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THE MUTABILITY OF TRADITION: THE OLD KINGDOM HERITAGE AND MIDDLE KINGDOM SIGNIFICANCE OF COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 343*

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'Utterance of avoiding the Iadet-net and passing by the Inyt-net of (bird¹-) catching by an Akh in the necropolis'.² Thus begins CT 343 on a Middle Kingdom coffin from Thebes. To judge from the title given it there, it might be first supposed that the text belongs among those studied by Dino Bidoli in *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze in den altägyptischen Sargtexten*, a type first attested in the Middle Kingdom and consisting of CT 473 and its variants, 474 through 480.³ Dealing with the dead Egyptian's 'peur du filet de pêche', a topic under the sub-heading 'les dangers de l'au-delà et leur esquivé',⁴ the net spells receive a concise summary of their import in the title given CT 473: 'utterance of the Iadet-net and the bird-net from which a man escapes'.⁵ According to Bidoli,⁶ their concrete imagery pertains to nets for catching fish and birds,⁷ activities of the swampy areas between the civilization of the town and the wasteland of the desert. Projected into the symbolic afterworld community, the motif attains cosmic scope, and, in the hands of divine and demonic fishermen, the net becomes a threatening obstacle for the wandering dead:

In the net spells a double danger confronts the dead: to be trapped (*lss*) as a migratory bird, or caught as 'tired' fish in the net. Only knowledge of the secrets of the appropriate nets gives succor, it alone conferring the means by which one can be legitimated against otherworldly fishermen. As mythological knowledge with glorifying efficacy, it enables the dead to transform himself into the 'eldest' (*wr*), the 'fisher of the willow', to hunt as fowler, or at least break free of the net in the form of a rapacious god, should he be unable to escape it.⁸

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¹ See later in the same text, IV 353d.

² CT 343 IV 348a (T1L): *r3 n(l) 33f 33d.t zn.t iny.t 'h ln 3h m hrlt-ntr*

³ Bidoli, *Sprüche der Fangnetze*, 11 with n. 1.

⁴ See the sectional headings of P. Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, Paris 1986, 303.

⁵ CT 473 (VI 3-16)VI 3a-b (B1C): *r3 n(l) 33d.t l.zzy.t | h33.t z(l) r=s*

⁶ The following paraphrases Bidoli, *Sprüche der Fangnetze*, 11.

⁷ Thus two kinds of nets are mentioned in the title in the version of T1L.

⁸ Bidoli, *Sprüche der Fangnetze*, 11: 'Diese sehen sich somit einer doppelten Gefahr ausgesetzt: Als Zugvögel ertappt (*lss*) zu werden, oder wie "müde" Fische in das Netz zu geraten. Dagegen hilft nur die Kenntnis der Geheimnisse der entsprechenden Netze, sie allein verleiht die Fähigkeit, sich gegenüber den Jenseitsfischern zu legitimieren. Als ein mythisches Wissen mit verklärender Wirkung ermöglicht es nämlich dem Toten, sich selbst in den "Ältesten" (*Wr*), den "Fischer von der Weide", zu verwandeln, als Vogelsteller zu jagen, oder zumindest in der Gestalt eines raubgierigen Gottes sich aus dem Netz loszureißen, wenn er es nicht vermeiden kann'.

CT 343 indeed evokes this danger. Toward the middle of the text there is the following passage:

May you (sc. the deceased) leave the place of judgment,
and pass by the snaring Inyt-net, the Iadet-net of Foremost of the Westerners,
and the fish-trap, with its floats in the sky and its weights in the earth,
having been made for those Akhs who would go to their Kas:
they cannot come while it remains.⁹

Here the text's title is well justified, and the overarching significance of the net is revealed: it limits mobility.¹⁰ Here also is further justification for the text's association with the net spells, as they express similar sentiments. For example, in CT 473 the deceased declares:

O Herefhaf, fowler of the *canals, powerful of heart, Geb of the Webatta-net,
O fishers, O progeny who trap the dead, capturing birds of passage:
you will not trap me (sc. the deceased) in your nets in which you trap the dead,
but capture birds of passage,
for I know its name:
the net of the gods is the Inyt-net;
for I know the name of its bait¹¹:
it is the spreader, after he put his White Crown of lapis-lazuli upon him.¹²

Beyond offering a semantic connection to CT 343, this passage exhibits the two chief characteristics of a net spell: a set of vocatives to the fishers and fowlers manipulating the nets,

⁹ CT 343 IV 353c-356a (B1Pb)

šs=k hb.t

zn=k ln.t n(i)t 'h | šd.t n(i)t hntl lmn.tlw

hšm.t | dbš.w=s m p.t | dns.wt=s m tš

lr.t(i) r šh.w lpw zb.w n kš.w=s

tm=sn lw zp=f; cf. Barguet, *Textes des sarcophages*, 317: 'qui n'ont pas péché'.

¹⁰ Cf. J. Assmann in collaboration with M. Bommas, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 1. *Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches*, Heidelberg 2002, 170. The *hb.t* is a place of judgment, according to J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions*, Leiden 1960, 170-171 (followed by R. Grieshammer, *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten*, ÄgAbh 20, Wiesbaden 1970, 67 with n. 369), but its connotative significance more involves restraint than slaughter, as is evident from CT 494 VI 75j-76b (B3L): *pr šš (l) m(i)-hnw kšr | lw šdm.n=f hrw bš=l | hr nhm=f ds=f m- ' lbš.tlw | lt.w bš.w | hnr.w šw.wt | dd.w m hb.t | hnr.w m tph.wt | hš.w mtr spr=f* 'Let ascend Sia, the one who is in the naos, for he has heard the voice of my Ba as it was saving itself from those of the trap, who seize Bas, restrain Shades, put in the place of judgment, restrain in the naoi, and seek to testify when it arrives', and the context of *hb.t* at CT 23 I 70d, as discussed at Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 1, 138. The net as restraint is already evident from the association of a nisba derived from *lny.t* with mummy-bindings in the sacerdotal text PT 556 §§1386a-b (J. Leclant et al., *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 2, MIFAO 118/2, Cairo 2001, pl. XXII, ll. 14-15): *lw.n n=tn lt(=l) pw wslr P. | wh'.n=f qš[s]=f sfhh.n=f w(t).w nhm.n=f sw m- ' lnw.tl* (for the restoration *w(t).w*, see PT 662 §1878a: *sfhh.w wt.w=tn*): 'to you has this my father Osiris Pepi come, having loosened his fetters, having released his mummy-bindings, having saved himself from he of the Inyt-net'; in this connection see below, n. 48.

¹¹ Lit. seed grain.

¹² CT 473 VI 3c-4h (B1C)

l hr=f-hš=f wh' w d'.w šhm lb | gbb wbš.t-tš

l wh'.w lpw | l ms.w lt.w=sn lpw | hšm.w nn.w | l.z<z>=sn ht(i)w-tš

n hšm=tn {n} wl m šd.wt=tn | hšm.w<D>=tn nn.w lm=s

l.z<z>.w lr=tn ht(i)w-tš

(n) nt(i)t wl rh.kw rn=s<n>

inn.t pw šd.t ntr.w

(n) nt(i)t wl rh.kw rn n(i) m(i)m(i).w=s

pd.w pw rdl.n=f hš.t=f m-tp=f n(i)t hšbd.w

and a detailed identification of the net's parts;¹³ (only the very beginning of such a one is given here). As Bidoli notes,¹⁴ these list-like identifications are parallel to the identification of parts of the ferryboat and matters related to its use in Middle Kingdom ferryman texts.¹⁵ For example,

O ferryman, bring me this!
Who are you?
I am one who loves his father.
As your father loves you, what would you do for him?
I would bind together his bones for him,
having collected his limbs for him.¹⁶

In the present instance, the identifications are initiated via a question-and-answer format: as a demonstration of knowledge, the deceased must specify matters related to the ferryboat and his desired crossing so as to show his worthiness to be conveyed in it.¹⁷ Although in the net spells the question-and-answer *topos*¹⁸ is not employed,¹⁹ the deceased similarly makes identifications in order to achieve his end. 'Das Wissen gibt den Ausschlag', in the words of Hermann Kees.²⁰ The question-and-answer *topos* and the grammatical manner of identification²¹

¹³ Concerning the specifications, Bidoli, *Sprüche der Fangnetze*, 12, observes that there are usually two sections: first the parts and associated equipment of the bird net, and next a short itemization of the parts of the fish net. As the example shows, strictly speaking these are not really lists, but series of identificatory statements. The series are not always restricted to parts of nets (see for example CT 473 VI 9d-f [B1C]: (n) nt(l)t wl rh.kw rn n(l) bw gw3.t(w)=s lm l m-ht h3m=s l w'r.t tw pw bl3y.t hms.t ntr nb hr=s 'for I know the name of the place in which it is drawn up after it has caught (someone): it is "this distant region upon which every god sits"'); to be precise, the series identify things, persons, and places that have to do with hunting by means of nets.

¹⁴ Bidoli, *Sprüche der Fangnetze*, 11-12.

¹⁵ On the ferryman spells CT 396-398, 400-405, see now S. Bickel, 'D'un monde à l'autre: le thème du passeur et de sa barque dans la pensée funéraire', in: S. Bickel and B. Mathieu (eds.), *D'un monde à l'autre: Texts des pyramides et textes des sarcophages*, BdE 139, Cairo 2004, 91-117; and further H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418)*, OLA 70, Leuven 1996, 156-177; C. Jacq, *Le voyage dans l'autre monde selon l'Égypte ancienne*, Le Rocher 1986, 37-80; D. Mueller, 'An Early Egyptian Guide to the Hereafter', JEA 58 (1972) 99-125; H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter*, Berlin, 1983 [1956], 73-76; H. Kees, 'Zur lokalen Überlieferung des Totenbuch-Kapitels 99 und seiner Vorläufer', in: O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien* (Fs Grapow), Berlin 1955, 176-185; and H. Kees, 'Göttinger Totenbuchstudien. Die älteste Fassung der Einleitung des Totenbuchkapitels 99', in: *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia*, II/2, Berlin 1950, 77-96.

¹⁶ CT 398 V 121c-123a (M3C)

l mhn.tl ln n(=l) nw
tw tr m
lnk mrr.w lt=f
mr tw lt=k lr=k n=f ls3.t
tz=l n=f qs.w=f
sq.n=l n=f 'wt=f

¹⁷ Cf. Bickel, 'D'un monde à l'autre', 96, and J. Assmann, 'Altägyptische Kultkommentare', in: J. Assmann and B. Gladigow (eds.), *Text und Kommentar. Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation IV*, Munich 1995, 101-102. The speculation of Bidoli, *Sprüche der Fangnetze*, 30-33, that the identifications were part of an initiatory rite into a practical guild, has been rejected via analogical reasoning by Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 160, followed by Bickel, 'D'un monde à l'autre', 109.

¹⁸ Here meaning, 'a fixed or standard figure of diction'.

¹⁹ As observed at Assmann, 'Altägyptische Kultkommentare', 100.

²⁰ Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen*, 76, making this statement in the context of ferryman texts.

²¹ The grammatical structure of the reply is typically the bipartite nominal construction with pw as subject, and thus a connection could be made to explicatory glosses found in the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus, as does Bidoli, *Sprüche der Fangnetze*, 28. The question as to whether both involve a newer, symbolically meaningful commentary overlaid upon an older textual foundation is speculative. What is clear is that the purpose of the pRam. dram.

are both of interest, but the former more so in the present context, because it is an obvious link between Middle Kingdom ferryman texts and their Old Kingdom predecessors. When encountered in Dynasty 5 and 6 ferryman texts,²² the question-and-answer *topos* is yet nascent — neither so extensive as nor aggressive like the interrogations found in the Coffin Texts²³ — but there is nevertheless an unmistakable connection, as the following Pyramid Texts passage illustrates:²⁴

Herefemkhenetef-Herefemhaf,²⁵
bring this to Wenis!
Which ferryboat should be brought to you, Wenis?
Bring to Wenis 'Just as it flies, so does it alight',²⁶

This example exhibits a further genetic link between ferryman texts from the two periods: the ferryman is named in a vocative.²⁷ The same occurs in texts new to the Middle Kingdom,

glosses is to mythologically explicate concrete cultic actions, as observed by J.F. Quack, 'Zur Lesung und Deutung des Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus', ZÄS 133 (2006) 78-79. In the net spells, there is no connection between the statements and any cultic action, thereby distancing the net spells' presentation of knowledge from the ritual explanations: the net specifications simply identify objects; they do not comment upon cultic activities which run concurrent to them. On a cultic basis, the net spells may also be distinguished from offering ritual texts; contrast Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 165. Although the question-and-answer *topos* of the ferryman spells (and even the specifications of net spells) would at first glance seem related to that found in CT 335 (> BD 17), U. Rößler-Köhler, 'Text oder Kommentar. Zur Frage von Textkommentaren im vorgriechischen Ägypten', in: Assmann and Gladigow, *Text und Kommentar*, 117-123, distinguishes CT 335 from them along four dimensions: specificity of situation, speaker-object deixis, speaker-answerer deixis, and the assumption that the *topos* and specifications are not secondary to ferryman and net spells, while they are to CT 335. However, as proposed by P. Jürgens, 'Zum überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang der Sargtextsprüche 335 und 397', SAK 29 (2001) 113 with n. 3, CT 335 and the ferryman text CT 397 were integral components of a coffin decoration program, adding support to an association perceived between the two by H. Willems, 'The Embalmer Embalmed. Remarks on the Meaning of the Decoration of Some Middle Kingdom Coffins', in: J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, Groningen 1997, 362-363. As that may be, in their explicatory function, the question-and-answer *topos* of CT 335 is akin to the glosses of medical texts, discussed at J.H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, vol. 1, OIP 3, Chicago 1930, 61-62. Medical glosses are compared to ritual glosses at S. Schott, *Die Deutung der Geheimnisse des Rituals für die Abwehr des Bösen*. Wiesbaden 1954, 24, in the course of discussing all the kinds of identificatory statements mentioned above; see the summary of this seminal work at Assmann, 'Altägyptische Kommentare', 93.

²² On a ferryman text with extensive questions and answers observed to be parallel to CT 397 at Ibi/S/S (Aba 587-596), see now Bickel, 'D'un monde à l'autre', 94-96 with n. 18 for further reference.

²³ Bickel, 'D'un monde à l'autre', 93-94.

²⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 93 with nn. 14-15, and the two ferryman texts PT 470 §914c (N): *šm=k tny* 'Where will you go?'; and PT 505 §1091b (P): *pr.n=k tnl* 'From where have you ascended?'. See also two ascension texts with the same *topos*: PT 473 §930d (M): *l(n)-m tw=k (< tr=k)* 'Who are you?'; PT 508 §1116c (P): *lw.n=k trl tn* 'To where have you come?'

²⁵ On this name, see L. Depuydt, 'Der Fall des "Hintersichschauers"', GM 126 (1992) 37.

²⁶ PT 310 §§493b-494b (W)

hr=f-m-hnt=f hr=f-mh3=f

ln nw n W.

ln.t(l) n=k W. zy mhn.t

ln n W. l.p3=s hnn=s

²⁷ As at PT 270 §§383a and 383b-c; PT 300 §445a; PT 310 §493b; PT 321 §517a; PT 359 §§597a-b; PT 363 §607c (*r'* as ferryman, as he is to *ḏl* the king); PT 470 §913c; PT 472 §925c; PT 475 §946a; PT 481 §999a; PT 505 §1091a; PT 516 §1183a; PT 517 §1188a-b; PT 518 §1193a; PT 519 §1201a; PT 522 §1227a; PT 566 §1429a-c (*hr* and *ḏhw.tl* as ferrymen, as they are to *ḏl* and *ḏl* the king); PT 586D §1585a; PT 616 §1743a, and as at CT 396 V 73k; CT 397 V 75d; CT 398 V 120a; CT 400 V 170g-171a; CT 401 V 174b; CT 402 V 176b; CT 403 V 177i-178a; CT 404 V 187g-188a; CT 405 V 201j-202a.

as with 'O Manhaf, awaken Aqen for me! Bring this to me!'²⁸ Christian Jacq divides the names attributed to the ferryman into a few groups. First, there is simply *mhn.tl* 'ferryman'; second, compounds built from the roots *m33* 'to see' and *hr* 'face' and analogous structures; and finally, everything else.²⁹ The second group is the most distinctive, with *m3-h3=f* 'looking behind him', and *hr=f-h3=f* 'his sight behind him'. Vocatives employing names of this kind are found in both Old and Middle Kingdom ferryman texts. And they are also encountered in Bidoli's net spells,³⁰ as in CT 474, with 'O Mahaf, whose heart is powerful, fisher of the purse-net, fisher of the Wadjet-tawy-net...'³¹

To summarize things so far, in the Old Kingdom such names are found only in ferryman texts. In the Middle Kingdom, Mahaf and the others continue to man the ferryboat, but they also act as fisher and fowler, wielding the net that threatens to capture the deceased, thus representing an impediment to freedom of movement. Accepting the Middle Kingdom net spells as an innovation of that period, one sees both the maintenance of tradition and its modification in the expansion of function over time. The names of their fishers and fowlers, together with their detailed specifications of component parts, plot a trajectory from the net spells over to contemporary Middle Kingdom ferryman texts, and through them back to Old Kingdom ferryman texts.

But naturally there are points of contrast between net and ferryman spells. Above all, the motif of bringing the ferryboat is typical to ferryman texts from both the Old and Middle Kingdoms,³² as in a passage cited above, with 'Manhaf, awaken Aqen for me! Bring this (sc. the ferryboat) to me!' Since such demands simply do not occur in Bidoli's net spells, the following passage from CT 343 somewhat complicates the preliminary assessment made of the text's nature: 'Then you are to summon Mahaf, who awakens Aqen for you, that he may bring this ferryboat in which equipped Akhs are brought'.³³ Even though CT 343 has clear connections with the net spells by title and content, here one might well perceive the text as joining the ranks of another type. In fact, CT 343's intertextual associations are even more complex than that. But, with a skein of connections to a variety of texts reaching back to the Old Kingdom, its semantic thrust is clear enough: it is obsessed with themes of nocturnal passage.³⁴

²⁸ CT 396 V 73n-o (B9C): *m3n-h3=f srs n=l 'qn l ln n=l nw*

²⁹ See Jacq, *Voyage dans l'autre monde*, 44. On the names of the ferryman, see further Bickel, 'D'un monde à l'autre', 92 with n. 5 for further references; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1971, 333-334; Depuydt, 'Der Fall des "Hintersichschauers"', 33-38; R. Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte und Jenseitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexte*, ÄgAbh 59, Wiesbaden 1997, 67-85; and reference to criticism of the last-mentioned at P. Wallin, *Celestial Cycles. Astronomical Concepts of Regeneration in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Uppsala 2002, 65.

³⁰ As noted at Bidoli, *Sprüche der Fangnetze*, 29.

³¹ CT 474 VI 17a-b (B1Bo): *l m3-h3=f skm {m} lh=f l wh' md'.w wh' w3d.t-t3.wl*. In the same spell, VI 20c-21b (B1Bo): *l m3-h3=f l [w]h' md'.w skm m hrw=f l wh' [n(l)] w33-t3 'O Menhaf, [fi]sher of the purse-net, who has power over his voice, fisher of the Webata-net...'; and VI 23e (B1Bo): l hr=f-h3=f wh' md'.w 'O Herehaf, who fishes with the purse-net...'*

³² As at PT 266 §363c; PT 300 §445b; §445d; PT 310 §§494a-b; PT 321 §517a; PT 359 §599b; PT 470 §913c; PT 472 §925c; PT 475 §§946b-c; PT 518 §1193b; PT 519 §§1201b-c; PT 520 §1222a; PT 522 §§1227d, §1228b-c; PT 531 §1254c; PT 568 §1432a; PT 616 §1743b, and as at CT 396 V 73o; CT 397 V 75d; CT 398 V 121d; CT 400 V 171b; CT 401 V 174c; CT 403 V 179f; CT 404 V 188g.

³³ CT 343 IV 359c-360b (T1L): *hr nls=k r=k r m3-h3=f l srs n=k 'qn ln.t=f n=k mhn.t tw d33.t 3h.w 'pr.w lm=s*

³⁴ For a text-critical *editio*, translation, and commentary of CT 343, see P. Jürgens, *Grundlinien einer Überlieferungsgeschichte der altägyptischen Sargtexte. Stemmata und Archetypen der Spruchgruppen 30-32 + 33-37, 75(-83), 162 + 164, 225 + 226 und 343 + 345*, GOF IV.31, Wiesbaden 1995, 324-336, and see also the more

A. Call to Resurrection and Escape

O Osiris N.,
 arise! Raise yourself! Hurry to every sandbank among those whom Hezat suckled,³⁵
 O Ser-noble³⁶ of the great ones whose places endure in the sky,³⁷ one to whom sleep in the earth
 has been given!
 O Osiris N.,
 quicken!³⁸ Raise yourself,
 and seize the tail of the long-horned bull, the companion³⁹ of Anubis!
 Learn the Ways of the West,⁴⁰
 of those who traverse the sky,⁴¹ who cross the heavens,⁴² who overturn the Sacred Land,⁴³

recently published additional source Sid2Sid, with commentary thereon at A.G. Abdel Fatah and S. Bickel, 'Trois cercueils de Sedment', BIFAO 100 (2000) 5-8. The following translation and discussion follows source B1Pb.

³⁵ Cf. *snq hz.t* at CT 175 III 61b-e: *lnk hr hnti š p.t dhw.tl hnty zh-nfr | kš hq snq hz.t | lnk 'š qmš hq.t | šsq.t qs.w pw n(l)w wslr* 'I am Horus, foremost of the lake of the sky, Thoth (!) Foremost of the God's Booth, the white bull whom Hezat suckled. I am the Great One, whom Heqet created, she who collected the bones of Osiris'. B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, GOF IV.7, Wiesbaden 1975, 22, observes that Hezat is the mother of Anubis, as one would expect here in place of Thoth.

³⁶ For the deceased himself as Ser-noble, see the ascension texts PT 264 §347b (T): *sdm.n=f mdw sr is* 'him having judged as a Ser-noble'; PT 509 §1127b (P): *sr pw sr nb* 'He is the noble of every noble'; PT 519 §1220a-b (M): *wd=k š=k n=k M.n. m sr n(l) šh.w lpw | l.hm.w-sk mh.tlw p.t* 'Ah, may you place Merenre as a Ser-noble of these Akhs, the Imperishable Stars of the north of the sky'.

³⁷ Cf. PT 407 §710b (T): *l.mn s.wt T. nfr.t* 'let the beautiful places of Teti endure'; PT 412 §730b (T): *l.mn s.wt=k lmlt nfr.w* 'may your places among the gods endure'; cf. also CT 216 III 193c (B4Bo): *wslr N. tn ššš s.wt mn s.wt m nfr.w* 'the Osiris N., being hidden of places and enduring of places among the gods'.

³⁸ Exhortations to hurry occur in the sacerdotal texts PT 364 §611a: *l.wn=k* 'May you quicken!'; PT 365 §622a: *wn fw* 'Quicken!'; and PT 370 §646c: *wn fw* 'Quicken!'.

³⁹ For the translation 'companion', see J.P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Atlanta 2005, 31 (for PT 215 §141a), 68 (for PT 325 §531b), and 122 (for PT 466 §882b), and Edel, *Altägypt. Gramm.* §247, where this word is defined 'Gefährte, Gleichrangiger'. Cf. Wb ii 420.12: "'Träger" als Bez. von Gottheiten, welche Sternkörper u.ä. tragen oder stützen', cited by Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 22, in establishing that Anubis 'tatsächlich an Anubis als Stern-gottheit gedacht sein könnte'. *rmn.wtl* does not strictly pertain to stars, however, as may be seen at PT 215 §141a (where celestial Atum is in question); PT 325 §531b (where it is a matter of *rmn.wtl šw*); and especially CT 237 III 311h-312e (G2T): *l.nd-hr=f hš.t wslr | rmn.wtl(l) kš ndl.t | snfy.t wt.w... | hr(l)t- wt lnpw m srwh h'.w wrd lb* 'Hail to you, mourner of Osiris, companion of the Bull of Nedit, who makes the mummy-bindings breathe,... assistant of the embalmer Anubis in curing the flesh of Tired of Heart', where Isis is *rmn.wtl* of the corpse in the *pr-nfr* 'embalming house' (III 310a). Note that a variant of the present passage of our text, CT 343 IV 352a-353a (B1C) shows *rmn.wtl šh...* | *nml.w p.t | dš.w blš* 'companion of Orion... those who traverse the sky, who cross the heavens', which is directly evocative of PT 466 §882b-c (P): *fw sbš pw 'š rmn.wtl šh | nm p.t hn' šh hn dš.t hn' wslr* 'you are this great star, a companion of Orion, who traverses the sky with Orion, who rows the Netherworld with Osiris'.

⁴⁰ For *l.rh* as the imperative, see PT 311 §495b; PT 424 §772a; and CT 607 VI 220k (TT 39). The *wš.wt lmn.t*, as opposed to those of the east, are to be learned, since the former are large and easy, whereas the latter are difficult and small; see CT 129 II 150a (G2T): *rh wš.wt r p.t* 'Knowing the ways to the sky' at II 150g-i. For the deceased himself *rh wš.wt* 'knowing ways', see also CT 335 IV 218/9a (B9C); CT 484 VI 54c-e (S1C); CT 760 VI 390k-l (B1C); CT 1035 VII 283b (B1C); and CT 1072 VII 340c (B3C) with 339e.

⁴¹ *nml p.t* occurs in one ascension text in the pyramids — PT 334 §543a (T): *l.nd-hr=k r' nm p.t dš nw.t* 'Hail to you, O Re, who traverses the sky, who crosses Nut' — and in three sacerdotal texts: PT 419 §749c (T): *nm T. p.t lr šh.t-lr.w* 'let him traverse the sky to the Field of Rushes'; PT 466 §882b-c (P) cited above at n. 39; and PT 488 §1048c-d (P): *rd dnh.wl=k(l) m blk 'š šnb.t | gnhsu ls mš mšr=f nm p.t* 'your wings growing as a falcon great of breast, like a *Genehsu-falcon who sees his evening, one who traverses the sky'.

⁴² The phraseology *dš blš* occurs already in the pyramids — PT 509 §1121a (P): *dš=f blš n 'nh wšs* 'let me cross the sky, for life and dominion'. E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bjš-*, Cologne 1971, 40, supposes that the word *blš* as 'sky' designates the shell as primeval ice (Schale des Ureis), in which Re emerges from out of the primeval water, with *blš* thus perhaps meaning 'celestial shell (Himmelsschale)'.

⁴³ Cf. *pn' tš-dsr* of this passage to *pn' tš* of CT 358 V 10b (T1L; and cf. *pn(s) < > -tš* of V 10m and *pn(s) < -tš* of CT 356 V 8d): *zn sbš.w qbh n dhw.tl n hpr (<h'pl) m rn=f pw n(l) pn'-tš* 'the gates of the firmament are spread open to Thoth and H'api in this his name of "one who overturns the land"; and the obscure CT 942 VII 155k-l

and leave the place of judgment,
and pass by the snaring Inyt-net, the Iadet-net of Foremost of the Westerners,
and the fish-trap, with its floats in the sky and its weights in the earth,
having been made for those Akhs who would go to their Kas:⁴⁴
they cannot come while it remains.⁴⁵

A priest addresses the deceased by the resurrection formula 'arise! Raise yourself!'⁴⁶ and commands him to go among those suckled at the cow goddess Hezat, mother of the dead.⁴⁷ It is an image of eventual rebirth. Raised up, he is to be taken in tow of the sun-god⁴⁸ through

(pGard III): *pr.t=I pry.t hw wr | hw.t sš stš pn'-tš* 'my going forth is the going forth of the one who smote the Great One... Seth, the one who overturns the land' (*hw.t sš* is perhaps a recitational instruction?). J. Zandee, 'Sargtexte um über Wasser zu verfügen (Coffin Texts V 8-22; Sprüche 356-362)', JEOL 24 (1975-76) 13-14, draws out the sense of *pn' tš* as an expression of chaotic circumstance.

⁴⁴ *zI/zbl* (see Wb iii 424.13 and 429, as well as the transliteration of e.g. PT 450 §§832-833a at J.P. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, Malibu 1984, §309) *hr/hn' kš* is a formula attested in the Pyramid Texts at the sacerdotal texts PT 25 §§17a-c (W); PT 447 §§826a-b (P); and PT 450 §§832a-b (P); and the ascension text PT 568 §1431a (P). The phraseology *zbl n kš* is already attested in the Old Kingdom outside the pyramids in the epithet *zb n kš=f* 'one who would go to his Ka', at e.g. Urk I 50, 15; 71, 4; 73, 2; prob. 88, 16; prob. 156, 2; 264, 18; and 265, 6.

⁴⁵ CT 343 IV 349a-356a (B1Pb)

hš wslr N. pn
'h' tš tw wny tw | r ššw.t nb.t m-'b{w} | snq.w hzš.t
sr pw n(I) lmn wr.w s.wt=f m p.t | rdy n=f sdr.w m tš
hš wslr N. pn
wn r=k tš tw
ndr=k sd n(I) ngšw | rmn.wt(I) lnpw
l.rh wš.wt lmn.t
nml.w p.t | dšš.w blš | pn'(w) tš-dsr
ššs=k hš.t
zn=k ln.t n(I)t 'h | lšd.t n(I)t hntl lmn.tlw
hšm.t | dšš.w=s m p.t | dns.wt=s m tš
lr.t(I) r šh.w lpw zb.w n kš.w=sn
tm=sn lw zp=f

⁴⁶ On this formula, see below at n. 108.

⁴⁷ Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 158.

⁴⁸ Concerning *rmn.wt lnpw*, J. Yoyotte, 'Sur Bata, maître de Sako', RdE 9 (1952) 159 n. 4 asked whether 'CT IV, 351d-352a conserverait-il le plus ancien souvenir d'une légende associant Anubis avec le taureau?', in reference to pJumilhac 3, 20, 15-20, where Anubis places Osiris upon the back of the bull Bata, here a form of Seth. See also in this regard J. Vandier, 'Bata, maître de Saka', RHR 136 (1949) 7, where the pJumilhac passages are connected to pD'Orbiney 14, 5 — 15, 2 (Möller Hier. Lesestücke II), in which Bata is transformed into *w' n kš* 'a great bull' and *wn.ln lnpw pšy=f sn 'š hr hms hr psd=f r hš-tš* 'then Anubis his elder brother was sitting upon his back until dawn'. While making parenthetical note of pD'Orbiney, P. Kaplony, 'Bata', in: LÄ I, 633 with n. 4, identifies the bull of CT IV 351d-352a simply as the 'Himmelstier', based on PT 336 §§547a-c. Although also making note of PT 336 and adding PT 334 §§543a-c, Jürgens, *Grundlinien*, 329 nn. 11-12, presents evidence from astronomical representations in an attempt to associate the bull in question with the typhonian *msh.tlw*-bull of the circumpolar stars; see specifically the astronomical ceiling of Ramses VI, at Neugebauer-Parker, *Astronomical Texts II*, pl. 1, rendered in line drawing at Neugebauer-Parker, *Astronomical Texts III*, Text p. 187 fig. 30, where a *hšb*-sign over the *msh.tlw*-bull is understood by Jürgens, *Grundlinien*, 329 n. 12 to represent 'eine Schreibvariante zum Namen 'Im.l-sh-ntr', a deity attending the northern stars, with Jürgens further noting that a single Ptolemaic source determines this name with a jackal-headed figure. The association is strained; the *hšb*-sign must actually be a substitution for the *zh*-sign alone (see Neugebauer-Parker, *Astronomical Texts III*, Text, 198) and caption to the *msh.tlw*-bull itself, not an iconic representation of a *zh*-booth, somehow metonymically standing for *lml-zh-ntr*. Moreover, like the typhonian identity of the bull suggested by Yoyotte, the attempted connection rests upon late sources with no phraseological link to the passage in question. On the other hand, the phraseology *ndr, sd*, and *ngšw*, as well as the context of *nml p.t* 'crossing the sky', provide an immediate association with PT 334 and PT 336, and thereby with the sun-god. *rmn.wt lnpw* may also be compared with the deceased as *sn-nw lnpw*, the object

seizing hold of his taurine tail (*ndr sd nl ng3w*). Precisely the same phraseology is found already in ascension texts in the pyramids, in PT 334 and PT 336:

Hail to you, Re, who traverses the sky, who crosses Nut:
you have traversed the Shifting Waterway,
with Teti having grasped (*ndr*) for himself your tail (*sd*),
for Teti is a god, the son of a god.⁴⁹

And:

Hail to you, long-horn bull of Ka-bulls (*ng3 nl k3.w*; sc. Re⁵⁰)
as you make the ascent!
Let Teti grasp (*ndr*) you by your tail (*sd*)!⁵¹

The more ancient texts help clarify the circumstances of CT 343: the deceased is to join the sun-god in traversing the sky and crossing the heavens, in navigating the *mr-nh3l*, the Shifting Waterway. This is a celestial area conceived of as a body of water⁵² and amply associated with the ferryman.⁵³ As one Old Kingdom ferryman text puts it, 'Let him (sc. Mahaf) ferry Teti to that side of the Shifting Waterway, to the eastern side of the sky'.⁵⁴ The direction of travel is clear: the ferryman is to convey the deceased from west to east across the water. In terms of the solar cycle, that means a nocturnal passage: as the dead sun enters the west, he goes to the east where he will be reborn and ascend in the sky.

B. Cyclical and Reciprocal Motion

O Osiris N.,
you will be cool in the firmament,
O son of Re;⁵⁵
you will be a star more than the stars of the horizon of the sky,

of mummification, at CT 240 III 323e (T3C): *lnk sn-nw n(l) lnpw m-hnw s3t3.w n(l) wr.yt* 'for I am the companion of Anubis within the mysteries of the purification tent'. On the association of the *wr.yt* with the *lbw* 'purification tent', see J. Settgast, *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen*, ADAIK 3, Glückstadt 1963, 80. For the sun-god bound, easily a reference to mummification, see PT 254 §§285c-d (W) (cf. also PT 264 §349b), where the deceased is told to enter into the earth *m3=k r' m l.ngt.w=f dw3=k r' m pr.wt=f | m z3 wr lml-lns.w=f* 'and see Re in his fetters, and hymn Re in his bindings, with the protection of the Great One, he who is in his red linen'. In this connection, see also above, n. 10. My many thanks to Terence DuQuesne for personally discussing the identity of this deity with me, even should his views differ from mine.

⁴⁹ PT 334 §§543a-c (T)
l.nd-hr=k r' nm p.t d3 nw.t
nm.n=k mr-nh3l
ndr.n n=f T. sd=k
n T. ls pw ntr z3 ntr

⁵⁰ See PT 334, cited above, and PT 304 §470a: *l.(n)d-hr=k ng3 r' hr(l) fd 'b* 'Hail to you, O long-horned bull, O Re who has four horns!'

⁵¹ PT 336 §§547a-b (T)
l.(n)d-hr=k ng3 n(l) k3.w
lr=k prl.w
ndr tw T. hr sd=k

⁵² On this term, see Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte*, 14-17 and 49-63.

⁵³ As at the ferryman texts PT 266 §359b; PT 359 §594b; and PT 522 §1228b-c.

⁵⁴ PT 359 §600a-b (T): *d3=f T. | lr pf gs n(l) mr-nh3(l) lr gs l3b.t(l) n(l) p.t.*

⁵⁵ Cf. the ascension texts PT 573 §1479c (P): *lt n(l) P. r' 3d n=k P. pn hn'=k n 'nh hr mw.t=k nw.t* 'O father of Pepi, O Re, take Pepi out with you to the Living One, to your mother Nut'; and PT 271 §390a (W): *pr W. hr m3q.t tn lr.t.n n=f lt=f r'* 'let Wenis ascend upon this ladder which his father Re made for him'. See also the ascension texts PT 467 §§893a and 893b, PT 476 §952c, PT 539 §1316c, PT 575 §§1492b, 1493b, 1494b, and 1495b.

O sole star of the great West of the sky and the great East of the earth,⁵⁶
and [your] mouth filled with this thicket of papyrus,
O Horus Foremost of His Body when his bows⁵⁷ are drawn.⁵⁸

The text's second section situates the deceased in both the west and the east, earth and sky, thereby indicating the cyclical motion he is to carry out. Moreover, at the end of the passage, he appears to be identified as Horus. This is of paramount importance, as Harco Willems has argued that it is precisely as this god that the deceased, in ferryman texts, is conveyed. According to him, the destination is not just the eastern horizon, but also the place of embalming: the purpose of going there is for the deceased to embalm his dead father Osiris.⁵⁹ The journey of the dead is therefore in parallel to the nocturnal journey of the sun-god to join with Osiris, best documented in the New Kingdom underworld books, themes of which are traceable back to the Coffin Texts,⁶⁰ and is in parallel to the nocturnal union of the Ba with the corpse, perceivable already in the Pyramid Texts.⁶¹

However, an identification of the deceased as the god Horus in ferryman texts is not universal: that very deity is himself attested as the ferryman.⁶² Moreover, some ferryman texts convey the deceased not toward Osiris, but to the sun-god, as with "Where will you go?" "To the sky does Neferkare go, that Neferkare may see his father, that Neferkare may see Re".⁶³ The same filial relationship occurs at the beginning of this section of CT 343: as interpreted here, the deceased both fills the role of Horus (thus going to Osiris) and is said to be a son of Re (thus going to Re). Since in a mortuary context that filiation may indicate both

⁵⁶ Cf. the sacerdotal texts PT 463 §877c-d (P): *twi sb3 pw w'.tl prr m gs l3b.tl n(f) p.t l lwil rdl.n=f d.t=f n hr d3.tl* 'you are this sole star which ascends from the east of the sky, one who does not give (i.e. show) himself to Netherworld Horus'; and PT 556 §1384a (Leclant et al., *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I'*, vol. 2, pl XXII, l. 14): *[t5]t lt(=f) wslr P. m sb3 w'.tl m gs pf l3b.tl n(f) p.t* 'and my father Osiris Pepi is this sole Star in that eastern side of the sky'.

⁵⁷ For *dwn hr pd.wt*, see the apotropaic text PT 385 §673b (T): *dwn hr psd.t=f pd.wt r 3h pn pr m t3* 'may Horus spread his Nine Bows against this Akh which rose from the earth!'

⁵⁸ CT 343 IV 356c-358ab (B1Pb)

h3 wslr N. pn
qbh.k3=k r=k m qbh.w
z3 r'
shd.k3=k r=k r shd.w 3h.t n(f)t p.t
shd pw w'.tl lml-wr.t '3 n(f) p.t t3-wr '3 n(f) t3
r3[=k] mh m 3h pw n(f) dy.t
hr hntl h.t=f dwn pd.wt=f

⁵⁹ Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 163 and 173, and Willems, 'The Embalmer Embalmed', 360-361.

⁶⁰ See S. Bickel, 'Die Jenseitsfahrt des Re nach Zeugen der Sargtexte', in A. Brodbeck (ed.), *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel* (Fs Hornung), Berlin 1998, 53-54, E. Hornung, *Das Amduat. Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes*, part II, Wiesbaden 1963, 124 with n. 2, and T. DuQuesne, 'The Osiris-Re Conjunction with Particular Reference to 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 2006, 25-27 with further references.

⁶¹ See W. Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte für den verstorbenen König*, MÄS 39, Berlin 1981, 149, and T. DuQuesne, 'The Osiris-Re Conjunction', 23-25 with further references.

⁶² As in the ferryman text PT 566 §§1429a-c (P): *sd3 P. pn hn'=k hr l d3 sw dhwtl m tp 'nd=k l zkr ls hntl m3'.t* 'Convey Pepi with you, O Horus! Ferry him, O Thoth, on your wingtip, (he being) as Zokar, foremost of the Ma'at-boat'.

⁶³ The ferryman text PT 470 §914c (N): *sm=k iny sm Ne. lr p.t m3 Ne. lt=f m3 Ne. r'*. See §913c for the vocative to the ferryman and demand to bring the boat.

an obvious celestial aspiration and a terrestrial or chthonic association with Osiris,⁶⁴ the nocturnal passage is displayed from different perspectives, resulting in differing meanings: as Horus, he approaches Osiris; as progeny of the sun-god, he goes to meet his maker. The result may seem a paradox, but it is paradox that motivates religion.⁶⁵

C. Crossing the Night

O Osiris N.,
take both of the two pools,
and arise upon this great region which is before the Yezken.
Let him awaken Aqen for you,
that he may bring this ferryboat in which equipped Akhs are brought.⁶⁶
As you command, so do they commend you,
them guiding you to this Great Lake,
conveying you in Nu,
and equipping you as those who are equipped.⁶⁷

Whereas the first two sections of CT 343 deal with both aspects of the solar cycle — east and west, day and night — the third focuses on the night. Here the deceased is in front of the Yezken, which according to James P. Allen is located in the west of the sky⁶⁸ — thus where the sun sets, the place of death. According to one version of our text, at that point 'this god will make summons to you',⁶⁹ with *ntr pw* being a circumlocution for the sun-god himself, as

⁶⁴ See TPPI 15, 2-4 (Stele of Wahankh Initef): *sd3=k tr lt(=l) r' n wd.t=k w(l)... | lnk s.tl=k lr.n=k w(i) m nb 'nh lwt(l) mnl.n=f* 'Would you depart, O my father Re, before you have commended me?... I am your successor; you made me into the Lord of Life, one who cannot die'. For Osiris as the 'Stellvertreter (stf)' of Re, see W. Barta, 'Re', in: LÄ V, 169.

⁶⁵ Cf. C. Barrett, 'The Logic of Mysticism', in: M. Warner (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy*, Royal Institute of Philosophy Supplement 31, Cambridge 1992, 61-69: paradox is a means of which religious language (as opposed to theological language) avails itself in order to express the inexpressible.

⁶⁶ See the ferryman texts PT 270 §384a-b (W): *l.n W. hr=k | d3=k sw (m) mhn.t tw d33.t=k ntr.w lm=s* 'Wenis has come to you, even that you ferry him in this ferryboat in which you ferry the gods'; PT 359 §§599a-c (T): *r' l.wd T. n m3-h3=f mhn.tl n(l) mr-nh3(l) | ln.t=f mhn.t tf n(l)t mr-nh3(l) n T. | d33.t=f ntr.w lm=s | lr pf gs n(l) mr-nh3(l) lr gs l3b.t(l) n(l) p.t* 'O Re, commend Teti to Mahaf, ferryman of the Shifting Waterway, that he might bring that ferryboat of the Shifting Waterway to Teti, that in which he ferries the gods, to that side of the Shifting Waterway, to the eastern side of the sky'; and PT 519 §1201a (M): *l hr=f-h3=f lr(l) '3 wslr | dd n wslr lm(l) ln.t(l=l) n M.n. wl3=k pw | d33.w w'b.w=k lm=f | l(r) szp n=k qbhw hr w'r.t tw n(l)t l.hm.w-sk* 'O Herehaf, gatekeeper of Osiris, say to Osiris, "Cause that I bring to Merenre this bark of yours in which your pure ones are ferried, in order to receive of you a libation upon this the region of Imperishable Stars."'

⁶⁷ CT 343 IV 358c-362b (B1Pb)

*h3 wslr N. pn
lt n=k š.wy dmd.wy
'h'.k3=k r=k hr w'r.t tw wr.t hnt(i)t lzkn
sr3=f n=k 'qn
ln.t=f n=k mhn.t tw d33.t 3h.w 'pr.w lm=s
wd=k | wd=sn pw
s3m=sn tw r š pw '3
nml=sn tw m nw
'pr=sn tw m 'pr.w*

⁶⁸ See the definition of Allen, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 434.

⁶⁹ CT 343 IV 359c (T1L): *nls.k3 r=f ntr pw r=k.*

evidenced from parallels in the Pyramid Texts.⁷⁰ It is presumably this god, as ferryman, who is to awaken Aqen, who will then take him across the Great Lake — in other words, across the Shifting Waterway, in other words, through the primeval god Nu.⁷¹ This is the god who is not the creator himself, but who provokes creation.⁷²

The final section of CT 343 focuses on the goal of the voyage: the deceased ascends the *q33 q3* the 'high Height', or primeval mound.

D. Arrival at the East

O Osiris N.,
may you land at land, at the landing place⁷³ of Tawer.⁷⁴
O Osiris N.,
May you ascend to the top of the high Height
and hear the voice of the great still one⁷⁵ at the eastern gate,⁷⁶
with those of the celestial expanses serving you,⁷⁷
the gray-haired ones *serving you,
O Osiris N.,
those of the necropolis⁷⁸ will serve you.⁷⁹

⁷⁰ PT 437 §804b (P): *nls.n tw r' m lzkn n(l) p.t* 'Re has summoned you from the Yezken of the sky'; PT 483 §1016c (N): *nls r' lr=k m lzkn n(l) p.t* 'let Re summon you from the Yezken of the sky'; PT 610 §1719c (M): *nls r' lr=k m lzkn n(l) p.t* 'as Re summoned you from the Yezken of the sky'.

⁷¹ For the Pyramid Texts associations of these locales with Nu, see J.-F. Pépin, 'Quelques aspects de Nouou dans les textes des pyramides et les textes des sarcophages', in: C. Eyre (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses München 1985*, Hamburg 1989, 343.

⁷² See S. Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire*, OBO 134, Freiburg 1994, 46-47.

⁷³ Cf. *t3 zm3* 'landing place', in the ferryman text PT 516 §1187a-b (P): *q3 sw lr sln l lr t3 zm3 n(l) sh.t tw n(l) lr.t ntr.w* 'ferry him quickly to the landing place of this field of that which the gods made'. R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. I, Warminster 1973, 279 n. 29 suggests 'ramp(?)'; cf. also R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II. Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit*, Mainz am Rhein 2006, 2203, citing CT 116 II 136c (S1C).

⁷⁴ CT 343's variant CT 344 IV 368a (B9C) has the Akhs *zm3=sn lm=l r t3 zm3 t3 hr q33.w t3w.(l)w* 'joining me to the land, a landing on the Height of those of the air'. Cf. PT 463 §§877b-c (P): *twi wrr.tl m t3-wr l twi sb3 pw w.tl prr m gs l3b.tl n(l) p.t* 'You are he of the Wereret-crown in Tawer; you are this sole star which ascends from the east of the sky', in view of its association with our text, observed above at n. 56.

⁷⁵ Cf. CT 347 IV 379b (B9C): *sdm hrw pf n(l) b3g n(l) l.hm.w wrd.w* 'for that voice has been heard, of the inert one of the Unwearying (Stars)'. Abdel Fatah and Bickel, 'Trois cercueils de Sedment', 8, render 'la voix plaintive', citing AnLex II, 130.

⁷⁶ Cf. the sacerdotal text PT 483 §§1014a-1015a (N): *wn r(w).t 3kr l l.zn n=k r3-'3 gbb tp-rmn.(wl)=k(l) pr mdw=k hft lnp l s'h=k pr m r3 n(l) lnp* 'the gate of Aker is opened, and the door of Geb is spread open over you, as word of you goes forth before Anubis, your title gone forth from the mouth of Anubis'. The significance of the eastern gates is obvious; see e.g. CT 1065 VII 325a-b (B2Bo): *zn sb3.w l3b.tlw n r' l pr=f m 3h.t* 'Spread open, O eastern gates, for Re, that he may ascend in the horizon'.

⁷⁷ Cf. PT 274 §406a (W): *lw phr lmlw p.t n W.* 'those who are in the sky serve Wenis' and its Middle Kingdom variant CT 573 VI 1781 (S1C): *lw phr n=l lmlw pd.wt* 'those who are in the celestial expanses serve me'.

⁷⁸ So R. van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Leiden 2000, 57, evidently seeing a nisba from *l.gr.t*, 'the silent land', i.e. necropolis; see Wb i 141.3-5 (since the New Kingdom) and M. Heerma van Voss, *De oudste versie van Dodenboek 17a. Coffin Texts Spreuk 335a*, Leiden 1963, 64 n. 182, citing CT 460 V 333h and CT 1005 VII 221a. Cf. the sacerdotal text PT 721 §2242a (N): *phr n=k lmlw hrnt-ntr* 'those who are in the necropolis serving you' and its Middle Kingdom twin CT 516 VI 104d (B10C): *phr n=k lml hrnt-ntr*.

⁷⁹ CT 343 IV 362c-364c (B1Pb)

h3 wslr N. pn

zm3=k t3 r t3 r zm3 n(l) t3-wr

h3 wslr N. pn

pr=k r=k r tpl q33 q3

sdm=k hrw b(3)g.w '3 m r3-'3 l3b.ty

The associations of the height with the creator god occur already in the Pyramid Texts, as with 'may you (sc. Atum) be on high, in this your name of "Height,"'⁸⁰ and continue in the Coffin Texts, 'for Osiris N. is appeared as Re, on high [as Re-Atum]'.⁸¹ Having passed through the night, and thus through the primeval waters of Nu, the deceased reaches the east, where he repeats the act of creation as the sun-god. 'Tout le passage annonce ici la renaissance du défunt en se servant d'images relatives à la création'.⁸²

In summary, CT 343 draws upon themes of nocturnal passage: the summoning of a ferryman, escaping the dangers symbolized by the net, crossing the netherworld lake, and the goal of arrival at the east and re-creation. In view of the intertextual connections, it is now time to ask: is it a net spell, or is it a ferryman spell? The answer is, 'Neither'. While list-like identifications of net parts dominate the content and discursive form of net spells, CT 343 has nothing of the kind. And for all of its impressment of motifs found in ferryman texts, actually it *lacks* direct vocatives to the ferryman, and it *lacks* direct demands that a ferryboat be brought.

The last two points stem from a single critical difference. Net and ferryman spells both regularly situate the deceased in the first person 'I' in their original forms,⁸³ whereas CT 343 situates him in the second 'you'. The difference is critical because the person of the beneficiary is a relatively reliable indicator of how a text was actually used, before being impressed to serve as talismanic decoration in a tomb.⁸⁴ First person texts like the ferryman and net spells are to be performed by the deceased himself: he is the one who directly calls to the ferryman, and he directly commands him to bring the ferryboat; he is the one who directly addresses the fowling and fishers, calling to them by name, and defiantly informing them that he will avoid their nets. In CT 343, however, it is ostensibly a priest who addresses the deceased. In reciting the text, the priest prompts him to summon the ferryman, but one never hears that summons in the spell itself, and it is the priest who informs the deceased that he will evade the net, but the fishers and fowling themselves are not directly informed of this fact. In short, the performance setting for the net spells and ferryman spells is with the dead, in the inaccessible crypt, while the setting of CT 343 is among living priests performing rites for the dead in a tomb's accessible cultic area. By this distinction, the text is to be situated among the Middle

phr n=k pd(w).tlw

3wh [sk]m.w r=k

wsr N. pn

šms pw l.gr.tlw

⁸⁰ PT 587 §1587c (N): *q3l=k m rn=k pw n(l) q3*; and see PT 600 §1652a (N): *q3.n=k m q33* 'you (Atum-Kheperer) have come to be on high as the Height'. In the context of these two passages, A. de Buck, *De Egyptische voorstellingen betreffende den oerhevel*, Leiden 1922, 25, already saw indicated 'een nauw verband van den oerhevel en Atum: het is de plaats, die Atum beklommen heeft om er de heerschappij te aanvaarden'.

⁸¹ CT 45 I 191g-192a-b (B12C): *wsr N. pn h'y m r' l q3y [m r'-tm]*. On the primeval mound in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, see further Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 67-70.

⁸² Abdel Fatah and Bickel, 'Trois cercueils de Sedment', 8.

⁸³ Exceptionally, CT 474 is in the third person throughout, except for vacillation to the presumably original first person at CT 474 VI 25k (B1Bo): *wq=l sw m s.t=f* 'I commanding him to his place', noted at R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. II, Warminster 1977, 114 n. 1; additionally, one of five sources (Sq5Sq) for CT 403 places the beneficiary in the third.

⁸⁴ For references to person deixis as an indicator of setting in life, see H.M. Hays and W. Schenck, 'Intersection of Ritual Space and Ritual Representation: Pyramid Texts in Eighteenth Dynasty Theban Tombs', in: P.F. Dorman and B. Bryan (eds.), *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, SAOC 61, Chicago 2007, 97 n. 3.

Kingdom liturgical texts meticulously studied by Jan Assmann in the first volume of *Altägyptischen Totenliturgien*.⁸⁵ It is a category of text that likewise reaches back to the Old Kingdom.⁸⁶ CT 343's ties to separate groups of spells — net spells, ferryman spells, and mortuary liturgies — show in microcosm how Egyptian scribes could take traditions and merge them, a sign of the vitality of religious discourse: though related to one another, net spells and ferryman spells constitute types distinguishable from one another, and together they fall into a category of texts different from mortuary liturgies. CT 343 draws together elements from diverse types and categories.

Its relationship with mortuary liturgies is underscored through consideration of its transmitted context. It occurs on several Middle Kingdom coffins and one unpublished papyrus,⁸⁷ the coffins ranging in date from Dynasty 11 through Dynasty 12. As the sources originate from both Upper and Lower Egypt, its significance is not local. In addition — and, as it will turn out, very importantly — the spell has a variant in the form of CT 344.⁸⁸ Figure 1 depicts the texts alongside which CT 343 is found among the various coffins bearing it,⁸⁹ with the shifting connections between texts showing the maddening combination of structure and anti-structure that permeates manifestations of Egyptian culture. As Peter Jürgens observes,⁹⁰ CT 343 is usually found juxtaposed to CT 345, which as a rule situates the deceased in the second person.⁹¹ The same mode of address is typical to CT 225.⁹² And according to Jürgens, CT 30-37⁹³ are mortuary liturgies in cultic function, if not in literary form.⁹⁴ In view of the associations of these texts to one another, Ahmed Galal Abdel Fatah and Susanne Bickel argue that the texts CT 30-32, 225 (+ 226) and 343 are not found together by chance; rather, they constitute the principal elements of a coherent 'book', a set of texts used in a ritual which would guarantee to the deceased his liberation from the terrestrial condition and his

⁸⁵ See Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 1, 29-33, and see the observation of Jürgens, *Grundlinien*, 189 with n. 2.

⁸⁶ See J. Assmann, 'Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies', in: S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, Jerusalem 1990, 13-14.

⁸⁷ pLouvre E.15594, noted at Jürgens, *Grundlinien*, 217 with n. 43.

⁸⁸ Coffins dated to Dynasty 11 feature CT 343 on the interior back: S1C, S2C, and T1L. Coffins from the end of Dynasty 11 through the beginning of Dynasty 12 feature it on the interior bottom: B2Bo, B4Bo, and B6C, except for Sid2Sid, where it occurs on the foot and back. Coffins from later Dynasty 12 show no pattern of display: B15C/L, B1C/L, B1Pa/H, B1Pb/B, B2L/L, and CT 344 on B1Y/B and B9C/B.

⁸⁹ For the locations of the texts, see L. H. Lesko, *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents*, Berkeley 1979, except for Sid2Sid, for which see Abdel Fatah and Bickel, 'Trois cercueils de Sedment', 22-23, Figs. 1-2.

⁹⁰ Jürgens, *Grundlinien*, 217; specifically, when CT 343 is not in abridged form, it is followed by that text, except in T1L, the version of which is held to contain an interpolation from CT 345 (cf. CT 345 IV 376d-e to CT 343 IV 359c-d). Note, however, that the CT 343 passage in question is much more like CT 347 IV 379e-f.

⁹¹ See for example CT 345 IV 370a-b (B1P): *h3 wslr N. pn l tw.t n=k tw.w n hr* 'O Osiris N., let come to you those who would come to Horus, resident in the house of him, of Osiris'. A notable exception among de Buck's twelve exemplars is B9C, which places the deceased in the first person.

⁹² See for example CT 225 III 214a-b (T1L): *h3 N. pn l wn n=k p.t* 'O N., the sky is opened to you'. Exceptional among the very many exemplars of de Buck are those showing the deceased in the first person, in conversions from the second that are obvious through their awkwardness, e.g. III 214a-b (T1L): *l lmk l wn '3.wy p.t t3* 'O me, the doors of the sky and earth are opened'.

⁹³ For translation and detailed commentary on these spells, see H. Willems, 'The Social and Ritual Context of a Mortuary Liturgy of the Middle Kingdom (CT Spells 30-41)', in: H. Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms*, OLA 103, Leuven 2001, 258-324.

⁹⁴ Jürgens, *Grundlinien*, 189-190.

transfiguration into another form of being. That the texts were deemed a logical and fixed ensemble by the Egyptians is indicated by their disposition and by their internal content — their homogeneity.⁹⁵ To add to the flexibly fixed associations already identified by these scholars, there is another quite unmistakable connection: there is an association with Coffin Texts Spell 1. This important text is the first element of a mortuary liturgy consisting of about twenty-seven texts,⁹⁶ studied elsewhere by Jürgens as well as by Assmann in the work noted above.⁹⁷ In short, except for CT 152, 153, and 342, all of the texts in Figure 1 are of the sacerdotal kind: they are recited by priests to the deceased.

CT 343's connections with its neighbors go beyond structure of performance. The texts also share content, beginning with matches in titles. As mentioned at the start of this essay, 'utterance of avoiding the Iadet-net and passing by the Inyt-net of catching by an Akh in the necropolis' is the title given to the spell on one source. The titles of two other sources maintain the notion of avoiding the net but add the notion of *m3'-hrw* 'being true of voice before Osiris, Bull of the West'.⁹⁸ This notion appears also in CT 345 (being true of voice before Thoth, and preventing the taking of shroud or coffin⁹⁹), CT 225 (making a man true of voice over his enemy¹⁰⁰), and CT 1 (making a man true of voice in the necropolis¹⁰¹). The phraseology *m3'-hrw*, 'true of voice', is a legalistic term¹⁰² employed in religious contexts since the Old Kingdom.¹⁰³ A linkage between being found legitimate and escaping the net may not seem immediately obvious,¹⁰⁴ but both themes deal with overcoming opposition in the netherworld, and even one of the forty-two assessors in Book of the Dead Spell 125 is given a traditional ferryman/fisher-fowler name.¹⁰⁵

There is one other title given to CT 343 — *tz.t=f hr gs=f wnm r gs=f l3b* 'raising himself from upon(!) his right side to(!) his left side'.¹⁰⁶ The verb employed is *tzl* 'to raise'; this is

⁹⁵ See Abdel Fatah and Bickel, 'Trois cercueils de Sedment', 19, citing Jürgens, *Grundlinien*, 225-226, and see Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 1, 170.

⁹⁶ Depending upon how one counts. For reference, one may consider the series CT 1-26 CT 228, found on B1P/H-B and B6C/L.

⁹⁷ See P. Jürgens, 'Textkritik der Sargtexte: CT-Sprüche 1-27', in: H. Willems (ed.), *The World of the Coffin Texts*, Leiden 1996, 55-72, and Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 1, esp. 69-154.

⁹⁸ CT 343 IV 348a-b (B1C): *r3 n(l) tm h3.w r l3d.t h3m.t | m3' hrw m-b3h wslr k3-lmn.t* 'Utterance of not going down to the fishing Iadet-net...'; IV 348a-b (B2L): *r3 n(l) tm h3.w r l3d.t h3m.t | m3' hrw m-b3h wslr k3-lmn[.t]*.

⁹⁹ CT 345 IV 369a-c (B2L and B1C): *r3 n(l) m3' hrw m-b3h dhw.t lrl-p'.t ntr.w ln z(l) m l(w)nw | tm nhm swh.wt n(l)t z(l) m-'f | qrs.wt n(l)t z(l) m-'f m hrlt-ntr* '... heir of the gods by a man in Heliopolis'; not taking the shroud of a man from him or the coffin of a man from him in the necropolis'.

¹⁰⁰ CT 225 III 212a (B1Y, sim. S2C, pBerl., Y1C, M2NY): *r3 m3' hrw z(l) r hft(l)=f m hrlt-ntr*.

¹⁰¹ CT 1 I 1 (Y1C): *h3.t-' m m3' n(l)t sm3' hrw z(l) m hrlt-ntr*, and within the body of the text at CT 1 I 3d (only in T9C): *ntk dhw.tl m3' hrw* 'you are Thoth true of voice'. Also perhaps formerly for the title of CT 1 (T1L), as its beginning is lost; see Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 1, 69.

¹⁰² See the threat formula at Urk I 116, 4-5 (restored by E. Edel, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften des Alten Reiches*, Opladen 1981, fig. 4).

¹⁰³ In the pyramids only in the ascension texts PT 260 §316d; PT 265 §§354a, 356c, 357c; PT 266 §361c; PT 473 §§929a, 935a; PT 486 §1042d; PT 539 §1327c; PT 689 §2089a. See also BM Stelae I (revised), pl. 29.1; J. Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqara*, Brussels 1907, pl. 11; ASAE 40 (1941) 691, fig. 77.1; and Urk I 46, 10.

¹⁰⁴ Assmann, 'Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies', 15-18, observes the thematic of judgment in the mortuary liturgy beginning with CT 1 and connects it to the Hour Vigil; H. Willems, *Chests of Life. A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*, Leiden 1988, 156-159, and Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 176, find the Hour Vigil to be characterized by nautical symbolism.

¹⁰⁵ Namely *hr=f-h3=f*, as noted by Depuydt, 'Der Fall des "Hintersichschauers"', 33.

¹⁰⁶ CT 343 IV 348a (B2Bo).

the same word used in the very first sentence of our spell, when the deceased is told: 'h' t_z t_w 'Arise! Raise yourself!' It is quite literally a resurrection formula, since it involves the deceased getting up. That is the motion indicated in this particular title: raising the self from upon the side. The title to CT 30 is similar — 'causing that an Akh raise himself from upon his left side to his right side'.¹⁰⁷ And the same phraseology occurs also within CT 225, at the end of which the deceased is commanded 'raise yourself from upon your left side and put yourself upon your right side'. As observed by Bernard Mathieu, t_z t_w, together with the imperative 'h' 'stand up', constitute a formula characteristic of a distinguishable type of text already in the Old Kingdom;¹⁰⁸ in fact, all such texts bearing it at that time are sacerdotal in performance structure: the priest speaks directly to the deceased and commands him to do something, complete with second person direct object. Among the forty-odd Old Kingdom texts bearing this formula t_z t_w 'raise yourself',¹⁰⁹ none was converted by the ancient editors into the first person. That is to say, their sacerdotal performance structure was not tampered with then; the deceased is consistently commanded to raise himself. In contrast and as is well known, there are dozens of Old Kingdom mortuary texts originally composed in the first person that were edited to the third person, once it came time to put the texts in the tomb.¹¹⁰ In effect, texts of a personal format were regularly converted to a sacerdotal structure. They were deliberately reconfigured so as to appear not spoken and performed by the deceased himself. As a result they ended up looking like texts in which a priest speaks about him.¹¹¹

The situation is quite a bit different in the Middle Kingdom. At that time, there is little aversion to texts written in a format to be performed by the deceased; such personal texts are much more frequently left in the original first person. Meanwhile, a phenomenon opposite to the Old Kingdom editing practices may be discerned: the transformation of texts originally recited by priests, into texts now to be recited by the deceased.¹¹² It turns out that CT 344, the variant of CT 343, is just such a text:

I am raised:¹¹³

I am hastened, as that Ba of the Great One, one whom Hezat suckled,

¹⁰⁷ CT 30 I 83i (B1L): rdl.t t_z sw 3h hr gs=f l3b(.l) r gs=f wnm(.l)

¹⁰⁸ See B. Mathieu, 'La distinction entre Textes des Pyramides et Textes des Sarcophages est-elle légitime?', in: Bickel and Mathieu, *D'un monde à l'autre*, 255, where he holds for a genre of resurrection texts beginning 'h' l.r.s/t_z t_w.

¹⁰⁹ PT 355, 365, 366, 373, 413, 419, 436, 437, 451, 457, 459, 460, 462, 468, 483, 512, 532, 536, 553, 556, 596, 604, 606, 610, 612, 619, 665, 665A, 667, 667A, 667C, 675, 676, 677, 690, 701A, 716B, 721, 723.

¹¹⁰ See K. Sethe, *Die Totenliteratur der alten Ägypter: Die Geschichte einer Sitte*, Sitzungsberichten der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil-Hist Klasse 1931 XVIII, Berlin 1931, 525. As observed by B. Mathieu, 'Modifications de texte dans la pyramide d'Ounas', BIFAO 96 (1996) 290-292, the wholesale modification of the grammatical person of the beneficiary away from the first occasionally led to the mistaken modification away from the first of the person of a priest officiating on behalf of the beneficiary.

¹¹¹ Similarly É. Doret, 'Cleft-sentence, substitutions et contraintes sémantiques en égyptien de la première phase (V-XVIII Dynastie)', *LingAeg* 1 (1991) 64 and 91.

¹¹² As É. Doret, 'Phrase nominale, identité et substitution dans les Textes des Sarcophages', *RdE* 43 (1992) 51 n. 6, has observed, where not only an original first person pronoun could be replaced by the name of the beneficiary, but also the name of the beneficiary could be replaced by the first person pronoun.

¹¹³ For the perfective passive participle in a *nfr* sw construction, see G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique*, 2nd ed., BdE 12, Cairo 1955, §632. Alternatively, one may understand the passive *sdm=f*; cf. the similar phrase from PT 247 §260a as transformed in BD 174 (Pb and Af) 4, rendered as t_z.w=l hr gs=l, at Hays and Schenck, 'Intersection of Ritual Space', 105 with n. 88.

that Ser-noble of those who remain in the sky,
and I have been given sleep.¹¹⁴

Viewed charitably, the result is clumsy;¹¹⁵ viewed negatively, it is gibberish:¹¹⁶ the difficulty comes in the conversion of the imperatives. With the original *tz tw*, the priest commands the deceased to raise himself. But after the conversion of the beneficiary to the first person, how do I command myself '(I-you) raise me'?

As odd as the conversion is, it is remarkable that a formula traditional already in the Old Kingdom has been tampered with. Nevertheless, that modification is in keeping with the other mutated traditions encountered: the role of the Old Kingdom ferryman expands in the Middle Kingdom to include fishing and fowling for the dead; the question-and-answer *topos* found in Old Kingdom ferryman texts develops into detailed identifications of aspects of ferryboats in ferryman texts of the Middle Kingdom; similar list-like identifications are brought into the net spells; and although themes found in ferryman and net spells are normally restricted to spells of a personal performance structure, in CT 343 they are wedded into a text written as if performed by a priest. Finally, that text goes full circle, being modified in a rather awkward way to make it conformable to personal performance. In its incorporation of traditional motifs and structures, CT 343 embeds itself within the wider discursive field that generated mortuary literature, and in modifying these traditions,¹¹⁷ it shows in microcosm how tradition itself was kept alive.

¹¹⁴ CT 344 IV 366a-c (B9C)

tz wl
wn wl m b3 pw '3w.t snq hz3.t
sr pw n(i) lmn.w m p.t
lw dy n=l sdr.w

¹¹⁵ Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 279, translates 'I raise myself'; Barguet, *Textes des sarcophages*, 317, translates 'Je me suis soulevé'; C. Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire égyptien*, 2004, vol. I, 859, translates 'Redresse-moi!'

¹¹⁶ So Jürgens, *Grundlinien*, 254.

¹¹⁷ Cf. the similar conclusion of L. Morenz, based on considerations of CT 334, at 'Zu einem Beispiel schöpferischer Vorlagenverarbeitung in den Sargtexten: ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte', at GM 143 (1994) 111.

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