rituals followed Egyptian, Greek, and Roman practices. While mummification exists, inhumation without embalming and cremation are more common. In the *chora*, mummification and elaborate mummies with naturalistic portraits or cartonnage are more common. While ignoring legal, social, and economic boundaries, the patrons of Roman-period tombs integrated cultural traditions from Roman, Greek, and Egyptian groups in order to create a unique resting place for themselves. The biculturalism of Roman-period tombs demonstrates the endurance and preservation of both Graeco-Roman and Egyptian modes of visual expression.

IV.7. CONCLUSION

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

[1638] *BGU* IV.1024 (360); Hopkins 1980; Shaw and Saller 1984; Shaw 1992; Parker 1996.
[1639] E.g. Rowlandson 1998. The New Hellenes of Antinoopolis, for instance, had the right of intermarriage with the Egyptians (See Chapter I).
[1640] Fewster 2002, 242-3.
[1641] Walker 1997, 15.

particular group identity. However, they have the potential to convey the culture in which the patrons lived. Unlike the Ptolemaic period, the biculturalism of tombs became a prominent feature in the Roman period. Tombs depended largely on architectural and iconographical features characteristic of traditional Graeco-Roman and Egyptian cultures. However, Egyptian funerary imagery and inscriptions are more evident and more clearly communicated in tombs of the *chora*, where the iconography is more varied and employs indigenous scripts. The use of visual and textual evidence on tombs was meant to grant preservation for the body of the deceased and immortality for the soul. The extensive use of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian imagery reveals considerable knowledge of both classical and traditional funerary repertoires. This shared cultural heritage is a distinctive feature of Romano-Egyptian archaeology, and funerary architecture and iconography are no exception.

CHAPTER V: ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENT AND EGYPTIAN CULTURAL IDENTITY

Ornamental style … is a coherent visual form that functions as a badge of identity.

Pasztory 1989, 18.

This chapter considers the relationship between architectural ornament and Egyptian cultural identity in the Roman period. It argues that architectural ornament served more than decorative purposes, communicating Egyptian religious and cultural traditions, but did not directly reflect ethnic identity as was famously claimed by Vitruvius in his account of the origins of the Doric and Ionic orders.[1642] The chapter starts with a theoretical overview of the communicative role played by architectural ornament. A sample of architectural ornament in Roman Egypt is then considered to see to what extent there was an association between architectural ornament and cultural identity. In particular, the chapter focuses on the torus moulding, cavetto cornice, and Egyptian composite capitals with their five-tiered band and abacus both as a reflection of the changeability of cultural markers and as evidence for the hybridization of architectural ornament.

V.1. ORNAMENTAL STYLE AND IDENTITY

Since archaeology concerns the identification and classification of different forms of material objects, the study of architectural ornament has been important for archaeological investigations.[1643] Yet the non-decorative role of ornament is time and again ignored. Architectural ornament is often portrayed as something created and used entirely, and solely, for decorative purposes. Vitruvius metaphorically described columns in a proportional relationship to human bodies. By using the term *capitulum* (small head) in reference to the capital, Vitruvius equates capitals with human heads,

[1642] Vitr. *De Arch.* 4.1; see Gros 1992, 55-6.
[1643] E.g. Conkey and Hastorf 1990.

and thus draws attention to their visual significance in temple architecture.[1644] The visual correspondence of capitals with human heads may explain why there was a tendency to concentrate significant variation of ornament on capitals rather than on bases or shafts.

Following Vitruvius, Leon Battista Alberti (1404-72) addressed issues of the materials and construction techniques of buildings. Alberti emphasized the decoration of building exteriors. That is because modest medieval churches and dwellings had to be modernized in such a way that at least their facades would be fashionable. The architectural style of imperial Rome was usually preferred in these renovations. Alberti developed a sophisticated system of classical pilasters and architraves, which were used in the decoration of facades. He used the word '*ornamentum'* for these architectural details.[1645] The Latin term '*ornamentum*' is used to mean 'a mark of honour' or 'ornamental equipment'.[1646] By analogy, architectural details in buildings (*ornamenta*) have been seen as decorative features.[1647] The word *ornamentum* could also mean something or someone that has been prepared or equipped. Thus Aeneas prepares his father's funeral (*Aeneas patris ornavit exsequias*), where *ornavit* implies honour, achievement, and religious duty.[1648] On this principle, it is argued that 'an ornamented temple is one prepared to honour the god'.[1649] In that sense, architectural details are essential not only to the embellishment of temples, but also to their ability to stand as well-prepared mansions of gods. Christian Stieglitz has also seen architectural ornament in a highly decorative way:

> Works of architecture receive their beauty as beautiful form, which is evoked in architecture, as in all of the fine arts, through order and symmetry, through decorum and good proportions… [To] avoid a facile monotony and to give the whole a greater multiplicity, elegance should be added through the decoration and embellishment of the essential parts of a building, serving as adornment.[1650]

[1644] Vitr. *De arch.* 4.1.1.
[1645] Alberti 1988. **A**lberti dealt with ornaments in Books VI, VII, VIII, and IX.
[1646] Lewis and Short 1966, 1279.
[1647] Gros 2011.
[1648] Hyg. *Fab.* 173.14.
[1649] Hersey 1988, 149; Jones 2001, 2002, 2012.
[1650] Stieglitz 1801, 258-9.

Architectural forms, in Stieglitz's view, are harmonized and well-ordered masses broken with ornamental features, which are mainly added to buildings for elegance and decoration.

On the whole, there is little interest in the non-decorative role of architectural details. Yet ornaments can carry multiple symbolic meanings.[1651] The oldest preserved notes on architectural and ornamental symbolism were issued by Vitruvius.[1652] The instructions told about a suitable (*proprius*) style of architecture and ornament for the temple of each god. The style suited to the temple of Mars, the god of war, was the Doric, whereas the Corinthian style decorated with leafy branches corresponded to the flexible nature of Venus, the goddess of love. During the Renaissance, symbolism suited to church buildings was developed further. Andrea Palladio (1508-80) suggested that circular forms of architecture were appropriate for churches, because they are enclosed by only one boundary in which the beginning and end are located, and thus they symbolize the unity, infinity, and justice of God.[1653]

Gottfried Semper argued that ancient peoples exploited architectural ornament as an instrument to articulate their will, knowledge, power, and identity.[1654] Architectural ornament, in Semper's view, 'could be endowed with multiple meanings, making it a malleable symbol of every nuance of architectural character and expression'.[1655] The classical Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite capitals were used as 'a material means of expression for communities, groups and individuals'.[1656] For example, the embellishment of the exterior and interior parts of houses at Pompeii with columns with a variety of classical capitals has been interpreted as an archaeological means to assert aspects of the occupants' social identities such as wealth and luxury within society.[1657]

Architectural ornament has the potential to be seen as a vital sphere for communicating differing or interconnected cultural traditions, because it acts as a

[1651] Schmidlin 2010.
[1652] Vitr. *De arch.* 4.1.1-9.
[1653] Palladio 1997, 216.
[1654] Semper 1989, 264-84.
[1655] Semper 2004, 730.
[1656] Onians 1988, 3.
[1657] Grahame 2001.

carrier of apotropaic symbols, sacred or dedicatory inscriptions in different languages or scripts, symbolic ideas, and religious or divine representations.[1658] Alois Riegl presented a detailed study of Eurasian ornamental forms, tracing formalistic continuity and development in decorative plant forms from ancient Egyptian art and other ancient Near Eastern civilizations through the classical world to the arabesque of Islamic art. For Riegl, symbolism 'was unquestionably one of the factors that contributed to the gradual creation of a wealth of traditional ornament'.[1659] The use of the poppy as an architectural ornament in the classical period was meant to symbolize fertility, sleep, and death, because the poppy is often found with various deities as an attribute. In addition to the goddess of fertility, Demeter, it is particularly associated with the gods of sleep and death, Hypnos and Thanatos.[1660] Similarly, William Goodyear argued that the sun-cult symbolism had an overwhelming influence on the Egyptian lotus ornament[1661]and Claude Vandersleyen has drawn attention to the close relationship between the different symbolic meanings associated with the water and the papyri- and lotiform columns in Pharaonic Egypt.[1662]

In 1853 Owen Jones published *The Grammar of Ornament*, which studied the methods of using ornaments originating in nature especially the forms of plants as an eternal source of architectural form. Among other things, he gave some consideration to Egyptian traditional ornament as having been based on and inspired by nature, including lotus, papyrus, and palm. He distinguished between three different forms of Egyptian ornament: constructive; representative; and decorative. Constructive ornaments formed an integral part of the building in which they were used; these included means of support like columns with a variety of capitals and crowning elements like the cavetto cornice. Representative ornaments resulted from the conventional representation of natural objects on the walls of monuments or papyri.

[1658] On the use of Greek temple ornamentations as tropes of the tools used in sacrificial activities: Hersey 1988; Jones 2001, 2002, 2012.
[1659] Riegl 1992, 7-8.
[1660] Hildebrandt 2010.
[1661] Goodyear 1891.
[1662] Vandersleyen 1985.

Decorative ornaments, in his view, referred to small floral and geometrical patterns used in paintings on tombs, coffins, and sarcophagi.[1663]

Like many other material objects, architectural ornament is a physical and visual element, which can be used by communities to convey a social or political identity.[1664] Ornaments serve as a framing and communicative medium, which individuals invest with symbolic and cultural meanings and employ as surfaces for important writings and texts. Architectural ornament is thus a vital form with cultural significance, and can effectively communicate information about those who make and use it.[1665] One thing that ensures its effectiveness is that ornament plays on visual perception.[1666] The impact of visual forms of communication on beholders may last longer than verbal forms.[1667] As a visual form of communication, architectural ornament has the potential to make statements that cannot be made verbally.[1668]

Architectural ornament may form a vital part of the broad ornamental style of groups.[1669] Style is widely defined as 'formal variation in material culture that transmits information about personal and social identity (to contemporaries and later generations within or outside the group)'.[1670] There is thus a correlation between ornamental style and visual expression of identity.[1671] Ornamental style is one of several means of communication, through which personal and collective identity may be articulated and negotiated. Style is sometimes defined as 'a means of non-verbal communication based on doing something in a certain way'.[1672] Thus the importance of style, according to Grahame, goes beyond the particular form of material objects to incorporate the behaviour of the individuals who produce and use them.[1673] Style is closely linked to perceptions of identity, because individuals can positively use their stylistic material objects in particular ways to negotiate or articulate something

[1663] Jones 1972, 22-25.
[1664] Hesberg 1990, 345-50.
[1665] Tilley 1989, 185-94.
[1666] Wiessner 1985, 106.
[1667] Fletcher 1989, 33-9.
[1668] Wiessner 1985, 164.
[1669] Pasztory 1989, 15-38.
[1670] Wiessner 1983, 256. The bracketed passage is my own insertion.
[1671] Pasztory 1989, 18.
[1672] Wiessner 1990, 105-6.
[1673] Grahame 2001, 160.

about themselves.[1674] The amalgamation of ornamental styles typical of two or more traditional cultures in a single object or structure might have undermined claims of cultural distinctiveness among inhabitants. Recent scholarship on ethnicity has problematized the relationship between types of material culture and ethnic groups.[1675] Although it is impossible to infer ethnicity from the archaeological record alone, material objects such as architectural ornaments have the capacity to visualize the culture in which they are used. What the discussion suggests so far is that architectural ornament needs not to be seen as something abstract or insignificant, but as a visual carrier of cultural significance.[1676]

V. 2. ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENT AND EGYPTIAN CULTURAL IDENTITY

A number of Egyptian-style ornaments are particularly associated with traditional monuments: the cavetto cornice and torus moulding, broken lintel, palm-capital, papyriform capital, lotiform capital, Hathoric capital, Egyptian composite capital, segmental pediment, and *kheker* frieze (Table 4). Of these, the cavetto cornice and torus moulding rarely occur in domestic and funerary architecture (Appendix 2, 1.6.) and classical-style temples built for Egyptian deities or emperors. Yet none of these ornaments has been found in classical temples built for Graeco-Roman deities. But this could be due to stylistic considerations or the nature of surviving archaeological material. Equally, no Corinthian, Doric, or Ionic capital, triangular pediment or shell-niche is attested in surviving Egyptian temples of the Roman period.[1677]

The combination of the cavetto cornice and triangular pediment on the front door of Tomb 21 at Tuna el-Gebel, and the blending of other Graeco-Roman and Egyptian architectural features in other Roman-period tombs, which incorporate a variety of iconographical traditions, suggest that architectural ornament was not politically exploited by the patrons to promote their belonging to a particular group

[1674] Grahame 2000, 94-5.
[1675] Jones 1997; Antonaccio 2010; Revell 2011. See also the Introduction, above.
[1676] Conkey and Hastorf 1990, 1.
[1677] Philo, *Som.* 2.54-7.

identity.[1678] This is why the classical Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian capitals were used in houses of affluent Jews at Alexandria, probably to assert their social status to guests. A one-to-one relationship between ornamental forms and groups cannot thus be assumed. But there was a correlation between architectural details and the style of buildings. Unsurprisingly, Egyptian ornaments were preferred in traditional monuments, whereas Graeco-Roman ornaments were more appropriate in classical structures. Yet acanthus leaves, corner volutes, bead-and-reel, and egg-and-dart motifs are used in conjunction with Egyptian composite capitals in the West Colonnade at Philae. Apart from these decorative features, other classical ornaments were not used in traditional temples, however. Whereas an altar with classical egg-and-dart moulding was given by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the Temple at Jerusalem,[1679] in Egypt classical ornament on its own is found closely associated only with classical-style buildings.[1680] On the other hand, the frequency of traditional architectural ornaments indicates that they were closely associated with Egyptian religious form, and this provides the rationale for their occurrence in almost all traditional temples in the province.

Given that architectural ornaments used in buildings of Roman Egypt are too many to be considered in full in this chapter, the next two sections focus only on the continuities and changes in the torus moulding, cavetto cornice, and Egyptian composite capitals as examples of the difficulty of using architectural details as markers of ethnic or legal identity and as evidence for the hybridization of architectural ornament. These ornaments are particularly selected, because of their widespread use and high visibility, whereby they had the potential to address large numbers of inhabitants of Roman Egypt.

[1678] See Chapter IV.
[1679] Arist. Jud. *Epist.* 62ff.
[1680] The triangular pediment occurs in the Augustan temple at Philae, Serapeum at Alexandria, façade of Tomb 21 at Tuna el-Gebel and Triumphal Arch at Antinoopolis. The square-hollow and flat-grooved modillions occur, for example, in the Serapeum at Mons Prophyrites. The shell-niche occurs in the Tomb of Isidora at Tuna el-Gebel and domestic shrines of Houses C51, C71, and C119 at Karanis (Husselman 1979, 47-8, pls. 72a, 73a, 73b).

V.3. THE CAVETTO CORNICE AND TORUS MOULDING

Since the cavetto cornice and torus moulding have a common history and always occur in association with each other, they are considered together.

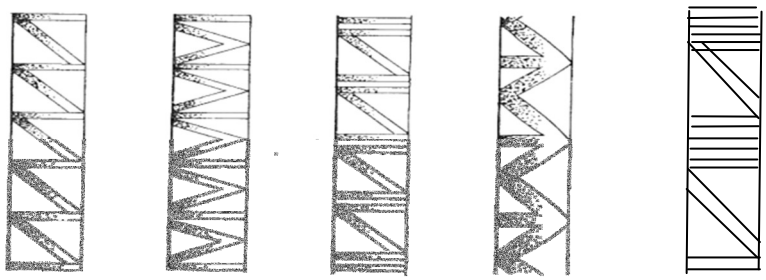
V.3.1. The origin of the cavetto and torus

The creation of the cavetto and torus is claimed for ancient Egyptian artists. The emergence of the torus and cavetto in stone architecture can be traced back to the Old Kingdom (2649-2134 BC).[1681] However, they were perhaps connected with pre-dynastic huts, as suggested by representations of certain shrines on the walls of tombs and temples.[1682] These huts were made of palm-sticks placed upright and fastened to a cross stick near the top. The ends of the palm-fronds inclined forward at the top, forming the prototype of the cavetto cornice.[1683] For this reason, its lower surface is usually decorated with an abstract form of blue, red, and green palm fronds and occasionally inlaid with coloured faience tiles.[1684] A bundle of sticks is tied up together horizontally near the top and vertically at the corners to protect the structure from breaking away. This is perhaps the prototype of the torus moulding. The torus is usually decorated with lashing designs, so that it looks like a bundle of sticks bound together.[1685] Although the torus and cavetto might have been used in wood or brick architecture out of necessity, they began to play decorative and non-decorative roles with the advent of stone architecture.[1686]

The cavetto and torus are essential architectural and ornamental features of traditional monuments.[1687] The cavetto is an idiosyncratic form of concave moulding, crowning the walls and projecting from a horizontal torus at the tops of Egyptian-style structures.[1688] The torus, on the other hand, is a cylindrical moulding that occurs along the vertical and horizontal edges of traditional buildings. It rounded the corners of all massive walls to conceal the joints at the corners of structures. Tori are usually

[1681] Jéquier 1924a, 72-6; Arnold 2003, 46.
[1682] Clarke and Engelbach 1930, 5-6; Arnold 2003, 46-7.
[1683] Petrie 1920, 98 (fig. 179); Clarke and Engelbach 1930, 6.
[1684] Arnold 2003, 46.
[1685] Clark and Engelbach 1930, 6.
[1686] Petrie 1920, 97-8.
[1687] Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 71.
[1688] Arnold 1977, 1263-4.

painted in yellow surrounded by a black band.[1689] Throughout the three thousand years or so of its use, the torus was decorated with different types of lashing or zigzag designs, which Dieter Arnold calls Types A, B, C, and D. To these I add Type E (fig. 147).[1690]



(Fig. 147)

Type A takes the form of a zigzag, consisting of a single horizontal line or rope, which is diagonally connected with another horizontal line placed at equal intervals. Type B is defined by a single horizontal line joined to another by means of two diagonal lines resembling the head of an arrow. Type C consists of two superimposed horizontal lines, which are connected with two other superimposed horizontal lines, placed at equal intervals, by a single diagonal line. Type D represents a decoration similar to the head of lotus blossoms.

The chronological occurrence of the different types of zigzag decoration on the torus, referred to in the examples discussed in this section, is given in Table 5. The use of zigzag decoration on the torus began in the Old Kingdom. During the Third Dynasty, the torus was plain and carried no zigzag decoration. By the Fourth Dynasty, however, the torus was commonly decorated with Types A and D. During the Middle Kingdom, Type D ceased, Type A continued to be used, and Type B was frequently used. During the New Kingdom and Late Period, the torus was heavily furnished with Types A and B. In the Ptolemaic period, Type A was still in use and Type C was the most common type of decoration on tori. In the Roman period, Type C was still the most common type of decoration in use, and a further Type E, which

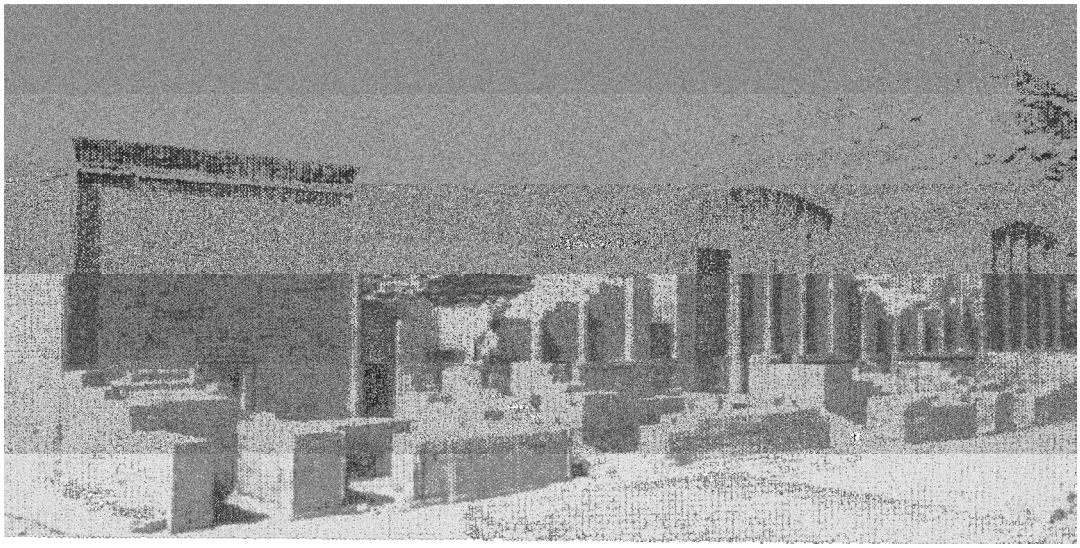
[1689] Arnold 2003, 46.
[1690] Arnold 1984, 320-1.

Arnold did not include in his list, emerged. Type E is a variant of the lashing decoration of Arnold's Type C (see fig. 165). The zigzag design in this case consists of groups of three horizontal lines placed at equal intervals and joined by a single diagonal line. The actual reason for privileging one type of zigzag decoration over another remains uncertain. This might simply be down to the artists' preferences. At any rate, Type C was the most favoured type of zigzag decoration on tori in traditional monuments of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

The chronological occurrence of the cavetto and torus in temples and tombs is shown in Table 6. The cavetto and torus occur in tombs and traditional temples in all periods of ancient Egyptian history. In the Roman period, however, they also occurred in classical-style temples dedicated to emperors or traditional deities, reflecting the fusion of differing cultural traditions. For example, the façades of the Serapeum at Thebes, which is built in Roman layout, and the Temple of Augustus and Roma at Philae are furnished with a cavetto cornice and a torus moulding.[1691] There is no archaeological evidence for cavettos or tori in classical-style temples dedicated to Graeco-Roman deities. Equally, they rarely occur in tombs and houses, reflecting their particular association with Egyptian religious buildings.[1692]

Consideration of Egyptian architectural ornament in the Roman period should take into account earlier periods of traditional architecture as a possible source of influence. Discussion of earlier periods throws light on the frequency of the torus and cavetto, the developments of which are best understood from an historical perspective. The earliest known example of the combination of torus and cavetto occurs on a chapel to the west of the so-called *Sed* Court in the complex of King Djoser (2630-2611 BC) at Saqqara (fig.148), which was used during the jubilee celebration of the king.[1693]

[1691] Ward-Perkins 1981, 364 (fig. 236).
[1692] However, wall paintings in Egyptian tombs of the Amarna Period suggest that the cavetto and torus were used in royal palaces and villas. On a representation of a cavetto from the Tomb of Sennefer (TT 96) at Luxor: Perrot and Chipiez 1882, figs. 258, 267. On a representation from the Tomb of Meryre at el-Amarna: Davies 1903, pl. xxvi.
[1693] Arnold 2003, 72-4.



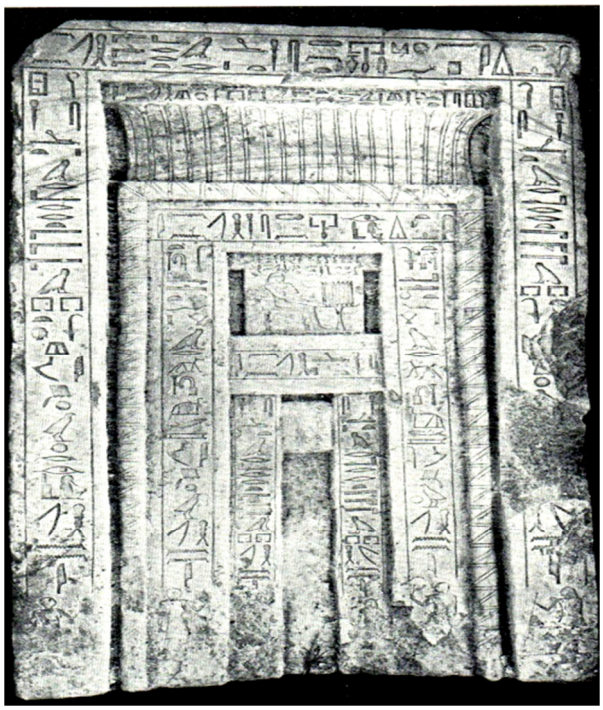
(Fig. 148)

Although the chapel (shown on the left of the photograph) is decorated at the corners and near the top with a vertical and horizontal torus respectively, these elements lack the zigzag decoration. The horizontal torus is surmounted by what seems to be the earliest attempt to construct a cavetto cornice in stone, although it does not have the abstract palm-fronds. It is in the complex of Djoser that the torus and cavetto were not only first translated into stone, but they are also preserved and monumentalized in Egyptian religious architecture.

From the Old Kingdom onwards, royal and non-royal structures were embellished with tori and cavettos.[1694] The so-called false-door of Hnnj, made of limestone, in his mastaba at Giza, which dates to the Fourth Dynasty, is a good example of using the cavetto and torus in doorways (fig. 149).[1695]

[1694] The remains of a cavetto and torus are also found in chapel B in the Valley Temple of King Sneferu (2575-2551 BC) at Dahshur (Fakhry 1961, 119, fig. 127). A cavetto with a horizontal torus also adorns the façade of the Mastaba of SSmnfr, who was a high official in the Fourth Dynasty, at Giza (Junker 1953, 101, pl. 11.a).

[1695] Hnnj held several offices and titles like the 'overseer of scribes'. On the architecture and decoration of this Mastaba: Junker 1953, 66-73.



(Fig. 149)

The jambs and lintel of the door are bordered respectively with a vertical and horizontal torus, which is decorated with a zigzag of Type A. It looks like a bundle of reeds or palm-fronds bound together with a winding cord. The horizontal torus is surmounted by a cavetto cornice with its stylized palm-fronds.

From an early period of ancient Egyptian history, as the above examples show, the torus and cavetto took their distinctive form and were used in Egyptian religious and funerary architecture. However, they underwent many changes in decoration and significance over centuries.[1696] The appearance of architectural ornament cannot be separated from the religious contexts, which give it much of its significance.[1697] In addition to a purely decorative function, the cavetto and torus carried other symbolic meanings. The symbolism of the cavetto and torus is sometimes related to the *sH-nTr* chapel (the divine booth), the emblem of which is a doorway framed with a torus moulding and topped by a cavetto cornice.[1698] The *sH-nTr* symbol was originally used to describe a temporary booth, made of light materials, erected for specific functions during the festivals of the gods. It perhaps

[1696] Jéquier 1924b, 72-6.
[1697] Conkey and Hastrof 1990, 1.
[1698] Arnold 2003, 46; Gardiner 1957, Sign List O 21, 483.

sheltered the cult-images of the gods which were carried on the shoulders of priests during processions. From the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, *sH-nTr* could also mean a 'temple' as it is used to describe the Serapeum at Saqqara. In Ptolemaic and Roman times, however, *sH-nTr* could also be used for a single room within the temple other than the sanctuary.[1699]

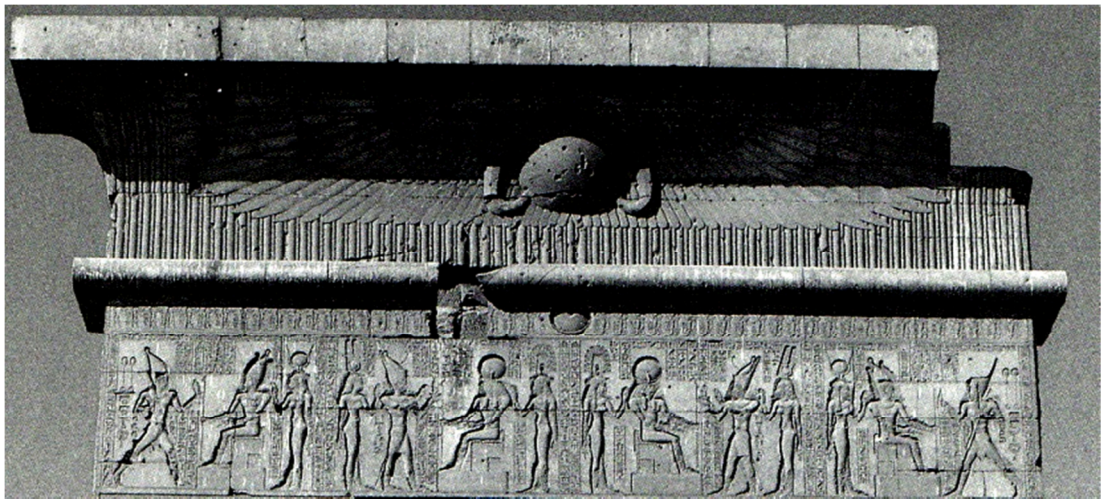
Throughout the Middle Kingdom (2040-1640 BC), cavettos and tori continued to be used in association with all Egyptian religious buildings.[1700] Following the Old Kingdom custom of painting the palm-fronds on cavettos with different colours, as false-doors in mastabas at Saqqara confirm, the palm-fronds of cavettos are also furnished with alternating dark colours during the Middle Kingdom.[1701] During the New Kingdom (1550-1070 BC), resources appear to have been mainly spent on Egyptian religious buildings.[1702] Consequently, architectural ornament in general and the cavetto and torus in particular enjoyed great popularity. Cavettos were usually built in stone; however, inlaid wooden cavettos were used in the doors of Amenhotep III's palace at Malqata.[1703] An advantage of the cavetto and torus, which other ornaments do not enjoy, is their suitability to decorate the frames of temple pyla and other monumental gateways.[1704] Through their occurrence on the facades and outer walls of traditional temples, the cavetto and torus were highly visible at least to those who worshipped in Egyptian temples.[1705] The exterior walls of traditional monuments like temples, kiosks, and free-standing gateways were not completed without the addition of a cavetto and a torus. For example, the outer pylon of the temple of Medinet Habu, built under Ramesses III (1194-1163 BC), is decorated in this way.[1706] The cavetto and torus were central to the construction of the pylon, the most visible and iconic part of traditional temples (Appendix 1).

[1699] On other uses of the *sH-nTr* chapel: Spencer 1984, 114-19.
[1700] During the Twelfth Dynasty (1991-1783 BC), they occur in the Temple of Qasr el-Sagha, the Fayum, (Schulz 2004, 139, fig. 64) and in the so-called White Chapel of King Senusert I (1971-1926 BC) at Karnak (Wilkinson 2000, 23; Schulz 2004, 136-7).
[1701] Altenüller 2004, 83 (fig. 76).
[1702] Schulz and Sourouzian 2004, 153-215.
[1703] Petrie 1920; Arnold 2003, 136.
[1704] Jéquier 1924b, 73. The cavetto and torus occur on the pylon of King Ramesses II in the temple of Luxor (Wilkinson 2000, 54; Schulz and Sourouzian 2004, 180).
[1705] On access to temple enclosures, see Chapter II.
[1706] On the architecture of this temple: Aufrère, Golvin and Goyon 1991, 171-83.

V.3.2. The cavetto and torus in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods

The beginning of Ptolemaic rule brought about dramatic political, cultural, and architectural changes in Egypt.[1707] Egyptian religious and architectural traditions such as ornaments continued to undergo essential changes in their internal decoration and significance, although they exhibited some continuity.[1708] The discussion of Ptolemaic structures where cavettos and tori are used is pertinent, because these buildings continued to function in the Roman period. What matters for the perception and understanding of symbolic and cultural significance of architectural ornament is not only the date of construction of both structures and ornaments, but also their history of use.

The cavetto and torus underwent a significant development under the Ptolemies. For the first time, the lower part of the torus began to rest on a low square or rectangular base. The monumental gateway (Bab el-Amara) of Ptolemy III Euergetes, which was built in front of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, is a case in point (fig. 150).[1709]



(Fig. 150)

[1707] On the history of Ptolemaic Egypt: Mahaffy 1899; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-7; Bevan 1927; Hölbl 2001.
[1708] Arnold 1999, 143-224.
[1709] The structure and decoration of the Bab el-Amara are similar to those of the doorway of the first pylon of Isis' temple at Philae, which dates to Nectanebo I. On the architecture and decoration of this pylon: Junker 1958.

The two towers which flank the central gateway and measure about 70 m in width were never completed to their planned height. In contrast, the central gateway, 21 m high, stands complete.[1710] This gateway is one of the most important traditional monuments in terms of the proportion and precision of its relief decoration.[1711] The upper part of the gateway is decorated with a horizontal torus with Type C zigzag decoration, which is surmounted by a cavetto cornice. Almost all the space of the cavetto is taken up by the winged sun-disc with its outstretched wings and two cobras. In Ptolemaic and Roman times the winged sun-disc continued to adorn the cavetto, as it had done in the Dynastic period.

(Fig. 151)

The cavetto was also decorated in the Dynastic period with royal cartouches or cartouches containing names of the enemies of Egypt, as on the pylon of Ramesses II in the Temple of Luxor (fig. 151). From the Ptolemaic period onwards, however, the cavetto was extensively carved with hieroglyphic inscriptions and divine representations, which reflected its non-decorative significance. The cavetto was thus employed as a carrier of Egyptian religious writings and sacred symbols as well as Graeco-Roman inscriptions, written in Greek, showing donations to traditional cults and temples. The cavetto on the rear wall of the temple of Hathor-Aphrodite at Tentyris, which bears reliefs of Cleopatra VII and her son Ptolemy XV Cesarion (44-30 BC), is decorated with abstract forms of palm-fronds, cartouches, hieroglyphic texts, and divine symbols like the Akhet (fig. 152).

[1710] Zignani 1996, 457-8.
[1711] Arnold 1999, 167.

(Fig. 152)

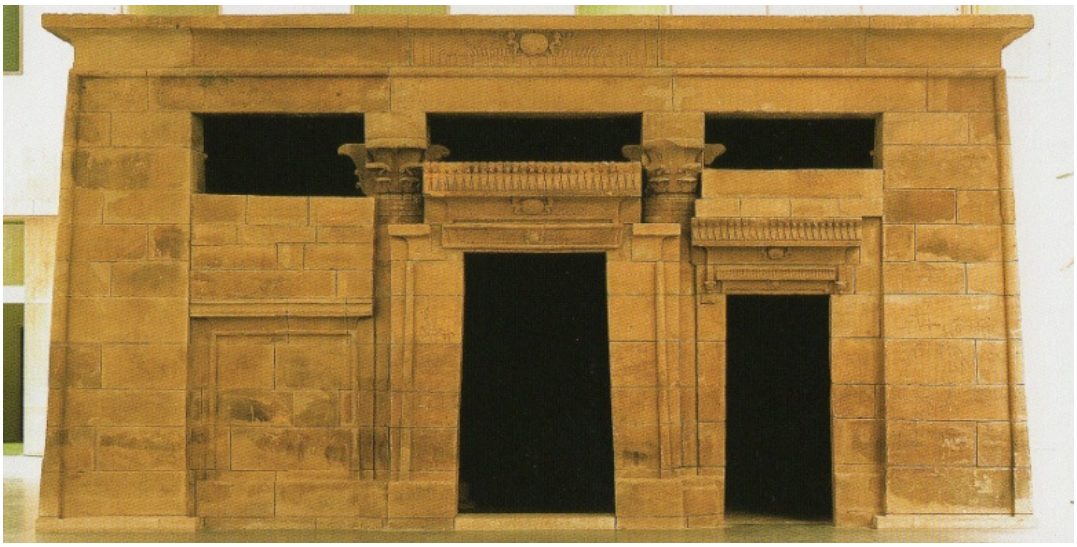
The decoration of the cavetto is an integral part of the iconography of the structure in which is it embedded as a whole, be that a temple structure or a freestanding gateway.[1712] The cavetto is a broad field for traditional sacred representations and extensive hieroglyphic writings. It was thus not only a decorative element, but also an important surface on which hieroglyphic and Greek inscriptions, Egyptian sacred representations, and religious symbols were communicated and perpetuated.

The cavetto and torus were essential for emphasizing traditional monuments in the Roman period. They are particularly associated with temples built for Egyptian deities outside the province. For example, on a Hathoric capital that comes from the Iseum Campense at Rome, the bovine goddess is shown carrying upon her head a pylon-shaped shrine, which is carved with an imitation of a torus moulding at the angles and a cavetto cornice at the top (fig. 153).[1713]

[1712] Jéquier 1924a, pls. 67-70.
[1713] Roullet 1972, 56.

(Fig. 153)

In Roman Egypt, the cavetto and torus were used in all traditional monuments, including temples, *mammisis*, and kiosks. Yet the execution of such architectural details was not restricted to those legally defined as Egyptian. In particular, Roman soldiers and the Hellenized metropolites participated in the construction or repair of temples decorated with cavettos and tori, such as the Hadrianic Serapeum at Thebes which is a private initiative of Gaius Julius Antoninus who was ex-decurion and *neokoros* of Serapis.[1714] Under Augustus, three temples for Isis were built in Egyptian style at Taphis.[1715] The temple to the south was destroyed in the nineteenth century. Only the pronaos survives from the north temple; it is now displayed in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden (fig. 154).[1716] The vertical angles of the façade are decorated with a plain torus, the lower part of which rests on a low rectangular base. The façade is crowned by a cavetto cornice with a winged sun-disc.[1717]



(Fig. 154)

The decoration of the central and side doors deserves special notice. The outer sides of the central door are framed with a vertical torus, upon which there is a broken lintel. The lintels of the two doors are decorated with what Günter Hölbl calls a

[1714] See Chapter I.
[1715] Gau 1822, pls. 10-11; Arnold 1999, 240-1.
[1716] Roeder 1911, pls. 82-8; Schneider 1979, 20-3, 83-122.
[1717] Arnold 1999, 240.

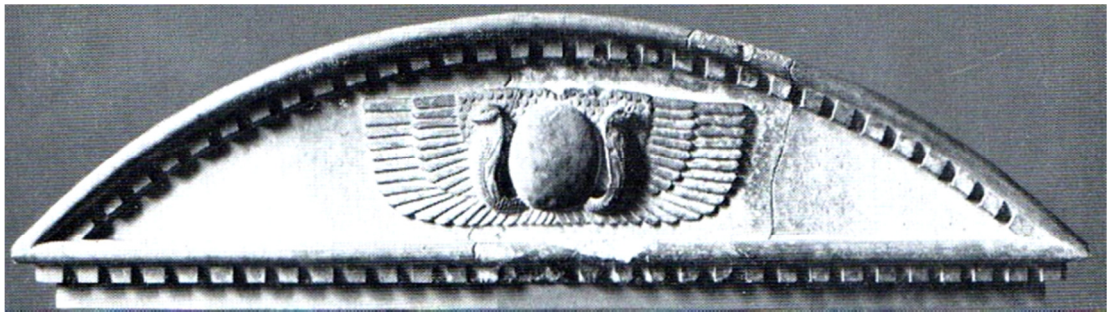
'doppelte Hohlkehle', which refers to two superimposed cavettos with apotropaic winged sun-discs, while the upper cavetto is surmounted by a frieze of cobras.[1718] Although the 'double cavetto' is confirmed in the Augustan *mammisi* at Tentyris and elsewhere, it is not a development of the Roman period as it occurred on Pharaonic and Ptolemaic doorways to the sanctuaries of the temples of Amun at Thebes and Hathor at Tentyris respectively.

The towers of the Augustan pylon at Kalabsha are decorated with a torus and cavetto.[1719] The outer and inner side of the lintel of the central doorway is surmounted by a horizontal torus with Type C zigzag decoration (fig. 155).

(Fig. 155)

The torus is surmounted by a cavetto which is carved with abstract palm-fronds and a winged sun-disc.[1720] Here the cavetto plays a religious and symbolic role as the carrier of the winged sun-disc, which in its turn is associated with temples dedicated to Egyptian deities within and outside the province.[1721]

[1718] Hölbl 2004, 103. For the myth of the winged sun-disc, see page 105.
[1719] On the Temple of Kalabsha: Siegler 1970; Wright 1972.
[1720] Hölbl 2004, 104-9.
[1721] Wilkinson 1992, 128-9.



(Fig. 156)

A segmental pediment from the Iseum Campense at Rome is carved with a winged sun-disc (fig. 156).[1722] John Onians has convincingly argued that the segmental pediment is closely associated with traditional forms of architecture, particularly religious buildings.[1723] The placing of a winged sun-disc with its symbolic connotations on the cavetto of the temple at Kalabsha and elsewhere reflects the importance of both for communicating Egyptian religious traditions.

Cavettos and tori also occurred in the inner structures of all traditional temples. For example, they are used in the screen walls of the pronaos at Kalabsha.[1724] The scene on the first screen wall to the south of the pronaos represents Augustus as Pharaoh being purified by Horus and Thoth in the presence of Harsiese (fig. 157).[1725] Under Augustus, major building projects on traditional temples were carried out in the Dodekaschoinos and Thebaid, which witnessed revolts in the 20s BC but Cornelius Gallus and C. Petronius managed to suppress them.[1726] It is unclear whether the construction of such temples reflected a deliberate policy by Augustus.[1727] Although it is difficult to determine the real reason for such ambitious religious building activities,[1728] it is possible that Augustus wanted to maintain control of such highly important commercial regions and expressed his desire for friendly relationships with their insurgent inhabitants. By patronizing traditional cults and temples in Egypt, Augustus and successive emperor-pharaohs helped to preserve

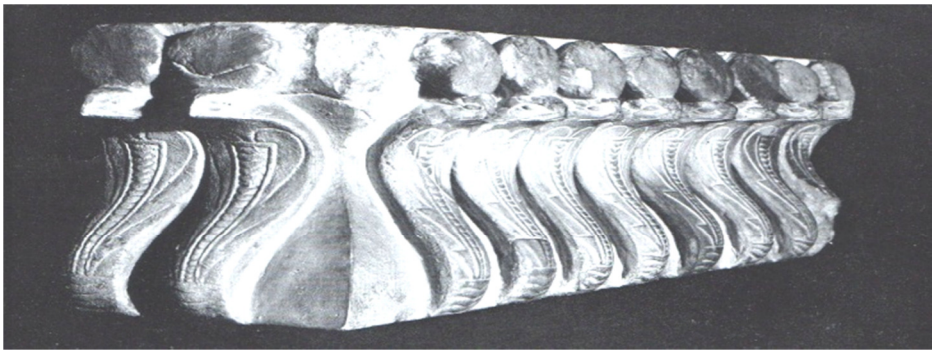
[1722] Roullet 1972, 59.
[1723] Onians 1996.
[1724] Arnold 1999, 240-3.
[1725] Hölbl 2004, 111-2.
[1726] Strabo 17.1.53, 820-4; Jameson 1968; Bernand 1969a, 128; Hauben 1976.
[1727] On Augustan temples in the Dodekaschoinos: Appendix 1. On the Augustan temples of Shanhour and Qal'a: Quaegebeur 1997; Traunecker 1997.
[1728] Quaegebeur 1997, 166.

indigenous religious traditions, which were integrated into Graeco-Roman political structures.[1729]

(Fig. 157)

Here the vertical and horizontal torus mouldings frame the scene with their stylized Type C zigzag decoration. In other words, tori are used to emphasize Egyptian scenes. Again the lower end of the vertical torus rests on a low square base. Adjoining the torus is a coiled serpent, wearing the double crown and extending along the screen wall up to the frieze of uraei. The cavetto is adorned with palm-fronds and a winged sun-disc. The cavetto and torus are thus used in conjunction with other types of traditional ornamentations as a framework for Egyptian religious scenes. The frieze of uraei carrying solar discs is also attested in temples built for Egyptian deities outside Egypt like the Iseum Campense at Rome (fig. 158).[1730] These Egyptian and Egyptianized monuments which spread across the Mediterranean are not evidence for ethnically Egyptians.[1731] Neither do they provide clue for mass emigration from Egypt.[1732]

[1729] Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Alston 1997c. See also the Introduction and Chapters I and II of this thesis.
[1730] Roullet 1972, 58-9.
[1731] Roullet 1972; Davies 2011.
[1732] Alston 1997c, 83.



(Fig. 158)

Under Tiberius (14-37), the Egyptian-style pronaos of the temple at Tentyris was dedicated to Hathor-Aphrodite.[1733] It is 43 m wide, 26.3 m long and 17.2 m high.[1734] The towering cavetto, which is built from one course, and the massive volume of the corner tori mark the edges of the monumental façade (fig. 159). Here again the torus and cavetto serve as a frame for the whole structure. As in many other traditional monuments, the blocks of the cavetto cornice continued to be connected by dovetail cramps.[1735]

(Fig. 159)

[1733] McKenzie 2007, 138.
[1734] Arnold 1999, 248.
[1735] On dovetail cramps: Arnold 2003, 60-1.

The middle of the cavetto is taken up in traditional fashion by the winged sun disc, whose outspread wings continued to be decorated in blue. The imperial dedicatory inscription, in Greek, is carved on the top of the cavetto just above the winged sun-disc:[1736]

῾Υπὲρ αὐτοκράτορος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, νέου Σεβαστοῦ, θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱοῦ, ἐπὶ
Αὔλου Αὐιλλίου Φλάκκου ἡγε–
μόνος, Αὔλου Φωλουιου Κρίσπου ἐπιστρατήγος, Σαραπίωνος Τρυχάμβου στρατη–
γοῦντος, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρο–
πόλεως καὶ τοῦ νομοῦ τὸ πρόναον, Ἀφροδίτῃ θεᾷ μεγίστῃ καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς·
L. K. Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἀθὺρ κA.

Under the Emperor Tiberius Caesar, new Augustus, son of the divine Augustus, Aulus Avillius Flaccus being prefect, Aulus Fulvius Crispus being epistrategos, Serapion Truxambo being strategos, the inhabitants of the metropolis and the nome [consecrated] the pronaos to Aphrodite [Hathor], the highest goddess, and to the gods who are honoured with her; the 21st year of Tiberius Caesar, 21 Hathyr.[1737]

As the pronaos was a private initiative of 'the inhabitants of the metropolis and the nome', the inscription emphasizes the identity of the local community as whole. The temple was meant to serve worshippers of the goddess Hathor-Aphrodite and the *sunnaoi theoi*.[1738] The choice of the cavetto for the position of the dedicatory inscription reflected that element's particular visual prominence. The cavetto was also considered an appropriate surface for *proskynemata*.[1739] The custom of inscribing Greek dedicatory and devotional inscriptions on cavettos goes back to the Ptolemaic period.[1740] In addition to the imperial inscription, this cavetto is filled with hieroglyphic texts and reliefs, including royal cartouches, figures of Egyptian deities like Wadjet, and other sacred symbols like the winged sun-disc (fig. 160).[1741]

[1736] The inscription is marked by an arrow in fig. 159.
[1737] Letronne 1974, I, 87-96.
[1738] On the *sunnaos theos*: Nock 1930. Cf. *P.Mert.* II.63.
[1739] For an explicit example of a *proskynema* on a cavetto: Hölbl 2004, 132.
[1740] On the dedicatory text of Ptolemy X Alexander which is carved on the cavetto cornice of the gateway of the temple of Haroreis and Heqt at Apollonopolis Parva (Qus): Arnold 1999, 210-11 (fig. 211).
[1741] Arnold 1977, 1264.

(Fig. 160)

The pronaos of the temple of the god Khnum at Esna, built under Claudius (41-54), is also bordered with a torus and a cavetto (fig. 161).

(Fig. 161)

Architecturally, the pronaos is similar to those at Tentyris and Apollonopolis Magna.[1742] It is 37.36 m wide, 20.2 m long and 14.98 m high.[1743] The angles of the pronaos are marked with a vertical torus, which is filled with Type C zigzag decoration and rests on a low rectangular base with rectangular interior carving in the form of a palace-façade (fig. 162). The façade of the pronaos is crowned with a cavetto, which is built from one course and is carved with royal cartouches. As in the

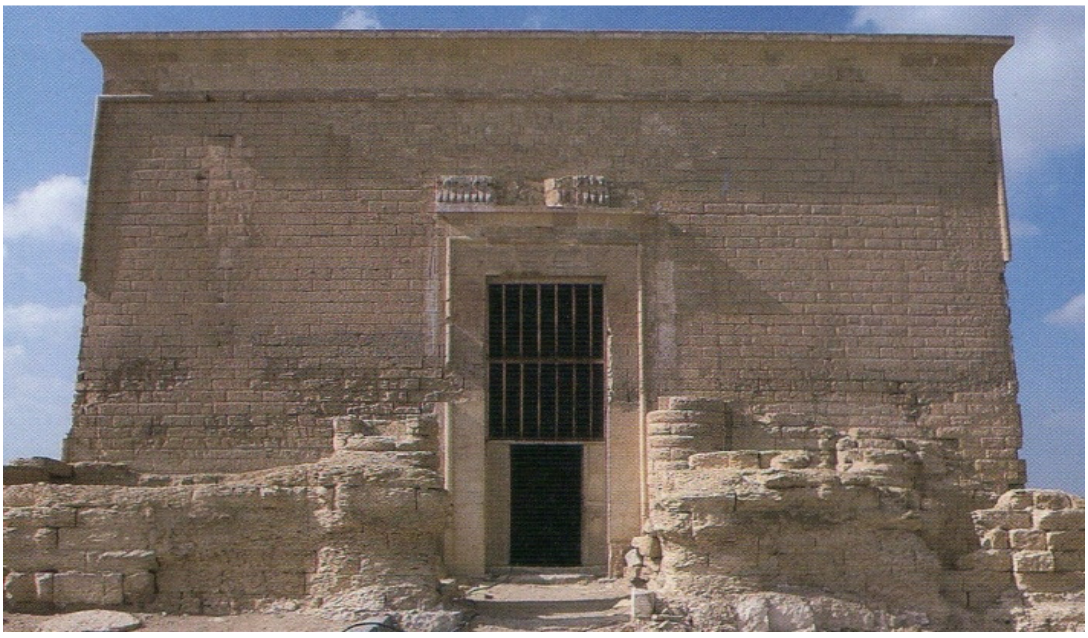
[1742] Wilkinson 2000, 201-2.
[1743] Arnold 1999, 251-2.

Dynastic and Ptolemaic periods, the palm-fronds of the cavetto continued to be painted in alternating red and blue colours (fig. 163).

(Fig. 162)

(Fig. 163)

The cavetto and torus are essential components of traditional religious architecture and fixed to Roman-period Egyptian temples all over the province. Thus the façade of the temple for Sobek-Re at Dionysias (Qasr Qarun) in the Fayum, built under Nero (54-86), is also decorated with a cavetto and a torus (fig. 164).[1744]



(Fig. 164)

[1744] Wilkinson 2000, 136-7.

The temple is 19 m wide and 28 m long.[1745] Its façade takes the shape of a single trapezoidal pylon, the borders of which are marked with a torus. The horizontal torus at the top is crowned with a cavetto. At the centre of the façade is a doorway, the jambs and lintel of which are also furnished with a cavetto and a torus. The cavetto is topped with a frieze of uraei carrying solar discs (cf. figs. 184-8). This cavetto shows no change in form or decoration from earlier examples.

A torus moulding also occurs in the Temple of Nero at Akoris (Tehna el-Gebel), El-Minia.[1746] Like the Temple of Ramesses II at Garf Hussein in Lower Nubia, Nero's temple takes the form of a *hemi-speos*. That is, the interior chambers and sanctuary are hewn out of the rock of the mountain, while the hypostyle hall and outer court are built of stone.[1747] The outer jambs of the central door of the hypostyle hall are decorated with scenes of Nero as Pharaoh making offerings to Egyptian deities (fig. 165).[1748]

(Fig. 165)

The jambs are bordered with a vertical torus, the structure of which is typical of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Its lower end rests on a low rectangular base, which

[1745] Arnold 1999, 254.
[1746] Kawanishi 1995, 17-24, 43-143.
[1747] Hothoer and Ahlgivst 1974.
[1748] Zayed 1960, 70-1.

bears no decoration. It is filled with the new Type E zigzag decoration (fig. 147). Under Nero, the torus underwent an essential change in its profile.

Further south at Syene, the cavetto and torus also occur in the Domitianic (86-96) temple built for Khnum, Satet, and Anuket.[1749] The northern wall of the hypostyle hall bears a relief of Domitian as a Pharaoh, wearing the Red Crown and offering the *sekhet* sign, which symbolizes the products of the land, to Khnum and Anuket.[1750] The vertical angles of the pronaos are marked with a torus, which is decorated with Type C zigzag design (fig. 166).[1751]

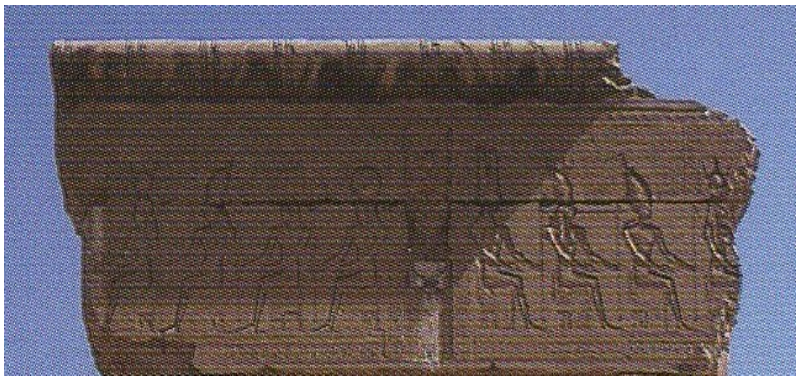
(Fig. 166)

The continued use of the cavetto and torus in all traditional temples built in the Roman period can hardly be coincidental. Their frequent occurrence implies the presence of a large number of artists, who knew and were capable of perfectly executing the standards of Egyptian architectural traditions and developing them.

Also under Domitian, a monumental gateway was added to the sacred precinct of Hathor-Aphrodite at Tentyris. It was built in traditional style and set into the north wall of the massive mud-brick enclosure wall that once surrounded the

[1749] Engelbach 1921; De Wit 1960; Jaritz 1975.
[1750] On the symbolism of the *sekhet* sign: Wilkinson 1992, 124-5.
[1751] Hölbl 2004, 38-9.

precinct.[1752] The gateway is built of limestone, and measures 10.10 m high; it was once closed by an enormous single wooden door.[1753] Since the gateway acted as the main entrance to an important religious precinct, its structure and decoration were meant to address inhabitants and worshippers of Hathor-Aphrodite at Tentyris, not to mention other visitors and passers-by. The walls of the gateway bear scenes of Domitian making offerings to traditional deities. As ornamentation was an essential feature of the visual emphasis on portals in the Roman period,[1754] the lintel is unsurprisingly surmounted by a horizontal torus with Type C zigzag decoration (fig. 167) , which is now lost.



(Fig. 167)

The cavetto and torus are also used in the exterior and interior parts of the Kiosk of Trajan (98-117) on Philae (fig. 168). Based on its architectural similarity to the Augustan kiosk at Qertassi, Arnold has recently ascribed this kiosk to Augustus.[1755] Yet although Augustus is the great builder at Philae, this kiosk is commonly attributed to Trajan, particularly since the reliefs carry his hieroglyphic names and titles.[1756]

[1752] Wilkinson 2000, 149.
[1753] Arnold 1999, 262.
[1754] Smith 1956, 10-51.
[1755] Arnold 1999, 235.
[1756] Wilkinson 2000, 28; Hölbl 2004, 90-2.

(Fig. 168)

(Fig. 169)

The kiosk measures 20 m in width, 15 m in length and 15.85 m in height, and probably sheltered the bark of Isis on religious processions, especially to the Island of Biggeh. The walls of the kiosk are topped by a cavetto, in the middle of which is a winged sun-disc. The decoration of the inner screen walls of the kiosk is similar to that of the pronaos of the Augustan temple at Kalabsha (fig. 157). The scenes on the screen walls represent Trajan as 'cultic' Pharaoh making offerings to Egyptian deities. To the south, he makes offerings to Osiris and Isis.[1757] The scene is framed with horizontal and vertical tori, which carry Type C zigzag decoration and rest on a small rectangular base with interior decoration in the form of a vertical line that seems to be an abbreviated version of the palace-façade (fig. 169). Next to the vertical torus is a carving of a serpent wearing the double crown and coiled around a papyrus plant, which symbolizes the primordial marsh from which life emerged.[1758] The horizontal torus is surmounted by a cavetto, which is decorated with palm-fronds and a winged sun-disc, and is crowned with a frieze of cobras carrying solar discs (fig. 170). The structure and decoration of the cavetto underwent no major change under Trajan. For reasons of scale, the low rectangular base of the torus in this kiosk was decorated with a small vertical line instead of the large rectangle.

[1757] Hölbl 2004, 92.
[1758] Wilkinson 1992, 122-3.

(Fig. 170)

The cavetto and torus also occurred in the temple of Amun at Tchonemyris.[1759] According to the Greek inscription carved on the lintel of the pylon, the temple was largely repaired under Antoninus Pius.[1760] The text suggests that Greek-speaking natives and visitors (including Romans) were the primary addressees of the inscription.[1761] Putting an inscription on or around the cavetto draws attention to the form's iconographic importance. Here too torus and cavetto preserved their ancient profile and basic structure.

In short, the cavetto and torus underwent changes in their decoration and significance throughout the long history of their use. They continued to be integral parts of traditional monuments in Roman Egypt, and were characteristic of temples dedicated to Egyptian deities elsewhere. The cavetto acts as a carrier of Egyptian religious imagery, apotropaic and divine symbols, and hieroglyphic texts. Yet, due to its visual prominence, also Graeco-Roman inscriptions recording donations were found carved on or around the cavetto. The occurrence of local Egyptian alongside Graeco-Roman architectural details is striking testimony to the biculturalism of the dedicators.

[1759] Wilkinson 2000, 237-8.
[1760] Aufrère, Golvin and Goyon 1994, 102.
[1761] E.g. the dedicatory inscription of Trajan on the main gateway of the temple of Serapis, Isis and Horus at Kysis (Arnold 1999, 263).

V.4. EGYPTIAN COMPOSITE CAPITALS

V.4.1. The origin and symbolism of Egyptian composite capitals

Egyptian architecture of the Old and Middle Kingdoms was dominated by pillars with rectangular, octagonal, or polygonal sections.[1762] From the Fifth Dynasty onwards, however, columns with floral capitals emerged.[1763] All Egyptian columns are either made from monolithic blocks of stone or built up in sections, which are finely shaped and smoothed to look like a single piece of stone.[1764] Egyptian capitals use plant elements typical of the local environment of Egypt.[1765] Lotus, lily, papyrus, and palm are the four principal plants serving as decorative elements of floral capitals.[1766] However, there is a great variety in the forms of the capitals, which are derived from such plants.[1767] Ludwig Borchardt was the first scholar to deal in depth with these four types of floral capitals, which are heavily used in Egyptian religious architecture.[1768] The transformation of plants into stone, a material with symbolic connotations and significance for traditional monuments, memorialized them as architecture and kept them for posterity. Equally, the shafts of the columns are copies, in stone, of supports made from these plants, either trunks or bundles of stems. [1769]

Egyptologists call the capital that combines elements of different plants on a single column the Egyptian 'composite capital'.[1770] This was probably developed from the so-called Egyptian 'composite column', which is a single column carrying up to four superimposed capitals of different types and thus forming a disconnected stack of plants.[1771] Egyptian composite columns emerged as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty. They are evident in wall paintings of Theban tombs and in three-dimensional representations on objects uncovered from the Tomb of Tutankhamen

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[1762] Petrie 1923, 67-8; Jéquier 1924b, 151-65.
[1763] Badawy 1954.
[1764] Clarke and Engelbach 1930, 136-50.
[1765] Badawy 1966b, 64.
[1766] Wilkinson 2000, 66-7.
[1767] Jéquier 1924b, 167-274; Arnold 1980, 323-7.
[1768] Borchardt 1897.
[1769] Frankfort 1948, 150-1. For stone symbolism in Egyptian architecture: Baines 2007, 262-80.
[1770] Borchardt 1897, 18-24; Jéquier 1924b, 167-274; Wilkinson 2000, 67.
[1771] Arnold 2003, 56-7.

(1333-1323 BC), which represent wooden composite columns with a combination of three superimposed capitals of lotus, papyrus, and lily plants (fig. 171).[1772]

(Fig. 171)

Since the delicacy of such plants makes them unsuitable for carrying heavy loads, it was probably their symbolism that encouraged their use in traditional religious stone architecture.[1773] The papyrus and lotus formed important elements of the primeval landscape, where it was believed that on the first day of creation the land was 'a vast expanse of marshes in which the papyrus rises and the sun-god Re is believed to have appeared as a sitting child from a lotus flower'.[1774]

Moreover, there is a basic topographical distinction between the plants: the papyrus is a symbol of Lower Egypt, whereas the lotus and lily are emblematic of Upper Egypt.[1775] It has therefore been argued that they are used in architecture to refer to these regions.[1776] The combination of papyrus and lotus or papyrus and lily would thus symbolize the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt.[1777] This is clear from ancient Egyptian iconography. On the both sides of the base of the statue of King Chephren (2558-2532 BC), now in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, the papyrus

[1772] Jéquier 1924b, 169 (fig. 93); Borchardt 1897, 18-24; Reeves 1990, 179, 198-9; D'Avennes 2000, pls. 17-20. For a list of such Theban tombs: Arnold 1997, 20-1.
[1773] Cf. Vitr. *De arch*. 7.5.3-4.
[1774] Frankfort 1948, 153-4. See also Vandersleyen 1985.
[1775] Drewer and Redford 1995, 38; Leach and Tait 2001, 22-3.
[1776] Arnold 1999, 292.
[1777] Doenkhahn 1982, 667.

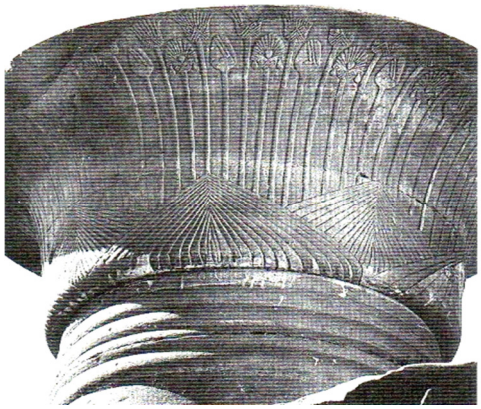
and lotus are tied together around a *sm#--t#wy* sign. Similarly, the papyrus and lily are carved on two adjacent pillars in the Temple of Karnak to symbolize the two unified parts of Egypt. Symbolism thus seems to have been as important for ornaments as ornaments were essential to buildings.[1778] The communication of indigenous religious and political symbolism through architectural ornament is an important way for transmitting Egyptian cultural traditions.[1779] Traditional papyri- or lotiform capitals were also used in temples built for Egyptian deities outside Egypt. A relief from the Iseum Campense is carved with a Roman imitation of the traditional papyrus and lotus (fig. 172).[1780] The outer two plants are papyrus, whereas the central plant is lotus. The relief combines the two plants in an imitation of the *sm#-t#wy* sign. This example suggests that certain architectural ornaments had the potential to visualize Egyptian-style religious architecture outside the province.

(Fig. 172)

The chronological occurrence of traditional composite capitals in buildings in Egypt is illustrated in Table 7. During the New Kingdom, Egyptian composite capitals were used in both temples and houses. From the New Kingdom onwards, however, composite capitals only occurred in religious buildings, indicating their close connection with sacred form of architecture. Tomb paintings of the New Kingdom suggest that the earliest Egyptian composite capitals, made of wood, are

[1778] Vandersleyen 1985; Wilkinson 2000, 37. Vitruvius drew attention to the centrality of ornaments to religious architecture in Book 4.
[1779] Smith 1986, 42-43.
[1780] Roullet 1972, 58. Naples, Museo Nazionale, no number.

used on canopies and kiosks where motifs of different plants are combined on a single capital.[1781] In the Amarna Period, temples of Aten and wealthy houses are furnished for the first time with columns with composite capitals, which are decorated with garlands of lotus and a frieze of uraei or with vines or with lotus and heads of lions.[1782] There is no evidence for the use of composite capitals after the Amarna period. Yet from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty onwards, Egyptian composite capitals re-appeared in stone architecture, as models of simple composite capitals in the Metropolitan Museum of Art suggest.[1783] During that time, different floral elements were attached to a single-stemmed open papyrus capital. The pronaos of the Temple of Psametik II Neferibre (595-589 BC) at Hibis, the el-Kharga oasis, has composite capitals with a wreath of alternating papyrus and lily blossoms (fig. 173).[1784] This 'classic' type of Egyptian composite capital was later used under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes (170-163, 145-116 BC) in the pronaos of the Temple of Isis at Philae (fig. 181). In this case, the open papyrus capital serves as the architectural medium around which different plant elements and motifs are combined. In that sense, the Egyptian composite capital bears a reminiscent of a Corinthian kalathos, the large basket around which acanthus leaves and decorative volutes are arranged.[1785] One of the earliest surviving examples of eight-stemmed composite capitals occurs in the Portico of Nectanebo I in the Temple of Hibis (fig. 174).[1786]


(Fig. 173)

(Fig. 174)

[1781] Borchardt 1897, 51, pl. 81.
[1782] E.g. Davies 1905, pls. 3-4; Jéquier 1924b, 169 (fig. 93); Arnold 2003, 56-7; Semper 2004, the figure in page 295.
[1783] Yong 1964, 256 (fig. 14).
[1784] Arnold 1999, 293.
[1785] Jéquier 1924b, 236-7; Haneborg-Lühr 1992, 126.
[1786] Winlock 1941, pl. 19.B.

The five-tiered band and abacus are characteristic features of column decoration in traditional religious architecture. The necking band connects the shaft and capital by means of five horizontal ties or cords, although in very rare cases by six.[1787] It thus marks the transitional point from the shaft to the capital. That is, it defines where the shaft ends and where the capital begins.[1788] In fact, this band is a physical representation of the rope by which ancient Egyptian farmers used to hold bundles of plants together.[1789] The earliest, explicit example of the five-tiered band occurs on the mortuary temple of King Sahure (2458-2446 BC) at Abusir, where a column represents several lotus buds with their stalks bound together with a band of five horizontal ropes (fig. 175).[1790] The lotus-bud capital carries a low block or abacus, while the five-tiered band surrounded a small section at the upper end of the shaft; however, from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty onwards, the five cords were shifted downward, leaving the plant stalks visible.[1791] Having taken its idiosyncratic form, the five-tiered band continued to be used in column decoration of traditional temples down to the Roman period.[1792]

(Fig. 175)

[1787] Wilkinson 2000, 66.
[1788] Frankfort 1948, 151.
[1789] Kemp 1989, 138; Arnold 1991, 251-3.
[1790] Clarke and Engelbach 1930, 142-3.
[1791] Arnold 1999, 298.
[1792] Badawy 1966b, 66-9.

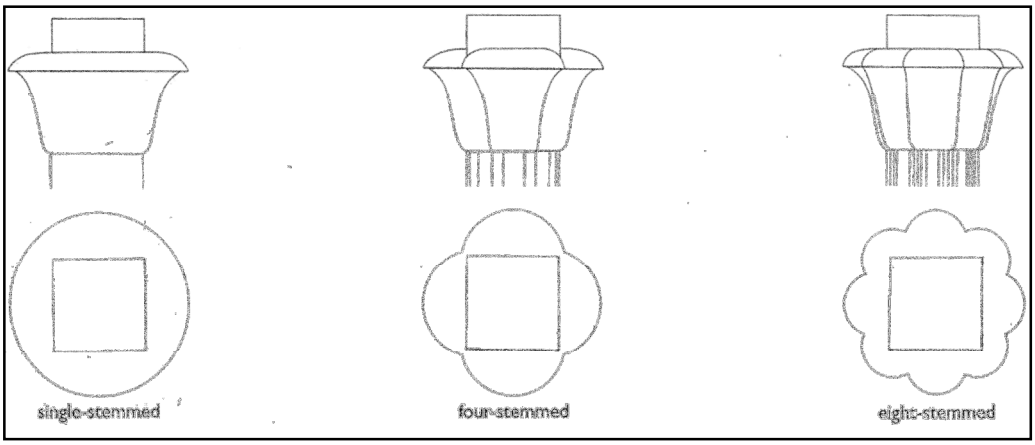
The abacus, on the other hand, connects the capital with the architrave. It takes the weight of the architrave off the slender capital and thus plays a constructive role.[1793] Abaci of Egyptian columns do not project on all sides, but the four cardinal faces of the column correspond with the four sides of the abacus.[1794] Rounded abaci have been found only at Tanis on palm-columns reused from the Old Kingdom.[1795] Generally, the abacus of Ptolemaic and Roman times is similar to that of previous periods, where it provides a support for the architrave. Yet composite capitals like those at Philae sometimes carry a 'raised' abacus decorated with Hathor's heads or figures of Bes. This type of 'raised' abacus is specific to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, and can be placed on any type of Egyptian composite capital.[1796] The abacus is usually bare or naked, however, in many cases its visible side continued to be decorated with a horizontal cartouche. Other sides of the abacus sometimes carry hieroglyphic writings. The custom of inscribing abaci with cartouches and hieroglyphic texts can be traced back to the Pharaonic period,[1797] but was maintained in the Roman period.[1798] Abaci are often inscribed with cartouches of the ruler in whose reign the decoration, and probably the construction, of the structure is fulfilled. Like the column shafts and cavetto cornices, and perhaps because of their visual prominence to worshippers and visitors, abaci were also carved with hieroglyphic religious texts, as in the Temple of Luxor and the West Colonnade at Philae. So the abacus not only had a structural purpose, but was also an appropriate surface on which Egyptian religious writings and imperial cartouches are carved and visualized.

V.4.2. Egyptian composite capitals in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods

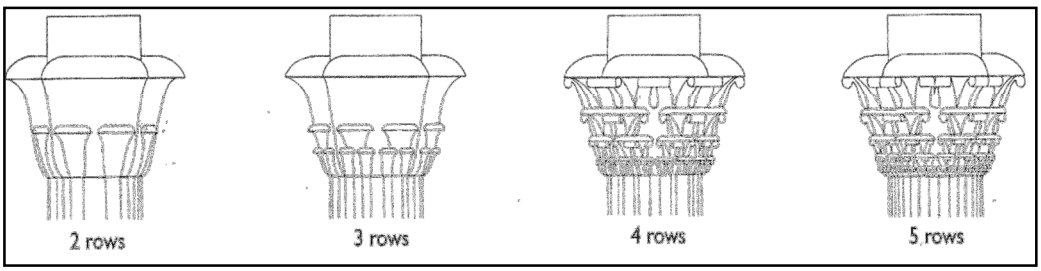
In Ptolemaic and Roman times, Egyptian composite capitals flourished in stone architecture and were frequently used in traditional monuments, including temples,

[1793] Wilkinson 2000, 66-7.
[1794] Clarke and Engelbach 1930, 137.
[1795] Arnold 2003, 1.
[1796] Jéquier 1924b, 240.
[1797] For an abacus with a horizontal cartouche of Amenhotep III: Arnold 2003, 1. On abaci with hieroglyphic texts in the outer court of Ramesses II at the Temple of Luxor: Aufrère, Golvin and Goyon 1994, 131.
[1798] Jéquier 1924b, 240.

Birth Houses, kiosks, and colonnades.[1799] Unlike the Pharaonic period, when different plant forms are usually attached to a single-stemmed bell-shaped capital, composite capitals of Ptolemaic and Roman times use different floral elements attached to bell-shaped capital cores with single, four, or eight-stemmed sections (fig. 176). Diminishing in size from the top down, the floral elements are organized between two and five tiers (fig. 177).[1800]



(Fig. 176)



(Fig. 177)

Based upon the plant forms used in them, Gustav Jéquier distinguished twenty-seven forms of traditional composite capitals, which show their multiplicity and variety and suggest the freedom of choice of the artists involved in producing and developing them (Appendix 4, pls. i-v).[1801] Like Jéquier who dealt with the main 'organic' plant forms (palm, papyrus, lotus, and lily), Maureen Haneborg-Lühr followed the same typology, but she and McKenzie included other floral and decorative elements like acanthus leaves, bead-and-reel decoration, Oudjat-eye, and

[1799] Borchardt 1897, 50-8; Haneborg-Lühr 1992, 125-52; McKenzie 2007, 119-46.
[1800] Arnold 1999, 298.
[1801] Jéquier 1924b, 243-74.

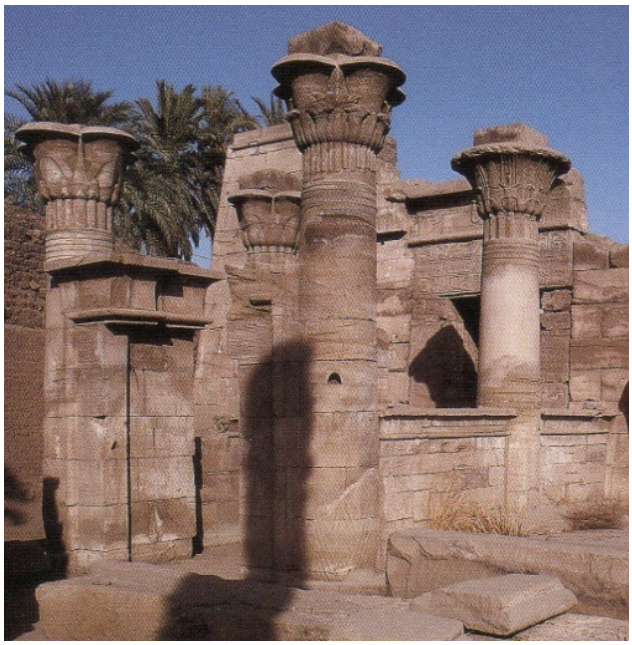
similar forms which were used in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods as mere surface decoration. Of composite capitals, only Types 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27 are confirmed in the Roman period (Table 8).[1802] It is mistakenly assumed that in the Pharaonic period 'the columns of one colonnade or courtyard would all have identical capitals, [whereas] in the Ptolemaic (and Roman) periods each capital would frequently be different from the one beside'.[1803] In fact, archaeological evidence confirms that the idea of using a variety of capitals together in one colonnade or courtyard is evident from the fourth century BC onwards. Surviving examples of composite capitals used alongside other forms of capitals (papyrus and palm) in a single colonnade occur in the Portico of Nectanebo I in front of the Temple of Hibis (fig. 178).[1804]

(Fig. 178)

Egyptian composite capitals were heavily used in those traditional temples which continued to function in the Roman period. The discussion of Ptolemaic-dated composite capitals is relevant, because it throws light on the frequency and

[1802] Haneborg-Lühr 1992; McKenzie 2007.
[1803] McKenzie 2007, 125.
[1804] Cruz-Uribe 1986, 1987.

development of such capitals. The Kiosk of Ptolemy III Euergetes, built in front of Ptah's temple at Karnak, has four columns with composite capitals (fig. 179).[1805]



(Fig. 179)

The lowest section of the shafts is carved with papyrus leaves pointing upwards, probably to guide the eye along the shaft and towards the capital. The columns have slim shafts similar to those at the Hibis temple in the el-Kharga oasis (fig. 178). The main body of the shaft was originally carved with hieroglyphic texts and reliefs. The uppermost part of the shaft is decorated with a five-tiered band, which, shifted downward from its earlier position, leaves the plant stems visible. On the five-tiered band are composite capitals: a single-stemmed capital of Type 8; two quatrefoil columns with composite capitals of Type 19; and a quatrefoil column with composite capital of Type 20. The floral elements diminish in size from the top down and are organized in two rows. On the capitals abaci once carried the architrave.

Egyptian composite capitals occur in traditional temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods everywhere in the province, suggesting the presence of a large number of competent artists who knew, executed, and developed a variety of Egyptian composite capitals. For example, they occur in the pronaos of Ptolemy III

[1805] Jéquier 1924a, pls. 4.3, 5.1-3; Murray 1931, 92 (pl. 18.2); Arnold 1999, 167 (fig. 113); McKenzie 2007, 127 (fig. 211).

Euergetes in the Temple of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu at Qasr el-Ghueita in the el-Kharga oasis (fig. 180), where the floral elements are attached to bell-shaped capital cores with four (Type 19) and eight-stemmed (Type 27) cross sections.[1806]

(Fig. 180)

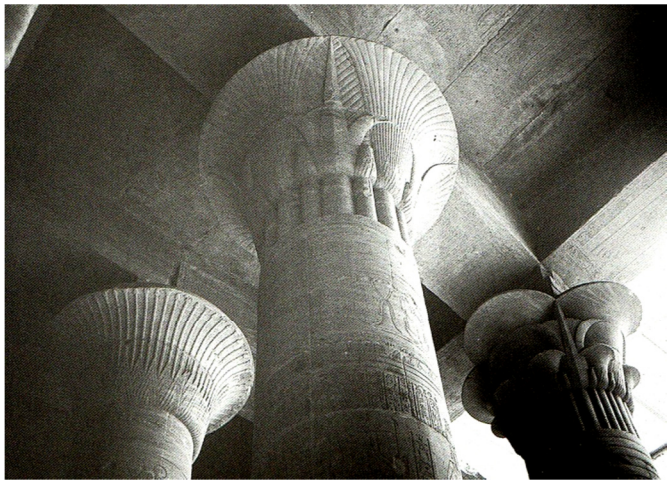
Egyptian composite capitals were also used in a *symposion* in the famous river-barge built for Ptolemy IV Philopator (221-205 BC). Based on Callixenus, Athenaeus states that:

> It [the dining room] was decorated in the Egyptian style; because the columns in it increased in diameter from the bottom to the top, with drums of different sizes that alternated between black and white. The shape of their capitals is round, and their general appearance is like roses that have barely opened. No volutes or rough foliage surround what is referred to as the basket, as on Greek columns, but there are instead water-lily flowers and dates from palms that have just fruited; and sometimes many other types of flowers have been carved.[1807]

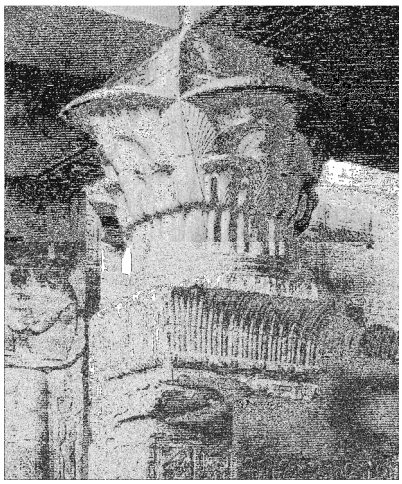
The passage clearly indicates that Athenaeus has in mind the Egyptian composite capital. But such capitals are closely associated with traditional religious structures, the most substantial of which survive on the island of Philae.[1808] Under Ptolemy VI Philometer (180-164, 163-145 BC), Egyptian composite capitals are used on the

[1806] Aufrère, Golvin and Goyon 1994, 100.
[1807] Athen. 5.206a-b.
[1808] Haeny 1985, 197-233.

pronaos of the Isis' temple, where bell-shaped capital cores with single ('classic' type and Type 10) and four-stemmed (Type 19) sections are covered with papyrus and lily or papyrus and palmettes (fig. 181). Egyptian composite quatrefoil capitals with two superimposed rows of floral leaves (Type 19) are used in the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina, which was completed under Ptolemy VI Philometor (fig. 182).[1809] The stems of the floral plants are tied together in a five-tiered band, whereas the abaci are carved with hieroglyphic texts. Composite capitals surmount a doorway with broken lintel, which is decorated with a cavetto and a horizontal torus with Type C zigzag decoration, showing how many traditional architectural ornaments could be integrated within a single structure.



(Fig. 181)

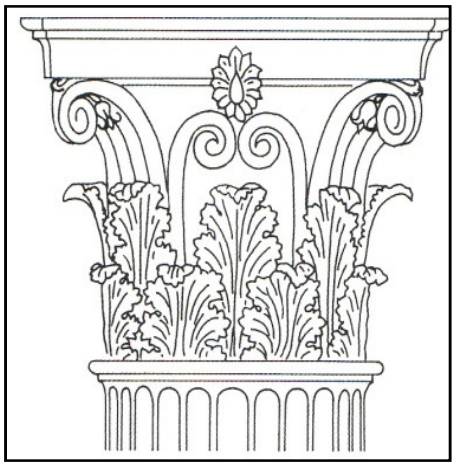


(Fig. 182)

Under Ptolemy VI Philometor, Greek corner volutes began to be integrated into Egyptian composite capitals. This new feature probably resulted from the influence of Corinthian capitals like those on the tholos at Epidaurus, *c*. 380-70 BC, which are characterized by helices and corner volutes springing from two layers of acanthus leaves (fig. 183).[1810] Yet the influence of the volutes of Egyptian liliform capitals (cf. fig. 171) remains a possibility. The first well-dated example of Egyptian composite capitals with corner volutes occurs on the pronaos of the Hathor's temple

[1809] Murray 1931, 140.
[1810] McKenzie 2007, 84-5.

at Philae, where quatrefoil composite capitals of Type 21 are covered with three layers of papyrus umbels and corner volutes (fig. 184).[1811]



(Fig. 183)

(Fig. 184)

Under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes, composite capitals underwent further developments, where more than three tiers of papyrus umbels and volutes are used. The earliest surviving examples of this variant occur in the extension of the *mammisi* at Philae (fig. 185) and in the outer pronaos of the temple of Horus at Edfu (fig. 186), where composite capitals have five tiers of papyrus umbels and volutes of Type 24.

(Fig. 185)

(Fig. 186)

Composite capitals without volutes also continued under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes, like those in the pronaos of the temple of Montu, Rattawy, and

[1811] Porter and Moss 1939, 251-2.

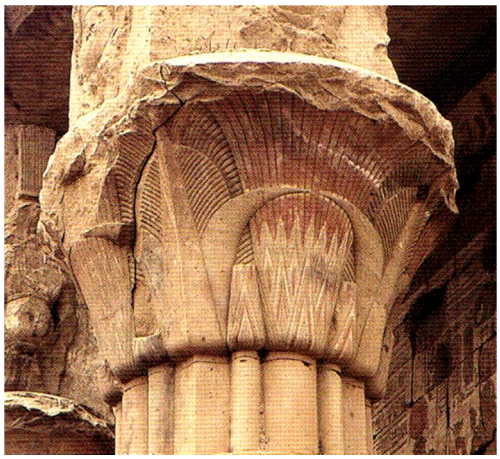
Harpocrates at Medamud.[1812] The pronaos once had a double row of eleven columns, 7.6 m high, with a variety of capitals, where composite capitals of Type 14 are used alongside papyriform capitals reminiscent of Pharaonic examples (fig. 187).[1813]

(Fig. 187)

Composite capitals continued to exhibit the same features until the end of the Ptolemaic period. Under Ptolemy XII Auletes (80-58, 55-51 BC), composite capitals with five tiers of papyrus umbel and corner volute of Type 24 occur in the pronaos of the Temple of Horus and Sobek at Kom Ombo, which still functioned under Roman rule (fig. 188). As all Egyptian capitals were originally multi-coloured, the visual emphasis on composite capitals can be captured from the traces of colour, which give a glimpse of how they would have been brightly painted. A good example is found in the outer hypostyle hall at Kom Ombo, with composite capitals of Type 10 (fig. 189).[1814]

[1812] Wilkinson 2000, 153.
[1813] Arnold 1999, 195-6 (fig. 146); McKenzie 2007, 127 (fig. 212).
[1814] Jéquier 1924b, 260.

(Fig. 188)



(Fig. 189)

In the Roman period, further developments occurred in Egyptian composite capitals, where artists had the tendency to overload them with a wide range of decorative motifs. Under Augustus, the East and West Colonnades at Philae were built; however, the decoration of both colonnades continued under Tiberius. From Augustus to Claudius, that is, from 30 BC to AD 54, other features from the Corinthian capital were added to Egyptian composite capitals, showing the fusion of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian architectural traditions. Egyptian composite capitals on the West Colonnade at Philae, which was accessible to both worshippers and visitors, have a single row of acanthus leaves above bead-and-reel decoration or acanthus leaves with helices of Type 19 (figs. 190-1). Composite capitals also began to be decorated with vine leaves as in Type 23 (fig. 192), bunches of grapes under the corner volutes as in Type 18 (fig. 193), and a lotus motif as in Type 20 (fig. 194). They were also used as carriers of Egyptian divine symbols, including the Oudjat-eye of Horus as in Type 21 (fig. 195). The front side of the abaci is carved with cartouche of Augustus (figs. 196), where the cartouche may serve to identify the periods and phases of developments in traditional architectural ornament. The abacus was also carved with religious hieroglyphic texts (fig. 197).

(Fig. 190)

(Fig. 191)

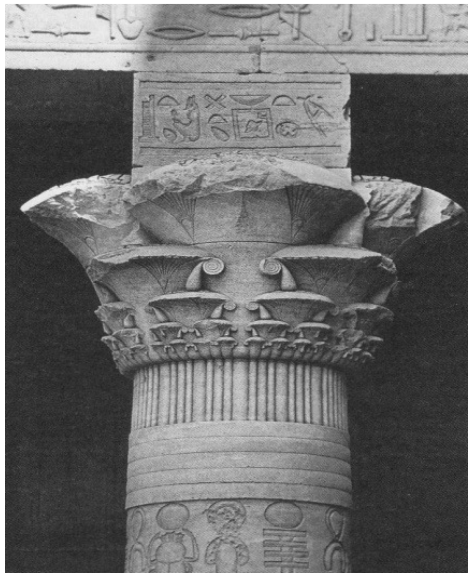
(Fig. 192)

(Fig. 193)

(Fig. 194)

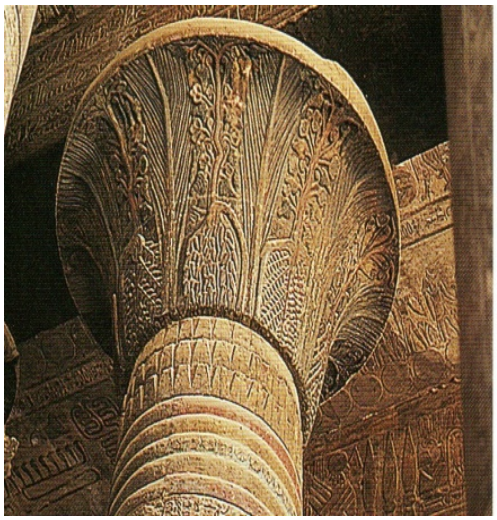
(Fig. 195)

(Fig. 196)



(Fig. 197)

(Fig. 198)



(Fig. 199)

The incorporation of Graeco-Roman decorative motifs into Egyptian composite capitals cannot be mere coincidence. Nor can it be attributed to architectural considerations alone. The hybridization of architectural ornament is not surprising given the shared cultural heritage and biculturalism of Romano-Egyptian society. Recurrent contacts and mutual influence between inhabitants produced continually blurred social boundaries, promoted linguistic fluency, and confused ethnic categories. Yet Classical influence on traditional temples is perhaps limited to the zodiac, dedicatory texts, and architectural ornament. Esther Pasztory called the combination of two or more differing ornamental styles on the same object ‘style

juxtaposition'. According to Pasztory, 'style juxtaposition' is inevitable in almost all situations of cultural contact and colonial situations, and is meant to 'create visual harmony rather than to exaggerate difference'.[1815] Undoubtedly, the incorporation of classical details to Egyptian composite capitals reflects a dynamic interplay between Graeco-Roman and Egyptian cultural traditions.

Composite capitals with a lotus motif decorating the front of the capital in Type 20 occur on the entrance-columns of the Kiosk of Trajan at Philae (fig. 198). Additional new motifs were also added to composite capitals. For example, in the Claudian pronaos of the temple at Esna composite capitals are variations of the palmette motifs on bell-shaped papyrus capitals. Some columns have vines running up the capital and date palms depicted around the drum of the composite capital of Type 13 (fig. 199).[1816] The new decorative features are carefully rendered; however, they are used as mere surface decoration, and not as 'organic' elements.[1817] Only a few composite capitals, particularly those at Philae and Esna, embraced the acanthus leaves, volutes, helices, and bead-and-reel decoration. Other features of composite capitals, including the main floral elements, the five-tiered band, and the abacus, maintained their Egyptian form. From the mid-first century, specifically from the reign of Nero onwards, and for unclear reasons, the addition of classical elements to traditional composite capitals ceased, and Egyptian composite capitals were on their own without any classical motifs.

[1815] Pasztory 1989, 19-25, at 20.
[1816] Arnold 1999, 251.
[1817] McKenzie 2007, 138-40.

(Fig. 200)

The construction of the *mammisi* at Tentyris began under Nero, but most of its decoration was carried out by Trajan. The capitals and reliefs on the front and side screen walls are complete (fig. 200), but those at the back were never finished.[1818] The shafts are decorated with hieroglyphic texts and reliefs. The capitals have a simple composite form with floral elements, mostly papyrus and lily, arranged on quatrefoil or eight-stemmed sides. They carry raised abaci, which are carved on all four sides with a figure of the dwarf god Bes.[1819] The four columns in the pronaos of the Domitianic temple at Syene, which was completed under Nerva (96-98), also have composite capitals without classical motifs.[1820] The temple of the goddess Hathor at Diospolis Parva (Hiw) is the only known traditional monument from the reign of Nerva.[1821] Under Trajan, the small Augustan temple of Isis and Mut at Shanhour was extended, when an inner hall with four columns and an outer hall with 24 columns were added to the front of the Augustan temple. Since the columns are now destroyed to the lowest courses of blocks, it is currently impossible to identify

[1818] Arnold 1999, 255-7.
[1819] Jéquier 1924b, 240.
[1820] Jaritz 1975, 237-57. The capitals are now destroyed, but explicit illustrations are found in *DE* 4, pls. 4-5.
[1821] Petrie 1901, 55. It measures 14 × 19.5 m.

their capital types.[1822] Under Hadrian, Antinoopolis was massively supplied with classical-style buildings,[1823] but the Greek city also retained earlier temples like the Heresieum which continued to function at least until the reign of Caracalla.[1824] The six Egyptian composite capitals of Type 14 which were uncovered from Antinoopolis and reused in the Al-Yusufi Mosque at Mallawi, el-Minia, must have come from an Egyptian temple.[1825] Under Antoninus Pius, new Egyptian temples using composite capitals were built, including a small temple for the goddess Anuket at Kom Mir, 12 km south of Esna.[1826] Under Marcus Aurelius, two new temples were built at el-Nadura in the el-Kharga oasis.[1827] Although temple-based activities continued up to the sixth century, there is no surviving evidence after Marcus Aurelius for new traditional temples and, therefore, of new composite capitals.[1828]

V.5. CONCLUSION

In Roman Egypt, architectural details were used in buildings for their decorative and non-decorative abilities. A number of architectural ornaments were integral parts of Egyptian traditional structures, particularly temples. Throughout their long history of use, traditional ornaments underwent essential changes in profile and significance. The cavetto and torus were used as a framework for Egyptian religious scenes and emphasized Egyptian monuments in the landscape. The cavetto was an appropriate field for Egyptian religious imagery, divine symbols, and hieroglyphic writings. It equally provided an appropriate surface on or around which Graeco-Roman inscriptions recording donations to traditional temples and personal devotional texts were carved. As the carrier of the apotropaic winged sun-disc, it also plays an important symbolic role. The iconography of the cavetto and that of the structure in which it is embedded are interdependent.

[1822] Quaegebeur 1997; Arnold 1999, 263 (fig. 186); Willems, Coppens, and de Meyer 2003.
[1823] Bell 1940, 137-47.
[1824] See Chapter I.
[1825] Rondot 1984/85, 143-49, pls. ii-iii.
[1826] Es-Saghir and Valbelle 1983, 149-70 (pls. 30B, 31B).
[1827] Brugsch 1878, 58-9; Aufrère, Golvin, and Goyon 1994, 96-7; Arnold 1999, 267.
[1828] See Chapter I.

Egyptian composite capitals with their five-tiered band and abacus were also used for decorative and non-decorative purposes. The symbolism of the main floral elements used in such capitals, which were brightly painted with different colours, facilitated their particular association with traditional temples, *mammisis*, kiosks, and colonnades. Egyptian composite capitals were used as carriers of Egyptian religious and divine symbols and hieroglyphic writings. Yet it is clear from the patronage of temples by Roman soldiers and Hellenized metropolites and the fusion of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian architectural details that architectural ornaments carried no particularly legal or ethnic significance. The hybridization of architectural ornament reflected the dynamic nature of such cultural markers of identity.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Identity expresses the ways in which individuals and groups differentiated themselves in their social relationships from other individual and groups.[1829] Alston has drawn attention to the difficulty of reading from the public culture of cities in the second and third centuries to ethnicity, which has been seen as a transient political concept employed by the Roman authority in its administrative intention of organizing the society and its political desire to create significant *ethnoi*.[1830] Venit and Riggs have addressed respectively the complex relationship between Alexandrian funerary architecture and other funerary commemorative objects and ethnic identity. Yet ethnic identity or the self-conscious adherence to a particular group is just one aspect of a multilayered phenomenon for various levels of identity assertion could be distinguished in Roman Egypt.[1831] Personal identity included aspects like gender, age, education, profession, social status, and the like.[1832] Social identity included such relationships as family ties, peer group members, class allegiance, social status, and the like.[1833] Civic identity concerns aspects such as citizenship.[1834] Local identity expresses the ways in which members of the local community constructed a sense of belonging to their city or locality.[1835]

Individual and group identities in the Roman period were multifaceted and dynamic. The expression of these divergent and interconnected perceptions of identity depended largely on context and the position of individuals within the society. By contrast with other house occupants who eat the fish before the front gate of their houses, priests burnt the fish probably to assert their superior status as well as that of their houses within community. Yet the participation of priests and non-priests can also be interpreted in terms of local identity. This simple example means that there are always multiple possibilities for interpreting a singular act and for defining identities. Obviously, these or some of these layers of identity are as much

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[1829] Jenkins 1996, 4.
[1830] Alston 1997c.
[1831] Morgan 1991, 131.
[1832] Venit 1999.
[1833] Hales 2003.
[1834] Delia 1992.
[1835] Cic. *De. Off.* I.17.

situational and variable as ethnic and cultural identity. The multiple life experiences of individuals and groups will inevitably create cultural diversity, where the expression of difference may be just as significant as showing similarity in the construction of identities. Whereas the paradigms of 'Romanization' and 'Hellenization' were primarily designed to examine degrees of homogeneity and similarity, the concept of 'identity' can work better as an analytical construct to understand better the heterogeneity of local response to Rome simply because 'identity' concerns heterogeneity and diversity.[1836]

In Roman Egypt, the ethnically diverse inhabitants were marked by their legal status, which determined their social, political, and economic privileges until Caracalla's universal extension of citizenship in 212.[1837] The Romans and Greek citizens of Naucratis, Alexandria, Ptolemais, and Antinoopolis came at the top of the Roman legal structure. They were exempt everywhere from the poll-tax.[1838] Roman and Alexandrian citizenship of the parents was indispensible for their offspring to qualify for the same status.[1839] The rest of the population was classed as "Egyptians". The label 'Egyptian' was applied to everyone who was neither a Roman nor a citizen of the Greek poleis or Jew, a designation that applied to metropolites and villagers alike.[1840] There were various status divisions within this group. Even though many of them will have been of Greek ethnic origin, all the metropolites paid the *laographia* at a reduced rate,[1841] while the ordinary people of the *komai* paid the full rate.[1842] The metropolite group included 'those from the gymnasium', who had to prove in their *epikrisis* that their ancestors were members of the gymnasium.[1843] In the Fayum, the equivalent group to this gymnasial class was 'the 6475 Hellenes of the Arsinoite nome',[1844] who were presumably the descendants of the Greek and Hellenized mercenaries settled in the Fayum by the early Ptolemies.[1845] Although there is no

[1836] Mattingly 2010.
[1837] Bell 1942, 39-40.
[1838] On Alexandrian citizenship: El-Abbadi 1962; Delia 1991. On Antinoite citizenship: Johnson 1914, 171; Hoogendijk and van Minnen 1987; Malouta 2009.
[1839] Gilliam 1978.
[1840] *CPJ* II.156c.ii.25-7.
[1841] Lewis 1983, 26-64; Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Hanson 1992, 133-45.
[1842] Cf. *CPJ* II.156c.ii.25-7.
[1843] Nelson 1979, 22-4; *P.Oxy*. XVIII.2186.
[1844] Bowman and Rathbone 1992, 107-27.
[1845] Bell 1940, 136.

example of an *Aiguptos* who became an *Ioudaios*, or vice versa, Egyptians and Jews enjoyed access to Alexandrian and Roman citizenship, suggesting that it was possible for an individual to have multiple ethnicities.[1846]

Apart from the legal definition of identity, there are no other reliable signifiers by means of which individuals can be identified as Roman, Greek, or Egyptian. Similarly, the relationships between members of a group or between members of these groups are vague. The cultural boundaries between these groups, if any, cannot be easily outlined. Although there is a huge number of papyri which show day-to-day interaction between the persons involved, nomenclature is not a reliable ethnic marker. In the literary sources of the imperial period there appears to be some suggestion that a legally defined Roman in the West was required to display a certain familiarity with Roman culture.[1847] The emphasis on Roman culture in the West encouraged the adoption of imperial cultural modes and material culture, the possession of which has been taken as part of what it was 'to be Roman'.[1848]

There is no evidence that the association between Roman citizenship and Roman culture in the West was transmitted into the remoter provinces in the East, in which Greek culture was far more present. Being 'Roman' does not refer to a person's origin, nation, linguistic group, or common descent, but to a shared citizenship.[1849] This simply means that if someone had the chance to hold Roman citizenship then he would immediately become 'Roman'. Under Trajan, Harpocras was granted Alexandrian and Roman citizenship for the medical services he offered to Pliny.[1850] As far as we know, Harpocras was not required to neglect certain cultural features and adopt or at least show a certain familiarity with Roman culture as a prerequisite for citizenship. To complicate it further, to define what Roman culture was meant to be in a province like Egypt is problematic. Equally, if Greek ethnicity of the urban elite was partially defined by its relationship to Greek language and culture,[1851] then an Egyptian who could fluently speak Greek and adopt

[1846] *CPJ* II.156c.ii.25-27; Plin. *Ep.* 10.5-7.
[1847] Tac. *Agr.* 21.
[1848] Alston 1997c, 94.
[1849] Finley 1973, 47.
[1850] Plin. *Ep.* 10.5-7.

[1851] Alston 1997c, 92.

Hellenized cultural modes would be recognized as Greek. Similarly, if Egyptians could become citizens of a Greek polis as they indeed had done when they joined Antinoopolis then they would directly be classed as 'Greeks'.[1852] In this complex milieu, it seems that legal status was not closely associated with cultural markers. Politically, cultural traits were not given a particularly ethnic subjective significance. This means, for instance, that *we* cannot use the worship of Egyptian deities, the participation in traditional festivals, and the patronage of traditional cults and temples as objective criteria for identifying legally or ethnically Egyptians.

Roman Egypt was undoubtedly a society of great complexity. But this complexity was not necessarily ethnic in nature, but appears to have derived from the multiplicity and variability of its cultural traditions. Inhabitants, for example, spoke and wrote a variety of different languages and scripts: Latin, Greek, Egyptian, hieroglyphs, demotic, hieratic, Coptic, and many other minor languages or scripts. Depending on the context, certain languages or scripts were more prominent than others.[1853] There were inhabitants who were unable to speak or write in Greek or Latin, and there were also people who did not know Egyptian or indigenous scripts.[1854] Yet social boundaries caused by language barriers could be overcome by bilingual individuals, by whom the large number of bilingual contracts, ostraca, and mummy labels were probably written.[1855] Many people in administrative circles were bilingual, using both an indigenous script and the official administrative language used by the central government, Greek.[1856] As many inhabitants had reasons for learning Greek, some also had motives for learning demotic.[1857]

Like language, dress and physiognomy cannot automatically be used as reliable markers of individual or group identity. Mummy portraits usually show the patrons in Graeco-Roman appearance, but the frame and religious content is Egyptian.[1858] Even in a single artefact a person could be represented in Graeco-Roman and Egyptian representational systems like the statues of the patrons in the

[1852] Johnson 1914, 171; Hoogendijk and van Minnen 1987, 71-4; Malouta 2009.
[1853] *P.Mert.* II.63; *P.Tebt.* II.294; *P.Oxy.* VII.1029; Merkelbach 1968; Winter 1976, 6; Grenier 1983, 204-5; Gallo 1992; Lewis 1993; Alston 1997d, 91; Riggs 2005; Smith 2009.
[1854] *P.Tebt.* II.316; Tac. *Ann.* 2.60; Youtie 1971, 260-1; Bowman 1986, 126.
[1855] *Papyrologica Ludg.-Bat.* 5, 25; *P.Mich. inv.* 4534.4 = *P.Coll.Youtie* II.113.
[1856] Ray 1976; Thomas and Tait 1998; Fewster 2002, 224; Rutherford 2009.
[1857] *UPZ* I.148.
[1858] Bierbrier 1997; Riggs 2005.

Main Tomb at Kom el-Shouqafa.[1859] It is too difficult to gauge someone's legal or ethnic status from funerary architecture or iconography alone. The representation in Greek or Roman traditional form does not always mean that the persons depicted were identifiably Greek or Roman, but it may carry a strong ideological statement. Neither does the representation of a person in traditional mode make him or her Egyptian. In tomb iconography, there was no contradiction between being Graeco-Roman in appearance and dress and Egyptian in religion. The biculturalism of tombs argues for a culture in which both Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditions were manifest. Other somatic cultural traits cannot be easily used as markers of identity. In that sense, we should not put so much emphasis on the letter of Ammonius to his brothers, mocking at the barbarian, inhuman Egyptians.[1860] It seems unlikely that Romans, Alexandrians, and other Greek citizens had a distinguishable culture from the rest of the population. Romans and Alexandrians were not geographically, commercially, or culturally detached from the *chora*.[1861] They owned estates in the Arsinoite nome and were asked to offer pious contributions to the temple of Souchos with other inhabitants of the nome.[1862] Such social, religious, and cultural contacts would blur social barriers, promoted linguistic fluidity, and jumbled ethnic categories.[1863]

The Roman authority solidified its control of the province through a strong military presence and the encouragement of urbanisation.[1864] Unsurprisingly, Rome looked to the loyal urban elites for support. At the beginning of the first century, the Romans closed the village gymnasia and associated the Greek institution with only the metropolis.[1865] The metropolitan elites could develop a Hellenic identity, but they also preserved traditional features of an Egyptian identity, notably temples and religious institutions.[1866] We are not dealing here with two separate cultures, but with a culture in which there are differing traditional features. Throughout the first century, there were fundamental changes in the arrangement of space in poleis and

[1859] Venit 2002a, 129.
[1860] *P.Oxy*. XIV.1681.4-7.
[1861] *P.Giss.Lit*. 6.3 = *P.Giss*. 40.ii.16-29 = *Sel.Pap*. II.215.
[1862] *P.Mert*. II.63.
[1863] Johnson 1992.
[1864] Bowman 2000.
[1865] Bowman and Rathbone 1992, 121.
[1866] Alston 1997c, 88.

metropoleis. At the same time, temples for imperial cults were built. The diverse archaeology of urban centres suggests that cities were multicultural milieus. As part of the municipalisation of the province's administration, temples were placed under the central authority of the High Priest of Alexandria and Egypt and their organisation was taken on by the civic authorities of the community.[1867]

The early second century brought about dramatic changes in the infrastructure of metropoleis and accelerated the pace of Hellenization. The growth of civic rivalry and of euergetism encouraged the construction of new building projects. The urban and architectural structure of poleis and metropoleis was reshaped with the construction of classical-style buildings.[1868] The gymnasium was placed at the forefront of official urban life.[1869] The gymnasial and later bouleutic elites summoned Graeco-Roman performances to Roman, Greek, and Egyptians festivities and sacrifices held in the theatre and hippodrome.[1870] Birth certificates were displayed and courts were held in the agora or forum; civic petitions were displayed and the opening of wills occurred in the Hadrianeum. All this took place in a classical architectural setting. Traditional religious features and festivities were preserved through their incorporation into this dominant Hellenic milieu. Such festivities and their architectural backdrops helped the participants to construct a sense of belonging to their city or local community.[1871] In this shared multicultural milieu, cultural markers like architectural form and ritual activity carried no particular ethnic subjective significance.

Like Graeco-Roman sanctuaries, traditional temples continued to be important centres of local identity. Although many of their financial and other privileges were curtailed under Augustus,[1872] the priests still possessed the means to continue to build and decorate temples and fulfill their religious and non-religious duties.[1873] The state subventions,[1874] private donations,[1875] lease of temple

[1867] *P.Tebt*. II.294; *P.Lond*. 6.1912.iv.60-62 = *Sel.Pap*. II.212; Swarney 1970, 57-9, 83-96; Bowman and Rathbone 1992, 107, 116; Stead 1981.
[1868] Bailey 1989, 1990, 1991, 2007; Krüger 1990; Bowman 1995, 2000.
[1869] Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Alston 1997c.
[1870] Only Ptolemais (*SB* VI.9016) and Antinoopolis (*SB* VII.7603) appear to have a Boule before 200. On town councils: Bowman 1971. On the gymnasium: Burkhalter 1992.
[1871] Alston 1997b.
[1872] Glare 1993.
[1873] Monson 2005; Herklotz 2007.

properties,[1876] and the sale of priestly offices[1877] represented the most important financial resources of temples. In addition to public (gymnasium) and private (houses) structures, classical and traditional temples provided dining facilities for such important social occasions as birthdays, commemoration of death, and coming-of-age ceremonies, during which the hosts and guests probably emphasized their social identities.[1878] The temple of Renenutet at Narmuthis had institutional links to temples in the surrounding villages[1879] and the temple of Tebtunis had a demotic scribal school and appears to have been a centre of Egyptian religious learning.[1880] The principal local temple exercised some control over the main market in cities or villages, which were often located within or near it.[1881] The outer gateway of some temples served as a tribunal, and the area before the gateway perhaps functioned as a market place.[1882] In addition to their function as processional routes, the *dromoi* of temples were also important arenas of commerce and entertainment.[1883] Temples remained responsible for organizing some religious festivities and processions, where popular involvement was at its greatest. Through public processions, the temples become more integrated into urban space, linked by their *dromoi* to public buildings, including komasteria and streets.[1884] There is evidence that the ordinary people enjoyed access to the temple enclosure at least on important festive and social occasions, reflecting the close relationship between the temple and the surrounding local population.[1885]

With the help of Romans and Alexandrians, the Hellenized metropolites helped to maintain Egyptian religious traditions.[1886] The temple of Souchos in Arsinoe could demand pious contributions from Romans, Alexandrians, and other

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[1874] *BGU* IV.1197; *BGU* IV.1200; Capponi 2005, 152.
[1875] *P.Mert*. II.63; Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth 1990, 34.
[1876] *P.Mich.* V.226.
[1877] *P.Tebt*. II.294.
[1878] *P.Oxy*. XIV.1755; *P.Oxy*. XII.1485; Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth 1990, 34.
[1879] Gallo 1992.
[1880] Tait 1992, 303-10.
[1881] Lauffray 1971, 1979, 90; Jaritz 1980; Gazda 1983, 43.
[1882] Quaegebeur 1993, 201-20; Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 186.
[1883] Strabo 17.1.31.
[1884] For the importance of processions and processional routes in shaping street experience in imperial Rome and Ephesus, see respectively Favro1994 and Yegül 1994.
[1885] Arr. *Anab.* 3.1.4; Strabo 17.1.43; Porter and Moss 1951, 40-3; Bell 1997, 163-72; Finnestad 1997, 223; Arnold 1999, 231-2, 244; Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 189; Hölbl 2004, 138-47.
[1886] Alston 1997c, 89.

inhabitants of the nome.[1887] They also contributed to the construction of new temples dedicated to traditional cults like the temple of Isis at Taposiris Parva and the small Serapeum at Thebes.[1888] Sarapion *alias* Isidoros who was a priest of Antinous at Antinoopolis dedicated an altar to the god Serapis of Canopus at Alexandria.[1889] The pronaos of Hathor-Aphrodite at Tentyris and the outer pylon of Isis and Serapis at Kysis were built respectively by 'the inhabitants of the metropolis and the nome' and 'the inhabitants of Kysis'.[1890] Such collective designations place an emphasis on the identity of the local community as a whole. The Romans, Alexandrians, and Hellenized metropolites treated traditional temples and cults as part of their own religious culture. Temple worship, therefore, is not a reliable marker of ethnic identity.

Biculturalism is a prominent feature in surviving material culture. The syncretism of deities is another obvious feature of the shared cultural heritage that was such a feature of Romano-Egyptian society. Hermes-Thoth evolved from the syncretism of Hermes and Thoth, reflecting the fusion of two differing cultural traditions.[1891] Serapis and other deities associated with him such as Isis transcended the particularity of their local origins and became cosmopolitan deities.[1892] The temple of Hermes-Thoth in Hermopolis Magna and the Serapeum in Alexandria appear to have had inter-regional and even cosmopolitan importance.[1893] Equally important for the issue of biculturalism is the large numbers of bilingual mummy labels, with inscriptions written in both Greek and demotic. However, a large number of mummy labels were also written in demotic alone, and some partly written in hieratic.[1894] While mummification remained the standard treatment for the dead, cremation and non-mummified burials are confirmed.[1895] This shows a clear diversity in language or script and religious practice. In that regard, modern postcolonial concepts such as hybridity or creolisation are not applicable to the prevailing shared

[1887] *P.Mert*. II.63.
[1888] Bernand 1969, no. 109, 428-30 (pl. 78); Golvin et al 1981.
[1889] Letronne 1974, I, 444-6.
[1890] Tentyris: Letronne 1974, I, 87-96. Kysis: *SEG* VIII.790 = *SEG* XXIV.1215 = *SB* 5.8438 = Letronne 1974, 120-1; Reddé 2004, 18.
[1891] Fowden 1986, 1993; *P.Ryl*. IV.616-51; *P.Herm*. 2-6; Rees 1968-69.
[1892] Bonneau 1964, 319-24, 353-4, 426-35.
[1893] Fowden 1986; Rönne and Fraser 1953; Fraser 1960; Cook 1966, 23-34.
[1894] Smith 2002, 235; *P.Mich. inv.* 4534.4 = *P.Coll.Youtie.* II.113.
[1895] Riggs 2002, 2005.

multicultural situation in Roman Egypt in which there was fluidity in differing cultural traditions.[1896]

By the end of the third century a number of temples had already fallen out of use. The economic crisis of the third century has been seen as a possible reason for the decline of constructing new substantial pagan temples.[1897] Yet it is unclear whether the spread of non-pagan faiths like Christianity and Manichaeism in the fourth century had any causal effect on the growing decay of pagan cults.[1898] During that time, state and nome financial resources went into the construction and repair of public buildings and temples alike.[1899] Although there is no archaeological evidence for the construction of substantial new temples after Marcus Aurelius, pagan temples continued to function through the third, fourth, and fifth centuries.[1900] Under Commodus, some work was done in the temple of Horus at Tahta[1901] and the north propylon in the precinct of Petesouchos and Pnepheros at Karanis was restored.[1902] The latest decorative work on the pronaos of the temple of Esna was carried out by Decius.[1903] The last hieroglyphic inscription of 394 is carved on Hadrian's Gate at Philae, while the last demotic graffiti dates to 452.[1904] The eclipse of the curial class may be dated to the late fourth or fifth century, although it remained responsible for collecting some taxes during the sixth and perhaps seventh centuries.[1905] Many pagan cult centres were converted into churches in the early fifth century. But the old gods did not disappear without a trace for temple-based activities continued into the sixth century. The temple of Isis at Philae, for instance, was closed only in 535-8.[1906]

Throughout the Roman period, there was a close and extremely complex relationship between architectural form and levels of identity assertion. Architectural form had the potential to articulate aspects of identity through monumentality. By definition, monumental structures had a better chance of survival and were highly

[1896] Abrahams 1983; Bhabha 1994; Webster 2001.
[1897] Bagnall 1988b.
[1898] Gardner and Lieu 1996.
[1899] *SB* XIV.11959; Farid 1986.
[1900] Frankfurter 1998.
[1901] Capart 1940, 45-50; Grégoire 1940, 119-23.
[1902] Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth 1990, 34.
[1903] Sauneron 1952, 111-21.
[1904] Winter 1976, 6; Grenier 1983, 204-5.
[1905] Geremek 1990; Alston 1997b, 159.
[1906] Nautin 1976, 8.

visible, which made them an appropriate site for articulating identity. It is no wonder that Egyptian cultural traditions were largely manifested in the religious sphere, particularly through temples. The temple is the main monumental structure with the potential to convey Egyptian cultural traditions. Of this the pylon was the iconic element. The surviving pyla of Roman-period temples suggest that they underwent no fundamental change in religious ideology, but they witnessed essential iconographical changes. While Pharaonic and Ptolemaic temple pyla come from urban centres, the majority of surviving Roman-period pyla comes from rural sites, making it unsurprising that the pyla of village temples are smaller than those located in cities.

Temple pyla of Horus at Edfu and Isis at Philae, and perhaps not elsewhere, continued to provide architectural backdrop for the ritual of 'the coronation of the sacred falcon', which culminated in the display of a newly selected falcon from the pylon's balcony to the people gathered below. The inhabitants of the nome might have used this ritual to emphasize their local identity perhaps in competition with other localities. Like other celebrations, this festival cannot be used as representative of a particular ethnic group, but must have served local worshippers, pilgrims, and visitors alike. Due to its visual accessibility and religious importance, the pylon was an appropriate structure where personal *proskynemata* and imperial or communal inscriptions recording donations to temples were often carved. As new traditional sanctuaries were built and pre-existing structures were rebuilt or restored by the state and from private donations by private citizens, Roman soldiers, and non-Egyptian elites, and since Greek, demotic, and Meriotic *proskynemata* are carved on temple pyla, the use by different groups of the apparently monolithic pylon, presented on Classical literature on Egypt and the Palestrina mosaic as a cliché of Egyptian culture, reflected the complexity of identity in Roman times. The temples of Isis at Alexandria and Osiris at Canopus, which are characterized on coins by their pyla, cannot be associated with a particular group. The temple of Serapis at Canopus received a private dedication from an Antinoite citizen[1907] and pilgrims from Alexandria could celebrate the public feats days at Canopus.[1908] Although the pylon

[1907] Letronne 1974, I, 444-6. Cf. *P.Tebt*. II.407.10-11.
[1908] Strabo 17.1.

remained a monumental emblem of traditional temples, neither the temple nor the pylon was necessarily used as a cultural marker of only Egyptians. In this shared cultural milieu, there was no close association between legal status and cultural traits.

Whereas the first and second chapters place an emphasis on the importance of temples as centres of local identity, the third and fourth chapters confirm that John Baines' suggestion that Egyptian temples were more or less the sole carriers of ancient Egyptian culture under Roman rule is highly questionable. Domestic architecture also provides a rich field for exploring cultural traditions and levels of identity assertion. Of special importance are ritual activities associated with domestic architecture. The dynamic nature of ritual performance compensates for the fact that houses are motionless. In most cases, it is architectural form that gives space significance. The space in front of the temple pylon and house only had significance because of the structure with which they are associated. It is true that the spatial elements associated with the temple pylon and house frontage were used in certain ritual activities, but it is mainly because of the architectural form that these spaces enjoyed prominence. More often than not, these carriers of aspects of identity overlapped. In other words, a single architectural form can achieve monumentality, symbolic or iconographic meaning, and dynamic manipulation through ritual. The presence of the gateway house, court house, two-towered house, three-towered house, and bath house reflected the diversity of domestic properties. Yet it is rightly argued that urban housing was more diverse than rural housing.[1909] These regular forms of urban or rural housing were associated with wealthy families, including magistrates. Houses were not only places of rest, safety, and privacy, but also arenas for different forms of ritual activities which helped the occupants to articulate features of their personal and social identities. There was a close relationship between the house and its residents. Equally, there was a tendency to create an imposing house frontage, which asserted the resident's social status and marked the boundary between the private and public.

Scholars working on domestic architecture in Egypt have been primarily concerned with terminology and issues of demography. Scholars such as Gazda, van Minnen, and Alston addressed some features of religious and social form of ritual

[1909] Alston 2001, 65-7.

activities within the domestic space.[1910] Similarly, Boozer used the mixed material culture uncovered from two Romano-Egyptian houses in Trimithis to draw attention to the complex situation under Roman rule and the mixed cultural heritage of the occupants.[1911] By focusing on the use of the house as an arena for different forms of ritual activities and cultural traditions associated with levels of identity assertion, which were performed around and within the domestic space, the third chapter widens the scope of research. It highlights the domestic property as space of a multiple identity. The front door was a liminal zone between public and private spaces, and had some unclear religious significance. As a private and semi-public area, the space before the front door of houses served as a social and religious focus. On 9 Thoth and 15 Pachon, the front door had incorporated the public space before it, forming together a spatial framework where the house occupants performed certain rituals emphasizing aspects of their social identity such as status, profession, and wealth within community.

The internal arrangement and mural decoration of houses explicitly indicate that the use of domestic space exceeded its basic function as an ephemeral abode of the living. The house had important economic, social, religious, and even funerary functions. Some rooms and spaces within the house were multifunctional. The central court, for instance, provided light for the house, served as the kitchen, and could be easily adapted to serve social gatherings at times of birth, marriage, or death. The house was a dwelling place of sacred animals associated with traditional deities. The death of these animals stimulated the performance of certain rituals in the house. Other forms of social ceremonies such as birth and marriage were also celebrated in the house, where the courtyard or rooms of a domestic pylon could easily be used. The *kline* of Serapis is not only confirmed in temples, but also in private houses. Yet the difference between the *kline* in temples and that organised in houses remains unclear. As part of the domestic cult of the dead, mummies were kept in the house at least for some time before burial. The funeral procession made its way from the house, through the city or village, to the tomb, reflecting the interaction of private and public spheres. Birth, marriage, and death and their associated rituals

[1910] Gazda et al 1978; Gazda 1983; van Minnen 1994; Alston 2001, 44-127.
[1911] Boozer 2005.

all occurred largely within the house, shaping the social identity of the residents. These ritual times offered the occupants opportunities to articulate the wealth of their home and assert their social status to their guests. The performance of domestic rituals can be seen as a manifestation of the family's social identity.

Inhabitants in Roman Egypt experienced religion in many spheres of their life, including the domestic. Papyri, terracotta figurines, and mural paintings on domestic shrines and elsewhere in the house confirm a domestic cult of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian deities. The visual and physical presence of deities in houses was an integral part of the Romano-Egyptian culture. Neither archaeology nor mural paintings or finds of houses can tell about the legal or ethnic status of the occupants. Many surviving houses confirm that the occupants had a shared cultural heritage with Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditions. The co-existence of Graeco-Egyptian religious themes on a single wall painting and terracotta figurines of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian deities in many houses indicates that the occupants had a mixture of multiple cultural traditions. Riggs' claim that funerary iconography in Roman Egypt was 'the most opportune, if not the only, venue in which people could both record and negotiate various aspects of identity' should not be taken seriously as the first three chapters of this thesis have shown that inhabitants negotiated different levels of identity assertion in public, religious, and domestic spheres.[1912] The shared cultural heritage is a prominent feature of Romano-Egyptian archaeology, and domestic space is no exception.

Funerary architecture and iconography are also important for the expression of the complexity and multiplicity of identity. In the funerary field, architectural form was used as a carrier of reliefs or paintings that were meant to reflect the patrons' personal and social identities as well as features of the culture in which they once lived. Divergent and interconnected aspects of identity were articulated through tomb architecture and iconography. Patrons of many tombs and possibly members of their families used funerary architecture and iconography to emphasize the gender, wealth, and rarely profession of the dead. By combining or blending Graeco-Roman and Egyptian cultural traditions, it appears that patrons did not use funerary

[1912] Riggs 2002, 99.

architecture and iconography to visualize their self-conscious adherence to a particular group identity.

The fourth chapter here supports Venit's conclusion from her study of Alexandrian tombs that funerary architecture and iconography are too complex to be associated with a particular ethnic identity. Yet Venit's claim that 'narrative decoration in Roman-period Alexandrian tombs focuses on deities and images associated with the cult of Isis' is questionable.[1913] Venit mistakenly presents Isis as the central ideological figure in funerary compositions and represents the other funerary deities as subordinate to the goddess. Here she appears to misunderstand the funerary context of the tomb and its iconography. Although Isis was one of the main goddesses that could attract worshippers not only in Alexandria, but anywhere in Egypt and in many other provinces of the empire, her funerary role was not equal or even comparable to that of Osiris. In all mortuary texts in tombs and on papyri Osiris remained the central figure in the funerary sphere. The deceased wanted to be 'one of the followers' of Osiris, and not Isis. He even assumed the appearance of Osiris on the funerary bier and in a number of tombs had copies of the texts which were originally made for the benefit of the deity and had once been a royal privilege. The presence and role of Isis and other deities in tombs can only be explained in relation to Osiris, and not vice versa.

Through their deployment of religious themes, funerary vocabulary, and architectural features characteristic of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian cultural traditions, tombs clearly show their biculturalism. The Graeco-Roman element is expressed by architectural features, iconographical themes, and dress, but rarely through text. The Egyptian component is represented in the narratives and themes derived from the Osirian and solar mythologies of rebirth associated respectively with Osiris and Re, architectural details, and inscriptions. Hieroglyphs and demotic continued to be used in a number of tombs in the first and early second centuries. Yet the use of *pseudo*-hieroglyphs in certain tombs may suggest a lack of familiarity with indigenous scripts in specific areas. There is no evidence for bilingual texts on tomb paintings. Hieroglyphs or demotic and Greek are never used together in tomb paintings, but they occurred in bilingual mummy labels. The use of visual and textual

[1913] Venit 2002a, 120. Cf. Venit 2010.

evidence in funerary monuments was meant to grant preservation for the patrons' body and immortality for his or her soul. Egyptian traditional funerary imagery is more evident and clearer communicated in tombs of the *chora*. The extensive use of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian imagery reveals considerable knowledge of classical and traditional funerary repertoire. The biculturalism of tombs argues for a culture in which differing traditional features could each play their part in the funerary sphere.

Unfortunately, all what we know about the patrons of tombs come from their iconography, which gives little or no information about their profession, family, and earthly life. The monumental structure and rich iconography of most tombs suggest that they were wealthy members of their communities. We know from the demotic inscription in the Tomb of Petubastis in the Dakhla oasis that he was a priest of the god Thoth, Lord of the Oasis. It is unclear why in some tombs the deceased is represented, but in other tombs not. The presence of direct representations of the deceased in some tombs may simply mean that the patrons wanted to emphasize certain aspects of their personal identity such as gender. It is noteworthy that the representation of the deceased always occurs on the outer wall of the doorway leading to the burial chamber. The outer part of the tomb was the appropriate area where the deceased would interact with the world of the living and receive members of his or her family, relatives, and friends who visited and annually celebrated a meal at the tomb.[1914] The burial chamber, by contrast, was the resting place for his or her soul and body and thus the suitable place to communicate with the gods of the afterlife. This is why the burial chamber does not contain direct representations of the deceased.

Although the Tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhla oasis and Bissing's Tomb of 1897 and Tombs 5 and 8 at el-Salamuni Cemetery C in Panopolis have direct representations of the deceased, the identification of the patrons' legality or ethnicity is impossible. In these tombs the patrons are shown wearing the *himation* or the toga, but the other funerary visual and textual evidence is typically Egyptian. This amalgamation of Graeco-Roman costumes and Egyptian funerary repertoire mirrors the complexity of the Romano-Egyptian society and the permeability of cultural markers of identity. The patrons could assert through tombs some features of the

[1914] *P.Oxy*. III.494.22-5.

culture in which they once lived. Having ignored social and legal boundaries, the patrons had fused Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditional elements to create a new visual form of funerary expression and a unique resting place for themselves.

Where in many cases the combination of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian forms can best be described as biculturalism, in most of the tombs of Roman Egypt there is found a blending of Egyptian and Hellenized traditions which is comparable to what archaeologists of the Levant and Mesopotamia currently describe as "hybridization". In the Tombs of Persephone the triptychs of scenes of Osiris and Persephone are represented in parallel, one above the other, demonstrating perfectly the biculturalism of the patrons of those adjacent tombs perhaps members of the same family; in the Tomb of Isidora the epigrams follow a typically Greek mythological idea at the entrance to the burial chamber, while in the recess reconstructs local Egyptian traditions with mummy displayed on the funerary couch framed by a classical architecture of spiral columns and shell niche. In the Tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhla oasis the strongly Graeco-Roman portrait is detached from an otherwise overwhelmingly Egyptian iconography. In many tombs of Roman Egypt, however, the elements of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditions are more closely integrated, most strikingly in the Main Tomb at Kom el-Shouqafa where helices and papyrus stems are fused in a hybrid capital form, the winged sun disc spreads below classical details, and the frieze of uraei over the entrance to the burial chamber is counter-balanced by shields of Athena and Agathosdaimon.

Architectural form could also express the fluid and complex nature of cultural markers of identity through symbolism. Symbolic ideas were particularly associated with these forms of architecture. Architectural details were used in buildings of Roman Egypt for their decorative and non-decorative abilities. Apart from the presence of a cavetto and torus framing the windows of two surviving houses in the Fayum, Egyptian ornament was used only in the religious sphere. A number of architectural ornaments were integral parts of traditional monuments, including temples and their associated colonnades, *mammisis*, and kiosks. Throughout their long history of use, the cavetto and torus underwent essential changes in their profile and significance. They emphasized Egyptian scenes in traditional monuments and traditional monuments in the landscape. The cavetto was an appropriate field for

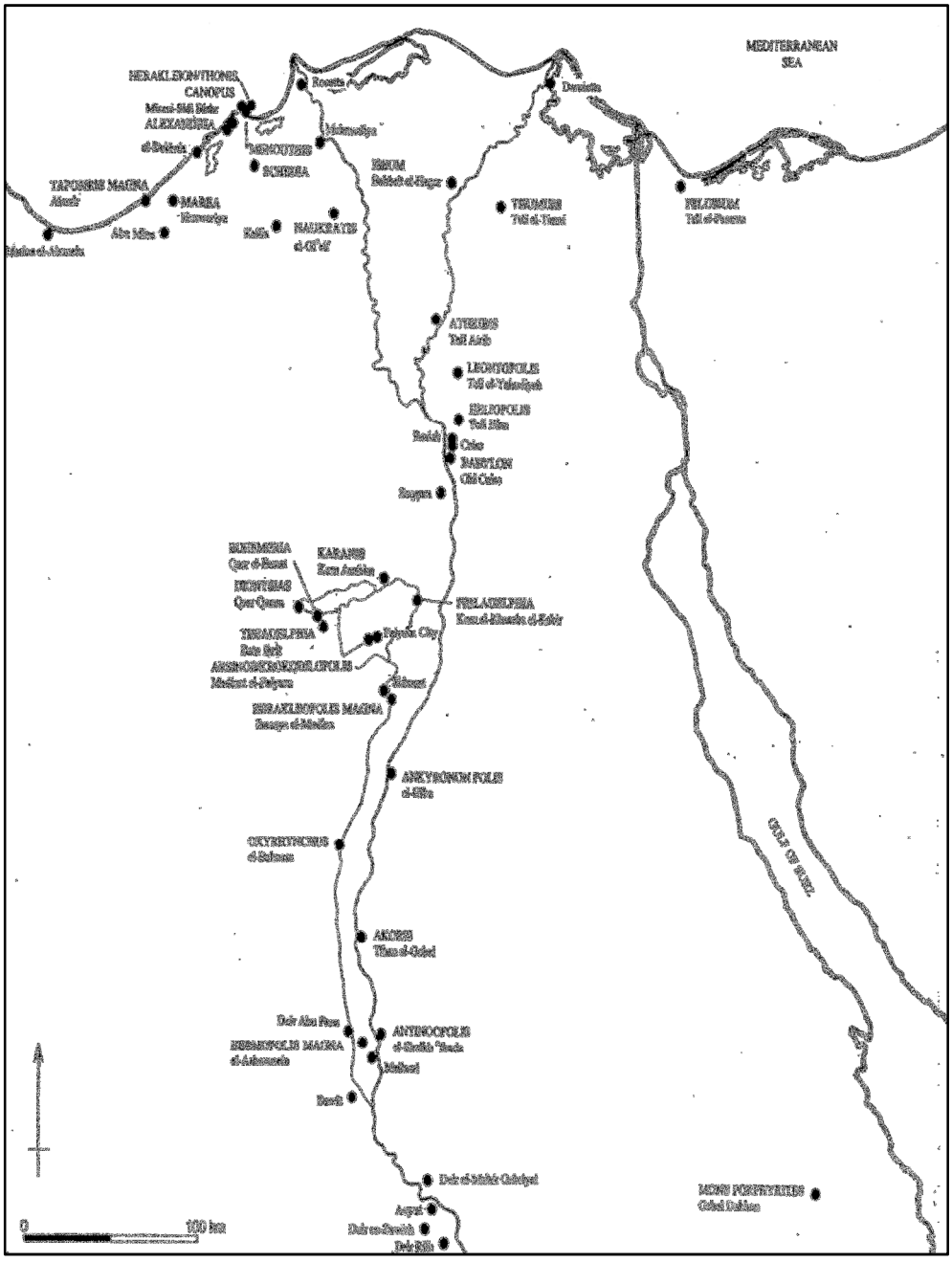
Egyptian religious imagery, divine symbols, and hieroglyphic writings. As the carrier of the apotropaic winged sun-disc, it also played an important symbolic role. The iconography of the cavetto and that of the structure in which it is embedded are interdependent. Due to its visual prominence, it provided an appropriate surface on or around which Graeco-Roman inscriptions registering donations to traditional temples and personal devotional texts are often carved. Yet the combination of the cavetto and torus with classical details on temples dedicated to emperors or traditional deities and tombs suggest that architectural details are not reliable signifiers of ethnic identity. Above all, Romans, Alexandrians, and non-Egyptian elites showed their patronage to temples where cavettos and tori are used.

Although Jéquier, Haneborg-Lühr, and McKenzie dealt with Egyptian composite capitals, none of them has gone beyond their typology and decorative roles in traditional monuments. But composite capitals with their five-tiered band and abacus were also used for non-decorative purposes. Composite capitals emerged as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the surviving examples suggest that they continued to be used in traditional temples built in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The symbolism of the main floral elements used in such capitals, which were brightly painted with different colours, facilitated their particular association with traditional buildings, notably temples, temple colonnades, *mammisis*, and kiosks. Over the long history of their use, composite capitals exhibited essential developments, which reflected some change in their visual importance. They were used as carriers of traditional religious and divine symbols and hieroglyphic writings. The incorporation of Graeco-Roman decorative motifs in Egyptian composite capitals reflected the fluidity of such cultural markers of identity. The hybridization of architectural details mirrors the difficulty of reading from archaeological remains to issues of legal or ethnic identity in Roman Egypt, when there was no close association between legal status and cultural signifiers, which appears to have carried no particular ethnic importance. The combination of architectural ornaments typical of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian traditional cultures visualized the biculturalism and shared cultural heritage that is such a feature of Romano-Egyptian archaeology. In short, the complexity and multilayered nature of identity left its impact on architecture in

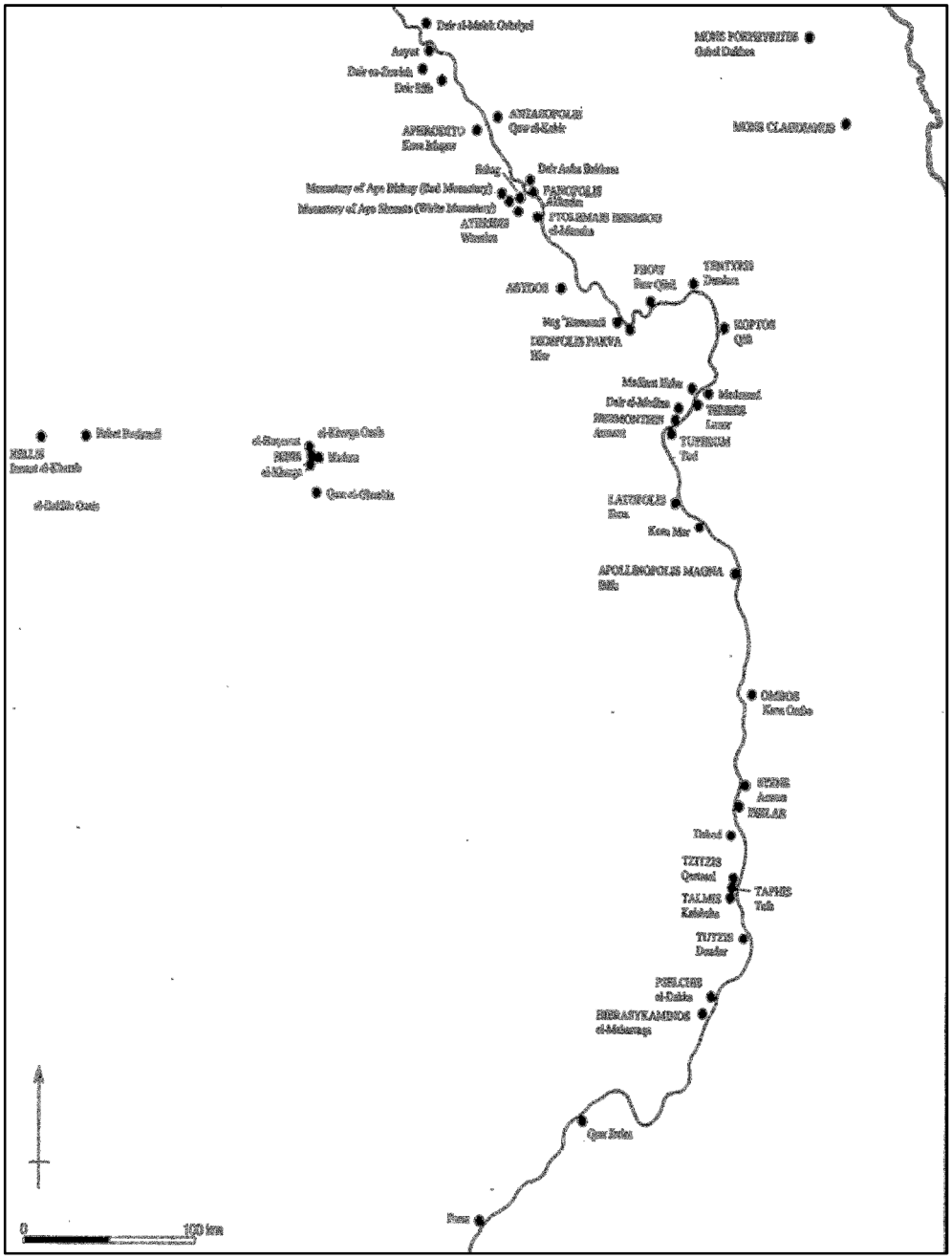
Roman Egypt, where there was a close and extremely sophisticated relationship between architectural form and levels of identity assertion.

MAPS

MAP 1 Archaeological sites of Roman Egypt

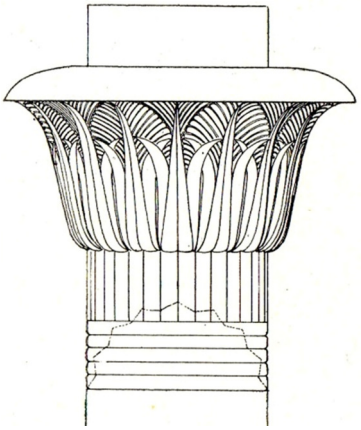


MAP 2 Archaeological sites of the Delta and Middle Egypt



MAP 3 Archaeological sites of Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia

PLATES



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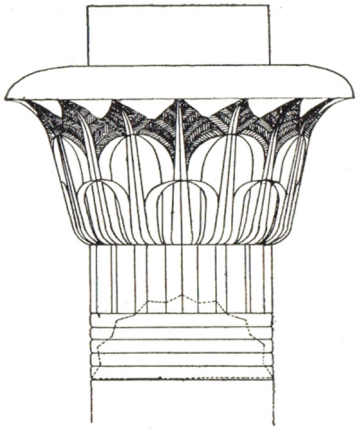

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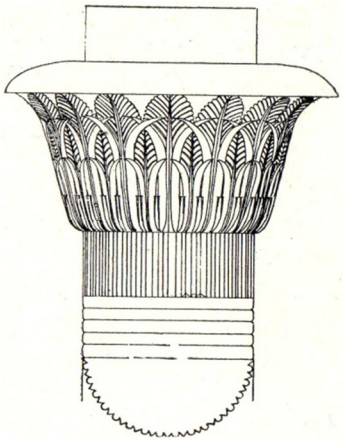

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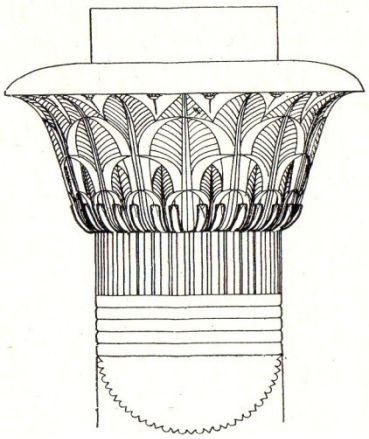

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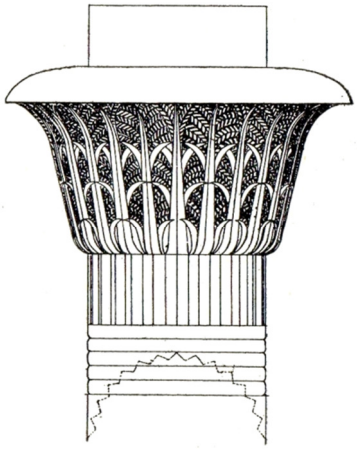

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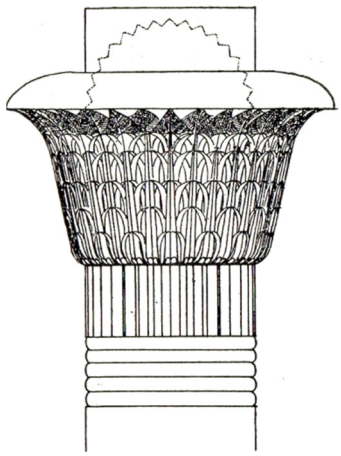

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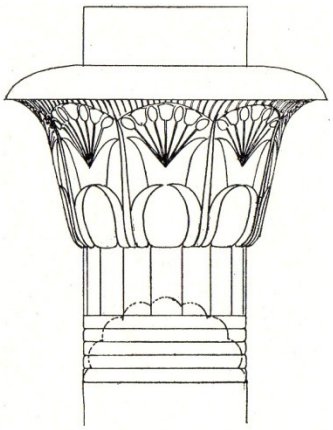

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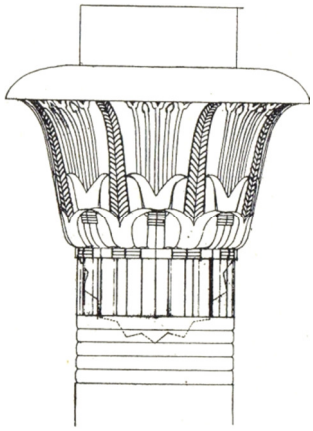

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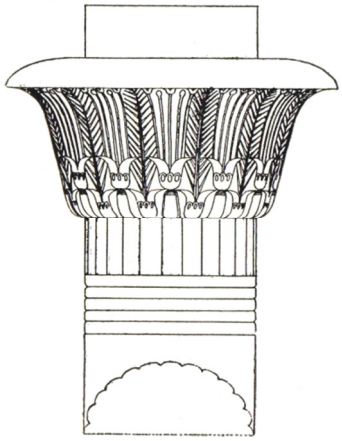

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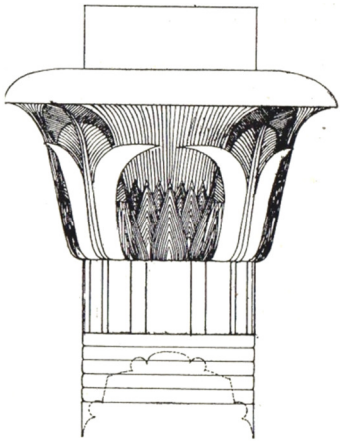

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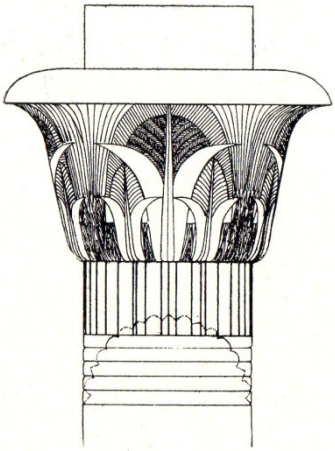

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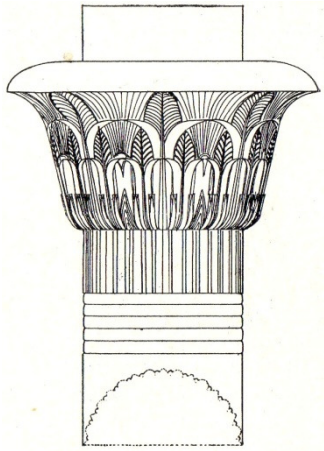

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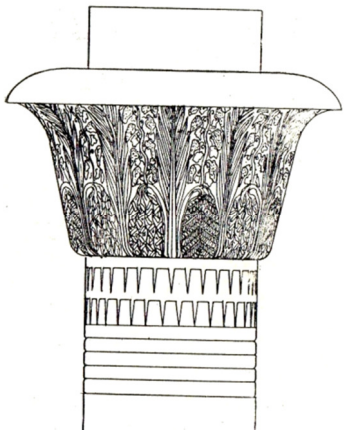

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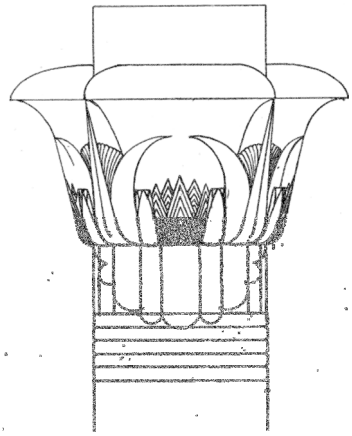

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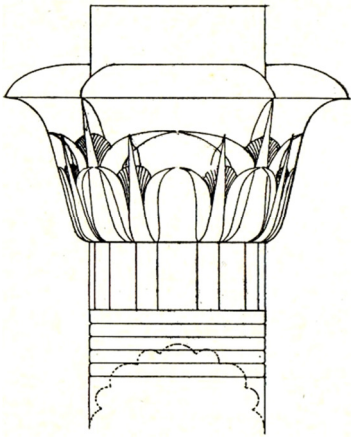

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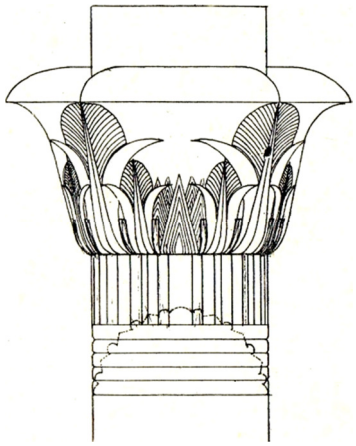

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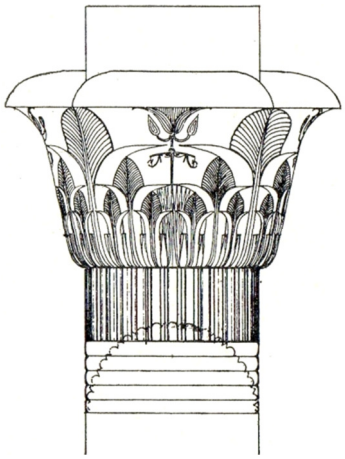

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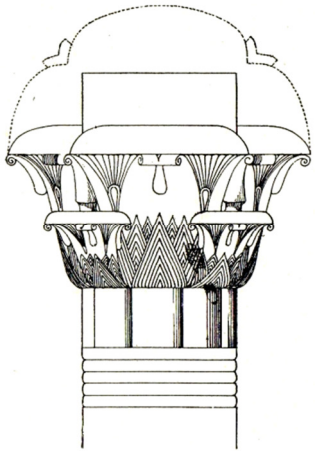

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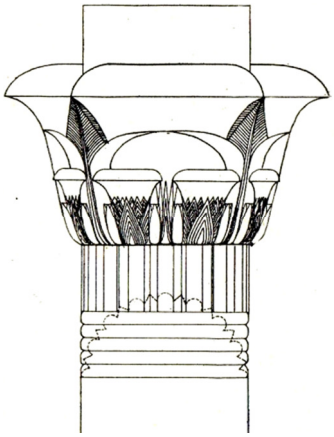
Pl. IV



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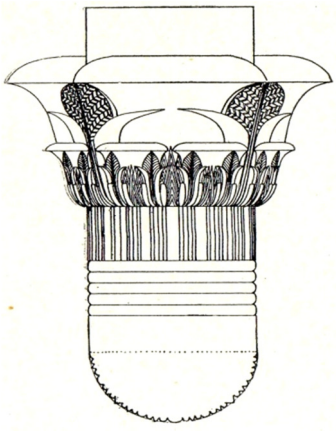

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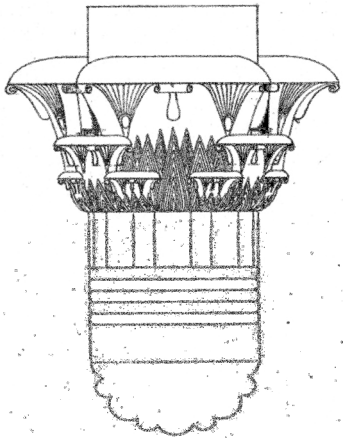

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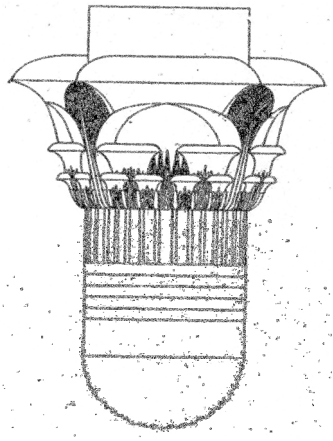

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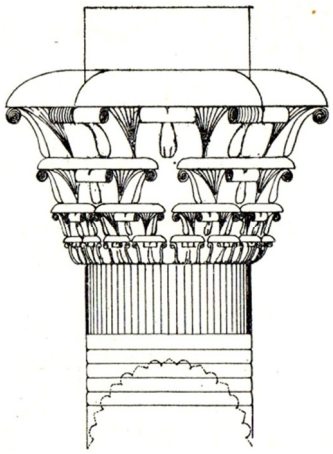

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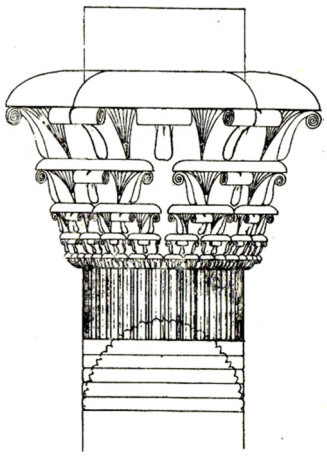

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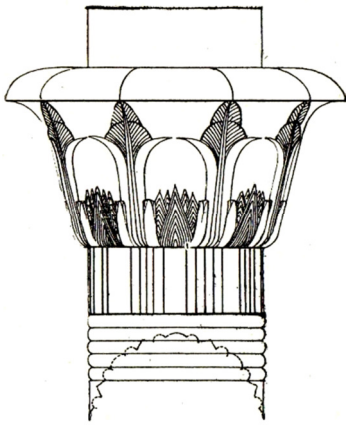

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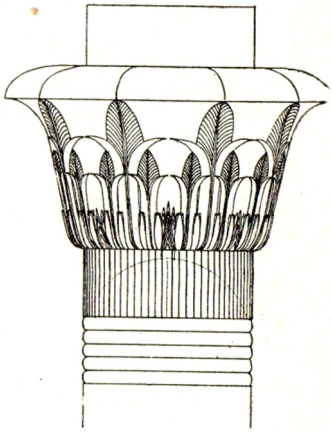

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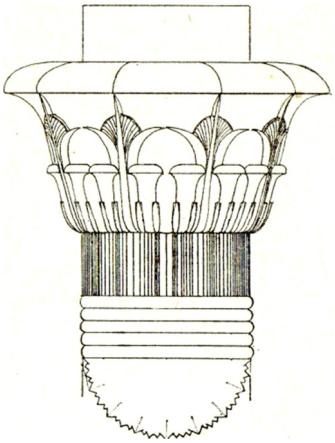

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: CATALOGUE OF ROMAN-PERIOD TEMPLE PYLA

1. The pylon of the Temple of Thoth of Pnubs at Pselchis (Dakka)

Date: Augustus.

Location: Pselchis, 107 km south of Aswan, the Dodekaschoinos (the area between Syene (Aswan) and Hierasykaminos (el-Maharraqa).

Height of towers: 11.62 m.

Width of towers: 24.31 m.

Height of central doorway: 5.09 m.

Width of central doorway: 2.43 m.

State of preservation: Survives.

General description: It consists of two towers with tapered walls. The upper part of the pylon is topped by a cavetto cornice. The outer edges of the walls are decorated with a torus moulding. There are two prismatic recesses intended to hold the flagstaffs. The two towers are linked by a central doorway, the lintel of which is adorned with a winged sun-disc. The outer walls of the pylon bear no military decoration. Only the east side of the central doorway bears hieroglyphic inscriptions and reliefs of Augustus as a Pharaoh offering to numerous Egyptian deities, particularly Thoth, Tefnut and Isis. There are demotic, Greek, and Meriotic devotional texts on the central gateway of the pylon.

Bibliography: Leigh 1816, 84-5; Light 1818, 69-71; Belzoni 1820, 126-7; Burckhardt 1822, 95-8; Irby and Mangles 1823, 98-9; Roeder 1930, 16-27; Prokesch 1831, 114-20; Wilkinson 1843, 318-20; Weigall 1906-7, 85-8; Porter and Moss 1951, 40-3; Arnold 1999, 244; and Hölbl 2004, 138-47.

2. The pylon of the Temple of Tutzis (Dendur) dedicated to Isis, Osiris and the deified Padisis and Pahor

Date: Augustus (15 BC under Petronius).

Location: Tutzis, 77 km south of Aswan, the Dodekaschoinos.

Height of the central doorway: 6 m including the cavetto cornice.

State of preservation: Only the central gateway remains.

General description: The two towers of the pylon, which would have originally been built out of mud-brick, are now completely destroyed. Only the central gateway between the two towers survives. It measures about 6 m. in height and is now displayed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The lintel of the gate is topped by horizontal torus moulding surmounted by a cavetto cornice. The doorway is richly decorated; its jambs bear reliefs of Augustus as a Pharaoh making offerings to Egyptian deities, including Osiris, Isis, Tefnut, Padisis, Pahor, Khnum, and Horus.

Bibliography: Leigh 1816, 62-3; Light 1818, 67-9; Belzoni 1820, 126-7; Burckhardt1822, 101-2; Irby and Mangles 1823, 100-1; Prokesch 1831, 102-5; Wilkinson 1843, 316; Weigall 1906-7, 78-80; Blackman 1911, 4-20; Porter and Moss 1951, 28-9; Hallof, Gabriele and Jochen 1998, 103-8; Arnold 1999, 244; and Hölbl 2004, 135-8.

3. The pylon of the Temple of Mandulis at Talmis (Kalabsha)

Date: Augustus.

Location: Talmis, the Dodekaschoinos.

Height of towers: 20 m.

Width of towers: 34.5 m.

Depth of towers: 7.31 m.

Height of the central doorway: 9.70 m.

Width of the central doorway: 5.8 m.

State of preservation: Survives.

General description: It consists of two towers with tapered walls. The upper part at the top of the pylon is destroyed; however, it was probably once topped by a cavetto cornice. The outer edges of the walls are trimmed with a traditional torus moulding. There are two prismatic recesses intended to hold the flagstaffs. The two towers are linked by a central doorway, the lintel of which is adorned with a winged sun-disc.

The outer walls of the pylon carry no military scenes. Augustus is represented on the reliefs of the gateway of the pylon as a Pharaoh presenting a figure of Maat to Isis.

Bibliography: Leigh 1816, 88-91; Light 1818, 64-6; Belzoni 1820, 124; Burckhardt 1822, 103-10; Irby and Mangles 1823, 5-6; Prokesch 1831, 88-97; Wilkinson1843, 310-11; Weigall 1906-7, 68-73; Gauthier 1911-14; 295-310, pl. xcv-cii; Porter and Moss 1951, 11-3; Siegler 1969, 139-53; Arnold 1999, 240-3; and Hölbl 2004, 104-33.H. (1911-14).

4. The pylon of the South Temple of Isis at Taphis (Taffa)

Date: Augustus?

Location: Taphis, 47.6 km south of Philae, the Dodekaschoinos.

Measurements: Unknown.

State of preservation: Totally disappeared between 1870 and 1880.

General description: The architectural arrangement of the temple was recorded by Fredrik Norden in 1738. It once consisted of a quay, a flight of steps, a small pylon, a court, a pronaos, and a sanctuary. The temple was surrounded by a stone enclosure wall. It was located on the east bank of the Nile opposite the Roman fort of Contra Taphis which once stood on the west bank. The temple was completely destroyed between 1870 and 1880. Only the remnants of its blocks are scattered on the site. Although the pylon falls in ruins, it must have followed other pyla in terms of structure and consisted of two towers with tapered walls. It was expected that the top of the pylon was furnished with a cavetto cornice, while the outer edges of the walls are trimmed with a torus moulding. The two towers were linked by a central doorway, the lintel of which is adorned with a winged sun-disc.

Bibliography: Light 1818, 60-2; Belzoni 1820, 123; Burckhardt 1822, 111-2; Irby and Mangles 1823, 103-4; Prokesch 1831, 85-7; Weigall 1906-7, 64-6; Weigall 1910, 497-501; Roeder 1911, 193-4; Arnold 1999, 240; and Hölbl 2004, 102-5.

5. The first pylon of the Temple of Amun of Ta-hwt and Isis of Philae at Dabod

Date: Augustus.

Location: Dabod, 15 km south of Philae, the Dodekaschoinos.

Height of the central doorway: 6 m.

State of preservation: Only the central gateway survives.

General description: The temple follows an east-west axis with the pylon to the east. Architecturally, it consists of a stone quay on the river bank, a paved cult terrace, and an outer pylon which is attributed to Augustus. The first pylon gives access to a courtyard followed by a second pylon of which only the central gateway survives. The second pylon leads to a court followed by a third pylon of which only the gateway remains. The third pylon leads to a small court at the rear of which there is a flight of steps leading to a hypostyle hall and a sanctuary. The temple now stands in the City Park at Madrid, Spain. The pronaos of the temple bears reliefs of Augusts and Tiberius in the presence of numerous Egyptian deities. Although the towers of the pyla are destroyed, they must have followed other pyla with regard to structure. However, the towers must have been built out of brick as the archaeological evidence suggests. The central gateway of the first pylon is ornamented with a horizontal torus moulding which is surmounted by a cavetto cornice with a winged sun-disc. It is likely that the outer walls of the pylon carried no military scenes.

Bibliography: Burckhardt 1822, 116-9; Irby and Mangles 1823, 105-6; Prokesch 1831, 77-82; Weigall 1906-7, 56-9; Weigall 1910, 490-2; Roeder 1911, 16-7; Murray 1931, 189-91; Arnold 1999, 237; and Hölbl 2004, 99- 101.

6. The pylon of the Temple of Osiris and Isis on the Island of Biggeh

Date: Augustus.

Location: The Island of Abaton opposite Philae on the west, the Dodekaschoinos.

Measurements: Unknown, but judging from the height of the doorway it is estimated at 12 m. in height.

State of preservation: Only the central gateway survives.

General description: The temple is situated to the east of the Island of Biggeh opposite the colonnade of the temple of Isis at Philae. It follows an east-west axis with the pylon to the east. Architecturally, the temple consisted of a stone quay on the river bank, a paved cult terrace, a pylon, an open courtyard, a hypostyle hall and a sanctuary. The latter fell in ruins. All what remains of the pylon is the central doorway. Judging from the foundation inscription on the south jamb, and based on reliefs of Augustus on the central gateway, the pylon of the temple dates to Augustus. Although the towers of the pyla are now destroyed, they must have followed other pyla in terms of construction. The outer walls of the pylon probably carried no military scenes. When the temple was converted into a church in the fifth century, a Roman masonry arch with a bead-and-reel decoration was built into the inner, west side of the central doorway of the pylon, which is quite a unique feature.

Bibliography: Weigall 1906-7, 34-7; Weigall 1910, 465-8; Blackman 1915, 3-36; Arnold 1999, 235; Hölbl 2004; 98.

7 & 8. The first and second pyla of the Great Temple of Min and Isis at Koptos (Qift)

Date: The first pylon (unknown, but certainly Roman), the second (Nero).

Location: Koptos, the Thebaid.

Measurements: Unknown.

State of preservation: The foundations, lower parts of the walls and jambs of the central gateways survive.

General description: The temple was dedicated to the god Min and the goddess Isis. It follows a west-east axis with the pyla to the west. Unfortunately, the temple is badly damaged. According to a hieroglyphic inscription on the southern jamb of the central gateway, the second pylon was completed under Nero. Although the exact date of the construction of the first pylon remains obscure, it must have begun at the same time or later than the first pylon, particularly since the second pylon received a small kiosk in front of it under Nero. At an unknown time, the first pylon was completely demolished. The towers of the pyla are completely destroyed.

Bibliography: Murray 1931, 49-52; Porter and Moss 1937, 123; Petrie 1896, 17-8; Reinach and Weil 1912, 1-24; Weigall 1910, 47-52; Weil 1911, 97-141.

9. The pylon of the Temple of Harsomatus at Tentyris

Date: Tiberius.

Location: Tentyris, the Thebaid.

Height of the central doorway: 6 m.

State of preservation: Only the central gateway survives.

General description: The temple was originally located to the east of the main temple of Hathor at Dendera. It follows a north-south arrangement with the pylon to the north. The temple of Harsomatus is now completely destroyed. Only the central stone gateway of its pylon remains. The construction of this temple and its façade-pylon dates to Tiberius, in whose reign the hypostyle hall of the temple of Hathor was also built. Although the towers of the pyla are now destroyed, they probably followed other pyla in terms of structure. The lintel of the gateway is decorated with a horizontal torus moulding surmounted by a cavetto cornice in the middle of which there is a winged sun-disc. The gateway bears reliefs of Tiberius, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. On the fourth register of the outer (north) jamb Tiberius is depicted spearing an animal before Horus and Hathor. On the top register of the opposite jamb Marcus Aurelius is represented before Harsomatus and Amun. On the third register of the inner (south) jamb Antoninus Pius is shown offering cloth and ointment to Osiris and Nephthys.

Bibliography: Weigall 1910, 46; Chassinat 1934, pl. viii; Porter and Moss 1939, 108-9.

10. The pylon of the Temple of Min at Panopolis (Akhmim)

Date: Trajan.

Location: Panopolis south of modern Sohag, the Thebaid.

Measurements: Unknown, but the block of the lintel measures 7 m. in length.

State of preservation: The foundations and the block of the lintel of the central doorway survive.

General description: There are three temples at Akhmim dedicated to the god Min. Surviving traces indicate that one temple was built by Tuthmosis III and expanded or restored by later rulers, while another was built in Roman times. To the north of the ancient site of Akhmim there is a small rock-cut temple, which was built under Tuthmosis III and restored under Ptolemy II. All the three temples are badly damaged. According to a Greek dedicatory inscription, which is carved on the lintel of the gateway of the pylon and uncovered in front of the temple, the pylon was dedicated to the god Min in the 12th year of Trajan (110) by Tiberius Claudius Apollinaris, the prostates (servant) of the temple of Triphis and Pan (Min) at Panopolis.

Bibliography: Letronne 1974; 3-19; Arnold 1999, 263; Wilkinson 2000, 142.

11. The second pylon of the Temple of Serapis, Isis and Horus at Kysis (Qasr Doush)

Date: Domitian.

Location: Kysis, 85 km south of the Kharga oasis, the Thebaid.

Height of towers: 8 m.

Width of the central doorway: 3. m.

Depth of the central doorway: 4 m.

State of preservation: survive.

General description: Under Domitian, the Egyptian-style temple of Qasr Doush was originally dedicated to Serapis, Isis and Horus. The temple follows a north-south axis with the pylon to the north. The main part of the temple measures 7.5 × 15.5 m and contains a pillared hall with four slender columns, a staircase to the roof, an offering table in an outer chamber and an inner sanctuary with a vaulted roof. Two long side chambers also had barrel-vaulted roofs. The towers of the pylon were made of mud-brick; however, it has a central stone gateway. As usual, the brick towers were

decorated at the angles with a torus moulding, whereas the top is surmounted by a cavetto cornice with its distinct concave profile.

Bibliography: Cailliaud, Jomard and Drovetti 1821, 88-9; Wilkinson 1843, 370; Hoskins 1873, 151-7; Ball 1900, 69-70; Beadnell 1909, 96-8; Naumann 1939, 1-16; Porter and Moss 1951, 294; Letronne 1974, 119-24; Arnold 1999, 263; Wilkinson 2000, 238; Reddé 2004.

12. The first pylon of the Temple of Serapis, Isis and Horus at Kysis

Date: Trajan.

Location: Kysis.

Height of towers: 8 m.

Width of the central doorway: 3.71 m.

Depth of the central doorway: 5 m.

State of preservation: The central stone gateway and parts of the brick towers survive.

General description: Under Trajan, an outer forecourt was added in front of the enclosure wall of the temple with a pylon on the north. A wide cult terrace was also added to the north of the pylon. The towers of the pylon were made of mud-brick; however, it has a central stone gateway. The lintel of the central gateway of the pylon carried Trajan's dedication inscription of 116. As usual, the brick towers were decorated at the angles with a torus moulding, whereas the top is surmounted by a cavetto cornice with its distinct concave profile.

Bibliography: Cailliaud, Jomard and Drovetti 1821, 88-9; Wilkinson 1843, 370; Hoskins 1873, 151-7; Ball 1900, 69-70; Beadnell 1909, 96-8; Naumann 1939, 1-16; Porter and Moss 1951, 294; Letronne 1974, 119-24; Arnold 1999, 263; Wilkinson 2000, 238; Reddé 2004.

13. The pylon of the Temple of Amenebis (Amun of Hibis) at Tchonemyris (Qasr el-Zaiyan)

Date: Ptolemaic, but was perhaps restored under Antoninus Pius.

Location: Tchonemyris, 30 km south of the Kharga oasis, the Thebaid.

Height of towers: 8 m.

Width of towers: 25.40 m.

Depth of towers: 2.65 m.

State of preservation: Survives.

General description: The originally Ptolemaic temple of 7.22 x 13.56 m stood in a well-preserved 26 x 68 m brick enclosure wall with a front pylon. The temple house consists of a hypostyle hall and an offering room with a cult niche. The temple follows a south-north axis with the pylon to the south. According to the Greek inscription on the lintel of the central gateway of the pylon, the temple was restored in the third year of Antoninus Pius' reign (140). The towers were decorated at the angles with a torus moulding, whereas the top is surmounted by a cavetto cornice with its distinct concave profile and palm-frond decoration. The gateway between the two towers is topped with a horizontal torus moulding, which is surmounted by a cavetto cornice with a winged sun-disc.

Bibliography: Cailliaud, Jomard and Drovetti 1821, 91-2; Hoskins 1873, 166-9, pls. xv-xvii; Ball 1900, 68-9; Beadnell 1909, 98-9; Naumann 1939, 1-16; Wilkinson 1943, 369; Porter and Moss 1951, 293-4; Letronne 1974, 124-35; Arnold 1999, 267; Wilkinson 2000, 237-8.

14. The pylon of the South Temple of Pnepheros and Petesuchos at Karanis (Kom Aushim)

Date: Nero.

Location: Karanis in the Fayum, the Heptanomia and Arsinoite.

Height of the towers: 8 m.

State of preservation: Partly damaged.

General description: The temple was dedicated to the crocodile gods Pnepheros and Petesuchos. The temple measures 17 x 23.6 m; it was built on the remains of a Ptolemaic temple. According to the Greek inscription on the lintel of the main doorway of the temple, the temple and its pylon were built under Nero. The temple follows an east-west axis with the pylon to the east. Unfortunately, the upper part of the pylon from the height of the doorway up is destroyed. The pylon generally follows the structure of other Roman-period pyla; and the outer walls of its towers bear no decorations.

Bibliography: Les Fouilles de l'Uinversité de Michigan a Karanis 1930, 236-9; Porter and Moss 1934, 96; Alston 1995, 118; Arnold 1999, 253; Wilkinson 2000, 136; Gazda 2004, 32-8.

15. The pylon of the North Temple at Karanis

Date: Nero.

Location: Karanis.

Height of towers: 4 m.

State of preservation: Survives.

General description: The temple was erected in the middle of the first century, when the South Temple at Karanis was also rebuilt in stone. It continued in use until the mid-to late third century. The ground plan of the temple is typically Egyptian. The temple was dedicated to the god Sobek in the form of Soknopaios. The outer pylon of the temple is the smallest-known pylon in Egypt. It consists of two small towers, which are bordered near the outer angles and the top by an imitation of a torus moulding, although it is square rather than cylindrical in shape. Like other tori of Ptolemaic and Roman-period pyla, the vertical torus rests on a low square base. The horizontal torus near the top of the towers is surmounted by a cavetto cornice with its distinctive concave profile; however, the cavetto lacks the normal abstract palm-fronds. The outer walls of the towers bear neither texts nor relief decorations.

Bibliography: Alston 1995, 118; Arnold 1999, 253; Wilkinson 2000, 136; Gazda 2004, 32-8.

APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF ROMAN-PERIOD HOUSES

This catalogue only draws on archaeological evidence from the Fayum and the Dakhla Oasis, both of which sites have produced the best documented evidence for houses in Roman Egypt. Domestic evidence in other sites, if any, is extremely fragmentary or not yet explored.

1. Houses in the Fayum, the Arsinoite:

1.1. A sample of houses at Karanis (Kom Aushim):

1.1.1 House C42

Location: Near granary C65.

Date: 2nd-3rd century.

Architecture: The house extends from street CS 23 on the east to a short passageway, CS 30, on the west. The entrance from CS 23 led into an open courtyard, which had a stone pavement and contained two stone milling and storage jars. The house measures 7 m from north to south and 4 m from west to east, with an added room, D, that measures 3 × 4 m on the west. Apart from the courtyard, the house consists of six rooms: two in the underground level, two on the ground floor and two in the second storey. The two basement rooms, F and G, had vaulted ceilings and windows in the walls. Room D has three windows and four cupboard niches in the walls. A door opened into a stairway, which leads into the large room C, which had two windows in its eastern wall and two in the northern wall, each window with a sloping sill and a cupboard niche below.

Finds: A stone milling jar and storage jar were found in the courtyard and 11 pieces of household glassware, 25 pieces of glass in two jars, terracotta lamps, glass beads and several carved bone amulets were found in the basement room F.

Bibliography: Harden 1936, 36-7; Husselman 1979, 67-8, plans 25-6.

1.1.2. House C43

Location: Near granary C65.

Date: 2nd-3rd century.

Architecture: The house originally overlooked three streets: CS 32 on the north; CS 31 on the west; and CS 48 on the south. It adjoined house C45 on the east. Like house C42, house C43 consists of underground rooms and two storeys. The ground level contains a courtyard, which had not direct entrance from a street, but could only be entered through room E on the north. It was divided into five bins and a long storage room M on the west. The two vaulted rooms in the basement, H and G, were constructed with stone slabs set in mud mortar, and were divided into bins by low mud-brick walls. A stairway around a rectangular pillar led from the underground level to the ground and second floors.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Husselman 1979, 67-8, plans 27-8.

1.1.3. House C45

Location: East of House C43.

Date: 2nd-3rd century.

Architecture: The main part of house C45 consists of two underground rooms built of stone slabs and mud mortar, two on the ground floor and two in the second storey. To the south were three large courtyards. The courtyard C on the west was paved with slabs of limestone. The large courtyard on the east was shared with the neighbouring house C47. The main entrance to the house was from CS 32 on the north into room J. An interesting feature in the entrance doorway is the slot through which the bolt was drawn. It is framed by a carving in the form of an Egyptian temple doorway, the lintel of which is curved outward in imitation of the cavetto cornice and rests on jambs like square pilasters. There is a cupboard niche in room J, and a domestic shrine with an unidentified painting in room B.

Finds: A water jar stand was uncovered along the north wall next to the doorway from courtyard C into room J.

Bibliography: Husselman 1979, 41, 60, plans 20-30, pls. 25, 62b, 65a, 69a, 94b.

1.1.4. House C50/51

Location: Near granary C65.

Date: 2nd-3rd century.

Architecture: This house was bordered on the east by CS46 and on the south by CS52. The main part of house C50/51 measures 7.5 m square. House C50/51 provides a good example of the use of concave construction of outer walls. The foundation walls were made of limestone set in mud mortar. The outer entrance doorway had door bolts and a door bar. This house had two underground vaulted rooms which are divided into compartments by low walls of mud brick. These rooms had no windows, but only air vents in the floor of the two rooms above them. In addition to the basement rooms, the house had a ground floor, a first floor and a second floor. The walls of the large room C51 A were plastered and covered with a black wash. The room had a window in its north wall, beneath which there was a domestic shrine surmounted by a shell and flanked by two columns, the capitals of which had two helices set back to back.

Finds: A long storage jar was found in the domestic shrine.

Bibliography: Husselman 1979, 69-70, plans 31-7, pls. 13a, 42, 47a-b, 58, 62a, 66b, 67a, 73b, 80a; Davoli 1998, 82.

1.1.5. House C56

Location: Near granary C65.

Date: 2nd-3rd century.

Architecture: The foundation walls of house C56 were made of limestone set in mud mortar. The main entrance to house C56 was overlooking street CS52. Before this doorway there was a low wall, 1m high, which served as a windbreak. The house consisted of an underground floor and three stories above the street level. The main entrance led into a large room, G, from which a door led into the stairway passage H, which in turn led down to the underground rooms and up to the first and second floors. The courtyard is located in the rear part on the ground floor. It served as the kitchen of the house, where ovens and bins for grain storage are located. Under the courtyard there were four underground vaulted storage chambers.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Husselman 1979, 71-2, plans 38-9, pl. 8b.

1.1.6. House C57

Location: Near granary C65.

Date: 2nd-3rd century.

Architecture: House C57 is located to the west of house C62. It overlooks street CS52 on the south and street CS46 on the west. It consists of an underground floor, a ground floor and either a flat roof or a second storey, which is now completely damaged. Like other houses in this area in Karanis, the foundation walls of house C57 were made of stone set in mud mortar. The underground floor is divided into a number of vaulted rooms for storage. The ground floor consisted of a courtyard, a large room, D, and the stairway passage. The stairway led down to the basement rooms and up either to a flat roof or a second storey. The underground room J is only reached by a trapdoor in the floor of room D above it. Entrance to room D is from the courtyard. In the east wall of room D there is a large domestic shrine, with engaged columns supporting a wooden architrave. It is flanked on either side by plain rectangular niches or openings for holding lamps.

Finds: Storage jars.

Bibliography: Husselman 1979, 72-3, plans 42-3, pl. 70a.

1.1.7. House C59

Location: Near granary C65.

Date: 2nd-3rd century.

Architecture: House C59 was closely connected with houses C56, C62 and C65 by the passageway C59S. The main entrance of the house is approached from street CS46. It led into the main part of the house, which consists of room M on the south and room C on the north, with the stairway unit and a small room. Beneath room C there were two under ground rooms, each reached by a trapdoor in the floor of room C. There is no evidence of a second storey. The stairway did not descend below the

ground floor level. A doorway led from room M to the courtyard areas, K and L. In L there was a mill base and a grain bin, and in K an oven.

Finds: A mill base, a grain bin and an oven.

Bibliography: Husselman 1979, 73, plans 44-5.

1.1.8. House C60

Location: Near granary C65.

Date: 2nd-3rd century.

Architecture: In the north wall to the left side of the doorway into room B in House C60, and on the same level as the lintel of the doorway, there is a rectangular domestic shrine, which has a frame of moulded mud plaster and is surmounted by a projecting cornice of plaster.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Husselman 1979, 47.

1.1.9. House C62

Location: Near granary C65.

Date: 2nd-3rd century.

Architecture: The house consisted of an underground floor and two stories above the street level. Like many other houses in Karanis, the underground walls of house C62 were made largely of stone, except for the mud-brick south wall. The only entrance from street CS52 into house C62 was through a narrow passage on the west. The ground floor consisted of a large room, C, on the north with the stairway unit and a smaller room on the north. The courtyard was located in the rear part of the house on the east. The architectural arrangement of the second floor followed that of the ground floor, except that there was no courtyard on the second storey.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Husselman 1979, 72, plans 40-1.

1.1.10. House C68

Location: Near granary C65.

Date: 2nd-3rd century.

Architecture: The lintel of the entrance-door of House C68 consists of four superimposed parts: a strip of wood projects slightly across the top of the lintel. Beneath this strip of wood is a heavy beam, which is curved to match the concave courses of bricks in the wall in which it was set and is held in place by means of tenons. Below this beam and supporting it on either side of the doorway is a series of smaller binding blocks with short facing strips of wood between them. Under these binding blocks, again on either side of the entrance doorway, is a long strip of wood supported by four blocks set horizontally into the wall. The doorway was locked by a wooden bolt, still *in situ*, set in a heavy case on the left side of the doorway.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Husselman 1979, pl. 41.

1.1.11. House C71

Location: Near granary C65.

Date: 2nd-3rd century.

Architecture: At floor level in the south wall of House C71 in Karanis is a small domestic shrine, made of mud brick and plaster, taking the form of a portal. It rests on a rectangular base, measuring 41 cm in width, 39 cm in length and 20 cm in height. The shrine measures 36 cm in width and 43 cm in height; it consists of two pillars supporting a lintel, the top of which is moulded into a concave pattern in imitation of a cavetto cornice. At the front of each pillar is an attached column in relief.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Husselman 1979, 47.

1.1.12. House C119

Location: Near granary C65.

Date: 2nd-3rd century.

Architecture: The back of the shell-niche of the domestic shrine of house C119 is curved and flanked by two engaged, fluted columns. The columns rest on high pedestals and support capitals with helices, beneath which are narrow bands moulded into a zigzag pattern. The helices look like those of Alexandrian capital Type II, where the helices set back to back and spring directly from the collar of acanthus leaves. However, the helices of this shrine are suspended from the arch and, extraordinarily, held upside down. The top of the curved shell-niche takes the shape of a shell surmounted by an arch, which consists of four decorated bands surmounted by a projecting arched course of bricks. Both the shell-niche and its surrounding frame are covered with a thin coat of white lime wash, and it measures about 1.5 m in width and 2.15 m in height. On either side of the niche is a small opening in the adjacent wall, possibly intended to hold brackets by which lamps for the domestic shrine could be clasped.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Husselman 1979, 30, fig. 54.

1.2. Houses at Soknopaiou Nesos (Dimê):

The area excavated on the east side of the temple precinct of Soknopaiou Nesos contains four houses, II 201, II 202, II 203 and II 204, which formed an irregular block or *insula*. The east half of the *insula* is occupied by the large House II 201, while the west half contains the smaller Houses II 201, II 203, and II 204. The Roman coins which were found in the houses range from Augustus to Antoninus Pius. The earliest datable papyrus uncovered from the *insula* dates to Claudius and the latest to 215. Based on papyri and coins, the *insula* was occupied from Augustus to Caracalla. It was probably abandoned at some time between 215 and 250.

1.2.1. House II 201

Location: East Area.

Date: 1st-3rd century.

Measurements: It measures 18.80 m from north to south and 17.20 m from east to west.

Architecture: House II 201 is square in plan. The main, single entrance of the house opens directly into an anteroom, A, which gives access to rooms D and E. Room E leads into other rooms in this floor. The northeast room, H, served as a kitchen, with a storage bin and baking ovens. From the anteroom a stairway leads up to the upper floor or floors and down to the basement. The walls of the ground-floor rooms of the house were not preserved above the window sills, and its upper floor or floors had completely disappeared. The underground rooms had vaulted ceilings and measured 4 m high. They have windows with sloping sills in addition to air vents opening through the floors of the rooms above. There are two secret chambers in this house, one under the stairs leading from the antechamber to the underground floor, and the other under the passage between rooms D and F. The first is entered through a trap door concealed in the stairway, while the second is approached via a trapdoor set in the passage above. This house had been stripped of its furnishings and decorations in antiquity.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Boak 1932, 522-3; Boak 1935, 6-14, figs. 4-7; Davoli 1998, 46-7, fig. 7.

1.2.2. Houses II 202, II 203 and II 204

Location: East Area.

Date: 1st-3rd century, based on datable papyri and coins.

Architecture: Only the underground floors of Houses II 202, II 203, and II 204 are intact, but these and the adjacent courtyards yielded a considerable amount of pottery, furniture, coins, and papyri. Apart from the stone pavements of some rooms, there is little worthy of note in their layout or construction. Like those of Karanis, the

courtyards of houses at Dimê served as both stables and kitchens, where storage bins and baking ovens are found.

Wall-paintings: Fragmentary wall paintings were found only in Houses II 202 and II 204. The painting in House II 202 was on the east wall of the southeast room D. Only the forepart of a horse and a rider are still visible. It was probably a representation of the Thracian rider-god Heron, of whom a representation was preserved in House B50 at Karanis. In House II 204, the representation was painted on the white plaster, which originally covered the north wall of the narrow passage D, which had a domestic shrine. On the back wall of the niche was a group of two standing figures, a male on the right and a female on the left, facing outward. To the left of each figure was a small horned incense altar, over which each extended the left hand, while the right hand was folded across the chest. Due to their bad state of preservations, the scenes of the side walls of the niche could not be interpreted. Parts of the scenes on the walls to the right and left of the niche, however, could still be identified. To the right of the niche was the lower part of an incense altar. Next to the altar a tall palm branch was depicted on a pot. Still farther to the right stood the crocodile healed-god Sobek or Soknopaios, who is shown holding a palm branch in his upraised left hand and facing toward the niche. Above Soknopaios are the remains of a chariot, a bull, and an unidentified object. To the left of the niche are parts of an incense altar, a palm branch, a bird, and a bull.

Finds: Papyri, coins, storage jars, baking ovens, and stone mortars.

Bibliography: Boak 1932, 523; Boak 1935, 6-14, figs 4-7; Davoli 1998, 46-7, fig. 11.

1.2.3. Houses on the West Area

Location: West Area.

Date: 1st-3rd century.

Architecture: The area excavated on the west side of the temple precinct revealed four distinct levels, each representing a different occupation period. The top level corresponded in date to the complex cleared on the east area. It contained the underground floors of 13 houses bounded by streets on the north, east and south and

on the west by the town limit, which was formed by the doorless outer walls of houses and brick walls closing the ends of streets.

Finds: Coins, papyri, ostraca, pottery and household utensils.

Bibliography: Boak 1932, 523; Davoli 1998, 46-7, fig. 10.

1.3. Houses at Bacchias (Kom Umm el-Atl):

In 1993, the mission of the Universities of Bologna and Lecce excavated the northeast side of the town, where six structures numbered as I, II, II, IV, V, and VI were brought to light. Only structures I, III, and V have been identified as houses.

Location: Northeast of Bacchias.

Date: 3rd-4th century, based on datable pottery sherds.

Architecture: The houses of Bacchias are built in mud-brick. Stratigraphical evidence confirms that House I was constructed at different times and was occupied on two levels. The lowest phase preceded structure II, which appears to be an entrance gate to the town from the north, and the highest phase was probably contemporaneous with it. The house has an external court served as a kitchen, with a fireplace and many pottery fragments datable to the Roman period. To the south of House I is structure III, which has been identified as a tower-house. House III consists of two external stairs, one internal stair constructed in two flights, a large room and two smaller rooms. At the rear of House III is a small courtyard, where a large jar containing cereals was inserted into the floor. House V has not yet been excavated.

Finds: Too damaged coins, fragments of pottery, glass and faience.

Bibliography: Piacentini 1996, 57-60, fig. 1; Davoli 1998, 121-22, figs. 47-9, 53.

1.4. Houses at Philadelphia (Kom el-Kharab el-Kebir):

Location: *Insula* D 6.

Date: 1st-4th century.

Architecture: In *insula* D 6 at Philadelphia, one of the houses has been roughly dated to the Roman period. The house is square in plan, and consists of an entrance leading to a court, around which a number of rooms are built. The walls of this house are painted so as to reproduce coloured marbles. Inside one of the niches, the underside

of a representation with tendrils and part of a human figure had been preserved. A picture painted on a wooden panel of the same type as those which adorned the mummies from Roman times, still with its frame, is also found in this house. This was possibly hanging from one of the walls.

Finds: A wooden panel.

Bibliography: Davoli 1998, 12, fig. 62.

1.5. Houses at Tebtunis (Kom Umm el-Boreigat):

1.5.1. House No. 1100

Location: East of the temple of Soknebtunis.

Date: 1st-2nd centuries, based on datable Greek and demotic papyri.

Architecture: House No. 1100 is rectangular in plan, measuring 9.80 × 8.40 m; it consists of four rooms separated by a long corridor leading to a courtyard on the north side. The brick walls of the house were plastered and still retain fragments of frescoes with unidentified themes inside the domestic shrines, while those in stone were coated with stucco, with decorative mouldings still partially preserved.

Finds: Terracotta figurines, lamps and various Greek and demotic papyri.

Bibliography: Davoli 1998, 188-9, fig. 88.

1.5.2. House No. 3000

Location: East of the temple of Soknebtunis.

Date: 1st-2nd centuries.

Architecture: It measures 6.60 × 6.80 m, and consists of two large rooms, one of which has wall niches whose interpretation remains uncertain. Two small cellars are located below this room. The house had two periods of occupation: first, the Ptolemaic period (first century BC), in which the cellars were in use; and the second, the Roman period (first-second century), when the cellars fell out of use.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Davoli 1998, 187, fig. 87.

1.5.3. House No. 3200

Location: East of the temple of Soknebtunis.

Date: 1st-2nd centuries, based on Greek and demotic papyri.

Architecture: House No. 3200 is located in the northeast corner of the insula. The house underwent a first phase of construction during the Ptolemaic period. It was re-inhabited from the second half of the first century until the beginning of the third century. It is square in plan; the main entrance of the house is located on the north and is approached by a stone staircase.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Davoli 1998, 190, fig. 94a.

1.6. Houses at Kom Medinet Ghoran:

Location: Kom Medinet Ghoran.

Date: Roman.

Architecture: House A in Kom A is square in plan and consists of 9 rooms, two of which, according to the interpretation of Pierre Jouguet, were open; a flight of stairs leads to a terrace or maybe to a second floor. A room (G) has been recognized as a kitchen for the presence of a domestic oven in one of the corners and ashes on the floor, while another (B) was used as a bathroom where it has a bath carved in stone. Two interior doors and windows, in Egyptian style, were made of stone and decorated with a cavetto cornice and a torus moulding.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Jouguet 1901, 380-411; Davoli 1998, 218, fig. 100.

1.7. Houses at Narmuthis (Kom Medinet Maadi):

Location: East of the *dromos* of the temple of Narmuthis.

Date: Roman.

Architecture: Ten structures have been excavated along the east side of the *dromos* of the temple of Narmuthis. Based on stylistic grounds, some of these buildings have been identified as houses. These houses are generally in a poor state of preservation;

they are all built in mud-brick with abundant use of wood and stone, particularly for stairs and windows. They form a single block of houses, and are intersected by narrow alleys. Like other houses in the Fayum and countrywide, the houses at Narmuthis usually had a central courtyard, which was probably used as a kitchen, a number of rooms on the ground floor and underground vaulted cellars.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Davoli 1998, 234-5, fig. 113.

1.8. Houses at Theadelphia (Kharabit Ihrit):

Location: Southwest of Theadelphia.

Date: Roman.

Architecture: The houses were preserved to a height of about 5 m and had been buried by desert sand, which is accumulated by the action of wind. At the time of their excavations, all houses were empty and all household goods had been removed. The walls, the thickness of which is 50-80 cm, were built with mud mixed with a high proportion of straw and wooden beams, which were inserted horizontally and gave them more stability. The use of wooden beams set vertically in the corner is observed in only one house. Stone elements are rarely used in houses. For example, a door lintel carved in limestone is used in a partially destroyed house. In other houses, it was found that the stone was used in the bases and capitals of columns and brick pillars that decorated the niches inside the houses, and rarely in the threshold of the door. One of the houses is preserved to a height of 4 m, and has an L-shape. It is divided into four rooms, with a central courtyard. It has an internal staircase leading upstairs. The staircase consists of three unequal mud-brick steps built around a central pillar of mud-brick reinforced with wood. Under the staircase there is a small room that was probably used as a cellar. Another house, larger and more elaborated, has been interpreted due to its decorative details as the residence of an important person, perhaps an officer, if not as a real public office. The entrance had been destroyed by illegal excavations, but the other rooms, seven in total, had not been touched. Near the entrance there is a ladder-like structure in a worse state of preservation. At the centre of the building there was a big rectangular room, interpreted as a courtyard, which gives access to the other rooms and from which the

house was lighted. The room more interesting is square, 6 × 5 m, and lies in the south-east side, opening onto the courtyard with three gates that were originally meant to be closed with wooden doors. In the walls there is a series of three rectangular niches, with half-pillars decorated with brick bases and capitals in limestone. These are decorated with carved and painted motifs like vines, grapes, and acanthus leaves.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Rubensohn 1905, 1-25; Davoli 1998, 281-2, fig. 136.

1.9. Houses at Euhemeria (Qasr el-Banat):

Location: Southeast of Euhemeria.

Date: 1st-3rd century.

Architecture: The houses are partially destroyed. Like those of Theadelphia, they were built of mud-brick with the rare use of stone structural and decorative elements. There are very few stone columns and jambs of doors. Rooms were rarely used as cellars. One of the houses still retained part of the plaster on which was painted a series of figures, of which only the lower part is still recognizable. Papyri dating from 1st to 3rd century were found in some houses, while in a domestic oven of a house more than seventy *ostraca* are found.

Finds: Papyri and *ostraca*.

Bibliography: Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth 1900, 47-50; Davoli 1998, 281-2, fig. 136.

1.10. Houses at Dionysias (Qasr Qarun):

Location: East of Dionysias.

Date: 1st-4th century, based on coins found in the houses.

Architecture: To the east of Dionysias, a small house with an adjoining public bathroom was excavated. The house was built out of mud-brick, but the main entrance, located on the west side, had limestone door jambs. There was a second door on the east side, which connects the house with the bathroom. The largest house at Qasr Qarun was composed of 10 rooms, being divided into two groups by a central corridor. The main entrance is located on the south side of the corridor. There was a

staircase leading once to the upper storey, the first three steps of the staircase were made of limestone and the other steps were made of mud-brick reinforced with wood. The coins found in the houses of Qasr Qarun date to the Roman period, including Constantine.

Wall-paintings: In one of the rooms of the largest house, a fresco was partially preserved. It depicts three male figures in frontal view. One of the figures wears red tunic with an armour lace. This fresco was the subject of a long iconographical analysis; however its subject-matter cannot be identified. It has been suggested that the fresco depicts a religious theme, in which the central figure was identified as the god Heron.

Finds: Coins.

Bibliography: Schwartz and Wild 1950, 51-62; Davoli 1998, 305-06, figs. 150-2.

2. Houses in the Dakhla Oasis, the Thebaid:

2.1. Houses at Kellis (Ismant El-Kharab):

During its recent excavations at Kellis the Dakhleh Oasis Project of Columbia University has focused on houses. However, the site is still under excavations and any investigations are preliminary.

2.1.1. Houses Nos. 1, 2, and 3

Location: Kellis.

Date: 4th century, based on papyri and coins.

Architecture: The three houses form a single block; they are rectangular is shape and have different layouts. The internal arrangement of houses 1 and 2 is simple. None of the two houses has an *aithrion*; however, both houses had an *aule*. House 1 consists of an *aule* which gives access to a long corridor, around which eleven unequal rooms are clustered. House 2 consists of an *aule* and 9 rooms. The layout of House 3 is more complicated. It consists of an entrance hall which leads into a passageway, which leads into two successive courts. The court nearer the entrance served as an *aithrion*, around which the other rooms were clustered. It was here that hundreds of

fragments of papyri and wooden boards and a small number of coins were found. The *aithrion* gave access to eight rooms, although only six rooms had direct access to the court. The rear court functioned as an *aule*, where animal pins and evidence of food preparation have come to light.

Finds: Papyri and coins.

Bibliography: Worp 1995; Hope 1988, 160-78; Gardner and Lieu 1996; Knudstad and Frey 1999, 189-214; Alston 2002, 105-7, figs. 3.15-16.

2.1.2. House No. B/3/1

Location: Area B.

Date: 2nd-3rd century, based on wall-paintings.

Architecture: It is a mud-brick structure, measuring 28 m from north to south and 24 m from east to west. It was entered from the north through a 14 × 14.8 m open area. The entrance room leads into a square (10.6 × 10.8 m) room (1b), in which stand the lower parts of four substantial columns, which have two torus mouldings at their bases. To the south of room 1b lies a slightly smaller (9.8 × 7 m) room (1a). To the west of room 1b lies a rectangular (7.2 × 5.6 m) space, which has two rooms (4-5) to the south, one (7) to the north and two rooms (9-10) to the east. To the west of room 1a are 2 rooms (2-3). To the east of room 1a lie three rooms, one (12) has a large semi-circular niche at its south side and two (13-14) have painted decoration.

Wall-paintings: In the five rooms examined, Hope and Whitehouse, the excavators, have identified six different decorative schemes, which were employed in the house; two variations on panelled décor; 'wallpaper'; and three designs incorporating columns. At the northern end of room 1a, the main zone of the wall is divided into large panels with a motif at the centre of each. The details of the motifs are difficult to identify. The majority show a bird, apparently a cockerel. The panel nearer the door shows a female face in frontal view. At the southern end of room 1a, the main zone is decorated with a 'wallpaper' pattern of intersecting circles. The dado is decorated with oblong panels framed by black and yellow bands. The ceiling fragments show parts of a geometric scheme with golden-yellow busts of Isis and Serapis-Helios. The goddess Isis is shown with her characteristic headdress,

consisting of two bovine horns and a solar disc and two plumes in between. The god Serapis-Helios is depicted with a thick beard and a modius upon his head. As in room 3, Corinthian capitals of Alexandrian Type 1 are depicted atop the columns painted on the north wall.

Finds: None.

Bibliography: Hope and Whitehouse 2006, 312-28.

2.2. Houses at Trimithis (Amheida):

The excavations at Trimithis so far have focused on three areas of this large site: a centrally located upper-class fourth-century house with wall paintings, an adjoining school and underlying remains of a Roman bath complex; a more modest house of the third century; and the temple hill with remains of the Temple of Thoth built in the first century and of earlier structures. Architectural conservation has protected and partly restored two standing funerary monuments, a mud-brick pyramid and a tower tomb, both date to the Roman period.

2.2.1. The House of Serenos

Location: Area 2.

Date: 2nd-4th century, based on coins and *ostraca*.

Architecture: The House of Serenos consists of a central courtyard with decorated rooms to the west and south, utilitarian rooms to the north and additional undecorated rooms to the east. The material culture found in the mud-brick house suggest that the major period of occupation was sometime between the late third through the middle of the fourth century. The latest datable coins and *ostraca* date to the reign of Constantius II, which gives a *terminus ante quem* for the occupation of the house and the execution of the wall paintings.

Wall-paintings: The representational media in the painted room of this house commemorate Greek and Roman heritage through mythology. The visible wall paintings depict several Greek myths, predominantly from Homer. To the left of door of the painted room leading into the courtyard, Perseus is shown holding the head of Medusa, while he rescues Andromeda from a sea monster. To the right of door leading into the courtyard, Eurycleia is depicted washing Odysseus' feet while he

reclines on an elevated stool covered in sheepskin. A noble woman, presumably Penelope, sits to the right of these figures and looks off into the distance rather than at Odysseus. The eastern wall of the same room is divided into two horizontal registers containing smaller painted figures. Only the lower portion of the upper register and the geometric zone survive *in situ*. A possible temple is represented on the left with four columns and an architrave and the city walls below. To the right of the temple, a woman labelled as *Polis*, gestures toward the temple with her right hand and holds a golden sceptre in her left. To the right of *Polis*, the eastern wall depicts Aphrodite and Ares caught in the act of adultery. Hephaestus uses an invisible net of chains to hold them while a group of inquisitive male gods steals a look as the drama unfolds. The west wall of the room is only partially preserved. The figured scene portrays a family at dinner. Three adult males and a woman recline on a couch and listen to a musician to their left. A male child stands next to the musician. The south wall of the room is the most poorly preserved wall of the painted room. It contained a large niche, to the right of which only a horse's head above a reclining woman wearing a turban remain *in situ*.

Finds: Coins and *ostraca*.

Bibliography: Mills 1980, 18-25, 1993, 192-8, 1998, 84-91; Boozer 2005; Walter 2005; Whitehouse 2005.

2.2.2. The House of Area 1

Location: Area 1.

Date: 2nd century.

Architecture: This house is located at Area 1 in the northern side of the site. It is smaller than Serenos' house and follows a square plan. It consists of an entrance, leading onto a central courtyard, around which a number of rooms were arranged. The building itself is considerably damaged by the strong sand-laden wind. The material culture and botanical remains were preserved to a higher degree than the house in Area 2. This house used slightly different building methods than the House of Serenos, where brick-laying are similar to those used in the Fayum region. Ceramics and associated demotic texts suggest that this house might be slightly earlier date than the house in Area 2. Soil samples taken from this second house have

better preserved botanical remains than elsewhere at Trimithis. High concentrations of desiccated rodent remains have been found in and around intact vessels on the floor of one room. A piece of a Djed pillar amulet was also found in the house.

Finds: Ceramics, botanical remains, ceramics with demotic texts, and a Djed pillar amulet.

Bibliography: Boozer 2005, 20-1.

APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF ROMAN-PERIOD TOMBS

1. Tombs at Alexandria:

1.1. Habachi Tomb A

Location: The modern quarter of Gabbari.

Date: 1st century.

Measurements: The central court measures 3.5 m long, 3 m wide and 3.7 m high.

Architecture: A stairway gives access to a small passage, which leads to a covered court. In the middle of the court is a small altar of limestone. The court gives access to three burial chambers. To the south east a doorway leads to the main burial chamber which is occupied by a rock-cut sarcophagus. To the south west a doorway gives access to a second burial room, which has two rows of *loculi*. The north-west side of the court has an entrance, which leads into a small rectangular vestibule leading to another burial room with *loculi*.

Iconography: Only the main burial chamber has representations. The iconography of this tomb draws only on imagery derived from the Osirian and solar mythologies of rebirth. It combines scenes of Egyptian deities with the most frequent scene in Roman-period tombs: the mummy of Osiris on the funerary bier, which occurred twice on the rear wall and on the front of the sarcophagus.

Bibliography: Habachi 1936, 270-85; Adriani 1966, 159-60, no. 113; Venit 2002a, 120-4.

1.2. The Sieglin Tomb

Location: The modern quarter of Gabbari.

Date: 1st century.

Architecture: Only a burial chamber taking the shape of a *triclinium* with three undecorated sarcophagi set within niches is known from Fiechter's drawing.

Iconography: Only the central niche of the burial chamber bears representations. The iconography of the Sieglin Tomb is confined to Egyptian eschatological vocabulary and scenes and imagery related to Osiris and Re.

Bibliography: von Bissing 1901, 58-9; Schreiber 1908, 7, fig. 1; Pagenstecher 1919, 148, 184; Pagenstecher 1923, 119; Adriani 1966, 169-70, pl. 101, fig. 339; Venit 2002b, 124.

1.3. The Main Tomb in the Catacomb of Kom el-Shouqafa

Location: To the south-west of Diocletian's column, the modern quarter of Kom el-Shouqafa.

Date: Second half of the first century, based on the hairdo of the male and female statues in the tomb.

Architecture: The catacomb of Kom el-Shouqafa consists of two hypogea: the first is the main hypogeum and is celebrated for its main tomb; the second, situated to the east, is known as the Hall of Caracalla. The main hypogeum consists of a ground-level funerary chapel and three underground levels used as burial places. The first level consists of a vestibule with two exedrae, a rotunda and a *triclinium*; the second constitutes the main tomb and its surrounding corridors, which contain *loculi* and niches for sarcophagus burials; and the third is submerged under the ground water. The main tomb consists of an antechamber and a burial chamber with a pronaos in between. The façade of the pronaos consists of two columns *in antis*. A flight of two steps leads up directly from the antechamber to the pronaos, the back wall of which forms the façade of the burial chamber. It is decorated with sculptures and opened into the burial room through a doorway in Egyptian style. The doorway is trimmed by a torus moulding and decorated with a winged sun-disc, upon which a frieze of uraei surmounts. The burial chamber takes the shape of a *triclinium* with three niches containing rock-cut sarcophagi.

Iconography: The façade of the pronaos combines Egyptian and classical figurative and architectural features, but the naos depends largely upon Egyptian funerary themes.

Bibliography: Botti 1898, 323-67; Schreiber 1908, 77-159; Rowe 1941-42b, 3-40, pls. 1-14; Adriani 1966, 173-8, no. 122; Riad, Shehata and el-Gheriani 1987, 52-9; Tkaczow 1993, 65-66, no. 12; Empereur 1995, 1-18; Venit 2002a, 124-45; Venit 2002b, 270-71; McKenzie 2007, 193-4.

1.4. Persephone Tombs in the Hall of Caracalla

Location: Hall of Caracalla to the east of the catacomb of Kom el-Shouqafa.

Date: Late first or early second century.

Architecture: In the Hall of Caracalla; a rock-cut sarcophagus forms the lower part of each tomb, while the upper part is occupied by three vertical walls and a ceiling. The façades are trimmed by pilasters, which support triangular pediments. All architectural features were plastered and originally had paintings.

Iconography: The paintings of Tombs 3 and 4 have totally disappeared. Only the paintings of Tombs 1 and 2 have been recently clarified by ultra-violet light. Each tomb shows two scenes arranged in superimposed registers. The upper register shows the Egyptian scene of Osiris on the funerary couch and being attended by Anubis, whereas the bottom register depicts the Greek myth of the abduction of Persephone by Hades.

Bibliography: Botti 1898, 347-67; Schreiber 1908, 150-53; Pagenstecher 1919, 149; Rowe 1941-42b, 35-6; Adriani 1966, 180; Empereur 1995, 20-22; Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 1997, 355-410; Guimier-Sorbets 1998, 34-7; Venit 2002a, 145-6; Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2004, 133-41.

1.5. Botti's 'Scavo B'

Location: To the west of the main hypogeum of Kom el-Shouqafa.

Date: 1st-2nd century.

Architecture: The hypogeum consists of four main chambers and some subsidiary chambers with *loculi*. A flight of steps leads into a court, which gives access to a long corridor with ten sarcophagus-niches in the side walls. To the northwest of the corridor there is a long corridor, 21 m long, with 90 loculi in the walls.

Iconography: It is in the corridor with 90 *loculi* that Botti found an Egyptian scene of the god Osiris as a mummiform figure with crossed arms holding the flail and the *was* sceptre. Botti also found upon a *loculus* a figure of the goddess Hathor and the

winged sun-disc on another *loculus*. These Egyptian deities were responsible for protecting the deceased.

Bibliography: Botti 1898, 371-3; Schreiber 1908, 57-63, fig. 133; Pagenstecher 1914, 7-9; Pagenstecher 1919, 149, fig. 97; Adriani 1966, 182-3, no. 125; Kaplan 1999, 139-40, pls. 30a, 49a.

1.6. Botti's Tomb at Kom Hadid (Destroyed)

Location: It was once located in the area between the catacomb of Kom el-Shouqafa and the fort of Kom el-Shouqafa.

Date: 1st century.

Measurements: Only a part of the entrance (1.10 m × 40 cm) survives in the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria.

Architecture: Unknown.

Iconography: It combines Egyptian and Greek elements. There is an Egyptian frieze of uraei, under which there are classical dentils. Under the dentils are two Horus-falcons flanking what seems to be a solar disc; there is a double crown behind each falcon. This frieze is similar to the one carved on the façade of the pronaos in the main tomb in the catacomb of Kom el-Shouqafa and seem to be contemporaneous with it. Upon the frieze of uraei there are a Greek horned-altar and a trapezoidal altar.

Bibliography: Botti 1898, 374-67; Botti 1900, 530, no. 9; Schreiber 1908, 74-6; Kaplan 1999, 140, pl. 49b.

1.7. The Tomb of Rufinus (Destroyed)

Location: Northeast of the catacomb at Kom el-Shouqafa.

Date: Antoninus Pius.

Architecture: It is completely destroyed, but it originally consisted of a cubiculum leading into a rectangular (8.0 × 4.50 m) room with *loculi*.

Iconography: This tomb is called so because of an inscription which was found loose in the tomb and records the name of a man named Rufinus and a woman called Rufina, who were probably the tomb owners. The tomb combines Roman, Egyptian and Greek elements. The façade of the first room takes the shape of a Roman

aedicule, where Greek and Egyptian architectural features are combined. The façade is adorned with an Egyptian winged sun-disc with two uraei, while the pilaster carries a lotus-capital.

Bibliography: Néroutsos 1888, 53-4; Schreiber 1908, 26; Adriani 1966, 186, no. 128; Kaplan 1999, 140-41.

1.8. The Tigrane Tomb

Location: It was once located in the eastern cemetery, but was reconstructed in the open court in the catacomb of Kom el-Shouqafa.

Date: Hadrian; based on the domed ceiling.

Measurements: The first room is 3.50 × 2.30 m and the second is 2.20 × 2.50 m.

Architecture: The tomb consists of two small rooms to either side of a central entrance hall. The first room is fitted with 9 *loculi*, but the other takes the shape of a *triclinium* with three sarcophagi set in *arcosolia*.

Iconography: The paintings of the *triclinium* burial chamber draw primarily on Egyptian eschatological scenes associated with Osiris' death and resurrection and his intertwined relationship with kinship. The rear wall of the central niche carries the scene of Osiris on a funerary bier of Roman type and being attended by Isis and Nephthys. Other paintings of the burial chamber include Horus falcons, Egyptian sphinxes, winged solar disc and Apis bulls. The domed ceiling of the *triclinium* chamber is decorated with the head of Medusa, which is surrounded by floral and animal figures. The tomb's representations combine Egyptian and Graeco-Roman stylistic and figurative elements.

Bibliography: Adriani 1956, 63-86; Picard 1965, 95-100; Adriani 1966, 145-6, no. 91; Grimm 1974, 110-25; Empereur 1995, 40-5; Venit 1997, 701-29; Venit 2002a, 146-59.

1.9. The Stagni Tomb

Location: This tomb was originally one of three hypogea uncovered in May 1989 in the area between Gabbari and Wardian. It is now reconstructed at the catacomb of Kom el-Shouqafa.

Date: 1st century.

Architecture: The architecture of the tomb looks like Persephone Tombs in the Hall of Caracalla. Its façade takes the form of a Greek naos with a triangular pediment. Only the central niche with the *kline* survives.

Iconography: The iconography of the tomb was intended for a woman. The tomb's iconographical programme incorporates Egyptian, Greek and Roman figurative and stylistic elements. Griffins of Nemesis are painted on the frieze of the façade-pediment. The piers that frame the opening of the niche carry three subjects: winged erotes, images of Anubis in military clothes and Horus falcons. A female figure, probably Isis-Aphrodite, is painted on the back wall of the niche. Given the absence of syncretised Graeco-Egyptian deities in funerary iconography, the depiction of Isis-Aphrodite is unique to the Stagni Tomb. She is flanked with sphinxes standing in an Egyptian canopy with papyriform columns and segmental pediment.

Bibliography: Venit 1999, 641-69; Venit 2002a, 159-65.

1.10. The Tomb at Mafrusa (Destroyed)

Location: It was once located near the sea coast to the northeast of Mafrusa Police Station.

Date: 1st century, based on architectural similarity with the Main Tomb in the catacomb of Kom el-Shouqafa.

Architecture: Nothing now survives from the tomb, which was perhaps designed after the Main Tomb in the catacomb of Kom el-Shouqafa. It once consisted of an anteroom with two palm-capital columns, leading into the burial chamber.

Iconography: Only a scene on a *loculus* was described by Adriani. It represents two Apis bulls wearing a solar disc between their horns and a garland around their neck. There is an altar before each bull. Only the word χαίρε is readable on the *loculus*.

Bibliography: Adriani 1966, 148, no. 95; Tkaczow 1993, 54-5.

1.11. Wardian Tomb III (the so-called *Saqiya* Tomb)

Location: The modern quarter of Wardian.

Date: 1st-4th century.

Measurements: The central court once measured 8 × 5 m; only a decorated slab from this tomb, 1.90 m high, is now kept in the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria

Architecture: The tomb once consisted of a rectangular court, leading into the burial chamber on the east. The burial chamber accommodated two *klinai* on its north and south walls.

Iconography: A human-headed *ba* bird is depicted standing upon a lotus blossom on the decorated sarcophagus in the court. The *ba* bird wears a crown consisting of a solar disc between two horns and a uraeus. In front of the *ba* bird is either a horned-altar or a candelabrum, around which a pair of cobras are intertwined. On either side of the altar or candelabrum are sprouting plants. There are three remarkable paintings on the outer wall of the burial chamber: a rustic scene with a Saqqiya (water-lifting device) being driven by two oxen; a herm inside a precinct; and a shepherd tending his flock.

Bibliography: Riad 1964, 169-71; Weitzmann-Fiedler 1979, 273, no. 250; Barbet 1980, 391-400; Rassart-Debergh 1983, 229-30; Bowman 1986, 90, fig. 54; Venit 1988, 71-91; Rodziewicz 1989, 329-37; Rodziewicz 1993, 281-90; Kaplan 1999, 150-51, pls. 67-8; Venit 2002a, 101-12, fig. 83-93.

1.12. The Ramleh Tomb

Location: The modern quarter of Ramleh.

Date: Late first or early second century.

Architecture: Remaining when this tomb was discovered in 1914 was a *triclinium*-shaped burial chamber with plastered and painted rock-cut *lenos* (bathtub-shaped) sarcophagus with round handles represented on their front in relief.

Iconography: The decoration of the tomb employs ancient Egyptian funerary scenes like those found at Habachi Tomb A. On the left wall of the east niche, the falcon-

headed Horus was shown in profile facing toward the back wall of the niche and holding an *ankh* sign in his left hand. On the opposite wall, the ibis-headed Thoth is depicted facing the back wall of the niche. Between the two deities, on the back of the niche, a mummy on a lion-headed bier was attended by Anubis. On the central niche, Osiris, Isis and the *ba* bird are represented. The paintings on the west niche were completely lost.

Bibliography: Breccia 1914, 53-6; Venit 2002a, 122.

2. Roman-period tombs in the *chora*:

2.1. Tombs at Terenuthis (Kom Abou Bellou):

2.1.1. Tombs Nos. 1 and 2

Location: Terenuthis, the Delta.

Date: 3rd-4th century.

Architecture: The two tombs were built upon a square platform of mud-brick. Each consists of a mastaba, which might have served as an altar, and a vaulted burial chamber which contains a niche on the east side and a stele.

Iconography: Below are figures of eagles and masks. On the lower register, two figures of birds, possibly falcons, are represented. On the upper register of Tomb 2, a figure is depicted on the niche lying on a *kline*. To the left of the niche, a figure wearing a Roman toga and the god Anubis are shown. On the lower registers two seated jackals are depicted.

Bibliography: Farid 1973, 21-6, pls. i-xvii; Hawwass 1979, 75-87; Abdel All 1983, 73-8, pls. i-xxxiii; Kaplan 1999, 157-8, pls. 71c-72.

2.2. Tomb No. 3 at Oxyrhynchus (El-Bahnasa):

Location: North of the Saite tomb of Het on the Upper Necropolis, Oxyrhynchus, the Thebaid.

Date: 1st-2nd century.

Architecture: The tomb, made of dressed limestone, is constructed on the model of the Saite tomb of Het. It consists of a court and a burial chamber.

Iconography: The subject of the tomb is typically Egyptian and bears remarkable resemblance to Pharaonic tombs. Osirian themes dominate the paintings of the burial chamber. Osiris is shown on a wall sitting on the throne and being followed by Isis and Nephthys. A priest is represented before Osiris holding an incense burner and being followed by Anubis, who offers an amulet to Osiris. Vertical *pseudo*-hieroglyphic columns are shown between the figures. Two iconographical elements are similar to those in Roman-period tombs at Alexandria: the amulet which Anubis offers to Osiris looks like the one which the emperor-Pharaoh offers to the Apis bull in the main tomb at Kom el-Shouqafa and the presence of *pseudo*-hieroglyphic columns with indistinct signs. The Djed pillar of Osiris is also shown flanked by a number of Egyptian deities, including the four sons of Horus.

Bibliography: Padró 2007, 130-133, figs. 10.4-5, pl. xv.

2.3. Tombs at Thunis (Tuna el-Gebel):

2.3.1. Tomb No. 18

Location: Southeast of the Tomb of Petosiris, Tuna el-Gebel, the Thebaid.

Date: 1st century.

Measurements: The rectangular room measures 6.50 in width and 3 m in length.

Architecture: The entrance to the tomb is located on the north; it gives access to a huge rectangular room with three *loculi*. This room leads into two adjacent chambers located on the south. Judging from the number of *loculi*, the tomb was a familial burial.

Iconography: The northern room is richly decorated with ancient Egyptian funerary themes and texts. To the left side of the northern *loculus* are representations of Osiris and Isis. Osiris is shown wearing the *atef* crown and holding the *was* sceptre in his left hand and the *ankh* sign in his right. Behind Osiris the goddess Isis is shown holding the *ankh* sign in her right hand and the *wadj* sceptre in her left. To the right side of the northern *loculus* Isis is shown sitting on her throne and wearing the Nekhbet-headdress, which is surmounted by the Hathor-headdress, consisting of two tall feathers and two horns and a solar disc in between.

Bibliography: Badawy 1958, 117-22; Gabra et al 1941, 39-50, pls. 8-17; Kaplan 1999, 159-60, pls. 74a-c.

2.3.2. Tomb No. 20

Location: South of Tomb 18, Tuna el-Gebel.

Date: 1st century.

Architecture: The ground level of this tomb consists of two small chambers on the northern side where the entrance of the tomb is located. These rooms lead into two successive chambers, upon which there are two rooms on the upper floor.

Iconography: The tomb generally draws upon Egyptian themes related with the Osirian mythology of resurrection. The two small chambers are poorly decorated. The northern walls of the two chambers have no paintings. The other walls of the rooms are decorated with garlands being flanked by uraei, a solar disc and lozenges. The third room which is approached from the two small chambers is decorated with traditional scenes, although they are badly executed. The four sons of Horus are represented on the space between the entrance to this room and a niche in the northern wall, facing two fighting cocks. On the space between the entrance and the west wall a boat is painted, only remains of which are visible. The goddess Isis is painted on the right door jamb wearing a *nemes* headdress and her hieroglyphic emblem. On the east wall the mummified deceased is depicted lying on the lion-headed couch. The Horus-falcon is hovering over the mummy and holding the *ankh* and *renpet* signs. The fourth room is also decorated with Egyptian funerary scenes. On the south wall, the Judgment of the Dead is represented while Anubis and Horus attending the balance. On the west wall, the body of the deceased is being mummified by the jackal-headed Anubis. The first room on the upper floor is richly decorated to imitate marble, while the vaulted niche in the south wall of the second room carries floral and vine decorations.

Bibliography: Gabra et a. 1941, 39-50, pls. 8-17; Kaplan 1999, 160-2, pls. 75-79.

2.3.3. Tomb No. 21

Location: Southeast of the necropolis, Tuna el-Gebel.

Date: 1st century.

Architecture: Th entrance of the tomb is located on the north side, and leads into an antechamber, to the east and west sides of which are two small undecorated chambers. The antechamber gives access to the burial chamber in the middle of which a subterranean chamber is located.

Iconography: Only the two vaulted rooms on the central axis of the entrance have paintings. The tomb's iconographical programme is intended for a young girl named Ta-Sheryt(…). It draws upon Egyptian themes and texts related with the Osirian and solar mythologies of resurrection. Important scenes in the tomb include the Osirian reliquary, the purification of the deceased by Horus and Thoth, the journey of the sun god Re in his solar boat and the lustration of Osiris on the lion-headed funerary couch.

Bibliography: Gabra 1939, 483-96, pls. 74-89; Gabra et al. 1941, 39-50, pls. 8-17; Gabra and Drioton 1954, 13-15; Badawy 1958, 117-22; Castiglione 1961, 209-30; Gabra 1971, 93-99; Grimm 1974, 110-25; Grimm 1975, 221-36, pls. 63-77; Kessler 1981, 109-19; Kaplan 1999, 162-5, pls. 80-5; Riggs 2005, 129-39.

2.3.4. The Tomb of Isidora

Location: To the south-east of the tomb of Petosiris, Tuna el-Gebel.

Date: Hadrian/Antoninus Pius.

Architecture: The tomb is approached by a flight of steps; it consists of two successive chambers with a central door connecting the two rooms, the second of which serves as the burial chamber. The burial chamber contains a burial niche, which rises about a meter above the floor level of the room. The burial niche is flanked by two spiral fluted-columns and is surmounted with a shell niche.

Iconography: Two Greek verse inscriptions in commemoration of Isidora are inscribed on the jambs of the doorway leading to the second room. The traditional scene of the mummy lying on the lion-headed funerary couch is painted on the space between the burial niche and the floor. In contrast to other tombs where the mummy on the funerary bier is attended by Egyptian deities, the funerary couch here is painted without adjoining figures.

Bibliography: Graindor 1932, 112-15; Gabra et al 1941, 67-72, pls. 31-4; Gabra 1971, 71-92; Thomas 1992, 319.

2.4. Traces of Decorated Tombs at Tell el-Amarna (Unpublished):

Location: Tell el-Amarna, the Thebaid.

Date: Roman.

Architecture: Unrecorded. In 1912/13, Ludwig Borchardt found traces of mud-brick Roman-period tombs at Tell el-Amarna. Since much of these tombs were buried under the sand, Borchardt was unable to give their number, architectural arrangement, and measurements.

Iconography: Nothing is remarkable about the decoration of these rooms. Like tombs in Akhmim, the lower walls of some tombs at el-Amarna were richly decorated to imitate marble.

Finds: Plaster mummy masks.

Bibliography: Borchardt 1913, 52-55, fig. 26-27.

2.5. Tombs at Antaioupolis (Qaw el-Kebir):

Location: Antaioupolis, the Thebaid.

Date: 1st-2nd century.

Architecture: The tombs at Qaw el-Kebir are divided into three types: cremation pits; shaft tombs, which consist of a shaft with steps leading into a rock-cut burial room; and funerary chapels, which are often oriented north-south and consist of two or more square or rectangular rooms. The room that leads into the burial chamber often has two pillars forming three entrances to the cult room, which has a burial niche in the west wall.

Iconography: The walls of the burial niche and other side walls of the burial chamber generally bear funerary scenes, including the Judgment of the Dead, the mummy on the lion-headed funerary couch being protected by Isis and Nephthys and the erection of the Djed pillar. Other side walls in the tombs are richly decorated with garlands and other floral and vine decoration. The niche in Tomb 278 bears a remarkable scene of the tomb owner, who is shown standing in a *contrapposto* position and

wearing a toga or *himation* and holding a papyrus roll and other writing equipment in his hands. Before the deceased a woman is represented sitting in a thoughtful or mourning position.

Bibliography: L'Hôte 1840, 84-5; Steckeweh 1936, 56-8, pls. 21-22; Kaplan 1999, 179.

2.6. A Tomb at Lykopolis (Assiut):

Location: Lykopolis, the Thebaid.

Date: Roman.

Architecture: Unrecorded.

Iconography: Only the remains of two legs of once a standing figure, perhaps the tomb owner, were still visible when Friedrich von Bissing referred to the tomb in 1926. The figure is shown standing in a *contrapposto* position and wears sandals.

Bibliography: von Bissing 1926, 185-6, fig. 5 at page 187.

2.7. Tombs at Panopolis (Akhmim):

Panopolis is located on the east bank of the Nile, about 200 km north of Luxor. Cemetery C at el-Salamuni contains a number of Roman-period rock-cut tombs, which consist of an entrance leading to either a single room or a number of successive chambers on the same axis of the entrance with burial niches.

2.7.1. Bissing's Tomb of 1897

Location: El-Salamuni Cemetery C, northeast of Panopolis, the Thebaid.

Date: 2nd century.

Architecture: It consists of two decorated rooms with three burial niches in the second.

Iconography: Paintings in the tomb are derived from ancient Egyptian religious ideas about the afterlife. On the upper register of the north wall of the first room, the Judgment of the Dead is depicted while Anubis and Thoth attend the scale. Ammut is standing beside the balance and Osiris is sitting on his throne on the far right side of the scene being escorted by the outstretched wings of Isis. On the upper register of

the south wall, Anubis guides the deceased to Osiris, who is flanked by Isis and Nephthys. The ceiling of the first room is decorated with a circular zodiac within a square field representing the starry firmament. The twelve signs are placed in compartments around a central circle containing a female figure riding on the dog, identifiable as Isis-Sothis because Sothis was the Dog-star. On the southern side of the east wall of the first room, a full-length figure of the male deceased is depicted in naturalistic appearance, flanking the doorway that leads from the first to the second room. The tomb owner stands in a *contrapposto* pose with weight on his left leg and wears a thick beard and white tunic and toga and holds a papyrus-roll in his left hand. A distinctive feature of this tomb is the use of *pseudo*-hieroglyphs, which can also be found in certain tombs at Alexandria as well as Tomb No. 3 at Oxyrhynchus. The second burial chamber is painted with Egyptian funerary scenes and deities. The burial niches are decorated with the mummy on the lion-headed couch. Anubis attends the mummy, which is flanked by Isis and Nephthys.

Bibliography: von Bissing 1946/47, 2-6, pl. 2-9; von Bissing 1950, 447-576, figs. 1-6, pl. i-3; Neugebauer and Parker 1969, 99; Kuhlmann 1983, 73, fig. 27a, pls. 36a-c; Whitehouse 1998, 262; Kaplan 1999, 166-9, pls. 86-8; Riggs 2005, 164-5, fig. 77.

2.7.2. Tomb of 1913

Location: El-Salamuni Cemetery C.

Date: 2nd century.

Architecture: It consists of three successive chambers, with a *kline* in the second room and two burial niches in the last chamber.

Iconography: The ceiling of the first and second room is decorated with two zodiacs within a square field representing the starry firmament. The twelve signs are placed in compartments around a central circle containing a figure of Isis-Sothis. The *kline*-niche in the second room is decorated with garlands. Although they are badly damaged, the scenes in the last room rely on Egyptian beliefs about the afterlife. The walls are divided into two registers and carry *pseudo*-hieroglyphs. They are decorated with Egyptian scenes like the Judgment of the Dead. On the back wall of the niche in the rear wall, the deceased is shown before Thoth, Anubis and the four

sons of Horus. Scenes of the god Bes, the deceased before his *ba* and the Djed pillar are also present in this room.

Bibliography: von Bissing 1946/47, 7-16, pl. 10-13; von Bissing 1950, 560-66, figs. 7-9, pl. ii; Kaplan 1999, 169-70, pls. 98a-b.

2.7.3. Tomb No. 3

Location: El-Salamuni Cemetery C.

Date: 2nd century.

Architecture: It consists of an antechamber leading into a burial chamber with *kline*-niches.

Iconography: The walls are divided into two superimposed registers: the lower is decorated to imitate marble; and the upper carries *pseudo*-hieroglyphic columns and Egyptian funerary scenes about the afterlife like Osiris between Isis and Nephthys and the Djed pillar. The ceiling of the first room is furnished with a circular zodiac supported by four goddesses in the corners. The twelve signs are placed in compartments around a central circle containing a figure of Isis-Sothis riding on a dog. The zodiac runs clockwise with Leo to Capricorn below the central figure and Aquarius to Cancer above.

Bibliography: Neugebauer and Parker 1969, 100, pl. 52; Kaplan 1999, 171-, pls. 90-91a.

2.7.4. Tomb No. 4

Location: El-Salamuni Cemetery C.

Date: 2nd century.

Architecture: It consists of an antechamber leading into a burial chamber with two wall-niches.

Iconography: The walls are divided into two superimposed registers: the lower is decorated to imitate marble; and the upper carries *pseudo*-hieroglyphic columns and Egyptian funerary scenes about the afterlife. The anteroom is decorated with scenes like the purification of the deceased, and the Judgment of the Dead. The feather-headed Maat is shown in the Hall of Justice placing her hands of the male deceased,

who raises both his hands in adoration and wears a long white tunic while Anubis and Thoth attend the balance. Just above the judgment scene, 21 judges are depicted. The burial niches in the second room are decorated with *pseudo*-hieroglyphic bands and other funerary scenes like the mummy on the lion-headed couch and Osiris between Isis and Nephthys.

Bibliography: Kaplan 1999, 171-4, pls. 91b-93.

2.7.5. Tomb No. 5

Location: El-Salamuni Cemetery C.

Date: 2nd century.

Architecture: It consists of four successive chambers with burial niches in both the walls and the ground.

Iconography: The decoration of the tomb is extremely damaged. Only a few scenes in the first room are still visible. To the left of the doorway that leads from the first room to a room beyond, a full-length figure of the male deceased is represented. The tomb owner stands in a *contrapposto* position with weight on the left leg and wears a coloured tunic and white *himation* or toga and holds a papyrus-roll between his hands. Other scenes in the room are badly damaged, but seem to be related to ancient Egyptian beliefs about the afterlife. For example, on the lintel of the doorway the remains of a solar boat with a solar disc in the middle can still be discerned.

Bibliography: Kaplan 1982, 5, pls. 94, 95a; Kuhlmann 1983, fig. 27b, pl. 33b; Kaplan 1999, 174, pls. 94-95a; Riggs 2005, 164-6, fig. 78.

2.7.6. Tomb No. 6

Location: El-Salamuni Cemetery C.

Date: 2nd century.

Architecture: It consists of an antechamber leading into a burial chamber with a wall-niche facing the main entrance.

Iconography: On both sides of the doorway leading from the first to the second chamber a priestly figure is depicted wearing a long white skirt and holding an incense burner in a hand and a libation vase in the other. Above the priestly figure on

both sides is a long hieroglyphic text. On the wall next to the priestly figure, a row of daemons is depicted holding a knife in one hand and an *ankh* sign in the other. Above each figure there is a hieroglyphic inscription giving his name. The ceiling of the inner room is furnished with a zodiac, in which the twelve signs are placed in compartments around a central circle containing a seated figure of Harpocrates. To the right a winged sun disc with uraei flanks the zodiac. The space between the burial niche and the floor is decorated with a mummification scene, where a female deceased, judging from the earring she wears, is depicted lying on a lion-headed couch, under which the four viscera jars associated with the four sons of Horus are shown, although they lack their characteristic heads. Other scenes in the burial niche are extremely damaged, but that they were undoubtedly related with ancient Egyptian beliefs about the afterlife. Only the remains of a falcon holding the Djed pillar in its claws before a defaced human figure are still discernible on the back wall of the niche.

Bibliography: Neugebauer and Parker 1969, 100-1, pl. 54; Kaplan 1999, 175-6, pls. 95b-98.

2.7.7. Tomb No. 7

Location: El-Salamuni Cemetery C.

Date: 2nd century.

Architecture: It consists of an antechamber leading to a burial chamber with a wall-niche facing the main entrance.

Iconography: Although the funerary programme of the tomb is completely damaged, it is likely that it depended once upon ancient Egyptian beliefs about the afterlife. Only the scene on the right side of the doorway leading from the first to the second chamber is still preserved. Two identical human figures are shown facing each other with frontal heads. Above the figures are hieroglyphic and demotic texts. To the left of the human figures are the remains of a solar boat, in which Isis and Tithoes are shown. Above the boat a winged sun-disc is represented. On the ceiling of the outer room parts of Libra and Virgo of what was once a circular zodiac can still be seen.

Bibliography: Neugebauer and Parker 1969, 101, pl. 55a; Kaplan 1999, 176, pls. 99a.

2.7.8. Tomb No. 8

Location: El-Salamuni Cemetery C.

Date: 2nd century.

Architecture: It consists of a single burial chamber with a wall-niche facing the main entrance.

Iconography: The funerary programme of the tomb depends upon ancient Egyptian beliefs about the afterlife. The walls are divided into two superimposed registers. The lower register consists of square panels, which are decorated to imitate stone. The upper register is decorated with Egyptian funerary scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions. To the left side of the entrance, the male deceased is depicted in frontal position; he wears a white *himation* or toga and holds unidentifiable objects in both hands. Next to the tomb owner a lioness-headed goddess, probably Sekhmet, is shown wearing a solar disc upon her head and holding a balance. To the left side of the niche, Isis is shown protecting Osiris before whom is an altar. A vulture holding *shen* signs in its claws and a hieroglyphic text are depicted on the back wall of the niche. To the right wall of the niche, the jackal-headed mummiform god Anubis is depicted standing before an altar. Behind Anubis there is a hieroglyphic column. The male deceased is shown wearing a long white tunic and adoring the mummiform god Osiris. Between the deceased and Osiris there is an altar. Behind Osiris there is a hieroglyphic column. The next scene represents the falcon-headed Horus being protected by a defaced goddess. The ceiling is decorated with coloured stars.

Bibliography: Kaplan 1999, 176-8, pls. 99b-100.

2.8. Tombs at Upper Athribis (Wannina):

2.8.1. Tomb of the Two Brothers (the so-called Zodiac Tomb)

Location: Upper Athribis, opposite Akhmim, the Thebaid.

Date: Late second century, based on two horoscopes in the ceiling.

Architecture: The tomb belongs to the brothers Pamehyt and Ibpameny the younger.

Iconography: The tomb is best known for two zodiacs painted on its ceiling. The tomb also includes among its mythological inscriptions horoscopes for the two

brothers buried there. Otto Neugebauer and Richard Parker calculated that these were cast in 141 and 148, the dates of birth of Pamehyt and Ibpameny the younger respectively. Hieroglyphic texts related to the afterlife are also painted on the side walls. Other Egyptian funerary scenes in the tomb are badly damaged. The recess in the west wall where the body was originally placed has on the south side the dead Osiris on a bier, coloured green, with plants sprouting from his head. Anubis is seated at the head and a female mourner at the feet. On the back of the recess there is another deity on a bier, while Isis is shown at the head and the goddess Mehyt at the feet. Behind Isis there are figures of the deceased and his father in adoration. On the north of the recess Sokar is depicted on a bier with Isis at the head and an unidentifiable goddess at the feet.

Bibliography: Petrie 1908, 12-13, 23-4, pls. 36-42; Neugebauer and Parker 1969, 96-8; Smith 2002, 240, 242-3.

2.9. Tombs at the Dakhla Oasis:

2.9.1. The Tomb of Petosiris

Location: Qaret el-Muzawaqa, the Dakhla Oasis, the Thebaid.

Date: 1st century, based on paelographical and stylistic grounds.

Measurements: The outer room measures 3.3 × 2.5 m and the inner 4 × 2 m.

Architecture: The tomb consists of two adjacent chambers with a short passage in between. The outer room has a body-length niche cut into the rear west wall; it is intended to receive a sarcophagus or the mummy. The inner room has two body-length niches cut into the north and west walls.

Iconography: Like Bissing's Tomb of 1897 at el-Salamuni, the tomb owner is shown wearing a Roman toga beside the doorway leading from the first to the second room. Other pictorial and textual evidence in the tomb relies on the Osirian and solar mythologies of rebirth. A scene visualizes Chapter 162 of the Book of the Dead, which places the deceased under the protection of the heavenly cow. Another scene mirrors Chapter 16 of the Book of the Dead. Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, or the Judgment of the Dead, is also depicted in the tomb. The scene of Osiris on the lion-headed funerary bier occurs three times on the rear wall of the burial niches.

Two zodiacs are painted on the ceiling of the two chambers. The zodiac in the first room is badly damaged, while the second zodiac is well preserved. In the zodiac of the second chamber, Horus or Harpocrates is shown in the middle of the zodiac standing upon two crocodiles and being flanked by busts of Jupiter and Venus.

Bibliography: Osing et al 1982, 81-94, 96-100, pls. 25-30, 32-4, 38-42a, 43-44, 63b, 71; Whitehouse 1998, 253-70; Kaplan 1999, 182-5, pls. 105-11; Riggs 2005, 63.

2.9.2. The Tomb of Petubastis

Location: Qaret el-Muzawaqa.

Date: 1st century, based on a demotic graffiti.

Architecture: It consists of a single chamber with two body-length niches cut into the east and west walls.

Iconography: Themes and texts are related with ancient Egyptian religious ideas about the afterlife. Two demotic inscriptions are inscribed on the north wall for Petubastis, the tomb owner. They are apparently concerned with a temple or a tomb service. These include the Judgment of the Dead, the funerary procession, the Osirian reliquary, and scenes of Petubastis in the company of funerary deities of the Osirian cycle like Isis, Nephthys, Thoth, and Anubis. The tomb is also celebrated for the zodiac decoration on its ceiling, in the middle of which a human bust is depicted. A demotic funerary inscription is also inscribed on the ceiling of the tomb for Petubastis, who is described as a priest of Thoth and lord of the oasis. The content of this funerary inscription bears remarkable resemblance to that of Petosiris, addressing the deceased as Osiris-NN and wishing his *ba* to reach heaven and accompany Osiris and Sokar.

Bibliography: Winlock 1936, 35-6; Leclant 1973, 422-3; Osing et al 1982, 70-81, 100-1, 20-4, 31, 36-7, 45, 63a, 70; Whitehouse 1998, 262-3, fig. 5; Kaplan 1999, 180-1, pls. 101b-104; Riggs 2005, 161.

2.9.3. Tomb No. 1 (Tomb of Kitynos) in Ezbet Bashendi

Location: Ezbet Bashendi, the Dakhla Oasis.

Date: 1st-2nd second century.

Measurements: It measures 8.25 × 8.45 m.

Architecture: It resembles an Egyptian mortuary temple, consisting of an antechamber opening into the funerary chapel and into four secondary rooms on both north and south sides.

Iconography: Both architecture and decoration of the tomb are typically Egyptian. Demotic funerary inscriptions are carved in the tomb for Kitynos, the son of Petosiris. The contents of the inscriptions are derived from Egyptian funerary repertoire. The religious scenes are also concerned with the afterlife. These include the lustration of Kitynos' mummy on the funerary bier by Anubis, the purification of Kitynos' mummy by Horus and Thoth and Kitynos offering to Egyptian deities like Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Anubis and Horus.

Bibliography: Osing et al 1982, 58-69, 102, pls. 12a, 13-19; Yamani 2001, 393, fig. 1.

2.9.4. Tomb No. 2 in Ezbet Bashendi

Location: Ezbet Bashendi.

Date: 1st-2nd century.

Measurements: It measures 8.50 × 6.68 m.

Architecture: It is made of sandstone and leans directly against the Tomb of Kitynos. The architecture of the tomb is typically Egyptian, consisting of a forecourt with a protruding narrow entrance (1.70 × 1.75 m). This leads into a funerary chapel, under the floor of which two limestone sarcophagi lie. The funerary chapel rests on two foundation courses. The remains of a plain torus moulding on the north-east corner are still visible.

Iconography: none.

Bibliography: Osing et al 1982, 57-8, pls. 12-19; Yamani 2001, 394-5, fig. 2, photos 1-4.

2.9.5. Tomb No. 3 in Ezbet Bashendi

Location: Ezbet Bashendi.

Date: 1st-2nd century.

Measurements: It measures 7.50 × 7.55 m.

Architecture: It consists of a partly damaged forecourt and a funerary chapel. Judging from the well-preserved south-west pendentive, the funerary chapel was originally domed. The main architectural feature of the tomb is the wide recess (2.20 × 0.90 m) in the middle of the south wall, which is covered by an apse, 2.73 m high. This recess is farmed by engaged columns with Corinthianzing capitals. To the east and west of the recess are two small niches, 0.75 m above the floor, with a similar design. Below the side niches are two graves, which were hewn in the substructure and were apparently meant to house wooden coffins.

Iconography: none.

Bibliography: Osing et al 1982, 57-8; Yamani 2001, 395-7, fig. 1, 8-12, photos 12-14.

2.9.6. Tombs No. 4 in Ezbet Bashendi

Location: Ezbet Bashendi.

Date: 1st-2nd century.

Measurements: It measures 7.33 × 7.75 m.

Architecture: It consists of a partly destroyed forecourt, which opens into a funerary chapel. The tomb is now occupied by the mausoleum of Sheikh Bashendi, where an Ottoman mud-brick dome was built upon the originally domed Roman funerary chapel. Engaged pilasters are set within the walls; they show attic bases and capitals. The main architectural feature of the tomb is the wide recess (2.20 × 0.95 m) in the middle of the south wall, which is covered by an apse, 2.73 m high. This recess is farmed by engaged columns with capitals, whose shape cannot be exactly defined. To the east and west of the recess are two small niches, 0.75 m above the floor, with a similar design.

Iconography: Traces of a thin layer of white plaster here and there suggest that this tomb was originally coated, yet there are no surviving scenes or inscriptions.

Bibliography: Osing et al 1982, 57-8, pls. 12 b-c; Yamani 2001, 395-7, fig. 1, 3-7, photos 6-11.

2.9.7. Tomb No. 5 in Ezbet Bashendi

Location: Ezbet Bashendi.

Date: 1st-2nd century.

Measurements: It measures 7.05 × 7.33 m.

Architecture: It consists of a forecourt and a funerary chapel. Since only two or three layers of the foundation now survive, Tomb 5 deserves no comment.

Finds: A limestone sarcophagus.

Iconography: none.

Bibliography: Osing et al 1982, 57-8; Yamani 2001, 395, fig. 1, photos 5.

2.9.8. Tomb No. 6 in Ezbet Bashendi

Location: Ezbet Bashendi.

Date: 1st-2nd century.

Measurements: It measures 6.95 in length and 5.85 m in width.

Architecture: Judging from the well-preserved south-west pendentive, the Roman funerary chapel was originally domed. The tomb is poorly preserved. Only two courses of sandstone foundations and, at the east and south sides, the outer course of a wall survive.

Iconography: none.

Bibliography: Osing et al 1982, 57-8; Yamani 2001, 397-8, fig. 1, photos 1.

APPENDIX 4: TYPOLOGY OF EYPTIAN COMPOSITE CAPITALS

The typology offered here and in Pl. i-v was first presented by Jéquier 1924b, 230-74, and recently adopted by Haneborg-Lühr 1992, 125-52.

1- Single-stemmed composite capitals:

A- Egyptian composite capitals with palmette

Type 1: The perimeter of the capital of this type is entirely covered by sixteen thin and high palmettes. In each of these, the central leaflet is triangular and rises up to the total height of capital. The two lateral leaflets are shorter, occupying about two thirds of the total height of the capital, and bend towards the outside so that their tops touch the edges of the central leaflet of each of the neighbouring palmettes.

Type 2: The second type differs from the first by the way the palms are alternated; the eight palmettes on the upper tier are exactly similar to the first capital; however, the other palms on the lower row have their lateral leaflets almost half shorter.

Type 3: The sixteen palmettes in the third type are all similar, where the calyx develops about three-quarters of the total height of the tent. The lateral leaflets follow those of the second type, while those that mark the centre of each flower are reduced to a mere fillet with sharp edges, which separate the two elements of the cup.

Type 4: The fourth type is similar to the third type, except for the sixteen large palms which consist of two alternate types: in some, the calyx opens about three quarters of the total height, and in the other, about the middle. At the bottom of the tent, a row of sixteen small palmettes and, below, thirty-two lotus buds almost completely fill the voids between the large palmettes.

Type 5: The number of palmettes in this capital is twenty-four. As usual, the palmettes occupy the entire height of the capital. They are tightly arranged against each other, and are proportionally less wide than those in the previous types. They have yet another particular feature: the central leaflet is flanked by either one or two pairs of very small lateral leaflets, which are curved as usual in order to touch the tips of the leaflets of the neighbouring palmettes. The leaflets no longer form a cup of flower, but rather represent the indentations of a leaf, and are arranged alternately at

different heights, so that their intersection divides the capital into four zones, whose height increases gradually from bottom to top.

Type 6: The principle of the sixth type of palmette-decorated capitals is exactly the same as the fifth type, but the palm leaflets are more numerous and complicated. The palmettes, thirty-two in number, are each composed of a central leaflet, which occupies the full height of the capital and releases four pairs of small, curved lateral leaves that intersect with their neighbours.

B- Egyptian composite capitals with palmette and lotus

Type 7: The lower part of the capital is lined with a ring of highly inflated eight palmettes. The calyx consists of two broad and short sepals, the tips of which curl to touch the nearby flowers. In the middle of the palmette stands a third leaflet, which rises very near to the tent of capital. This sort of palmette bears no flower. Between the eight palmettes are shown eight cups of the same width, but a double height, which are hidden in part by the tips of the sepals of nearby palms. The absence of the central leaflet in these cups shows that they are not palms, and perhaps inspired by the lotus, at least in their general form, particularly since the central space between the lateral sepals is occupied instead by seven lotus blossoms.

Type 8: This kind of capital, much more common than the seventh type, goes back to the Ptolemaic period. It follows the same idea of the previous type, but its elements are so distorted that they would be hardly recognizable. It consists of sixteen cups with lateral leaflets that curl outside to touch the leaflets of the adjacent palmettes. The eight cups of the lower tier have a central palm leaf, while the eight cups in the upper tier have five tall lotus blossoms instead. This decoration does not completely cover the whole capital, leaving empty space between the central leaflet and the lotus blossoms, which both persist to touch the tent of the capital.

Type 9: In Roman times, the principle of the previous type of capital significantly changes, where the palm and lotus blossom decoration of the sixteen cups completely covers the whole capital. The two lateral sepals are also decorated with very small scrolls. The sepals on the top tier are mounted on a foot off the bottom and have lotus blossoms, while those on the bottom tier gave organic palm leaves.

C- Egyptian composite capitals with palmette and papyrus

Type 10: In this type, as in the following, the palmettes will take the lead, where they are very apparent and complement the rest of the decoration. The palms are only four in number, giving the designer more amplitude and also allowing more resemblance to a natural flower. The leaflets have the same length and thickness; their lateral leaflets are curved outside so that their tips almost touch those of adjacent flowers, cutting the tent in the middle of its height by four large arches. The palm flower is, as usual, lined with oblique lines and curves, but is smaller than the types already studied and occupies more than half the space between the opening of the cup and the top of the tent. On the main faces of capital, those corresponding to the four sides of the abacus, four large papyrus blossoms are carved between the four palms. The cups of the papyrus plants are well-characterized, and the umbels spread in an elegant curve to almost the middle of the tent. Papyrus and palm leaves do not entirely cover the surface of the capital. In the upper part, the intervals between papyrus and palm leaves are covered with oblique grooves, which follow the same direction as those of palm flowers and look to extend them. At the bottom, the voids are filled with a row of large ready-to-open sepals with engraved line.

Type 11: Between this type and the previous one, both of which originate from the Ptolemaic period, there is a difference of detail. The four large papyrus blossoms and palm leaves are exactly alike and arranged in the same way, but in this type a series of eight palms, half smaller than the first, fill the gaps between the bases of the cups. In these small palmettes, the flowers are of ordinary type, and extend to the middle of the tent, so as to form an arch that follows the exact curve of the large palmettes next to which the little palmettes are carved.

Type 12: The Roman from of this type of capital is formed by the duplication of the floral elements. The papyrus blossoms became eight in number like the major palm leaves. Because of the increase in their number, the papyrus and palmettes became necessarily narrower compared to their height, so their contours is significantly changed, while they nearly maintained the same general lines. The bottom of the tent

is occupied by sixteen tall, narrow smaller palmettes, and in the lower by thirty-two papyrus buds.

D- Egyptian composite capitals with bundles of dates and vines

Type 13: Eight large palms are carved in consistent with nature and placed at regular intervals on the capital. They have a trunk from which small rigid sheets that look like fish fins sprout. The wide intervals between the palms are covered with vines. At the foot of each of the palms are gnarled trunks, which bend in an irregular manner. Out of these knotted trunks, clusters and leaves of vine climb up the capital with an undulating movement, while below is a series of large clusters that may represent bunches of dates. Instead of the vertical stems, dents that look like saw-teeth garnish the lower part of the capital just above the five-tiered band.

2- Four-stemmed or quatrefoil composite capital:

A- Egyptian composite capitals with papyrus umbel and palmette

Type 14: This capital is one of the most beautiful types of Egyptian composite capitals, because of its extreme simplicity and perfect execution. It is frequently used in Ptolemaic and Roman times. The surfaces of the four umbels have no indication of the vertical elements, which elsewhere carve the umbel up. Only the calyx is shown at the bottom, with its crown of triangular leaflets. The large palmettes hide the intersection of umbels, and consist of a large triangular leaflet, which rises from the bottom and ends in sharp point, like a dagger blade with its well-marked midrib. The central leaflet stands all the way up the capital, leaving behind the two lateral leaflets, which are curved to the right and left to form a wide arch when they touch those of neighbouring palms. As usual, the very small flowers are obliquely striated, and their height does not exceed the level of the curve of lateral leaflets. At the bottom of each papyrus umbel, and to separate them from the palm leaves, two large papyrus buds are placed with a height of nearly one third of the entire capital.

Type 15: The principle of this capital is the same as type 14. The only difference lies in the fact that the large papyrus buds at the bottom of each papyrus umbel are replaced by slightly smaller eight palm leaves similar to the four palmettes that fill in

the intersection of umbels. As usual, each palmette has two lateral leaflets and a central leaflet and flower. With the exception of the oblique lines of flowers, other details of the palmettes are not engraved.

Type 16: The four umbels in this capital represent multiple calyx sepals. At the intersection of the umbels, the large palm leaves have pointed middle flowers, which extend until the end of the middle leaflet until they touch the edge of the tent just below the abacus. The voids between the large palmettes are filled in by eight small palmettes, the shape of the flowers of which is determined by the line of lateral leaflets of the large flowers. Sixteen small papyrus buds, with no engraved detail, are placed between the floral elements to fill in the deep grooves between the flowers.

Type 17: This capital is an adaptation of the previous type, but with a multiplication of floral elements. Below the four large and eight small palmettes, a row of small sixteen palmettes occupies the voids between the large and small palmettes, where the very small papyrus buds, thirty-two in number, are now placed at the bottom of capital. The decoration of the capital is executed in part to hide the nakedness of the papyrus umbel. A distinct feature of this capital is the large blue lotus flower, flanked by two small lotus buds, which decorates the front of the umbel and stands on a straight stem that seems to come out of the same papyrus cup.

B- Egyptian composite capitals with two tiers of papyrus umbel

Type 18: The general profile of the capital does not undergo any changes, but it became smaller and shorter. The intervals between the four umbels in the two tiers are no longer marked by palm leaves, but they have instead four open umbels, like the others, but only half as high, although the cup nearly has the same dimensions. The calyx consists of a ring of very acute triangular sepals. The thick cluster of rods which forms the umbel has four rounded petals. The top of each petal ends in a curl to form a small, but well-characterized corner volute. The Roman-period examples of this type sometimes have bunches of grapes under the volutes.

Type 19: The four large papyrus umbels follow the traditional form, with a bare surface, but, in contrast to type 18, have no volutes. The ornamental details of the calyx are apparent. The palms that separate the umbels and cover their intersection

have large oblique grooved flowers in the middle leaflet. These palms are masked in part by eight small papyrus umbels, which are placed at the bottom of the large umbels. The small umbels are carved in the round and approximately persist up to a third of the total height of the capital. A ring of sixteen small papyrus buds or, in Roman times, of acanthus leaves above bead and reel decoration or acanthus leaves with helices, fills in the short gaps between the cups of papyrus and palmette.

Type 20: The total number of floral elements used in this capital is sixty-four. The four large papyrus umbels, which form the backbone of this capital, are exactly similar to the previous type. The four large palmettes, which separate the umbels, and the eight small papyrus buds below flourish just below the middle of the tent. On the lower tier, the sixteen papyrus buds are replaced by much smaller palms of the ordinary type. These cover the intersection, and their lateral sepals touch the tip of the neighbour palms and mask part of the bases of palm flowers. Each of these small palmettes is flanked at the bottom by two small papyrus buds. In Roman-period copies of this capital, circumvented lotus stems and flowers appear on the bare surface of the large papyrus umbels.

C- Egyptian composite capitals with three tiers of papyrus umbel

Type 21: The decoration of this capital greatly differs from that of the previous type. Here, the palmettes are replaced by papyrus umbels, which are arranged on three tiers: the upper constitutes four large umbels; the middle tier has other four umbels which are placed on the grooves at the intersection of the above flowers; and finally, eight flowers of smaller size flank the four umbels in the middle tier and forms an almost unbroken string to about a quarter of the height of the capital. The petals of these flowers curve at their end, and have irises, the tips of which descend along the curve of the capital and form volutes. The volutes that are on the line of junction of the upper umbels act as joint-covers. The interior part of umbels is decorated with petals, taking the form of diverging streaks.

Type 22: This capital is simply the reproduction of type 19, with the addition of a lower, third tier of flowers. The four major umbels have no room for the insertion of the pointed sepals, petals or stalks. The whole capital does not have any volute. The four large palm leaves, which separate the umbels, follow the usual form. These have

heavy lateral leaflets and a very acute middle leaflet. At the intersection of the large flowers, eight small umbels are placed a little below the middle of the tent. They follow the ordinary type, like the other sixteen smaller umbels, which form the lower tier. A crown of thirty-two buds is inserted at the bottom of the capital. The sixty-four stems, which decorate the top of the shaft, are proportionate to the size of flowers and buds.

D- Egyptian composite capitals with four tiers of papyrus umbel

Type 23: Four tiers of superimposed papyrus umbels decorate this quatrefoil capital. The upper tier occupies about a third of the total height of the capital, while the dimensions of those below decrease gradually from top to bottom. Here, the fourth tier of small flowers, placed at the bottom of the tent, develops and completes the system. This addition has the effect of giving greater coherence to all umbels, producing the impression of a single flower, blooming well and crowning the column. All the cups of papyrus have lilies, the tips of which curve to form corner volutes. The volute that falls on the line of intersection of major umbels plays the role of the midrib of palm leaves in other capitals. Roman-period types of this capital sometimes have vine leaves on the umbels.

E- Egyptian composite capitals with five tiers of papyrus umbels

Type 24: This capital is exactly similar to type 23, except that it has instead five tiers of tiny papyrus umbels. The number of small flowers in the lower tier is thirty-two, and consequently that of the stems below is sixty-four.

3- Eight-stemmed composite capital:

Type 25: This capital is very simple and harmonious. It consists of eight tall, narrow umbels decorated with triangular papyrus blossoms. The eight large palmettes that separate the eight umbels bloom at about two-thirds the height of the capital. The central leaflet has a flower lined with small, oblique strokes, and forms a semicircle, which is topped by a second array of the same flower, defined by a small warhead. A row of sixteen small lotus buds mask the gaps at the intersection of the large flowers.

Type 26: This capital is not actually a derivative of the previous one. In this capital, a new series of sixteen smaller palmettes is introduced under the eight large palm

leaves. The smaller palmettes flank the large palmettes and reach half the total height of the capital. A row of thirty-tow small lotus buds fills in the gaps between the palms at the bottom.

Type 27: In this capital, the eight umbels or lobes on the faces of the capital are completely naked, with no sign of a calyx. They are separated by eight large palm leaves, high and narrow, opening to two-thirds of the capital. The central flower has a very small warhead, while the lateral leaflets incline outside to touch the tips of the leaflet of the neighbouring palm. This capital differs from the previous type in that the sixteen smaller palm leaves are replaced by a series of small sixteen papyrus umbels, with no ornamentation. At the bottom, a crown of thirty-two lotus buds masks the gaps between the flowers and surmounts the sixty-four stems on the shaft.

Bibliography: Borchardt 1897; Jéquier 1924b, 230-74 (figs. 151-82); Arnold 1980, 323-7; Haneborg-Lühr 1992, 125-52; Arnold 1997, 20-28, 2003, 56-7; McKenzie 2007, 119-46.

TABLES

TABLE 1 Temples of Egyptian deities continuing in use in the Roman period at Alexandria, Antinoopolis, Oxyrhynchus, Hermopolis Magna and Thebes

1- Alexandria			
No.	**Temple**	**Location**	**Style**
1	Temple of Isis	Alexandria	Egyptian
2	Temple of Isis	Taposiris Magna	Graeco-Roman
3	Temple of Osiris	Canopus	Egyptian
4	Temple of Serapis	Rhakotis	Graeco-Roman
2- Antinoopolis			
No.	**Temple**	**Location**	**Style**
1	Temple of Heresis	Antinoopolis	Egyptian?
2	Temple of Serapis	Antinoopolis	Graeco-Roman
3- Oxyrhynchus			
No.	**Temple**	**Location**	**Style**
1	Serapeum	Oxyrhynchus	Graeco-Roman?
2	Great Iseum	Oxyrhynchus	Egyptian?
3	Small Iseum	Oxyrhynchus	Egyptian?
4	Thoereum of the 'revealing gods	Oxyrhynchus	Egyptian
5	Thoereum of Sintano or Sintabo	Oxyrhynchus	Egyptian
6	Thoereum Ὀσορφνᾶτος	Oxyrhynchus	Egyptian
7	Thoereum Θενέπλω	Oxyrhynchus	Egyptian
8	Temple of Ἥρος τοῦ ἄγοντος	Oxyrhynchus	Egyptian
9	Temple of Harbaktis	Oxyrhynchus	Egyptian
10	Osireium	Oxyrhynchus	Egyptian
4- Hermopolis Magna			
No.	**Temple**	**Location**	**Style**
1	Temple of Thoth, Khonsu	South of Hermopolis	Egyptian

	and Mut (Ramesses II/Nero)	Magna	
2	Domitianic temple of Nehemet-aawy	North of Hermopolis Magna	Egyptian
3	Temple of Thoth (Great Hermaion)	North of Hermopolis Magna	Egyptian
4	Temple of Serapis	West of Antinoe Street	Unknown
5	Temple of Boubastis	Hermopolis Magna	Egyptian?
6	Temple of Ibis (Ibeum)	Hermopolis Magna	Egyptian?
7	Temple of Isis (Iseum)	Hermopolis Magna	Egyptian?
5- Thebes			
No.	**Temple**	**Location**	**Style**
1	Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak	East bank	Egyptian
2	Temple of Ptah-Hephaestus	East bank	Egyptian
3	Temple of Serapis and Isis	East bank	Hybridized
4	Temple of Khonsu	East bank	Egyptian
5	Temple of Opet the Great	East bank	Egyptian
6	Temple of Amun-Re (Luxor)	East bank	Egyptian
7	Temple of Mut	East bank	Egyptian
8	Temple of Montu	Medamud	Egyptian
9	Small temple of Amun	Medinet Habu	Egyptian
10	Ramesseum	West bank	Egyptian
11	Temple of Deir el-Bahari	Deir el-Bahari	Egyptian
12	Temple of Hathor	Deir el-Medina	Egyptian
13	Temple of Isis	Deir el-Shelwit	Egyptian

TABLE 2 Surviving Roman-period temple pyla with approximate measurements

No.	Pylon	Region	Date	Type of work	Measurements
1	Temple of Pselchis	Dodekaschoinos	Augustus	Construction	11.62 m high-24.31 m wide
2	Temple of Tutzis	Dodekaschoinos	Augustus	Construction	12 m high?
3	Temple of Talmis	Dodekaschoinos	Augustus	Construction	20 m high-34.5 m wide
4	South temple at Taphis	Dodekaschoinos	Augustus?	Construction	Unknown
5	Temple of Dabod	Dodekaschoinos	Augustus	Construction	12 m high?
6	Temple of Biggeh	Dodekaschoinos	Augustus	Construction	12 m high?
7	First pylon of Min's temple at Koptos	Thebaid	Unknown, but certainly Roman	Construction	Unknown
8	Second pylon of Min's temple at Koptos	Thebaid	Nero	Completion	Unknown
9	Temple of Harsomatus at Tentryis	Thebaid	Tiberius	Construction	12 m high?
10	Temple of Panopolis	Thebaid	Trajan	Construction	Unknown
11	First pylon of Kysis temple	Thebaid	Domitian	Construction	8 m high
12	Second pylon of Kysis temple	Thebaid	Trajan	Construction	8 m high
13	Temple of Tchonemyris	Thebaid	Antoninus Pius	Repair	8 m high
14	South Temple at Karanis	Arsinoite	Nero	Construction	8 m high
15	North Temple at Karanis	Arsinoite	Nero	Construction	4 m high

TABLE 3 A selection of Pharaonic and Ptolemaic temple pyla with approximate measurements

Pylon	Period	Type of work	Measurements
Temple of Luxor	Ramesses II	Construction	24 m high-64 m wide
Ramesseum	Ramesses II	Construction	26 m high-68 m wide
First pylon, temple of Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	Construction	27 m high-65 m wide
Temple of Naucratis	Ptolemy II Philadelphus	Construction	28 m high-112 m wide
Temple of Edfu	Ptolemy IX Soter	Construction	35 m high-79 m wide
First pylon, temple of Isis at Philae	Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus	Construction	20 m high-45.5 m wide

TABLE 4 The occurrence of architectural ornament in buildings of Roman Egypt

No.	Ornament	Egyptian temples	Classical temples dedicated to Emperors	Classical temples dedicated to Graeco-Roman deities	Classical temples dedicated to Egyptian deities	Public and secular buildings, excluding houses	Houses	Tombs	Other structures, e.g. colonnades, kiosks, *komasteria*
1	Cavetto cornice	×	×	-	×	-	×	×	×
2	Torus moulding	×	-	-	×	-	×	×	×
3	Broken lintel	×	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	Palm-capital	×	-	-	-	-	-	×	×
5	Papyriform capital	×	-	-	-	-	-	-	×
6	Lotiform capital	×	-	-	-	-	-	-	×
7	Hathoric capital	×	-	-	-	-	-	-	×
8	Egyptian composite capital	×	-	-	-	-	-	×	×
9	Alexandrian capitals	-	-	-	-	×	-	×	×
10	Classical orders	-	×	×	×	×	×	-	×
11	Triangular pediment	-	×	×	×	×	-	×	×
12	Segmental pediment	×	-	-	-	-	-	×	-
13	*Kheker*-frieze	×	-	-	-	-	-	×	-
14	Square hollow and flat grooved modillions	-	-	-	×	×	×	-	-
15	Egg-and-dart, egg-and-tongue, bead-and-reel	-	-	-	-	×	-	-	×
16	Shell-niche	-	-	-	-	-	×	×	-

TABLE 5 Chronological distribution of zigzag decoration on the torus

Period	**Type A**	**Type B**	**Type C**	**Type D**	**Type E**
Old Kingdom (2649-2134 BC)	×	-	-	×	-
Middle Kingdom (2040-1640 BC)	×	×	-	-	-
New Kingdom (1550-1070 BC) and Late Period (712-332 BC)	×	×	-	-	-
Ptolemaic Period (305-30 BC)	×	-	×	-	-
Roman Period (30 BC-AD 313)	-	-	×	-	×

TABLE 6 Chronological distribution of the cavetto and torus on temples and tombs

Period	Egyptian temples	Classical temples dedicated to Graeco-Roman deities	Classical temples dedicated to Egyptian deities	Classical temples dedicated to Roman emperors	Tombs	Examples
Old Kingdom	×	-	-	-	×	Complex of Djoser at Saqqara, temple of Harmachis at Giza, and valley temple of Sneferu at Dahshur
Middle Kingdom	×	-	-	-	×	Temple of Qasr el-Sagha, White Chapel of Senusert I at Karnak
New Kingdom	×	-	-	-	×	Temple of Luxor and the small temple at Medinet Habu
Ptolemaic Period	×	-	-	-	×	Temples of Horus at Edfu and Isis at Philae, Hathor temple at Philae and the Tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel
Roman Period	×	-	×	×	×	Temples of Kalabsha and Dakka, Domitian's temple at Aswan, temple of Kysis at the Kharga oasis, Serapeum of Hadrian at Luxor, temple of Augustus on Philae, and Tomb 21 at Tuna el-Gebel

TABLE 7 Chronological distribution of Egyptian composite capitals in buildings

Period	Egyptian temples	Classical temples dedicated to Graeco-Roman deities	Classical temples dedicated to Egyptian deities	Public buildings	Houses	Examples
Old Kingdom	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle Kingdom	-	-	-	-	-	-
New Kingdom	×	-	-	-	×	Temples of Aten and houses at el-Amarna
Late Period	×	-	-	-	-	Pronaos of Psametik II and portico of Nectanebo I at Hibis temple
Ptolemaic Period	×	-	-	-	-	Kiosk of Ptolemy III Euergetes in Ptah's temple at Karnak, Hathor's temple on Philae
Roman Period	×	-	-	-	-	East and West Colonnades at Philae, the pronaos of the temples of Kalabsha, Dendur and Esna

TABLE 8 Chronological distribution of different types of Egyptian composite capitals

Type of capital	Late period	Ptolemaic period	Roman period
1	×	×	-
2	-	×	-
3	-	×	×
4	-	-	×
5	-	×	×
6	-	-	×
7	-	×	-
8	×	×	×
9	-	-	×
10	×	×	×
11	-	×	-
12	-	-	×
13	-	-	×
14	×	×	-
15	-	×	-
16	-	×	×
17	-	-	×
18	×	×	×
19	-	×	×
20	-	×	×
21	-	×	×
22	-	×	-
23	-	×	×
24	-	×	×
25	-	-	×
26	-	×	×
27	-	×	×

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This bibliography is divided into three sections. The first gives a list of papyri and inscriptions; the second deals with ancient sources and the editions used; and the third gives a list of books and articles that I have read or consulted during the preparation of the thesis.

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