The Belgrade Nesmin: New Research on a Priest of Akhmim*

Abstract: Considering a mummy merely as an objectified human ‘artifact’ is a common misconception that stands in sharp contrast to the proper perception of the mummy as the culturally modified preserved body of a deceased person, an individual, a real human being who was once alive. The National Museum of Serbia holds the mummi- fied remains of a stolist-priest Nesmin (‘The-one-who-belongs-to-Min’), resident in Akhmim around mid-fourth century B.C. Continuous research efforts have resulted in a reconceptualization of the display and presentation of this embalmed ancient Egyptian person, encompassing both scientific and humanizing elements. A number of the Belgrade Nesmin’s disarticulated bones as well as detached fragments of linen bandages covered with a resinous coating are discussed. Some new family members have been added to his genealogy. The name Nesmin was frequent in Akhmim, hence there are several other mummified Nesmin(s) of Akhmim kept in various world museums.

Keywords: Belgrade Nesmin, Akhmim, mummified person, ethics of display, disarticulated bones, genealogy, 350–325 B.C.

Introduction

In addition to the key moments of the mummy’s cultural biography – namely its ‘museum trajectory’ – that have been specified (Andelković and Elias 2021, 763–765), there are various other aspects that deserve attention.

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Over the course of our research, the status of the mummified human remains within an anthropoid wooden coffin – purchased in Luxor and brought to Belgrade in 1888 – has been changed considerably. Initially, the accent was placed solely on the coffin1 (more precisely: to a segment of an inscription found upon it) the ownership of which was misattributed to „Zeḥo son of Ze ḥa’pi”2 (Porter and Moss 1964, 821; it was not even indicated in that source whether the coffin was empty or not). The first reference to the mummy inside was a comment by one of the present authors, that this particular coffin „still contains the mummy of a deceased person” (Anđelković 1991, 70).

In an escape from ‘anonymity’ – with the aim of attracting wider public attention – the mummy was soon nicknamed the ‘Belgrade Mummy’ (Anđelković 1995; 2003, 146).

With the full reading and interpretation of the inscription on the coffin, the owner inside was accurately identified as stolist-priest Nesmin of Akhmim, who belonged to a priestly family (Anđelković and Teeter 2005). The ancient city of Akhmim was the capital of the ninth nome of Upper Egypt and an important cult center of the ithyphallic fertility god Min. The major metropolis has large cemeteries „which were severely plundered during the 1880s, much of the funerary equipment subsequently being dispersed among various collections” (Shaw and Nicholson 1996, 21–22).

It is because of the god Min’s temple and worship that the name Nesmin (‘The-one-who-belongs-to-Min’) was popular in Akhmim during 4th century B.C. and Ptolemaic times; ergo, there are a number of other mum mified Ne-smin(s) of Akhmim housed in museums around the world, such as for instance:

– New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession number 86.1.51 (Stünkel 2015; Stünkel and Nankivell 2015; coffin discussed in Brech 2008, 148–150, Dok. D 1). This person is the son of Djedhor and Tadiese. [EMOI: 840-NewYo-17] (hereinafter Nesmin NewYo-17)

– Buffalo Museum of Science, Inv.-Nr. 654.138 (coffin discussed in Elias 1996, 39–77; Brech 2008, 243–246, Dok. E d 7). This individual is the son of a man named Irethorrou. [EMOI: 840-Buffa-02] (hereinafter Nesmin Buffa-02). Genealogical work shows that Nesmin Buffa-02 is the nephew of the wardrobe-priest of Min, Djedhor, whose mummy and coffin rest in the Egyptian Museum Cairo (Cairo TR 27.9.16.2). There is no immediate connection with the family of the Belgrade Nesmin. Nesmin Buffa-02 is related to a man whose mummy Cairo SR4/11377 is in a coffin having a plain-wood exterior (Cairo TR 27.9.16.2 of the Late Period, late 4th century B.C.). It is inscribed with a genealogy of five generations: Djedhor son of Neshor, son of Irethorrou, son of Horanwesheb, son of Padiamen. [EMOI: 818-Cairo-427] (hereinafter Djedhor Cairo-427). The mother of this person was a house mistress and dancer of Min (nb.t pr, ihb.t n Mnw)

1 Hence adequately included in a subchapter „Coffins” (Porter and Moss 1964, 820–836).
2 For the Belgrade Nesmin’s lineage and correct name renderings see: Andelković and Harker (2011, 719–720).
named Payestjauawymin on the coffin. Her parentage is not known. The family was of high status. Nesmin Buffa-02’s ancestor Horanwesheb, for instance, held the posts of wardrobe-priest of Coptos (smAtj Gbtjw) and fourth prophet of Min Lord of Akhmim (Elias 1996, 65–66, 70).

– Providence, Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art, accession number 38.206.1/2 (Baumann 2022; coffin in: Brech 2008, 237–240, Dok. E d 5). This individual, a second prophet of Min, is the son of Pasenedjemibnakht and Ta-dikhonswey (Elias and Mekis 2022). He is viewed as a close contemporary of Nesmin NewYo-17, who may be his kinsman. Both men were laid to rest during the earliest phase of the Ptolemaic Period, ca. 310–300 B.C. (EMOI: 840-Prov-01) (hereinafter Nesmin Prov-01).


– Liverpool, World Museum, accession number 56.22.79a once owned by the author H. Rider Haggard (e.g. Loynes 2015, 9, 50, 99–100, 184, 186, 189, 193, 205–206, 210, 212–213, 218, 221–223, 226–227, 229–230, 233, figs. 4.61–4.64, 5.37–5.46, shown in various tables under Roman numeral X; coffin discussed in Brech 2008, 262–263, Dok. E s 3). This Nesmin is the son of Ankh-hap, whose mummy is Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum Inv. 1905). The mummy of this Nesmin was CT scanned and the images were submitted to the Impact Project of the University of Western Ontario as Impact #IMP00071 (EMOI: 826-Liver-WM-14) (hereinafter Nesmin Liver-WM-14).

– Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Inv.-Nr. TR 6/9/16/2 (Brech 2008, 183–185) This individual is the son of a man named Irethorrou and an anonymous sistrum-player of Min (EMOI: 818-Cairo-433) (hereinafter Nesmin Cairo-433).

In order to prevent a mix-up over ‘who is who’, we introduced and implemented new labelling for the mummified ancient Egyptian individual in the National Museum of Serbia – ‘the Belgrade Nesmin’ (Andelković and Elias 2021).

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3 This name is spelled identically in Ranke (1935, 128 no. 16). That source references a coffin in Cairo seen by Wilhelm Spiegelberg. It is possible that Spiegelberg had read the name on Cairo TR. 27.9.16.2 itself.

4 The titles are preserved on the coffin in Buffalo, NY (Buffalo Museum of Science 654.138).

5 This particular „Mummy-case [i.e., coffin] with original mummy” – that was „Bought from Parish-Watson & Co., Inc.” for $ 800 – was „Sold to Rhode Island School of Design, Dec 13, 1938” for $ 1199 by the Brummer Gallery, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library, Cloisters Library and Archives, the Brummer Gallery Records, object inventory card number N4383; cf. Baumann 2022, 2–3). For the Brummer brothers and their gallery see: Andelković and Elias (2013, 568–571).

6 Further disambiguation is offered by a newly introduced Egyptian Mummy Object Identifier (EMOI) system used by the Akhmim Mummy Studies Consortium (AMSC Re-
Continuous efforts – over a period of more than three decades (e.g. Anđelković 2018, 288–299) – have resulted in a crucial reconceptualization, so to speak, whereby: an ill-understood, mishandled, long forgotten and practically anonymous ‘piece’ in a storage facility of the „Art Gallery of Non-Aligned Countries – Josip Broz Tito” in Titograd, Montenegro in 1986, has now emerged as the Belgrade Nesmin, a mummified person preserved inside a custom made climate-controlled case, on permanent display at the National Museum of Serbia since 2019.

That such a task was anything but easy is evident from the fact that at first it was totally unclear how many Egyptian coffins and/or mummies (complete or destroyed but for few fragments) we were dealing with, who had donated them to the National Museum of Serbia in Belgrade and when, or what their whereabouts were (Anđelković 1991, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1995).

The Wishes of the Dead

It is well known that mummies are among the most popular and highly valued exhibits in museums worldwide. However, considering the mummified hu-

search). In its database of Egyptian mummies in international collections, the Belgrade Nesmin is EMOI: 688-Belgrade-01 (using the ISO 3166–1 numeric country code, followed by recognizable city designation and a specific number representing the individual).

7 The rather peculiar request for the transfer of two ancient Egyptian coffins (one with mummy inside) from the National Museum of Serbia in Belgrade to an art gallery in Titograd (now Podgorica) Montenegro in 1986 was political in nature (Anđelković 2002, 213 n. 13; 2018, 289).

8 B. Anđelković started his research on the ancient Egyptian (and Near Eastern in general) items in Serbian museums in 1989. His paper on the subject was submitted to the XII Annual Meeting of the Serbian Archaeological Society in May 1990 (Anđelković 1991, 76 n. 80).

9 All of the previous official data concerning the two coffins – that: (1) they belonged to a German officer who left them in Belgrade during the withdrawal of the Wehrmacht; (2) they were presented by the Serbian State Railways Board of Directors; (3) they were presented by Chester Beatty from London in 1920 – proved inaccurate and misleading (Anđelković 1994b, 94; Anđelković and Elias 2013, 566; Anđelković 2018, 296–297, with references).

10 The quest for the three-piece set – (1) a rectangular wooden qrsw-coffin, (2) an anthropomorphic wooden middle coffin and (3) an anthropomorphic wooden inner coffin, that all belonged to Ari, son of Unnefer; former Amherst collection, earlier John Lee at Hartwell House collection) – donated by Ernest Brummer in 1921 is still not complete (Anđelković 2002, 212 n. 7; 2018, 299; Anđelković and Elias 2013, 567–568). The inner coffin has recently been identified in an internet search. It is displayed in the Arheološki Muzej in Zagreb, Croatia. The most recent discussion of this object is: Tarasenko and Elias (2023, 22 n. 61; 63, fig. 28b, coffin #42; they date it to ca. 685–695 B.C.).
man remains merely as an ‘artifact’ for display (or worse yet, as stored in a depot) is a common misconception that stands in sharp contrast to the perception of an ancient personage whom the museum visitors can recognize as a real person who was once alive.

An essential component in raising socio-cultural public awareness is the great amount of scholarship on the individual mummies that, in addition, can re-humanize them and even bring them wide-ranging affirmation. Some specific detail of a particular mummified person’s mundane-life history or post-mortem circumstances – usually combined with the colorful biography of a wealthy patron who purchased and donated the mummy – can bestow upon it ‘museum celebrity’ status.

Considerable research has been devoted to restoring the identity of the previously anonymous mummified remains (e.g. Andelković 1997; Andelković and Teeter 2005; Andelković and Elias 2021). So, now we know facts such as: name, rank, provenance, absolute dating (death occurred 350–325 B.C.), gen-

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11 According to Hammonds (2022, 3): „Human remains refers to the physical remains of a human body, or any part thereof, whether or not naturally shed, freely given, or culturally modified. In some cultural contexts human hair may be considered human remains”; while „Human skeletal remains refers to bones or teeth. Both a complete skeleton of an individual and a bone fragment would be considered human skeletal remains and are referred to as an ‘individual’“, (see also note 22). It is worth mentioning that parts of human bodies can also be potent religious objects (e.g., Trainor 2010).

12 For instance, one first thinks of the famous Tutankhamun as a person (‘King Tut’, the ‘boy king’), not merely as ‘a mummy’.

13 So far, Belgrade Nesmin has inspired at least two works of fiction: The Belgrade Mummy, by B. Miloradović, 2015, Pčelica: Čačak; and Belgrade Book of the Dead, by A. Petrović, 2015, Periskop: Beograd.

14 Along with the diversity of the mummy’s precious adornments.

15 Pavle Riđički of Skribešće (August 1805 – November 1893) an extraordinary person appreciative of art and beauty, was born in Mokrin (a village in north-eastern Serbia). In 1837 he was granted a parcel of land (Skribešće/Zgribesti in present Romania), coat of arms and a rank of nobility by Ferdinand I of Austria (1793–1875). He was a Serbian patriot, member of the Eastern Orthodox communion, a lawyer, industrialist, philanthropist, mécène, a pilgrim to the Holy Land, world traveler, a travel writer, and so on. He was 82 y/o when he purchased a mummy in Luxor and donated it to National Museum of Serbia in Belgrade in 1888 (Andelković 1995).

16 Needless to say, ‘very important persons’, i.e., mummified ‘celebrities’, members of the high-status groups – such as for instance Egypt’s most powerful pharaoh Ramses II – are popular museum ‘stars’ in their own right (cf. Kurzman et al. 2007). A same phenomenon is to be seen in the public’s enduring fascination with the embalmed corpses (i.e., mummies) of famous people such as V. I. Lenin, Hồ Chí Minh and Evita Perón (cf. Andelković and Harker 2011, 715–718). It is almost as if some of these figures can be just as important dead as they were alive.
der (confirmed by Y chromosome), an age range (35–40 y/o), parents’ names and occupations, paternal grand and great-grandfathers’ names and occupations, living stature (162 cm), pathological profile, dental status, DNA profile (Čuljković, Anđelković, Stojković and Romac 2000), preservation status (including entomological and bacteriological analyses: Anđelković, Andus and Stanković 1997), mummification method,17 golden and other amulet positioning, papyrus scroll identification (Book of the Dead),18 coffin19 and cartonnage stylistic and design features,20 and even the facial appearance when the Belgrade Nesmin – an Egyptian priest who lived during the fourth century B.C. – was alive (Anđelković and Harker 2011). Moreover, in the present paper, possible new family connections have been suggested (see below).

An effort to integrate the research results into a coherent whole may additionally be discussed in the context of the following questions (cf. Alberti, Bienkowski, Chapman and Drew 2009): whether or not to display human mummies in museums (cf. Museum Matters II, 2023; Swaney 2013),21 what makes a mummy valuable to us, and who can speak for a mummified person (cf. Kaufmann and Rühli 2010)?22

17 Including examination of the linen wrappings: Anđelković (1994a, 155, 158).
18 A papyrus scroll is embedded within the linen wrappings, near the left upper arm. If unrolled, the densely rolled scroll (Anđelković 1997, pl. 10/1–2) would be at least 9–12 meters long (Anđelković and Elias 2021, 772, 781–782).
19 Belgrade Nesmin’s coffin was made of Tamarix wood: the „lid, as well as the trough, were each shaped from a single trunk” to which a number of smaller pieces of timber were glued and pegged, all in some 52 separate wooden parts (Anđelković and Asensi Amorós 2005).
20 As well as painted cartonnage pigment analysis: Ristić-Šolajić (1994).
21 Let us recall some ‘alternative’ practices: in 1901/1902 „the mummy was buried in an odd corner of the churchyard [St. Mildred’s Church, Whippingham] in a similar manner to that employed when disposing of stillborn babies”, whereas in 1971 at least one ancient Egyptian human mummy (named Amenhotepiy, one of those brought back in 1869 by Queen Victoria’s son Bertie [later King Edward VII]) kept in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum was destroyed by cremation in Exeter Crematorium (Adams 1990, 17–18; cf. Morkot 2016, 365–366).
22 Human mummies and so-called ‘wet specimens’ (such as Ötzi the Iceman dated to ca. 3300 B.C., discovered in 1991 in the Ötztal Alps; e.g. Turnbull 2017) have been preserved with flesh still on their bones, but what about ancient human remains – uncovered by archaeologists – that consist of nothing but bones/skeleton (cf. Harries 2016; Hallam 2010)? They too were once living people, persons (good or evil?), individuals, and probably had some specific belief how their respective dead bodies should be treated. Whether or not these beliefs are known, respectful and careful handling of human remains by the research scientists is required. Archaeological human/skeletal remains should – in a manner consistent with professional standards – be analyzed (and re-analyzed in future years) i.e., subjected to noninvasive and/or minimally invasive analytical

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A physical museum visit/experience is unique. Museums are permanent institutions open to the public, in the service of society, promoting, among other things, education and knowledge sharing (cf. ICOM 2017). Furthermore, museums are places „in which time and space are compressed” and „where complex and multilayered histories are reassembled” (Stevenson and Challis 2015, 11).

It is tempting to perceive the mummies as „the representatives – ambassadors so to speak – of the ancient Egyptian civilization” (Andelković 2003, 146). The ‘representatives’ and ‘ambassador’ metaphor is even more fitting if we presume that there are at least several hundred thousand, if not far more, undiscovered/undisturbed ceremonially-embalmed bodies of deceased humans in Egypt in comparison to a few thousand members of the ‘mummified diaspora’ kept in all world museums and collections combined. As Day techniques (e.g. Wurst et al. 2020) to establish a cultural and personal identity, cause of death, etc. For the so-called ‘compulsory reburial’ of the archaeologically excavated human remains see: Pearson, Schadla-Hall and Moshenska (2011).

An online virtual tour can be entertaining and informative, but it should be rather considered as „an alternative experience, not as a substitute for an on-site visit” (Cody 1997, 39).

In regard to the monuments there is an estimation: „Until now we’ve only found 30% of the Egyptian monuments, 70% is still buried” (Z. Hawass in „Ancient Egyptian treasures uncovered in tomb near Valley of the Kings”, by Edmund Bower, The Guardian, September 9, 2017).

Mummification was carried out in Egypt for almost 4000 years. Jones et al. (2018, 191, 198) presented Naqada IA–IIB predynastic human remains study „with unequivocal scientific evidence for ‘embauling agents’ employed in the funerary treatment of the body”; namely, „prehistoric funerary wrappings were impregnated with complex mixtures of fats, resins and oils”. In other words, „these ‘resin’-impregnated textiles and the localized soft-tissue preservation (...) are the true antecedents of Egyptian mummification” (Jones et al. 2014, 12). We might add that as far as the Upper Egyptian pre– and protodynastic Naqada culture is concerned, some 20,000 graves have been excavated so far (Andelković 2018, 151).

Some collections are quite sizeable. The Museo Egizio in Turin keeps 116 mummified or skeletal human bodies or body parts (Samadelli et al. 2019, 169). According to Antoine (2014, 3): „the British Museum holds and cares for over 6,000 human remains. The collection mostly comprises skeletal remains, but also includes bog bodies, intentionally and naturally mummified bodies, as well as objects made in part or wholly of human remains”. Some 87 complete, near-complete and fragmentary human bodies kept in the British Museum originated in Egypt; note that numerous other fragments of mummies have not been included in that number due to the lack of a secure provenance, date and acquisition data (Taylor 2014: 103, 107, 110–111; cf. Dawson and Gray 1968). According to Rutherford (2016, 205): „many museums house hight numbers of body parts in comparison to whole mummies”. For an overview and the quantification of Egyptian collections in the UK see: Serpico (2006). For the Scottish museums see: Potter (2020). The
(2014, 34) put it: „Just as priests relocated the royal mummies to cache tombs for their protection in an era of widespread looting, ancient Egyptians might now recognize our relocation of mummies to museums as the new path to immortality.” In a museum, as their final resting place, mummified individuals will not be forgotten, and their respective names are going to be ‘recited’ on and on by many generations of visitors.27

If treated and presented ethically and with respect even ‘an object of curiosity’ (or shall we say ‘a famous exhibit’) will provide a significant educative impact. Simply put, an almost irresistible public impulse ‘to see the mummy’28 gives us an excellent opportunity to reach further from just the academic/professional community, namely to share research-based findings and results of scientific investigation with numerous museum-goers too (cf. Day 2014, 31–33). The systematic study (cf. Curry 2016) provides important insight into the long-lasting and long-gone civilization, successfully bridging a gap between the past and the present along with the gap in cultural understandings. However, to oppose the stereotypical dehumanization of Egyptian mummies on display „museums must employ visual interpretive strategies that are both scientific and humanizing” (Swaney 2013).

We use ancient, mummified individuals as a source of knowledge, to learn from them about indigenous, pre-conquest29 Egypt’s rich history and culture, its social life more generally. We use them as springboards from which to study religious beliefs and burial practices, spiritual values, customs and traditions, ethnic backgrounds, living conditions, life expectancy, paleopathology (e.g. Allam et al. 2011; including paleo-oncology30 and the spectrum of infectious and parasitic diseases; e.g. Farahat, Shah and Abdelaal 2022; Rutherford 2016).31 They are, in fact, gateways revealing to us factors of palaeonutrition, paleoclimatology, material culture, technology, and so much more. In short, a „mummy can be a scientific treasure” (Cockburn, Barraco, Reyman and Peck 1975, 1155).32

Akhmim Mummy Studies Consortium has nearly 1000 individual Egyptian mummies in its database, and has assigned an Egyptian Mummy Object Identifier (EMOI) to each of them in order to reduce ambiguity where multiple names have been applied to them.


28 As Morkot (2016, 355) put it: „Mummies excite the interest of the public”.

29 That is to say, before the Arab conquest, A.D. 639–642 (cf. Butler 1902, 333–334; Crawford 2013, 167–180).


31 The comparisons of ancient pathogens with their modern counterparts may reveal the evolution of a pathogen over time, as well as the very origins of infectious diseases (Hoffman 1998).

32 As far as ethics is concerned: „ethics are a cultural construct, and, as such, what is sometimes referred to as an ethical conflict is better understood as a conflict in cultural
information we obtain and its potential significance – that can expand the frontiers of knowledge and enrich the common heritage of all peoples – ‘speak’ as the multilayered storytelling voice of the mummified person. That is exactly what makes a mummy valuable for global history and how it can benefit the present and future generations of humankind.

It should be noted that there is no active religious group from which the mummies originated due to the fact that most ethnic Copts (descendants of pre-Islamic Egyptians) are Orthodox Miaphysite Christians.

It should be emphasized that the long tradition of ancient Egyptian mummy collecting/display (e.g. Dannenfeldt 1959, 22; Moshenska 2014, 456–458; Morkot 2016, 356; Picchi 2022; Taylor 2022) has little to do either with the repatriation claims of various indigenous/native peoples regarding their supposed ancestral remains in some museums and collections, or the recommendations for the burial/reburial of the skeletal remains associated with the transatlantic slave trade during the period of American enslavement (cf. Jones and Harris 1998; Goldstein and Kintigh 1990; Meighan 1992; Sadongei and Cash Cash 2008; Hammonds 2022; Norman and Payne 2022). Therefore, any comparison between the two (cf. Charlier 2014) – either conceptual, contextual or ethical – is unfounded (cf. Gill-Frerking 2021). Let us mention that there are more than 22,000 human/skeletal remains (including those from George Reisner’s expeditions in Egypt) in Harvard’s museum collections alone (Hammonds 2022, 3, 6).

It is worth mentioning that the earliest Coptic Christian monastic communities also practiced aspects of embalming similar to pagan mummification – i.e., the use of the mummy wrappings, large amounts of salt, juniper berries and bitumen-like substances – at least until 6th century (Lösch, Hower-Tilmann and Zink 2013).

There are various ways (cf. Abd el-Gawad and Stevenson 2021) in which the present-day Egyptians – predominantly Muslims of Arabian origin – can express their own perception of ancient Kemet/Egypt and the views on its cultural relevance to them (for the Egyptian people of the early 19th century see: Lane 2003). As stated by Reid (1985): „Most middle and lower-class Egyptians remain immune to the fascination of the pharaonic past“; and not to mention fundamentalists. It should be noted that during the mass protests (alias Revolution, Uprising, Arab Spring) a mob raided the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (on January 2011), as well as Malawi National Museum in Minya (on August 2013), along with „archaeological sites across Egypt“ (Niesel 2014, 291): a number of antiquities were stolen, destroyed or burned, including human mummies (cf. Day 2014, 30). To debate „the scattering of Egypt’s heritage beyond its national borders“ (Stevenson 2019, 18) one, first and foremost, must define the Egyptian state, borders and nationals regarding time, space and cultural identity. Who exactly should...
Disarticulated Bones and Detached Wrappings

The respective mummy’s various burial equipment – as far as Egyptian artificially mummified human remains sold or donated to numerous world museums are concerned – is in most cases limited to the items that remained inside a coffin, either on a carefully prepared finished mummy surface or embedded within the linen wrappings. However, in search for saleable objects (mostly the jewelry and amulets) by tomb raiders, looters, unscrupulous antiquity dealers, or just plain thieves at some point in history, the individual coffin can be ransacked and mummy severely damaged or badly torn apart.

The Belgrade Nesmin is in relatively poor condition: the „head, the neck and the lower legs are separated from the body”, and there is a big „gaping hole through the mummy’s left shoulder” termed a thoracic disturbance zone. As stated elsewhere (Anđelković 2018, 263; 2011, 1220 n. 3): „There was one or another form of state in Egypt for more than five millennia. Let us mention but a few: Protodynastic and Dynastic kingdoms (including Alexander’s empire, 332 BC); Roman province (29 BC); Byzantine province (4th century AD); Persian occupation (619 AD); Arab caliphate (642 AD); Mamelukes (1250); Ottoman Turks (1517); Khedivate (1811); British troops (1822); British protectorate (1914); Sultanate (1917); Kingdom of Egypt (1922); United Arab Republic (with Syria, 1958); and the Arab Republic of Egypt (1972)”.

For the rise of the ‘pharaonic’ component of Egyptian nationalism, the Egyptianization movement and Egyptian Egyptology see: Reid (1985).

Namely, not the naturally dried, ‘spontaneously preserved’ bodies (but see: Jones et al. 2018, 191, 198), such as for instance Gebelein predynastic mummies in the British Museum (including ‘Gebelein Man’, better-known as ‘Ginger’, nicknamed for his red hair; cf. Friedman et al. 2018).

It is rather an exception that the limestone stela CG 22053 (now in Cairo; Kamal 1905, 49‒53; Awadalla 1998) turned out to be part of Belgrade Nesmin’s funeral equipment (Anđelković and Harker 2011, 719).

A report dealing with nineteen mummies brought to England in 1869 states: „The bodies with one exception had been rifled, or the outer bandages about the head and neck torn in the search instituted by the Arabs for jewellery, ornaments, and amulets” (Adams 1990, 12).

However, we estimate that about 95% of the Belgrade Nesmin mummified body is present. Yet, one should bear in mind the difference from the living body (about 60% of adult men are water; the internal organs make up to 25% of the body’s weight; there are also blood, fat, connective tissue, etc.). For the ritual importance of bodily fluids and its loss during embalming see Chapman (2016, 200–221).

Bearing in mind the turbulent post-mortem history of the Belgrade Nesmin, it is hard to say who or what, caused mechanical breakage and damage to his mummy. Where and when it happened are also a mystery (probably at several occasions).
(Anđelković and Elias 2021, 766). Nonetheless, the mummy’s undermined condition was ‘a blessing in disguise’, so to speak, since it provided a great opportunity for scientific research without additionally compromising the mummy’s integrity as it is. A large amount of data obtained by X-ray examination (Anđelković 1997) and CT-scan analysis (Anđelković and Elias 2021) was to a great degree combined with macroscopic and microscopic studies (e.g. Anđelković, Andus and Stanković 1997).

Clearly, the mummified human remains within an anthropoid wooden coffin were first moved from the Akhmim necropolis to the Luxor antiquities market. From there (in February 1888) via the Nile, the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea and finally the Danube River, the shipment reached the National Museum of Serbia in Belgrade (in July 1888; Anđelković 1995). Along with the numerous Museum relocations – that involved incompetent handling and inappropriate transport – the mummy ‘survived’ WW I artillery shells fired from an Austro-Hungarian Sava-class river monitor in 1914/15 (see photos of hit ‘Mummy’s Room’ in: Anđelković 1994a, pl. 2/1–2), and a near-miss bomb detonation during the WW II Luftwaffe bombing of Belgrade in April 1941. Moreover, the closed coffin – with the mummy’s fragile detached parts ‘floating’ inside – have been displayed (or stored in a depot) for decades in both horizontal and vertical position.43

After the removal of a plywood panel – that at some point was nailed to the coffin plinth by museum ‘experts’ – the coffin was opened in May 1993, and in June 1993 the mummified human remains were carefully removed from the coffin trough (Anđelković 2018, 290). It is hardly surprising that a loose mixture of disarticulated bones, linen wrapping fragments, variously sized pieces of hardened, resinous matter, a brownish dust, etc., was present both in the thoracic disturbance zone and at the bottom of the coffin trough.

A similar heap – that belongs to the very same mummy – was „jammed in a small cardboard box and treated as totally separate musealia“ (Anđelković and Elias 2021, 762; cf. Anđelković 1994a, 154). As far as bones are concerned, the box contained:44

1. a fragmented mandible: it was postmortem fragmented in four parts; eventually, three parts were fixed together and joined to the cranium, whereas the right condyloid process was missing (Anđelković 1994a, 154–155, T.III/1; 1997, 93).
2. a fragment of an atlas (cervical vertebra C-1): used for DNA analysis (Čuljković, Anđelković, Stojković and Romac 2000, 78).

43 Posture changes can particularly put damaging pressure on the mummy’s brittle neck.
44 No fragment of clavicle was present in the cardboard box (as accurately stated in: Anđelković 1993, 153; 1997, 92); this detail should be corrected in: Anđelković (1994a, 154; 2018, 298) and Anđelković and Elias (2021, 762).
(3) kneecaps: used for DNA analysis.\textsuperscript{45}

Here we present, for the first time in detail, some of the disarticulated bones and various other fragmented material used in the mummification process.

(4) the right clavicle/collarbone (Figure 1): intact, disarticulated, recovered from the thoracic cavity; clavicular length measured as the maximum distance between the outermost tips of the sternal and acromial ends of clavicle placed on an osteometric board (CL) 144.91 mm; width, measured in the center of the clavicle (W) 13.17 mm; height, measured in the center of the clavicle (H) 13.03 mm; depth of the sternal curvature (Ds) 26.38 mm; depth of the acromial curvature (Da) 10.71 mm; weight 37 g; the bone itself is yellowish brown in color, visible only at the single posterior spot (ca. 5 cm from the sternal end);\textsuperscript{46} rest of the bone is dark in color with some resin, mummified skin and connective tissue (max. thickness 2 mm) firmly attached from the superior surface of acromial end to the anterior surface of sternal end; sporadic whitish traces; a single dark layer of bondage textile present on the top of superior surface of acromial end. The bone gives out strong and specific aromatic scent caused by substances used in the Belgrade Nesmin’s mummification.

(5) the left clavicle: intact, disarticulated, recovered from the thoracic cavity; CL. 151 mm; W. 13.26 mm; H. 14.60 mm; Ds. 24.92 mm; Da. 10.32 mm; weight 39 g; the bone itself is yellowish brown in color, visible all along the posterior side and most of the superior side; sporadic whitish and light brown traces; a single layer of bondage textile present on the top of superior surface of acromial end; sporadic traces of resinous matter present especially on inferior side of acromial end. Mummified skin and connective tissue (max. thickness 4.3 mm) are firmly attached on the clavicle anterior.

(6) the right first rib: intact, disarticulated, recovered from the thoracic cavity; total length (TL) 81.25 mm; the maximum ventral-dorsal diameter (VD) 15.73 mm; the dorsal curvature (DC) 95 mm; the tuberculoventral arc (VA) 110 mm; shortest internal length (A2) 48.07 mm; shortest external length (B2) 77.08 mm; weight 12 g; part of costal cartilage present; dark brown bone surface visible on the middle of the superior side; traces of blackish mummified tissue present both on upper and lower side.

(7) the left first rib: intact, disarticulated, recovered from the thoracic cavity; TL. 74.52 mm; VD. 14.72 mm; DC. 81 mm; VA. 100 mm; A2. 50.84 mm; B2. 79.93 mm; weight 6 g;\textsuperscript{47} dark in color; traces of blackish mummified tissue present both on upper and lower side.

(8) twelve rib fragments: disarticulated, recovered from the thoracic cavity; three vertebral/posterior ends; nine various shaft/body fragments (max. L. of the biggest 79 mm), five of which are sternal/anterior ends; dark in color; sporadic whitish traces; mummified skin and connective tissue present.

\textsuperscript{45} Along with the humeral head, three vertebrae thoracicae, and part of trachea (cf. Andelković 1997, 92).

\textsuperscript{46} It seems that an extremely thin dark layer formed on the bone itself (not to mix it with the dark color of the skin surface).

\textsuperscript{47} The weight difference is perhaps due to the quantity of resinous matter that penetrated the spongy porous bone tissue (as visible in a few ribs that are broken).
Figure 1. The right clavicle (photo by S. Rakonjac).

(9) the sternum/breastbone: two fragments (*manubrium*: max H. 48.24 mm, max W. 79.20 mm; and *gladiolus*: max H. 103.14 mm; total weight 61 g; xiphoid process is missing), disarticulated, recovered from the thoracic cavity; facets for ribs are visible; mummified skin and connective tissue present (max. thickness 2.70 mm); dark in color; sporadic whitish traces on the bone.

(10) the right scapula: four fragments, disarticulated, recovered from the thoracic cavity (three smaller fragments: *processus coracoideus, collum scapulae* with oval shaped glenoid cavity, and *margo lateralis*) and the coffin trough (the biggest fragment: *spina scapulae*, max. L. 112 mm, with some blackish mummified skin and connective tissue at lower end); the bone itself is yellowish brown in color; sporadic whitish traces. The *spina scapulae, collum scapulae, and margo lateralis* fit together.

(11) *acromion* of the left scapula: disarticulated, recovered from the thoracic cavity; max. L. 53.5 mm; the rest of the left scapula is within the mummy.
(12) the left humerus shaft fragment (bone fractured lengthwise): disarticulated, recovered from the coffin trough; L. 53.5 mm, max. thickness of medial cortex 4 mm, cortex yellowish brown in color; mummified skin and connective tissue present (max. thickness 3.5 mm); dark in color; sporadic whitish traces.

As far as the linen bandages – either free or covered with a resinous coating (total weight *ca.* 2.8 kg) – are concerned there are at least several hundred detached fragments. Most of them obviously fell off the back side of the mummy (cf. Andelković 1997, pl. VII/2) as well as the other damaged body areas such as the head, neck, shoulders (a thoracic disturbance zone), knees and soles. There are several types of linen fabric (e.g. Andelković 1994a, 158, Tab. 1) from the thick, more densely woven to the thin gauze-like one.

It seems that there are two different kind of resinous matter present. First is the outer surface resinous coating that is black, flat and shiny in the breaks (most of the fragments belong to it), whereas the second one is gray, matt, more ‘plastic’ (like some sort of oblong ‘drops’) in appearance and present very sporadically among the inner wrappings.48 A resinous coating, dark and hard, has usually been made of specific mixture of fragrant or antiseptic oils, tars and resins (e.g. Rageot et al. 2023).

### The Family of the Belgrade Nesmin

Genealogical research on ancient families can be challenging. The piecemeal way in which the cemeteries of Akhmim were unearthed at the end of the 19th century and periodically looted, means that exploration on a single extended family must consider objects distributed amongst many unrelated museums. The coffin in Belgrade is our starting point, for its inscriptions provide Nesmin’s core genealogy: Nesmin, son of Djedhor, son of Wennefer, son of Djedhor. Nesmin’s mother was named: Chay-hathor-imw (alternatively rendered: Tjay-hathor-imou). With this information in hand, we can begin our investigation of genealogical links potentially available elsewhere beyond the confines of Serbia.

Several objects naming members of the Belgrade Nesmin’s family have been known for decades. These include a coffin in the Old Boulaq Collection which names an individual with the partial genealogy: Wennefer, son of Djedhor and Djedhathormou (Lieblein 1891, No. 2451). This Wennefer bears the title: wardrobe-priest of Min (smAtj Mnw),49 amplified by the epithet ‘chief royal

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48 Perhaps the second type of resinous matter was used to glue/fix the free ends of the fabric that was used in the bandaging?
49 Wardrobe-priest of Min is equivalent to the older rendering ‘stolist’ from the Greek *stolistes*.
acquaintance’ (rx nswt wry). The resemblance of the unusual feminine name Djedhathormou to Nesmin’s mother Chay-hathor-imw named on the coffin is so obvious that they are plausibly identified as the same individual.

Assuming that no later generations are present in the coffin inscription recorded by Lieblein (1891, No. 2451), it is suggested here that the Wennefer whose genealogy this is, was a brother of the Belgrade Nesmin. We can also suggest that this Wennefer (here marked ‘B’) was named after the boys’ grandfather. This information is furnished by a limestone funerary stela CG 22053 of the Belgrade Nesmin.\textsuperscript{50} It establishes that the Belgrade Nesmin’s father, Djedhor was a son of a priest named Wennefer (here marked ‘A’). Beyond what was discussed about CG 22053 over a decade ago, it informs us, among other things that Nesmin’s mother was a sistrium-player of Min (iHy.t n Mnw) whose name could appear as Nyjtjhathormou (alt. Ny-Chay-hathor-mw),\textsuperscript{51} showing that one and the same individual could be designated by three distinct variants of the same name. So, CG 22053 and Lieblein No. 2451 enable us to reconstruct the core of the Belgrade Nesmin’s family (Figure 2, Diagram A). When the evidence preserved on the coffin in Belgrade is taken into account, we are able to extend the genealogy another generation back, to include the great-grandfather of the Belgrade Nesmin, a priest named Djedhor. This information provides potential links to collateral branches of the family.

Genealogical inscriptions well-worth considering in connection with the collateral genealogy of the Belgrade Nesmin are found on the coffin of the high stolist (smAtj wr) Djedhor in Bourges, France (Bourges, Musée de Berry Inv. 1906.3.1, alt. Hôtel de Cujas B 2666; Dewachter 1987, 9–31; Hugoniot 1995, 31–61; Charron 2002, 100–101). This Djedhor (hereinafter referred to as ‘Bourges Djedhor’) had parents named Nesmin and Tasheritmin. His anthropoid coffin has pre-Ptolemaic characteristics that help to date its manufacture to the late 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. These include the preference for a largely plain-wood exterior with the text of Book of the Dead spell 72 written into six columns on a small rectangular compartment located on the shins. This set of inscriptions furnishes priest’s genealogy going back five generations, although with some confusions: Djedhor, son of Nesmin, son of Nesmin (\textit{sic?}) son of Djedhor son of Hor, son of Djedhor. One of the cartonnage elements arrayed upon the mummy itself (in a center column below an image of the goddess Nut) contains a slightly different genealogy: Djedhor, son of Nesmin, son of Djedhor, son of Nesmin, son of Djedhor, son of Hor. The owner of the coffin may have been a distant cousin of the Belgrade Nesmin, possibly descended from a brother of Wennefer A, named Nesmin (Figure 2, Diagram B).

\textsuperscript{50} See note 38; cf. Munro (1973, 316).

\textsuperscript{51} Cf. Anđelković and Harker (2011, 718 n. 13, 719).
A coffin described by Maspero (1889, 45–46) in the collection of the Musée d’Archéologie Méditerranéenne (formerly Musée égyptien) de Marseilles (cat. No. 59) had been made for a smAtj-priest of Min named Nesmin, son of the similarly titled priest Djedhor. The mother’s name is unknown. While a photograph of this unexhibited coffin is not available, we are given some idea of its form from the catalog entry.\(^{52}\)

Finally, an unlocated mummy, known about from an unmailed photographic postcard (manufactured by the Belgian firm Gevaert, \textit{ca.} 1910–1920; AMSC 11.018.1) showing a partially unwrapped mummy and hinged coffin on display in a stall in the Khan el-Khalili market, is a possible son of the Belgrade Ne-

\(^{52}\) It had been presented to the museum by its adjunct-conservator M. Augier, who had bought it from the antiquities merchant Allemand, who had obtained it from Boulaq museum officials in Boulaq who were selling off items from the government’s 1884 excavations in Akhmim. Maspero (1889, 45–46) considered it to be of a rather late date (toward the first century B.C.), calls it coarse and roughly hewn, but notes its large, inlaid eyes of black and white enamel. The last part of the description suggests that its manufacture is somewhat earlier than Maspero would have us believe, since the use of inlaid eyes in Akhmimic coffin artistry was most common in the 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.
The unusually informative text printed on the postcard reads: „Dje-Her is the son of NES-MIN his father and HI-en-mehet his mother. He lived under the thirtieth Dynasty, which is about 2300 years ago“. From this text we can clearly see the genealogy Djedhor, son of Nesmin and Hi-en-mehit. While the mother’s name, ‘HI-en-mehet’ is a theophoric one, compounded with the name of the goddess who Egyptologists today transliterate as Mehit or Mehyt, it poses some questions and we must consider – assuming that the information was competently transcribed – that the first element in the name ‘hi-’ is possibly a misread hieroglyph, or only a fragmentary reading. Since the lid of the coffin in the photograph is open, there is no way to be certain what the transcriber had actually seen. While the name Hi-en-mehit is not otherwise known, Ranke (1935, 233 nos. 16–18) records the existence of the name Hj in both the Old and New Kingdoms. The verb Hj (<Hwj) means ‘to flow’ and is used to describe, for example, the action of the waters of the inundation, or the act of irrigation itself (Erman and Grapow 1971, 48, 16).

It is also possible that ‘hi-’, on the postcard, was intended to render HA.t (Gardiner 1964, 462, F4) ‘foremost’. This solution immediately suggests the name of the well-known Mendesian goddess Hat-mehit – ‘foremost of fishes’, consort of the ram Banebdjed and herself a goddess associated with the inundation – but Hat-mehit does not occur as one of Ranke’s (1935) personal names. On the other hand, if ‘hi-’ was intended to transcribe Hr (Gardiner 1964, 467, G5) we gain the name Hor-en-mehit. As odd as that sounds, we do find, among the people listed on Ptolemaic funerary stelae excavated at Akhmim, a woman named Hor-mehit: she is named as the mother of a man named Pahy on stela CG 22072 (Kamal 1905, 67–68) and, thus, unfortunately, does not match-up directly with any members of the Belgrade Nesmin’s family.

However, a different stela (Guimet C 43) from Akhmim, once in the collection of the Musée Guimet in Lyon (Munro 1973, 318; Moret 1909, pl. 39) is worth discussing in this connection. Guimet C 43 is considered to be a 30th Dynasty funerary stela, topped by the motif of a solar bark pulled by a jackal. It carries a 5th-generation genealogy of a chief stolist (smAtj wr) Djedhor. He presents himself as the son of the like-titled Nesmin, son of Irty-er-tja, son of Horresnet, son of Hor. The name of the stela-owner’s mother is Ta-sherit-en-mehit. The element sherit ‘little one’ is spelled with the determinative of a child (Gardiner 1964, 443, A17). If we consider how the phonetics of child-sign might be viewed in older works, we find that it is sometimes transliterated as Hen (Budge 1974, 371). This is reminiscent of the name-elements ‘Hi-en’ found on the above-mentioned Gevaert postcard, standing before the divine name ‘Mehet’. Assuming that an obsolete source had been consulted when the postcard caption was produced, we awaken to the possibility that ‘Hi-en-mehet’ on the card might be a flawed transliteration of the name (Ta)-sherit-(en)-mehit, and...
that the Djedhor of Guimet C 43 and the Djedhor of the Gevaert postcard are one and the same. It also leads to the hypothesis that the generationally earliest person named on the stela, (i.e., Hor), is the same person as the remote ancestor of the Belgrade Nesmin, named on the coffin of the Bourges Djedhor.

Guimet C 43 connects with the important genealogy found on the coffin of the chief stolist (smAtj wr) and temple dancer Irtý-er-tja (alt. Irtirutja) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 86.1.52A–B; mummy 86.1.53 [EMOI: 840-NewYo-18]). It reveals the possibility that all these families descend from an apical ancestor named Tja-kher-kha (7A-Xr-xA) (Figure 3). The intersection with genealogy found on Bourges 1906.3.1 shows the possible connection to Wennefer A, the grandfather of the Belgrade Nesmin.

The genealogy built using the inscriptions from Buffalo Museum of Science 654.138 (the coffin of Nesmin Buffâ-02) and the coffin of an associated individual named Djedhor (Cairo TR 27.9.16.2 / Djedhor Cairo-427) (Figure 4), is of utmost importance to the history of priestly activity at Akhmim during the mid-/late 4th century B.C. This is owing to the unusual text on BMS 654.138, in which
the coffin owner tells us of his involvement in augmenting Akhmimic temples (Elias 1996, 65). While Nesmin Buffa-02 and Djedhor Cairo-427 both have an ancestor named Horan(pa)wesheb (alt. Horanwesheb), this person turns out not to be the same as the individual Hor who appears in the earlier segment of the family of the Belgrade Nesmin. Nevertheless, the style of the coffins in Buffalo and Cairo show that their owners are close contemporaries of the Belgrade Nesmin, and the mummies of these two people, both of whom do exist, would prove interesting to compare with the Belgrade Nesmin’s.

Having briefly discussed the significance of Guimet C 43, we can move on to discuss a group of objects owned by other persons potentially descended from Nesmin, son of Irty-er-tja. These include the priest (smAtj; imy-ist; hzq) Pahat, son of Nesmin and Ta-sherit-mehit, known from funerary stela Chicago FMNH 31270 (Munro 1973, 323; Allen 1936, 61, pl. 33), and Horresnet, son of Nesmin and Ta-sherit-mehit, whose coffin (Munich AS Inv. Nr.1624) (Brech 2008,
235–237, Dok. E d 4)\(^{53}\) once belonged to Fritz von Bissing. Pahat (alternatively known as Neshor) and Horresnet are possibly the siblings of the Djedhor of Guimet C 43, whose mummy we hypothesize is the one depicted in the Gevaert postcard. They would therefore be cousins of the Belgrade Nesmin who, like him, lived during the late 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. (Figure 5).

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\(^{53}\) Note that this coffin is typologically earlier than the „um 230 vor Christ” date suggested by Brech. It belongs to the late 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.

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Museum Matters II. 2023. (How) do we display ancient Egyptian mummified remains in our museums? ICOM Comité international pour l’égyptologie (CIPEG), Online panel discussion programme, April 15, 2023.


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Beogradski Nesmin:
 nova proučavanja sveštenika iz Ahmima

Ustaljeno percepciranje mumija kao dehumanizovanih i popredmećenih ljudskih artefakta stoji nasuprot adekvatnom poimanju balsamovanih individua kao kulturno modifikovanih tela preminulih osoba, odnosno, ostataka ljudskih bića – koja su nekada živela i imala svoje društvene uloge – sačuvanih specifičnim tretmanom mumifikacije. Prezentacija mumija, koja se praktikuje u muzejima i zbirkama širom sveta, uz propisnu etiku izlaganja i naglašenu sinergiju sa naučnim istraživanjima, doprinosi saznanjima vezanim za religijska verovanja, funerarne običaje, duhovne i svetovne vrednosti autohtonih žitelja visoke civilizacije starog Egipta, pre arapskih osvajanja 639–642. godine. U stalnoj postavci Narodnog muzeja Srbije u Beogradu izloženi su, od 2019, mumifikovani ostaci staroegipatskog sveštenika Nesmina (‘Onaj-kopripa-Minu’), žitelja Ahmima

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Ključne reči: Beogradski Nesmin, Ahlim, mumifikovana osoba, etika izlaganja, disartikulisane kosti, genealogija, 350–325 g. p. n. e.

Nesmin de Belgrade. Nouvelles recherches sur le prêtre d’Akhmim

L’observation de la momie simplement comme d’un „artefact”, humain objectivisé est une méprise en complète opposition avec la perception de la momie comme d’un corps conservé et culturellement modifié d’une personne décédée, d’un individu, d’un être humain réel qui a autrefois été vivant. Au Musée national de Serbie se trouvent les restes momifiés du prêtre métropolitain Nesmin („celui qui appartient à Min“) qui a vécu à Akhmim autour du IVe siècle av. J.C. Les efforts continuels des chercheurs ont donné lieu à une réinterprétation de la représentation de cet ancien homme égyptien embaumé, incluant aussi des éléments humanisants. Le tas d’ossements démembres de Nesmin de Belgrade tout comme certains fragments des bandages de lin couverts d’une couche résineuse font l’objet du débat. On a ajouté à sa généalogie quelques nouveaux membres.
de famille. Le prénom Nesmin se rencontrait souvent à Akhmim, et c’est ainsi qu’il existe plusieurs autres Nesmin d’Akhmim momifiés conservés dans différents musées du monde.

*Mots clés:* Nesmin de Belgrade, Akhmim, homme momifié, éthique de la représentation, ossements démembrés, généalogie, 350-325 av.J. C.

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