

CHAPTER 23

FUNERARY RELIGION

The Final Phase of an Egyptian Tradition

MARTIN ANDREAS STADLER

EGYPTIAN funerary religion overwhelmingly dominates our view of ancient Egypt throughout all periods of its history, because major parts of the material culture stem from burials and commemorative contexts. Bearing this bias in mind, the starting point of this chapter is a mummy breastplate made of linen stiffened with plaster (cartonnage), which probably dates to the early Roman period (Fig. 23.1; see Zauzich 2002: 57–8; Stadler 2005: 144–5). It epitomizes the key issues in studying funerary religion during the Roman period. It once formed part of an ensemble consisting of a mask, this shield over the breast, a further overlay for the legs, and a foot case. Such ensembles replaced a complete mummiform coffin in some regions of Egypt (Grimm 1974: 45), but in this case it is more likely that the mummy and the ensemble were placed in a coffin, because the mummy shield is too well preserved to have lain unprotected in a burial. The breastplate under consideration here is a very finely painted specimen which shows several stages of the deceased's journey to the hereafter (from bottom to top): the transport of the mummy in a boat, the embalming, and the judgement of the dead. Above these vignettes is a winged scarab alluding to the newborn sun and the scarab on the corpse of Osiris (Stadler 2001a: 82–3), and two assemblies combining Heliopolitan (solar) and Osirian deities. The upper part comprises a painting of a so-called *wesekh* collar—made out of multiple rows of beads of various forms and materials (Riggs 2001)—and finally a falcon whose head is lost. That central part is framed by two columns. The column on the viewer's left (the right side, from the perspective of the mummy beneath) shows twenty-one mummiform figures armed with knives, which stress their apotropaic nature. On the opposite side a hieroglyphic column reads as follows: 'Greetings to (you), Atum, greetings to (you) Khepri. You have been exalted after having appeared (on top of) the *benben* stone in the House of the *Benu* bird in Heliopolis, Osiris Hor, son of Paiun, borne by Tjeset, justified.'

The text's brevity belies its meaningfulness as it is an abridged version of a spell that is found as spell 600 in the Pyramid Texts (PT), first attested some 2,300 years earlier. The Pyramid Texts are the oldest large corpus of religious texts in human history; they comprise recitation texts for both the king's burial rites and his (in theory) eternal mortuary cult, as well

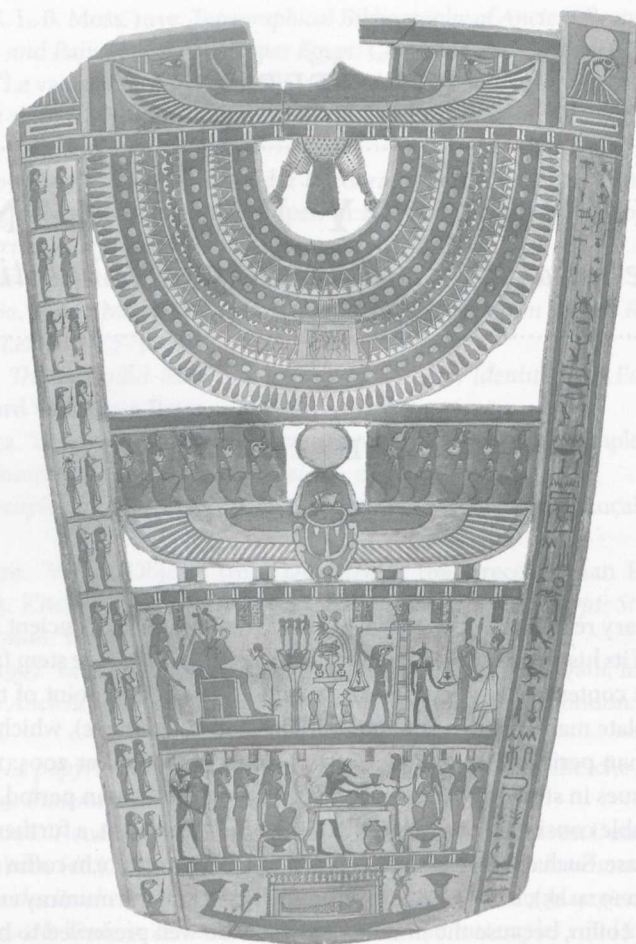


FIG. 23.1 Mummy breastplate inscribed for a man named Hor, late Ptolemaic to early Roman period. The Egyptian design depicts the stages of the deceased's transformation in the afterlife, including his mummification and judgement. The hieroglyphic inscription (viewer's right) derives from religious texts dating to the third millennium BCE. Painted openwork cartonnage. Height 43 cm, width 30 cm

Martin von Wagner Museum der Julius-Maximilians University, Würzburg, A 201. Copyright the Martin von Wagner Museum der Julius-Maximilians University, Würzburg.

as texts for use during his afterlife. PT 600 tells us how the creator god transferred the vital forces to his two children, Shu and Tefnut, by embracing them (Allen 2005: 269), and captions to the ritual scenes in Ptolemaic and Roman temples adapted this spell to combine it with the offering of a *wesekh* collar, which embraces and vitalizes its wearer (Graefe 1991). The hieroglyphic column on the mummy breastplate thus explains the funerary significance of the depicted *wesekh* collar. Textual sources also help us to understand the significance of the other images. The judgement scene refers to chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead (BD) (Stadler 2008a), and the twenty-one apotropaic demons, guards to the twenty-one gates to the netherworld, stem from BD 145 and 146, which provide the necessary knowledge to pass

by those gates (Stadler 2009b: 264–314). Whereas BD 125 is first attested in the New Kingdom (1550–1070/69 BCE), the idea of gates to the netherworld goes back as far as the Middle Kingdom (2119–1794 BCE) if not further (Stadler 2009b: 252–63, 274–8). With its references to ancient texts, the presence of the solar as well as the Osirian dimension, and the mobilization of the creation myths, the cartonnage breastplate demonstrates the longevity of Egyptian funerary religion. It also exemplifies the two types of evidence—textual and visual—to be taken into account for understanding Egyptian funerary religion.

As the breastplate's iconography and inscription demonstrate, continuity seems to be an essential feature of Egyptian funerary religion. Consequently, funerary religion in the Roman period cannot be understood without a profound familiarity with the long-standing history of Egyptian religion in general going back as far as the twenty-fourth century BCE, when the Pyramid Texts were carved onto the walls of the inner chambers of King Unas' pyramid at Saqqara. Although this corpus might seem to be quite remote from the period studied in this volume, there are more texts, other than the breastplate, which date to Ptolemaic and Roman times and cite from the Pyramid Texts (Szczudłowska 1973; Assmann, Bommas, and Kucharek 2008: 227–498; Smith 2009a: 16–17, 650–62). The textual tradition concords with an artistic archaism that is a recurrent feature of the funerary art of Roman Egypt (Riggs 2005, 2006) and which also characterizes the aforementioned breastplate, as any trace of Greek or Roman art is absent in its design. Tradition and continuity, however, should not be understood as a lack of change, nor as any less self-conscious than innovation. Despite this, scholarly debate has tended to focus on the *degree* of continuity or change in Egyptian funerary religion from the Pharaonic to the Roman periods. One aim of this chapter is to review this discussion critically, and argue that any attempt to measure a degree of change brings with it an element of subjectivity.

THE SOURCES: LANGUAGE, DATES, AND PROVENANCE

The source basis of this chapter is chiefly textual, and its main focus lies in material that is written in Egyptian. From this follows the basic assumption that those who chose Egyptian texts and Egyptian-style objects for their tomb equipment, or opted for the specific Egyptian way of mummification, wanted to be considered as Egyptians or to be part of the Egyptian culture for their afterlife. This is one of many examples of the ways in which identity is situational and negotiable, but the complex question of ethnicity and its influence on the sources will not be discussed further here (see Chapter 16; Collombert 2000; Riggs 2005: 18–23). Furthermore, although works of art and modes of mummification and burial are essential for the study of Egyptian funerary religion, these topics are considered elsewhere in this volume.

Despite the various scripts in which the texts are notated (hieroglyphic, hieratic, and Demotic; see Chapter 33), these sources are taken as one corpus (see Smith 2009a). Most manuscripts are written in hieratic, and some are in Demotic; the two Rhind papyri (*P Rhind I* and *II*) contain the same text in two versions, one hieratic, the other Demotic (Möller 1913; Smith 2009a: 302–48). The language, as opposed to the script, of all the texts can be either

Middle Egyptian, Demotic with archaisms taken from Middle Egyptian, or a 'pure' Demotic. Although the majority of hieratic texts were authored in Middle Egyptian, Demoticisms, i.e. features of the current language, may intrude. Graphically Demotic texts may be linguistically Demotic (among them translations from Middle Egyptian) or in rare cases Middle Egyptian.

The careful identification of these features may give a clue to the age of a particular text, using a methodology described by Hoffmann (Chapter 33). Bearing this in mind, the textual sources concerning Egyptian funerary religion can be divided into two groups: (A) Roman manuscripts of older texts, which are valuable evidence for which ideas were still current in Roman Egypt, and (B) texts whose date of composition is more recent, potentially contemporary to the act of writing. For group A, palaeography (albeit notoriously unreliable in terms of an absolute dating; see Coenen 2001 for examples) can be used as a chronological criterion, if internal evidence, such as an introductory section or a colophon telling us when the papyrus was inscribed, is lacking. Papyri chiefly qualify for group B, if the language of the text with which they are inscribed is Demotic. Significant Demotic influence on the language of a given text which is otherwise written in Middle Egyptian is not necessarily a symptom of a late composition, as texts are not transmitted exactly over the centuries, but may undergo a substantial change through the scribe's adaptation of the actual language (Smith 2009a: 20–2; Stadler 2009a; 2009b: 47–50). Even purely Demotic texts might be translations from Middle Egyptian whose original is lost or not yet known. Dating texts based on linguistic criteria must therefore regard this caveat.

Those sources that are likely to have been authored in the Roman period have a particular significance, for they offer insights into the ongoing productivity of the indigenous scribes. Arranging in a table the corpus that Smith (2009a) has collected, which is representative but not comprehensive, and looking at the range of dates assigned to the manuscripts, there appear to be no elaborate manuscripts with funerary compositions attested after 150 CE (Stadler forthcoming). Therefore, it is difficult to judge the extent to which the intellectual conceptualization of Egyptian funerary religion persisted after 150 CE. Later texts are significantly shorter than those of the first centuries BCE and CE, at which point the short so-called Letters, or rather Documents, for Breathing appear, characterized by the formula 'May his/her *ba* live for ever' (Stadler 2004, forthcoming; Smith 2009a: 557–68). The same formula appears on mummy labels, the latest dated example of which was written around 275 CE in Akhmim, making it one of the last textual witnesses for Egyptian funerary religion (Arlt 2011). But such conclusions are to be drawn cautiously, because the relative chronology of the individual texts is unknown in most cases. At the moment, however, it seems as if funerary texts in Egyptian ceased to exist well before the demise of vernacular writing systems in Egypt in the mid-fifth century CE (Stadler 2008b).

As to the provenances of the relevant compositions, there is a noteworthy focus on the Thebaid. Reckoning on the basis of pages that Smith in his anthology (2009a) devotes to the individual texts, 65 per cent of the corpus is attested in that region, many texts even exclusively. The only other area of some importance is Akhmim and Antaeopolis: approximately 23 per cent stem from both places taken together. What is remarkable is the absence of sites such as Soknopaiou Nesos, which is one of the most important find spots for Demotic papyri in the Roman period. This might be due to the lack of scientific exploration in the necropolis there. Only one text, the 'Recitations of the Glorifications, which the Two Sisters Performed'—a funerary liturgy which is considered to be an adaptation from an Osiris ritual—is also attested in a parallel manuscript from Tebtunis, the other important site in terms

of Egyptian papyri from the Roman period. But, as a temple manuscript, this might be evidence for the composition's original context (*P Carlsb.* 589 = *PSI I* 104 = *P Berlin* 29022; von Lieven 2006b; Hoffmann 2008; Smith 2009a: 124–34; Vittmann 2009: 186–8).

When using texts to study Egyptian funerary religion in the Roman period, some sources from the Ptolemaic period should not be ruled out. For example, the papyrus of Imhotep son of Pasherentaihet (Metropolitan Museum of Art *P MMA* 35.9.21; Goyon 1999; Smith 2009a: 67–95, 135–66) dates to the late fourth century BCE. Its first section, the 'Decree to the Nome of the Silent Land' (see Beinlich 2009 for a further Ptolemaic parallel), which establishes Osiris as ruler of the underworld, also appears in part, naming the deceased, rather than Osiris, on contemporaneous funerary stelae, but also in an abridged Demotic version inscribed on an ostrakon from the first century BCE (*O Stras.* D 132 + 133 + 134; Smith 2009a: 599–609; 2010). The early Roman date of the ostrakon justifies including the 'Decree to the Nome of the Silent Land' among the relevant sources. Furthermore, the 'Decree' confirms certain information reported in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* (Quack 2004; Smith 2009a: 74–5). Plutarch's familiarity with the text shows that these ideas persisted into at least the second century CE. Hence—just as for earlier epochs (Smith 2009b)—it would not be prudent to draw a sharp borderline between the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods in studying funerary religion. It seems to be more appropriate to perceive it as a developing continuum. Such an approach is supported by further Ptolemaic textual sources that are also attested after 30 BCE (Stadler forthcoming).

Returning to Thebes as the primary find spot of funerary texts in Roman Egypt, Egyptologists may see a parallel with the Theban role in the formation process of the Book of the Dead, which was the most popular collection of funerary spells for almost 1,500 years (Gestermann 2004, 2006; Stadler 2009b: 98–9, 103–4; trans. Allen 1974). The Theban region was also marked by conservatism and a strong local identity, which resulted in a certain resistance against the Alexandrian government during the Ptolemaic period and an ongoing insistence on Egyptian traditions (Blasius 2002; von Recklinghausen 2007). The textual evidence corroborates the same intellectual atmosphere in the sphere of funerary beliefs, parallel to the archaizing trend of funerary art in Roman Thebes (Riggs 2005, 2006). Even in Thebes, however, the Book of the Dead as the most prominent Egyptian corpus of funerary spells was superseded and finally replaced by other compositions in the Ptolemaic period, from around 200 BCE onward (Coenen 2001). Among those the Documents for Breathing (Herbin 2008; Smith 2009a: 462–525), the Books of Transformation (Smith 2009a: 610–49), and the Book of Traversing Eternity (Herbin 1994; Smith 2009a: 395–436) were the most prominent and widespread texts. The situation concerning the Book of the Dead in other Egyptian areas, especially in Memphis, is difficult to ascertain; the limited documentation may be significant, or an accident of preservation (see Mosher 1992). Nevertheless, the spells from the Book of the Dead were not completely forgotten about in Thebes; for instance, a first- to second-century CE papyrus in Berlin (*P Berlin* 3030) combines younger funerary compositions with BD 162 and 72, as does the contemporary *P Louvre* N 3148 (Herbin 1984; Smith 2009a: 592–3). Furthermore, BD 125, the 'negative confession' in the hall of judgement, not only was adapted in the Document for Breathing which Isis Made for her Brother Osiris (Herbin 1994: 25–7, pl. 30; Smith 2009a: 474–5), but also survived in a Demotic translation that was written down in Thebes in 63 CE, as stated in its colophon (*P Paris* BN 149; Stadler 2003; Smith 2009a: 437–54).

Yet extensive manuscripts of the Book of the Dead are not attested in Roman Thebes, and the isolated spells that are also occasionally found in other manuscripts do not suggest an ongoing and general circulation of the Book of the Dead (see Quack 2009: 617–21). Therefore, it would be misleading to speak of Book of the Dead papyri being written in the Theban area during the Roman period. The latest Book of the Dead papyri come from Akhmim; they have been dated to the first century BCE on stylistic grounds and because, judging from the degree of the text's corruption, some scholars think that the scribes referred to damaged and fragmented source documents, which they would not have done if better ones had been available (thus Mosher 2001, esp. 31–6). A later date in the first century CE is also possible, if one accepts Derchain-Urtel's argument (2000: 44–5) based on a palaeographical analysis comparing the Akhmim Book of the Dead hieroglyphs with hieroglyphs in Roman period temple inscriptions (disputed by von Lieven 2002: 480–1).

Two of the Akhmim Book of the Dead papyri include another text, which seems to be a distinct composition; so far, it is only known in these two manuscripts. The text is chiefly concerned with the soul-like constituent of a human being, the *ba*, and the *ba*'s admission to and acceptance in the hereafter—hence its modern name, the Book of Ba (Beinlich 2000; Mosher 2001, pls 16–17). The age of the Book of Ba is uncertain; its corruptions and inclusion of parts of BD 17 could suggest that it stems from a long-standing tradition, but the presence of some Demoticisms could also indicate that more recent layers accumulated during the text's transmission and its editorial process over time (Beinlich 2000; Quack 2001; von Lieven 2006a).

EGYPTIAN RELIGION AND EGYPTIAN FUNERARY RELIGION

The transmission and adaptation of such texts probably took place within and around the temples' scriptoria and libraries. Much as Theban funerary art draws on temple decoration as a model (Riggs 2006), some members of the priestly elite adapted temple ritual texts for funerary purposes, among them Osiris liturgies and the collection of compositions handed down in the aforementioned papyrus of Imhotep. As Osiris is the central figure of belief around an afterlife, the ritual texts that served as models were particularly those of the Osiris and Sokar cult. The other important focus of funerary belief in Egypt was the deceased's participation in the solar cycle, yet texts that were clearly adapted from the cult of the sun-god are unattested, although the solar aspect is not absent from the sources as, for instance, the 'Intercessory Hymn to the Solar Deity' (*P Berlin* 3030 VI 17–IX 6) proves. Its phraseology is very akin to cultic solar hymns (Herbin 1984; Smith 2009a: 590–8).

While there is no doubt about the fact of borrowings from the temple sphere, it is hard to classify the texts exclusively in this way, since some manuscripts combine works that were copied from temple liturgies with original funerary texts in different sections (Stadler forthcoming). It is certainly not a new phenomenon, but intrinsic to the corpus of funerary texts from the very beginning; the oldest religious corpus, the Pyramid Texts, has survived in a funerary context, and nothing is known about temple ritual at the time. Thus, there is no way

of identifying how much the Pyramid Texts might owe to the latter, and vice versa. The texts of the daily temple ritual cite from the Pyramid Texts, and may indicate their original use (Allen 1950). But the other way round, from the tomb to the temple, is possible, too, as spells from the Book of the Dead were inscribed on the walls of temples, in particular of those with an Osirian connection (von Lieven 2007, forthcoming), if, again, the temple sphere was not already their source (see Gee 2006). In some cases the contents or passages in a funerary text recommend its use during festivals, which suggests a transposition from the temple to the tomb, e.g. BD 137 (Luft 2009) or BD 144 (Stadler 2009b: 252–63). The chronology of the surviving texts is not decisive, because it can be inverted owing to accidents of preservation. For example, BD 125 is first attested in funerary papyri, but with good reason it is assumed that it actually derives from the priestly oaths of purity that are exclusively known from manuscripts dating to the Roman period (Stadler 2008a). Another example is the aforementioned ‘Recitations of the Glorifications, which the Two Sisters Performed’.

Language does not always help in determining a text’s age, either. Therefore, it is difficult to establish an accurate chronology and thus better understand the interdependences and derivations of funerary and temple texts. A good example is the ‘Decree to the Nome of the Silent Land’, which is best preserved in the early Ptolemaic papyrus of Imhotep (*P MMA* 35.9.21), and considered here for reasons explained above. The redaction left clear signs of Demotic in the present manuscript (Smith 2006), but it draws from much older sources, e.g. BD 145 (first attested in the New Kingdom) and BD 144, whose roots go back to the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts (Stadler 2009b: 256–8, 275–6). However, certain passages are reminiscent of the Djoser precinct at Saqqara: could this late first-century funerary text go back in part to a royal ritual of the Old Kingdom that has been transposed to Osiris and then to an ordinary deceased? This is highly speculative, but nonetheless a possibility (Quack 2011: 141; Stadler forthcoming).

Much as the classification of the texts as either mortuary (performative) or funerary (for deposit in the burial) is unproductive (Smith 2009a: 209–14; Stadler 2009b: 42–3), it can be concluded on the basis of these examples that there are no further insights to be gained from the question of whether a given text is primarily or secondarily designed for funerary use, because there was an active exchange between both spheres—temple and tomb—throughout Egyptian history. Apparently these were not categories recognized by the Egyptians, but have been imposed on the material in Egyptological scholarship.

CHANGE OR CONTINUITY?

The chapter started with an example illustrating the stability, continuity, and long-standing tradition of Egyptian funerary religion. In contrast, the survey of the sources has demonstrated phenomena of change—the end of the time-honoured Book of the Dead in Thebes and the rise of new compositions, which Sethe (1931: 537) called ‘inconsistent compilations, unpleasant products of an epigonical period’. Sethe’s verdict is symptomatic of an old-fashioned, albeit rather influential, approach to late sources. Research on Ptolemaic and Roman funerary texts remained somewhat marginal for a long time. However, during the past thirty years or so scholars have increasingly appreciated the sources’ relevance for

understanding Egyptian religion. By stressing the continuities, some scholars may seek to underline the texts' (and their own) connection to the subject matter of classical Egyptology, but continuities can be perceived as an unproductive torpidity as well. Likewise, 'change' could be used to emphasize the ongoing vitality of Egyptian funerary religion, but it also contributes to a problematic trope in Egyptological scholarship whereby 'change' implies a (negative) process of something becoming allegedly 'un-Egyptian'. In fact, of course, changes in religious beliefs and practices characterized all periods of Egyptian history (see Smith 2009b), but in the Roman period, in particular, the question of change, or the lack thereof, has been especially charged through its implicit connection with the question of 'decline'.

Nowadays the approach to epochs that previous generations of scholars would have called times of 'decay' or 'decline' has significantly changed. Modern research acknowledges the value of those periods as periods of transition and of particular historical interest. Therefore, no Egyptologist would any longer commit to writing such a bold and subjective statement as Sethe did. Yet there is some controversy over how persistent or how mutable funerary religion was in the last centuries of its existence. Assmann (2001: xi–xiii, not included in the English version, Assmann 2005), who advocated for a significant historical development in Egyptian religion in the aftermath of the Amarna period, surprisingly states that he cannot detect any change in funerary religion over the centuries. On the opposite side Quack (2006, 2009), who otherwise tends to date religious texts as early as possible and who thus indirectly argues for a greater stability in Egyptian thinking, advocates in explicit contradiction to Assmann for a significant change from the Third Intermediate period (1070–712 BCE) onward. Likewise, Frankfurter (1998: 10–11) accentuates the 'vivid continuity throughout the Roman and Coptic periods' of mortuary practices and calls the beliefs 'so historically resilient, so impervious to the vicissitudes of ideology' that he feels justified in excluding them from his study, although his book's overall aim is to demonstrate a longer persistence of Egyptian religion than other scholars (especially Bagnall 1993: 261–309; 2008) would accept. Others have suggested a dramatic alteration in Egyptian funerary beliefs and practices (e.g. Kaper 2000: 124, 126; 2001: 131–2). The interpretation of the evidence is unquestionably difficult, because ideally one would wish to be able to identify material from different regions, date it securely, and examine the socio-economic situation in that locality as well; the sources rarely permit such a tidy study. And how can scholars quantify change by comparing evidence from different periods? To put it polemically: how many funerary papyri does one need to counterbalance a mummy mask with supposedly Greek hair, or vice versa? It can also be asked whether the new funerary texts, or ritual texts newly adapted for funerary purposes, communicate old beliefs rather than newly developed ones (Kaper 2000, 2001; Quack 2009). The following paragraphs cannot claim to overcome this, but their aim is to highlight some of the problems.

The historical and economic circumstances may have a stronger influence on the specific forms of burial equipment comprising both the textual and the material aspect. It makes a difference whether the majority of the elite served as officials in an Egypt that was an independent great power in the ancient Near East or in an Egypt that was a province whose resources served interests other than primarily the country's own. This, one should think, is also reflected in a person's funerary representation and expenditure for a burial. Nevertheless, elaborate and monumental funerary architecture was still built. Kaper (2000) mentions some sites with painted tombs in the Roman period and interprets the decline in quantity as

an indicator of a considerable change in funerary religion between 100 BCE and 100 CE. It is true that burial equipment is reduced compared with earlier phases of Egyptian history, but there seems to be a regional shift rather than a general decline. For instance, in the Dakhla Oasis in the first century CE, Petosiris commissioned a rock-cut decorated tomb, which is not as large as the tombs of high officials in Saite era Thebes (Fakhry et al. 1982, *passim*, pls 25–30; Riggs 2005: 161–4, with further references). However, in Roman Thebes, New Kingdom tombs were reused in most cases. In the necropolis of contemporary Hermopolis the so-called House 21 is a large, painted, five-room tomb chapel (Gabra 1941: 39–50, pls 8–18; Riggs 2005: 129–39) and in 2007 another one was discovered that even had a small pyramid on top (Kessler and Brose 2008; see Chapter 13). For a full appreciation of continuity versus change, such an archaizing sepulchral architecture must be seen in conjunction with the broad range of its grave goods: next to an Egyptian-style coffin were found amulets and figurines in a purely Greek artistic language, as well as Egyptian *shabti* figures. It had been thought that *shabtis* were no longer part of burial equipment in the Roman period, but this case adds another layer to the issue: the *shabtis* were already antiquities when they were deposited in this tomb, which suggests that the tomb owner was aware of older traditions, and cherished them.

Thus, structures that are familiar from former times, but which were stylistically interpreted in a contemporary way, do exist in the Roman period. The catacomb of Kom el-Shuqafa (Schreiber 1908) is a very particular case which may not be representative for the whole of Egypt, as its Alexandrian environment calls for a sensitive analysis of the various layers of meaning. In another area, the burial equipment of Tanaweruow shows how in 61 CE her father, Hartophnakhtes, tried to provide a proper, albeit by New Kingdom standards relatively poor, Egyptian burial (Smith 2005: 16–21). However, in writing down the texts now known as *P Harkness*, Hartophnakhtes allows us to reconstruct the sequence of the funerary rites that occurred from the last night of the mummification and the hourly vigils (*Stundenwachen*), through the festive decoration of the tomb, to the interment of Tanaweruow and the concluding rites. All is deeply rooted in Egyptian tradition (Smith 2005; 2009a: 264–301). The evidence suggests a persistence of traditional beliefs concerning the afterlife rather than their alteration. Therefore, from a methodological point of view the concrete, material manifestations of funerary religion and the underlying mythology of its contents must be kept apart in order to identify a true change. Thus, new forms of equipment, tomb decoration, and types of text accompanying the dead cannot be denied, but the conceptual foundations might be the same.

In pointing to the Third Intermediate period, which Quack (2009) convincingly sees as a turning point in the history of Egyptian funerary religion, a further contradiction among students of Egyptian religion is encountered, because Kaper (2000) thinks that the major changes took place during the Hellenistic period. Although Kaper also acknowledges the far-reaching roots of Egyptian tradition, he sees an engagement with contemporary hellenistic religion and philosophy at work. This may have led, for instance, to seeing the nocturnal passage of the sun-god as awkward, which would not leave any room for the Books of the Underworld, formerly so prominent. While this may be true, it is questionable whether the astral life of the *ba* is so central to mortuary belief in this period; moreover, the *ba*'s astrality is a recurrent theme in Egyptian religious texts from the Pyramid Texts onward, and thus has an affinity with Greek thought, without necessarily being a consequence of it. Despite a

popular increase in astronomy and astrology (Dieleman 2003a, b), it is also possible to see the zodiacs on coffin lids (e.g. the coffin of Soter, British Museum EA 6705, in Riggs 2005: 201–3) as a supplementation of older models depicting the sky goddess Nut as early as the New Kingdom, rather than perceiving it as an intrusion of something new. Already in Middle Kingdom Asyut, some officials commissioned coffins with an astronomical calendar on their lids (Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981: 216–19; Schramm 1981: 219–27). Although the purpose might be different, the repeated use of astronomical representations on coffin lids characterizes the practice as Egyptian. This feature may also be inspired by the astrological ceilings in the Ramesside royal tombs. The same can be said about the representation of the four winds at the cardinal points, namely the four corners of a coffin, which are thought to help the deceased rise (as on Soter's coffin: Riggs 2006). They are not new, because already 18th dynasty coffins as well as sarcophagi and Ramesside tombs have BD 161 painted or carved at the four corners, and the spell is to safeguard the entrance of the life-bringing winds (Stadler 2009b: 236–9). To derive the use of mummy portraits from the impact of the Roman and Greek ancestor cult is based largely on Diodorus' report of having kept mummies in the living area of homes, a report that was influential among classical authors but seems to be untrue (Römer 2000; Stadler 2001b; compare Borg 1996: 196–203; Kaper 2000). New forms of commemoration may have been one facet of mummy portraits, but there were Egyptian precedents for ancestor worship in a domestic context (Exell 2008) or during various feasts in the necropolis, like the Theban Beautiful Feast of the Valley (Schott 1953; Graefe 1986; Cabrol 2001, esp. 711–76). In other words, fitting Greek forms may have been integrated into Egyptian concepts, rather than being introduced as a radical innovation.

CONCLUSION

Changes in Egyptian funerary religion during the Roman period were part of an organic development marked by reinterpreting, and perpetuating, a number of earlier features. For much of the evidence, the lack of accurate dating and other information hampers a methodological approach (Smith 2009b), but some general observations can still be made. During the Roman period, there was a greater diversity of modes in which individuals could be commemorated and at the same time envisage the afterlife—as Egyptian, Hellenized Egyptian, Egyptianized Greek, and so on, depending on personal and local circumstances. The textual sources superficially show a similar variety: some compositions survive in numerous copies, while other, quite extensive texts are unique and may represent an individual creation, for instance the aforementioned *P Harkness* or the two Rhind papyri. The texts themselves are not entirely new, and their 'new' elements may be inadvertent, owing to the scribe not fully understanding the earlier language of his source. The ideas and concepts, however, are deeply rooted in an Egyptian tradition reaching back as far as the Pyramid Texts. The end of the once dominant Book of the Dead tradition is a marked difference from the New Kingdom, or even the Late period revival and revision of Book of the Dead texts, which 'canonized' them. By the start of the Ptolemaic period, funerary compositions adapted from temple ritual texts began to appear, highlighting a connection between tomb and temple functions that became increasingly evident in the Roman period but no doubt reflects long-standing

practices as well. Thus, the period between 100 BCE and around 250 CE, the point when Egyptian funerary texts are no longer found on mummy labels, coffins, or papyri, was not so different from previous phases of Egyptian history in terms of religious developments in the funerary sphere. In keeping with the expanded modes of cultural expression at the time, the Roman period in Egypt offered a broader and more varied range of approaches to the universal concern of life after death.

SUGGESTED READING

For a long time Goyon's anthology (1972) of late funerary rituals was the standard reference work. However, it has been superseded by Smith (2009a), which gives new, improved, and reliable translations of virtually all textual sources relevant to Egyptian funerary religion in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Its importance is reflected in the number of references made to this publication in the preceding paragraphs. An up-to-date study of the material and artistic aspects of funerary belief is Riggs (2005). For contextualizing the subject of funerary religion in the Egyptian tradition, Assmann (2001) is helpful; the English version (Assmann 2005) is abbreviated compared with the German original. Finally, there is a valuable research tool online, Trismegistos, through which current publications and studies of the texts can be found: <<http://www.trismegistos.org>>.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, J. P. 2005. *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts: Edited by P. Der Manuelian*. Leiden: Brill.
- Allen, T. G. 1950. *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts with Cross Indexes of These and Other Egyptian Mortuary Texts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1974. *The Book of the Dead, or, Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in their Own Terms*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Arlt, C. 2011. *Deine Seele möge leben für immer und ewig: Die Mumienbilder im British Museum*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Assmann, J. 2001. *Tod und Jenseits im Alten Ägypten*. Munich: Beck.
- 2005. *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- M. Bommas, and A. Kucharek. 2008. *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 3: *Osirisliturgien in Papyri der Spätzeit*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Bagnall, R. S. 1993. *Egypt in Late Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 2008. 'Models and Evidence in the Study of Religion in Late Roman Egypt', in J. Hahn, S. Emmel, and U. Gotter (eds), *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*. Leiden: Brill, 23–41.
- Beinlich, H. 2000. *Das Buch vom Ba*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2009. *Papyrus Tamerit 1: Ein Ritualpapyrus der ägyptischen Spätzeit*. Dettelbach: Röhl.
- Blasius, A. 2002. 'Zur Frage des geistigen Widerstandes im griechisch-römischen Ägypten: Die historische Situation', in A. Blasius and B. U. Schipper (eds), *Apokalyptik und Ägypten: Eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. Leuven: Peeters, 41–62.

- Borg, B. 1996. *Mumienporträts: Chronologie und kultureller Kontext*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Brunner-Traut, E., and H. Brunner. 1981. *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Cabrol, C. 2001. *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Coenen, M. 2001. 'On the Demise of the Book of the Dead in Ptolemaic Thebes', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 52: 69–84.
- Collombert, P. 2000. 'Religion égyptienne et culture grecque: L'exemple de Διοσκουρίδης', *Chronique d'Égypte* 75: 47–63.
- Derchain-Urtel, M.-T. 2000. 'Datierung', in B. Lüscher (ed.), *Das Totenbuch pBerlin P. 10477 aus Achmim (mit Photographien des verwandten pHildesheim 5248)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 44–5.
- Dieleman, J. 2003a. 'Claiming the Stars: Egyptian Priests Facing the Sky', in S. Bickel and A. Loprieno (eds), *Basel Egyptology Prize 1: Junior Research in Egyptian History, Archaeology, and Philology*. Basel: Schwabe, 277–89.
- 2003b. 'Stars and the Egyptian Priesthood in the Greco-Roman Period', in S. B. Noegel, J. T. Walker, and B. M. Wheeler (eds), *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 137–53.
- Exell, K. 2008. 'Ancestor Bust', in W. Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Los Angeles. <<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/59k7832w>>.
- Fakhry, A., et al. 1982. *Denkmäler der Oase Dachle, aus dem Nachlass bearbeitet von Jürgen Osing*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Frankfurter, D. 1998. *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gabra, S. 1941. *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermoupolis ouest (Touna el-Gebel)*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Gee, J. 2006. 'The Use of the Daily Temple Liturgy in the Book of the Dead', in B. Backes, I. Munro, and S. Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 73–86.
- Gestermann, L. 2004. 'Sargtexte aus Dair al-Biršā: Zeugnisse eines historischen Wendepunktes?', in S. Bickel (ed.), *Textes des pyramides et textes des sarcophages: D'un monde à l'autre*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 201–17.
- 2006. 'Aufgelesen: Die Anfänge des altägyptischen Totenbuchs', in B. Backes, I. Munro, and S. Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 101–13.
- Goyon, J.-C. 1972. *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte*. Paris: Cerf.
- 1999. *Le papyrus d'Imouthès, fils de Psintaès au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York (Papyrus MMA 35.9.21)*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Graefe, E. 1986. 'Talfest', in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 187–9.
- 1991. 'Über die Verarbeitung von Pyramidentexten in den späten Tempeln', in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe (eds), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991*. Leuven: Peeters, 129–48.
- Grimm, G. 1974. *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Herbin, F.-R. 1984. 'Une nouvelle page du Livre des respirations', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 84: 249–302.
- 1994. *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*. Leuven: Peeters.

- 2008. *Books of Breathing and Related Texts*. London: British Museum Press.
- Hoffmann, F. 2008. 'Zur angeblichen musikalischen Notation in einer ägyptischen Osirisliturgie', in B. Rothöhler and A. Manisali (eds), *Mythos und Ritual: Festschrift für Jan Assmann zum 70. Geburtstag*. Berlin: Lit, 71–6.
- Kaper, O. E. 2000. 'Des dieux nouveaux et des conceptions nouvelles', in W. Clarysse and H. Willems (eds), *Les Empereurs du Nil*. Louvain: Peeters, 123–6.
- 2001. Review of D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 58: 126–32.
- Kessler, D., and P. Brose. 2008. *Ägyptens letzte Pyramide: Das Grab des Seuta(s) in Tuna el-Gebel*. Haar: Brose.
- Kucharek, A. 2010. *Die Klagelieder von Isis und Nephys in Texten der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Luft, D. 2009. *Anzünden der Fackel: Untersuchungen zu Spruch 137 des Totenbuches*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Lüscher, B. 2000. *Das Totenbuch pBerlin P. 10477 aus Achmim (mit Photographien des verwandten pHildesheim 5248)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Möller, G. 1913. *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Mosher, M. 1992. 'Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 29: 143–72.
- 2001. *The Papyrus of Hor (BM EA 10479) with Papyrus MacGregor: The Late Period Tradition at Akhmim*. London: British Museum Press.
- Quack, J. F. 2001. Review of H. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Ba, Enchoria* 27: 209–11.
- 2004. 'Der pränatale Geschlechtsverkehr von Isis und Osiris sowie eine Notiz zum Alter des Osiris', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 32: 327–32.
- 2006. 'Das Grab am Tempeldromos: Neue Deutungen zu einem spätzeitlichen Grabtyp', in H.-W. Fischer-Elfert and K. Zibelius-Chen (eds), *Von reichlich ägyptischem Verstande: Festschrift für Waltraud Guglielmi zum 65. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 113–32.
- 2009. 'Grab und Grabausstattung im späten Ägypten', in A. Berlejung and B. Janowski (eds), *Tod und Jenseits im alten Israel und in seiner Umwelt: Theologische, religionsgeschichtliche, archäologische und ikonographische Aspekte*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 597–629.
- 2011. Review of H. Beinlich, *Papyrus Tamerit 1: Ein Ritualpapyrus der ägyptischen Spätzeit, Welt des Orients* 41/1: 131–43.
- Riggs, C. 2001. 'Forms of the Wesekh Collar in Funerary Art of the Graeco-Roman Period', *Chronique d'Égypte* 76: 57–68.
- 2005. *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2006. 'Archaism and Artistic Sources in Roman Egypt: The Coffins of the Soter Family and the Temple of Deir el-Medina', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 106: 315–32.
- Römer, C. 2000. 'Das Werden zu Osiris im römischen Ägypten', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 2/2: 141–61.
- Ryholt, K. (ed.) 2006. *The Carlsberg Papyri 7: Hieratic Texts from the Collection*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Schott, S. 1953. *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale: Festbräuche einer Totenstadt*. Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz.
- Schramm, M. 1981. 'Astronomische Interpretation der Diagonalsternuhr', in E. Brunner-Traut and H. Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*. Mainz: von Zabern, 219–27.

- Schreiber, T. 1908. *Die Nekropole von Kom-Esch-Schukafa*. Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient.
- Sethe, K. 1931. 'Die Totenliteratur der alten Ägypter: Die Geschichte einer Sitte', *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 18: 412–33.
- Smith, M. 2005. *Papyrus Harkness (MMA 31.9.7)*. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Smith, M. 2006. 'The Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 57: 217–32.
- 2009a. *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2009b. 'Democratization of the Afterlife', in J. Dieleman and W. Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Los Angeles. <<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/70g428wj>>.
- 2010. 'A Divine Decree for the Deceased (O. Strasbourg D. 132 + 133 + 134)', in H. Knuf, C. Leitz, and D. von Recklinghausen (eds), *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*. Leuven: Peeters, 439–45.
- Stadler, M. A. 2001a. 'Der Skarabäus als osirianisches Symbol vornehmlich nach spätzeitlichen Quellen', *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 128: 71–83.
- 2001b. 'War eine dramatische Aufführung eines Totengerichtes Teil der ägyptischen Totenriten?', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 29: 331–48.
- 2003. *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. nat. 149)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2004. 'Fünf neue funeräre Kurztexte (Papyri Britisches Museum EA 10121, 10198, 10415, 10421a, b, 10426a) und eine Zwischenbilanz zu dieser Textgruppe', in F. Hoffmann and H.-J. Thissen (eds), *Res Severa Verum Gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*. Leuven: Peeters, 551–72.
- 2005. *Wege ins Jenseits: Zeugnisse ägyptischer Totenreligion im Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg*. Würzburg: Ergon.
- 2008a. 'Judgment after Death (Negative Confession)', in J. Dieleman and W. Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Los Angeles. <<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/07s1t6kj>>.
- 2008b. 'On the Demise of Egyptian Writing: Working on a Problematic Source Basis', in J. Baines, J. Bennet, and S. Houston (eds), *The Disappearance of Writing Systems: Perspectives on Literacy and Communication*. London: Equinox, 157–81.
- 2009a. 'Spätägyptische Hymnen als Quellen für den interkulturellen Austausch und den Umgang mit dem eigenen Erbe: Drei Fallstudien', in M. Witte and J. F. Diehl (eds), *Orakel und Gebete: Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Sprache der Religion in Ägypten, Vorderasien und Griechenland in hellenistischer Zeit*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 141–63.
- 2009b. *Weiser und Wesir: Studien zu Vorkommen, Rolle und Wesen des Gottes Thot im ägyptischen Totenbuch*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Forthcoming. Review of M. Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, *Enchoria* 31.
- Szczudłowska, A. 1973. 'Pyramid Texts Preserved on Sękowski Papyrus', *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 99: 25–9.
- Taylor, J. 2000. 'The Third Intermediate Period', in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 330–68.
- Töpfer, S., and M. Müller-Roth. 2011. *Das Ende der Totenbuchtradition und der Übergang zum Buch vom Atmen: Die Totenbücher des Monthemhat (pTübingen 2012) und der Tanedjmet (pLouvre N 3085)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Vittmann, G. 2003. *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- 2009. Review of K. Ryholt (ed.), *The Carlsberg Payri 7: Hieratic Texts from the Collection, Enchoria* 30: 186–91.
- von Lieven, A. 2002. Review of B. Lüscher, *Das Totenbuch pBerlin P. 10477 aus Achmim (mit Photographien des verwandten pHildesheim 5248)*, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 97: 477–82.
- 2006a. Review of H. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Ba*, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 101: 133–37.
- 2006b. 'Eine punktierte Osirisliturgie (P. Carlsberg 589 + PSI Inv. I 104 + P. Berlin 29022)', in K. Ryholt (ed.), *The Carlsberg Payri 7: Hieratic Texts from the Collection*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 9–38.
- 2007. 'Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos', in B. Haring and A. Klug (eds), 6. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Funktion und Gebrauch altägyptischer Tempelräume*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 167–86.
- Forthcoming. 'Book of the Dead, Book of the Living: BD Spells as Temple Texts', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
- von Recklinghausen, D. 2007. 'Anspruch und Wirklichkeit: Ptolemäische Beschreibungen der Stadt Theben', in S. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Ägypten unter fremden Herrschern zwischen persischer Satrapie und römischer Provinz*. Frankfurt: Antike, 140–64.
- Zauzich, K.-T. 2002. 'Mumienbelag für einen Mann namens Hor', in I. Wehgartner and J. Wich (eds), *Schrift, Sprache, Bild und Klang: Entwicklungsstufen der Schrift von der Antike bis in die Neuzeit*. Würzburg: Ergon, 57–8.