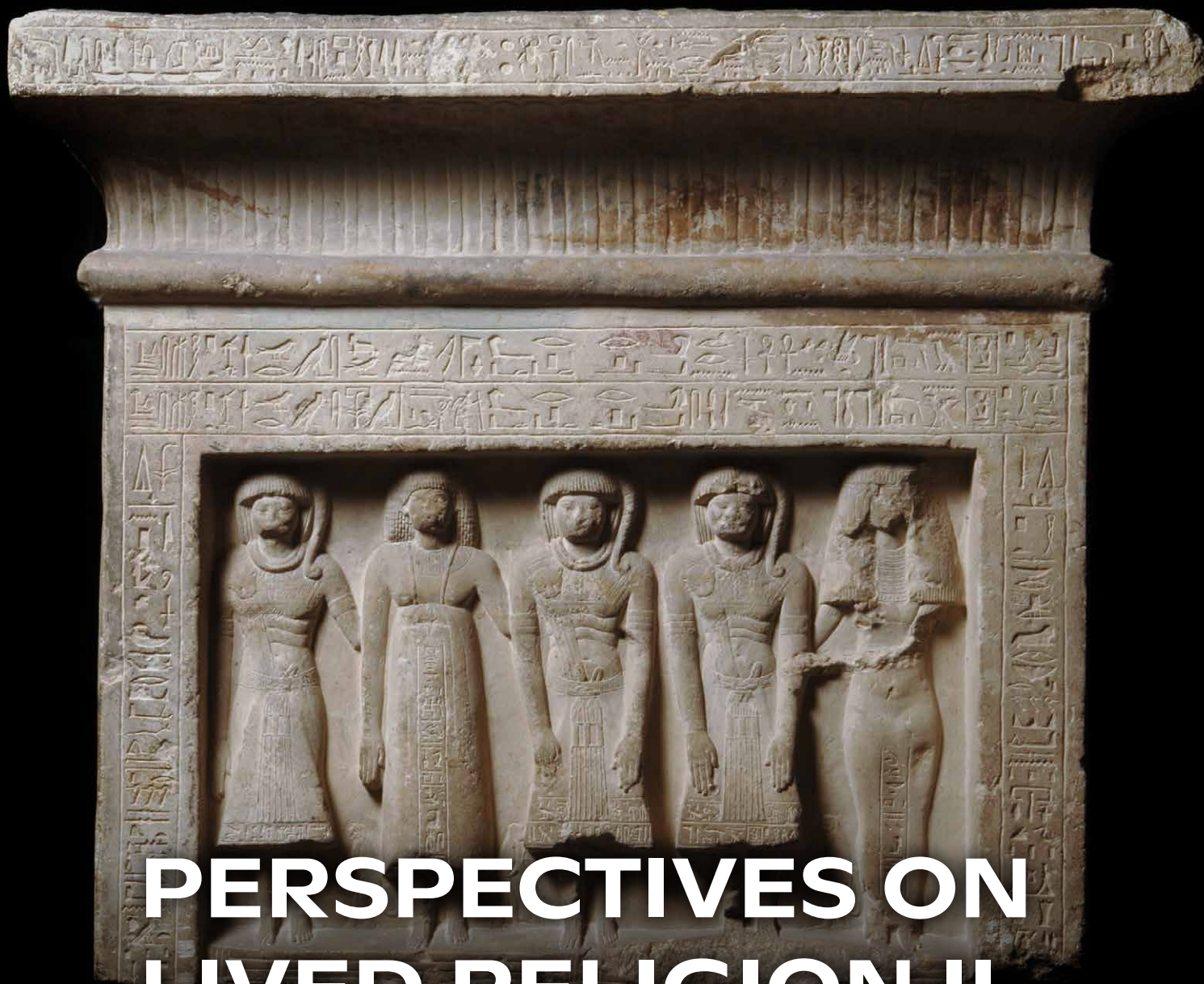




PERSPECTIVES ON LIVED RELIGION II

The Making of a Cultural Geography

edited by

L. Weiss, N. Staring and H. Twiston Davies



PALMA 27

PAPERS ON ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE
LEIDEN MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES

PERSPECTIVES ON LIVED RELIGION II



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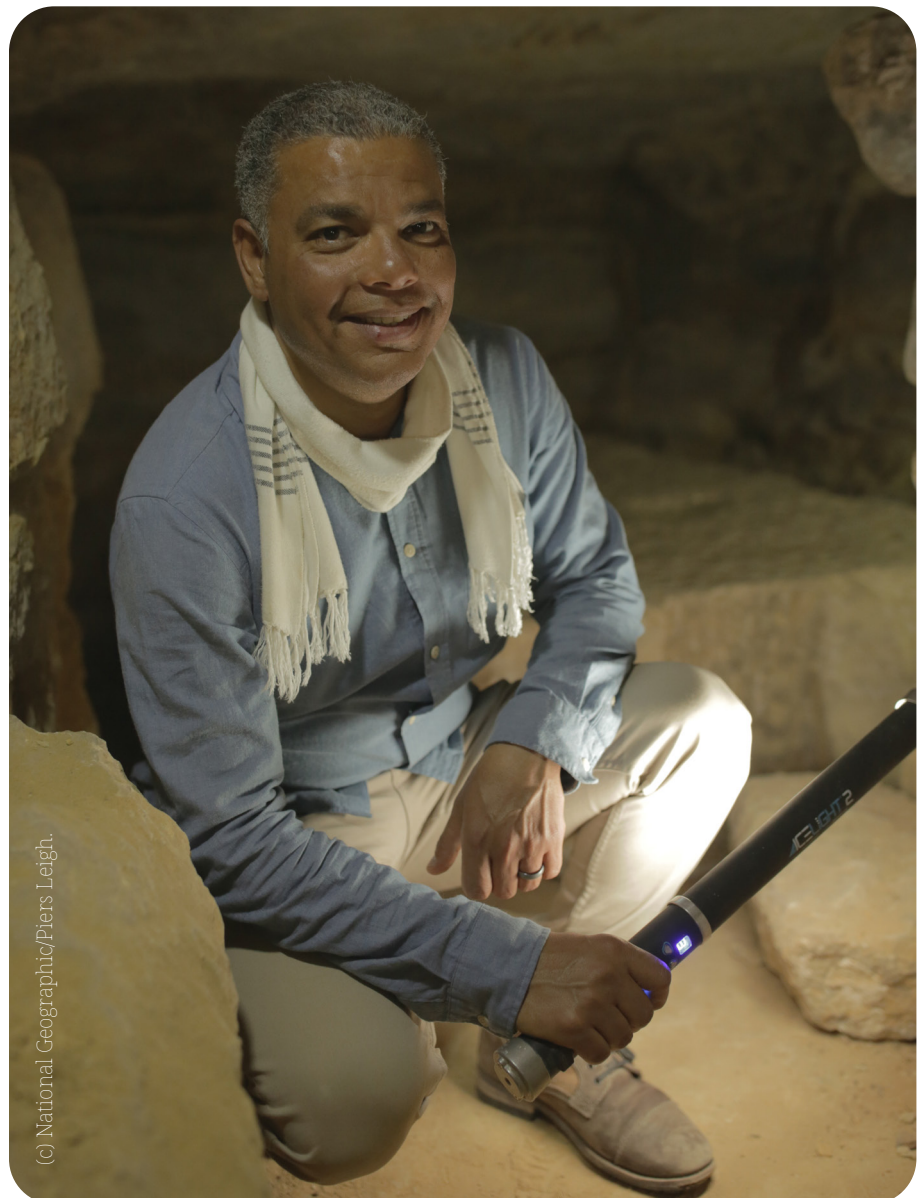
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This volume is dedicated to

Professor Ramadan Badry Hussein

He is remembered as a friend and close colleague who excavated within sight of us at Saqqara. The research proposal for the *Walking Dead* grant application was written in fruitful cooperation with him in 2017 and the project owes much to our ongoing discussions in Leiden, Saqqara, and elsewhere.

He is greatly missed.



(c) National Geographic/Piers Leigh.

Perspectives on lived religion II

Lara Weiss, Nico Staring
and Huw Twiston Davies

This volume was written with the generous support of a Dutch Research Council (NWO) VIDI-talent scheme research grant.¹ It publishes a selection of the contributions to the second *Walking Dead* conference, held at the Ministry of Antiquities, Cairo, in October 2019 (for the full programme, see fig. 1). We are most grateful to His Excellency the Minister of State for Tourism and Antiquities, Professor Dr Khaled el-Anany, for allowing us to host the event at the ministry's premises, to Dr Hisham el-Leithy, Under-Secretary of State for the Documentation of Egyptian Antiquities, for his kind support in organising it, and to all speakers and participants for making it such a great success.

At the moment of writing this introduction in January 2022, the conference seems to have been held in a different world. Only six months later, in March 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic was unleashed, which led to (partial) lockdowns, travel bans, and several cancelled excavation seasons. When work from home became the norm, libraries closed, and some had to home-school their children; doing actual research became an increasingly difficult exercise. Due to these challenges, these conference proceedings do not contain the written papers of all presentations delivered in Cairo.² We are very grateful to all participants in both *Walking Dead* conferences,³ for their kind interactions with our ideas, their useful feedback during the discussions and in the editing process, and for their stimulating engagement with the *Walking Dead* approach.

1 For the project description and its academic output, see the NWO website: <https://www.nwo.nl/projecten/276-30-016-0> (last accessed 9.2.2022).

2 The *Walking Dead* project deadline also led its team members to concentrate their time and efforts on writing the project's monographs and not write additional contributions to the proceedings. For the monographs, see: Weiss 2022; Staring 2023; Twiston Davies in preparation.

3 For the first conference see Staring/Twiston Davies/Weiss 2019.

   The Walking Dead II: The Making of a Cultural Geography <i>Egyptological Conference at the Ministry of Antiquities in Cairo 29 September – 1 October 2019</i> <u>Programme</u> <u>29th September: Religious Practices</u> 09:30–10:00 Doors open 10:00–10:15 Welcome and Opening Address by H.E. Ambassador Maged Mosleh, Head of International Organisations, Ministry of Antiquities Opening Address by H.E. Laurens Westhoff, Ambassador of the Netherlands to the Arab Republic of Egypt 10:15–10:30 Introduction by Dr. Lara Weiss, Principal Investigator, The Walking Dead Project 10:30–11:25 Session 1 – Chair: Lara Weiss 10:30–11:15 John Baines (University of Oxford) – How to take the dead to the cemetery and keep them from walking where they are not welcome 11:15–11:25 Discussion (Chair: Lara Weiss) 11:25–11:45 Coffee Break 11:45–13:30 Session 2 – Chair: Nico Staring 11:45–12:30 Elizabeth Froad (University of Oxford) – The greatest dead inhabit temple complexes and walk among structures and between complexes 12:30–13:15 Chiara Salvador (University of Oxford) – ‘Socializing’ the sacred space: an analysis of graffiti and appeals to the living as social acts in Karnak 13:15–13:25 Discussion (Chair: Nico Staring) 13:30–15:00 Lunch (at own expense) 15:00–16:45 Session 3 – Chair: Huw Twiston Davies 15:00–15:45 Janne Arp (Georg-August Universität, Göttingen) – Figurations in the study of Egyptian religion: the case of Amarna 15:45–16:30 Lara Weiss (Leiden University/Rijksmuseum van Oudheden) – Reconsidering the Gift 16:30–16:45 Questions & final discussion: Religious Practices (Chair: Huw Twiston Davies)	<u>30th September: Transmission</u> 09:25–11:40 Session 1 – Chair: Huw Twiston Davies 09:25–09:30 Opening by Huw Twiston Davies 09:30–10:15 Gabriele Pieke (Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, Mannheim) Remembering forward – on the transmission of pictorial representations in non-royal tomb decoration up to the New Kingdom 10:15–11:00 Joachim Quack (University of Heidelberg) – Establishing communication channels: remarks on the transmission of the Ritual of Opening the Mouth as a (not only) funerary text 11:00–11:10 Discussion (Chair: Huw Twiston Davies) 11:10–11:30 Coffee Break 11:30–13:10 Session 2 – Chair: John Baines 11:30–12:15 Dimitri Laboury (University of Liège) – Image transmission and artistic creation in a cultural geography perspective 12:15–13:00 Ramadan Hussein (University of Tübingen) – Coping with a tradition: three Saite text compositions from Saqqara 13:00–13:10 Discussion (Chair: John Baines) 13:10–15:00 Lunch (at own expense) 15:00–17:00 Session 3 – Chair: Ramadan Hussein 15:00–15:45 Huw Twiston Davies (Leiden University) – The Book of the Dead at Saqqara in the New Kingdom: ambiguities, exceptions, and living religion 15:45–16:30 Keynote by Prof. Dr. Ola El-Aguizy – The newly discovered tomb of the army General Iwrkhy 16:30–16:40 Questions & final Discussion: Transmission (Chair: Ramadan Hussein) <u>1st October: Landscape</u> 09:25–11:25 Session 1 – Chair: Nico Staring 09:25–09:30 Opening by Nico Staring 09:30–10:30 Keynote by Prof. Dr. Hassan Selim – The mud seal of king Den from the tomb of Hemaka (Cairo Museum JE 70100) 10:30–11:15 Hana Navratilova (University of Reading) – Pyramid life in secondary epigraphy – cultural biography and regimes of historicity 11:15–11:25 Discussion (Chair: Nico Staring) 11:25–11:45 Coffee break 11:45–13:25 Session 2 – Chair: Faiza Haikal 11:45–12:30 Henning Franzmeier (Roemer und Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim) – Living, dying and getting buried in Pi-Ramesse: utilizing limited space in the Nile Delta 12:30–13:15 Kevin Cahail (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) – Between town and temple: exploring the influences of royal, religious and social institutions on funerary landscape at South Abydos during the New Kingdom 13:15–13:25 Discussion (Chair: Faiza Haikal) 13:25–15:00 Lunch Break at own expense 13:25–17:15 Session 3 – Chair: Tarek Tawfik 15:00–15:45 Andreas Effland (University of Hamburg) – Reinventing resurrection: early Ramesseid ‘renaissance’ at Abydos 15:45–16:30 Nico Staring (Leiden University) – Biography of a necropolis: Saqqara in the Eighteenth Dynasty 16:30–16:40 Discussion & Final Discussion Landscape (Chairs: Nico Staring, Huw Twiston Davies, and Lara Weiss) 16:40–17:00 Coffee break 17:00–18:00 Session 4 – Chair: Tarek Tawfik 17:00–18:00 Keynote by Prof. Dr. Faiza Haikal – The flying dead (introduced by Tarek Tawfik)
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Figure 1: Programme of the Walking Dead II conference.

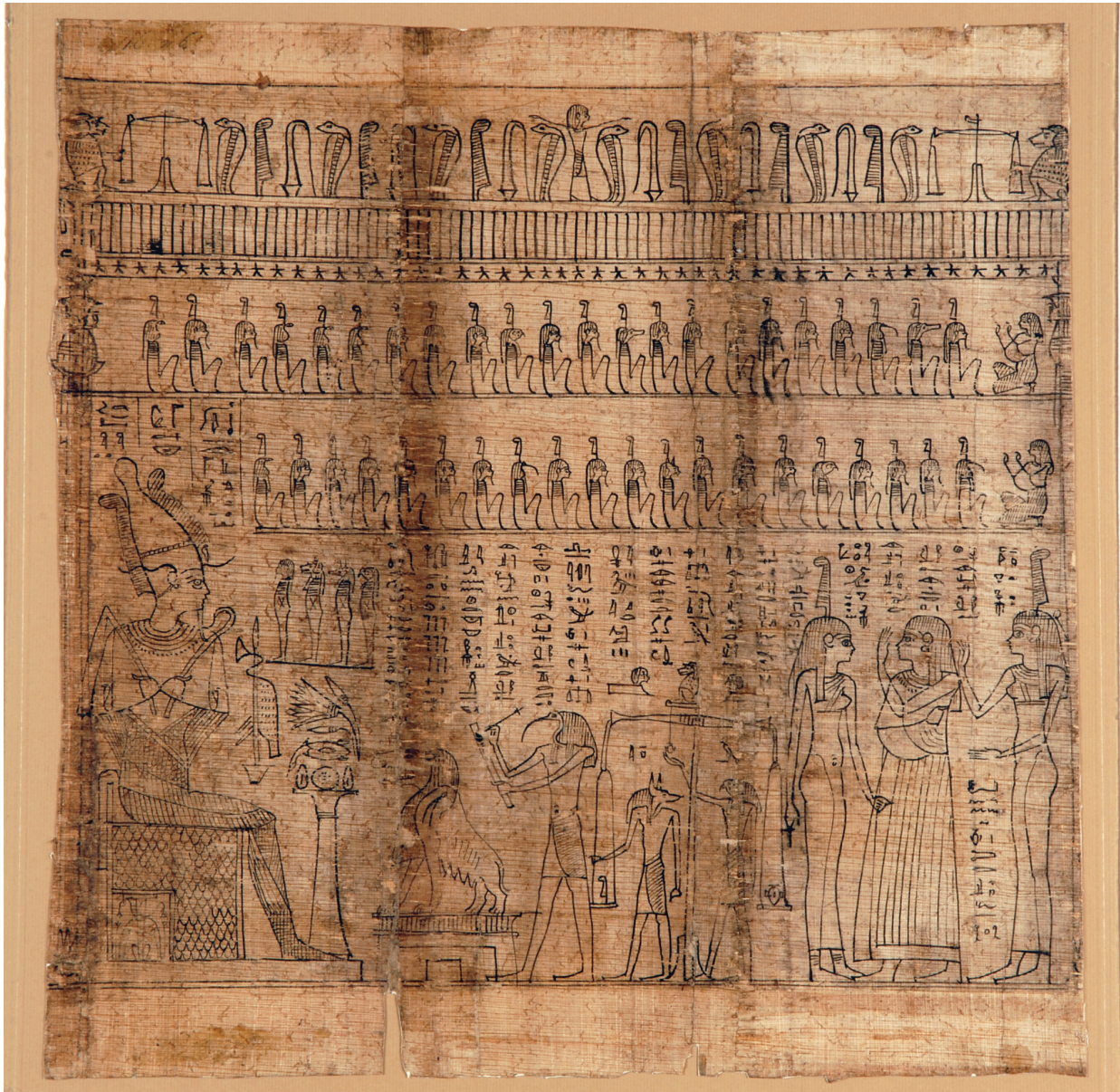


Figure 2: The tribunal of the god Osiris depicted in the Papyrus of Asetweret, now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, inv. no. AMS 41, sheet 17.

The living and the dead

The immense cultural and economic efforts ancient Egyptian elites invested in preparing for their afterlives is striking. Throughout Egyptian history, Egyptians built tombs of various kinds to be buried and remembered in. The sizes and shapes of these structures depended on the financial means of their builders, but also on contemporary fashions and group expectations. Tomb design and decoration related to peer group choices or distinguished tomb owners from their contemporaries. The religious motivations for tomb building remained

largely unchanged for much of Egyptian history: the ancient Egyptians believed that dead people were not *really* gone, but remained part of the world of the *living*. Generally, three requirements were necessary for the elite to achieve an eternal afterlife: first, the deceased's body had to be preserved, so that it could serve as a resting place for their 'soul' (the *Ba*) (Haikal, chapter 6). For this reason, members of the high elite paid specialised mummification priests to transform their deceased body into a mummy, and to perform a funeral that included the required rituals, such as the Opening of the Mouth.

Following the prescribed rituals, the deceased regained the power to move and to speak after death (Quack, chapter 5). These actions ensured that the bodies of members of the Egyptian elite would not decay. The rest of the ancient Egyptian population, who were not part of the elite, had less elaborate methods of burial, and often burying their dead in shallow pit graves. The mummified bodies of the elite were buried in coffins in the subterranean parts of their tombs. Both tomb and coffin were decorated with religious texts and images meant to provide additional protection to the deceased.

The second requirement of the deceased was transfiguration into an *Akh* spirit, using special rituals called *sakhu* (see also p. 82), a word which means ‘those that cause *Akh*-ness’. These ritual activities helped to transform the deceased into a powerful spirit similar to a god (an *Akh*), and more specifically into a being like the god Osiris. The deceased hoped to be able to enter the realm of Osiris in the Netherworld (fig. 2). Burial, or the construction of a monument, at his cult centre at Abydos, was popular in Egypt from the Middle Kingdom (c. 1980–1760 BCE) onwards. For many centuries, annual religious processions were staged at Osiris’s mythical burial place at Abydos, to celebrate and re-enact the god’s rejuvenation (Cahail, chapter 9).

The third condition for achieving an eternal existence after death was that the deceased person had to be continuously provided with food and drink. This was the reason for grave goods being placed in the burial chambers of tombs, and why priests, family members, and others passing by tombs placed offerings at them for the deceased. Some tomb owners had so-called ‘Appeals to the Living’ on their tomb walls, to encourage the living to leave offerings for the dead. These texts explicitly invited the living to come and make offerings. Over the centuries, ideas about the needs of the dead changed, but mummification and burial always retained the same goal, which was rebirth and a good afterlife.

The *Walking Dead* approach

The ancient Egyptians’ belief in an eternal afterlife centred on life rather than death. This observation is fundamental to the *Walking Dead* approach.⁴ It seeks to highlight the fact that the deceased remained part of the daily experience of the living – as, for example, John Baines nicely illustrates (chapter 1) – and to analyse the interactions of the living and the dead, and the way these affected each other and their physical environment, whether natural or made by humans. The results of these complex interactions are understood to form a site’s *Cultural Geography*. This concept allows us to

4 E.g. Weiss 2021; 2018.

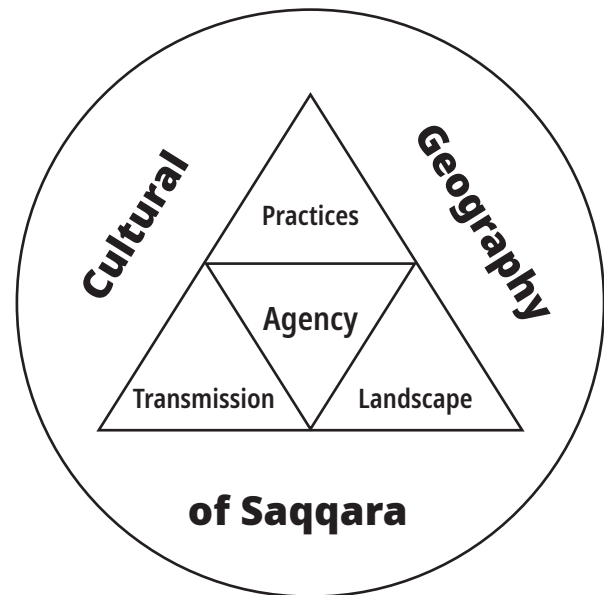


Figure 3: The *Walking Dead* model. © Lara Weiss.

trace these processes of formation in the archaeological record through three research perspectives, namely (1) religious practices, (2) transmission, and (3) landscape (fig. 3). This provides the organising principle for this book, and the papers published here have been divided up accordingly. The combination of these perspectives affords a deeper understanding of how individuals and groups changed and adapted their religion over time, and emphasises that religion, whether ancient or modern, is not monolithic, but subject to a continuous readaptation in differing contexts.

‘Religious practices’ refers to what people were doing, and where they were doing it, such as writing graffiti in the sacred space of the temple of Karnak at Thebes (Salvador, chapter 2) or at various monuments in the Memphite necropolis (Navratilova, chapter 7). Another approach to religious action is the study of how people created and maintained their social networks at the court of King Akhenaten in Amarna (so-called ‘figurations’ see Arp-Neumann, chapter 3), who was a religious as well as political leader. Cemeteries and other religious sites such as temples (for Abydos see Cahail, chapter 9) and settlements (for Pi-Ramesse see Franzmeier, chapter 8) are examined from the perspective that these were places that were constantly changing as a result of human interactions with the environment, as well as with the living and the dead. In a sense, these places ‘lived’ through the everyday interactions of the living, their memories, and with ancient Egyptian literary and religious texts. Cemeteries

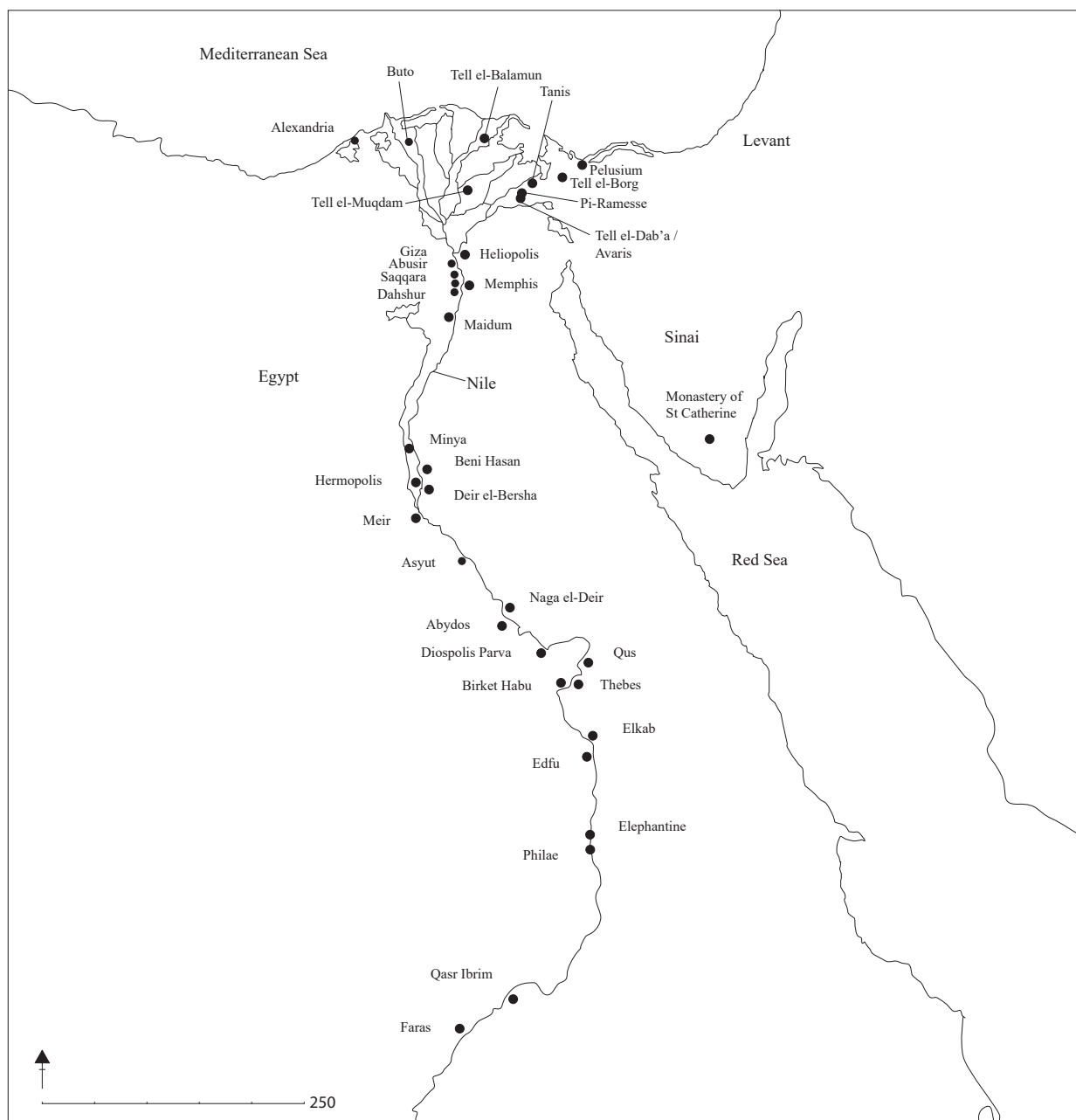


Figure 4: Map of place names mentioned in this volume.

and temples were regularly visited by architects, scribes, and artists, who decorated the tombs and temples but who also left their traces by means of graffiti (Navratilova, chapter 7). These changes in the form of sites over time form the focus of the ‘landscape’ perspective. These sites were also visited by priests who performed both rituals and offerings to the gods and the deceased, and by spectators and participants in divine processions, who walked over the sites, venerated ancestors and gods, or

drew inspiration from the ancient monuments.⁵ This last kind of interaction is examined through the lens of ‘textual and pictorial transmission’, which highlights which (religious) texts were used where and by whom, how they were transformed in different contexts across time (Quack, chapter 5), how specific decorative motifs were reproduced and adapted in different tombs

⁵ E.g. Staring/Twiston Davies/Weiss 2019.

(Pieke, chapter 4), and how ideas were transmitted and adapted over millennia and between religious traditions (Haikal, chapter 6).

Perspectives on lived religion

The term ‘lived religion’ refers to a focus on individual and group experiences, practices, and their various expressions in everyday life.⁶ The chapters in this volume show how gods, ancestors, and kings in ancient Egypt were addressed by various people and through different means at different times. Older monuments and stories remained visible, and more recent activity created a palimpsest landscape, reflecting the effects of human agency over millennia. The landscape held special significance for later generations too, though

this sometimes differed from earlier interpretations. These later generations reshaped the landscape in their turn. The analysis of the various cultural geographies informed by the *Walking Dead* approach adds a spatial perspective to the study of lived ancient religion, and shows which traditions were followed, disputed, and negotiated by whom and where, revealing the various changing traditions and interests at work in any given time and place.

Practicalities

In this volume, dates follow those found in the Egyptian chronology of Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss, and David A. Warburton.⁷ All ancient sites mentioned in this volume are listed in the map above (fig. 4).

6 Raja/Rüpke 2015.

7 Hornung/Krauss/Warburton 2006.

Abbreviations

- HTBM V* = British Museum, Department of Egyptian Antiquities (1914), *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum*, London.
- KRI* = Kitchen, K. (1975–1989), *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*, 7 vols, Oxford.
- PM* = Porter, B., and Moss, R.L.B. (1927–1995), *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vols, Oxford.
- KRITA* = Kitchen, K.A. (1993-2014), *Ramesside inscriptions, translated and annotated* (7 vols). Oxford/Cambridge.
- LGG* = Leitz, Chr. (ed.) (2002-2003), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, 8 vols, Leuven.
- Urk IV* = Sethe, K. (1961), *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Berlin.

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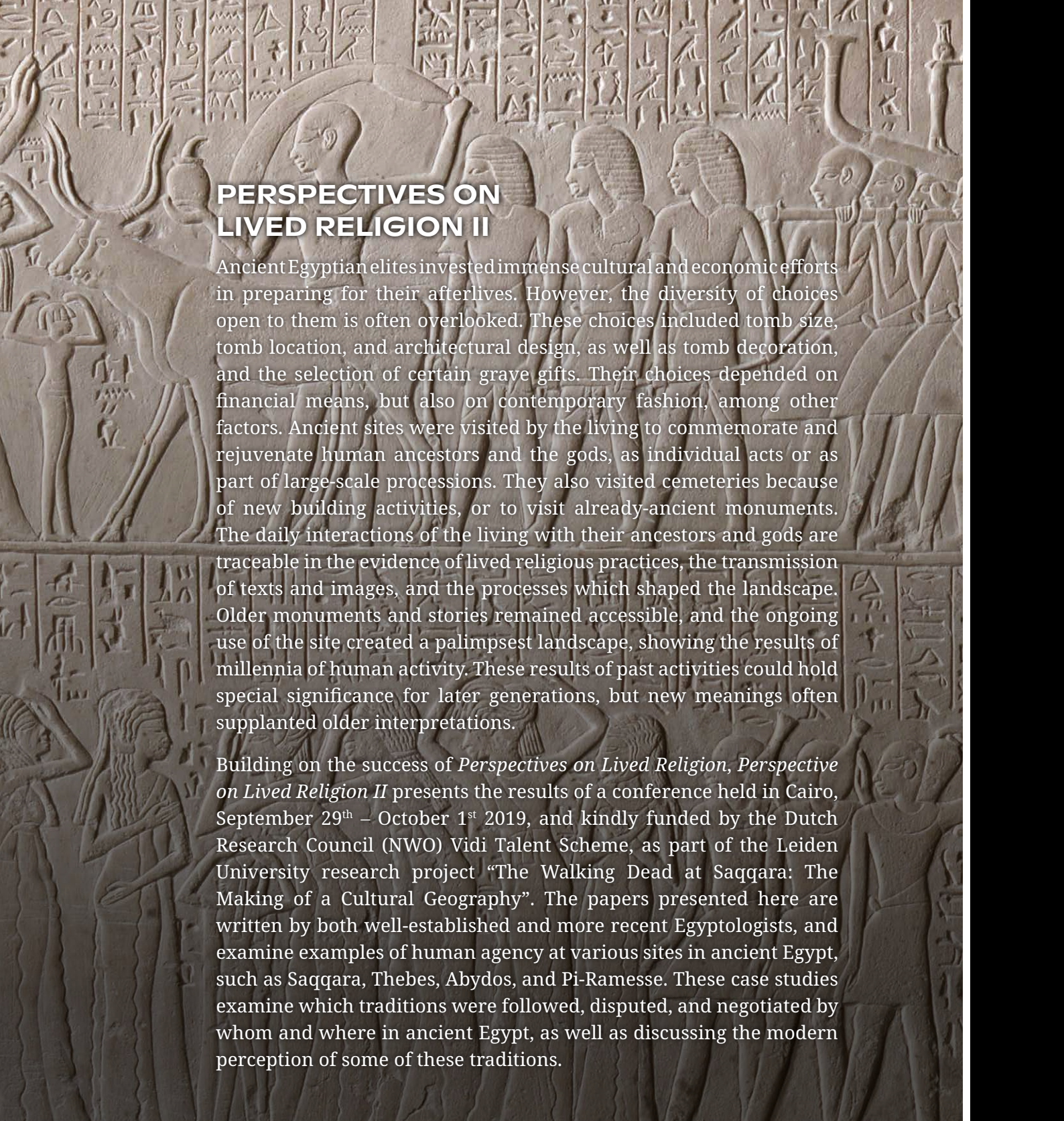
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PERSPECTIVES ON LIVED RELIGION II

Ancient Egyptian elites invested immense cultural and economic efforts in preparing for their afterlives. However, the diversity of choices open to them is often overlooked. These choices included tomb size, tomb location, and architectural design, as well as tomb decoration, and the selection of certain grave gifts. Their choices depended on financial means, but also on contemporary fashion, among other factors. Ancient sites were visited by the living to commemorate and rejuvenate human ancestors and the gods, as individual acts or as part of large-scale processions. They also visited cemeteries because of new building activities, or to visit already-ancient monuments. The daily interactions of the living with their ancestors and gods are traceable in the evidence of lived religious practices, the transmission of texts and images, and the processes which shaped the landscape. Older monuments and stories remained accessible, and the ongoing use of the site created a palimpsest landscape, showing the results of millennia of human activity. These results of past activities could hold special significance for later generations, but new meanings often supplanted older interpretations.

Building on the success of *Perspectives on Lived Religion*, *Perspective on Lived Religion II* presents the results of a conference held in Cairo, September 29th – October 1st 2019, and kindly funded by the Dutch Research Council (NWO) Vidi Talent Scheme, as part of the Leiden University research project “The Walking Dead at Saqqara: The Making of a Cultural Geography”. The papers presented here are written by both well-established and more recent Egyptologists, and examine examples of human agency at various sites in ancient Egypt, such as Saqqara, Thebes, Abydos, and Pi-Ramesse. These case studies examine which traditions were followed, disputed, and negotiated by whom and where in ancient Egypt, as well as discussing the modern perception of some of these traditions.