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INTERSECTION OF RITUAL SPACE AND RITUAL REPRESENTATION: PYRAMID TEXTS IN EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY THEBAN TOMBS

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In a rare instance of Pyramid Texts being displayed outside the enclosed areas of an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb,¹ scenes in the courtyard of TT 107 (Helck 1956, 14, fig. A; MMA Photos T 2987–90) show an image of the deceased accompanied by a tabular set of offering ritual texts with an associated offering list, below which are depictions of ritual performances with priests. All together, it is a scene with priests performing rites for the beneficiary,² with an integrated libretto. Since such rites involve at least two persons, a priestly officiant and the deceased beneficiary, the context may be described as “collective ritual.” Such texts can be distinguished from “personal recitations,” which are performed by the beneficiary for his own benefit. The most consistent written manifestation of the difference between these text types in respect to the beneficiary’s relationship to the performance of the text is the grammatical form of the person of the beneficiary.³ In collective ritual texts, the beneficiary appears sometimes in the third person and often in the second, whereas in personal recitations he appears in the first person.

The texts in TT 107 are recitations for a sequence of offering rituals more typically represented in condensed tabular form — a form designated by Barta as type C.⁴ As noted by Helck, among the offering rites textually represented in TT 107 are a number of verbatim Pyramid Texts (Helck 1956, 15);⁵ for example, the phrase “O Osiris N, join with the water which is in it”⁶ — an imperative to the deceased — exactly matches PT 108.⁷ Below these words is the specification of the object to be manipulated during the rite and its quantity: two cups of water;⁸ in

¹ See also the cryptographic texts in the courtyard of TT 11 (Northampton 1908, pl. 10, and Sethe 1908, 4*, Spruch 2.10–21, parallel to PT 450 Pyr 850b–c; Sethe 1908, 4* [see also his n. c], Spruch 2.22–27, parallel to PT 451 Pyr 839a–b; and Sethe 1908, 5*, Spruch 3.45–80, parallel to PT 593 Pyr 1628c–1630d). The text in question is evidently a hymn to Osiris since it is juxtaposed to a hacked-out image of presumably the tomb owner with his arms raised in the adoration gesture, as observed to us in a personal communication by José Galán of the Spanish expedition working at the tomb. The TT 11 text, moreover, is addressed to that god and not the deceased, in contrast to the Old Kingdom antecedents. For another Pyramid Text later adapted into a hymn to a god, see the Middle Kingdom Parma Stele 178 (see Franke 2003, 108; Assmann 1999, 475–76 no. 212; and Barucq and Daumas, 373–74 no. 107). PT 450–451 are found juxtaposed in that order on M, N, Nt, Ibi, Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5Sq, T1C, Sq6C, and Sq5C, with some of these sources presenting Altenmüller’s Spruchfolge C, in which PT 450–451 appears; see Altenmüller 1972, 47–49. PT 593 is a member of a recurring sequence of texts constituting the first part of Altenmüller’s Spruchfolge D, discussed below in connection with TT 82; see below footnote 68. The Middle Kingdom sources bearing these texts in that order are B9C, B10C, S, and Sq4C. The sequence is incorporated into a later liturgy associated by Assmann with the nocturnal portion of the Hour Vigil; on the concept of “mortuary liturgies (Totenliturgien),” see Assmann 1986; Assmann 1990, 12 and 38; Assmann 2001, 392; and Assmann 2002. (Source sigla for Pyramid Texts are

those of T. Allen 1950, slightly revised by Lesko 1979, and augmented by Willems 1988; for Book of the Dead spells, Naville 1971, augmented by T. Allen 1974.)

² A more specific context for these rites is provided by a juxtaposed representation of Scenes 1 and 2 from the Opening of the Mouth (see Otto 1960, ii 179 [*48] and fig. 10).

³ The grammatical form of the person of the beneficiary has been repeatedly employed as a criterion for differentiating between kinds of religious texts, as by Sethe 1931, 524–26; Schott 1945, 28–54; Kees 1952, 31–32; Kees 1956, 175; Assmann 1969, 359–60; Assmann 1986, 1001 with n. 48 at 1006; J. Allen 1994, 16–18; and Assmann 2001, 324–25. Eyre (2002, 66ff.) would minimize the importance of grammatical person as a classificatory criterion, but his argument as phrased is specifically against employing it in distinguishing between ritual versus non-ritual texts. To us, that is a straw dog; by virtue of their formalized, performative nature, personal recitations are necessarily ritual texts.

⁴ See Barta 1963, 111–14. TT 107 has the recitations for items 1–5, a lacuna, and then items 12, 15–16, 18–19, 17, and 20–22, in that order.

⁵ Specifically PT 108, 113, 116, 131, and 142, respectively corresponding to items 1, 2, 3, 16, and 19 of the type C offering list.

⁶ Helck 1956, 14, fig. A: *h3 Wsir N. i‘b n z k mw im i z s.*

⁷ PT 108 Pyr 72a (W): *Wsir W. i‘b n z k mw im (i) z s.*

⁸ Helck 1956, 14, fig. A: *mw hn(t) 2 = Pyr 72b (W): mw hn.t 2.*

offering lists, this specification stands alone as an emblematic designation for a whole rite. In sum, the texts of TT 107 are of a collective ritual character, as indicated by the images that accompany them and the grammatical person of the beneficiary. With little in the way of exception, a collective ritual character is the common denominator of the Pyramid Texts as inscribed on Eighteenth Dynasty tombs.

Inside the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs themselves, it was common to put scenes of daily life on walls in the front hall, and it is therefore rare to find Pyramid Texts in this location (Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 161). Nevertheless, in the front hall of TT 112 is a so-called “banquet”⁹ scene (Davies 1933, pls. 26–27), which includes a type C offering list, a harpist,¹⁰ a *sem*-priest in the recitation gesture, and the beneficiary. These elements create a performance context for the text recited by the priest, an excerpt from PT 249. Whatever the motive for its position in the front hall,¹¹ the banquet scene in TT 112 is firmly in the category of collective ritual. As in the texts of TT 107, which are also of a collective ritual character, the beneficiary is cast in the third person, as seen in the phrase, “the gods are purified through seeing him every day.”¹²

Four tombs from Eighteenth Dynasty Thebes have pillars bearing Pyramid Texts: TT 29, 93, 95,¹³ and 119 (Gnirs 1995, 252–53; Assmann 1990, 44, fig. 14; Davies 1930, pl. 66); three of these tombs (TT 29, 93, 95) have Pyramid Texts on pillars that are in the front hall and one (TT 119) on a pillar in the rear hall. Only one of these tombs, TT 93, is published.¹⁴ On the relevant pillar of TT 93 only PT 25 is preserved (Davies 1930, pl. 66) and any accompanying image is now lost, but this text is drawn from a textual palette — including PT 25, 32, 222, and 223 — employed consistently on the other pillars. The statue niche in the rear hall of TT 93 bears another exemplar of PT 32, this time with a preserved image (Davies 1930, pl. 56A). Below the text is a depiction of a priest officiating before the deceased; a type C list appears between them. PT 25, 32, and 223 are attested repeatedly in the Old and Middle Kingdoms within and attached to recurring sequences of offering ritual texts;¹⁵ in other words, they are juxtaposed to the recitations for the kinds of rites represented in offering lists. The context of PT 25, 32, and 223, then, is the necessarily collective offering ritual.

In TT 93 and 119, Pyramid Texts are located at the ends of accessible areas, where one expects mortuary service to have been performed. A similar arrangement can be seen in TT 57,¹⁶ where each of three niches with Pyramid Texts was organized in the same fashion; seated statues of the deceased and a wife are flanked on either side by walls that bear a tabular series of offering ritual texts. The best-preserved niche is recreated in figure 7.1.¹⁷ Figure 7.2 shows the offering series on the right-hand wall in tracing without register and column lines.¹⁸ This text contains recitations corresponding to all the elements of the type C list, but in an altered order and with a substantial number of further rites added; a total of twenty-nine offering rites from the Pyramid Texts appear among the sixty-three entries.¹⁹ The statues being a natural cultic focus, the relationship between these texts and mortuary service could not be more obvious.

⁹ As it is called in PM 1.1, 230. Manniche (1988, 33) observes that such scenes are often found together with representations of the Valley Festival and ritual actions involving the deceased tomb owner.

¹⁰ For the association of mortuary ritual with the harper’s song, see Assmann 1979, 57–58.

¹¹ The relatively unusual location of the Pyramid Text here is matched by the scene’s relatively unusual structure noted by Engelmann-von Carnap (1999, 11). Since the deceased is at the far right (i.e., toward the entry to the long passage) rather than at the far left (i.e., toward the end of the front hall), one may see the scene following the typical orientation of scenes in the long passage, and thus, in effect, as a kind of continuation of it.

¹² Davies and Davies 1933, pl. 27: *ḏḏ-mḏw ḥᶜ ḏt-nṯr tp(i) n(i) ḏmn Mn-ḥpr-rᶜ-snb m Nfr-tm m zššn r šr.t rᶜ wᶜb nṯr.w n mš n=f rᶜ nb*, parallel to PT 249 Pyr 266a + b (W): *ḥᶜ W. m Nfr-tm m zššn r šr.t rᶜ ... l wᶜb.w nṯr.w n mš=f*.

¹³ For TT 95, Gnirs (1995, 241) additionally identifies PT 23 and 677, two texts which appear in the Opening of the Mouth (MÖR 69B and 55 III respectively).

¹⁴ Assmann (2002, 19 n. 15) notes that Andrea Gnirs is preparing TT 29 and 95 for publication. Thanks to the kindness of J. J. Shirley, in 2002 we were able to see that whatever images might have accompanied the texts of TT 119 are now lost.

¹⁵ PT 25, 32, and 223 are found with offering ritual texts in the recurring sequences a) PT 72–79, 81, 25, 32, 82–96, 108–71, 223 in the

sources W and TT 33; b) PT 25, 32, 82–96, 108–71, 223 in P and B2Bo; c) PT 223, 199, 244, 32, 23, 25 in P and S.

¹⁶ To be precise, the front hall niche may be more closely associated with the performance of the Opening of the Mouth since scenes from the ritual are adjacent to it; see Hermann 1940, 99–100.

¹⁷ Representing the niche of PM 1², 118 (24).

¹⁸ Our thanks to Dorothea Arnold and the Metropolitan Museum of Art for kind permission to make this tracing from MMA Photo T 1655. The text is located at PM 1², 118 (24), right wall.

¹⁹ Twenty-nine, depending upon how one counts; the following enumeration includes entries which are similar to specific Pyramid Texts, which, if counted, would increase the total: top register, line 2: PT 108; 4: PT 113; 5: PT 116; 6: compare PT 51; 9: PT 119; 11: compare PT 114; 12: PT 117; 14: PT 153; 15: compare PT 48; 16: PT 155; 17: PT 157; 18: PT 156; 19: PT 154; 20: compare PT 149 (except item); 21: PT 55 (except item); 22: PT 108; 23: compare Pyr 281a and 763b; middle register, line 1: compare PT 132; 3: PT 152; 4: PT 160 (extract); 6: compare PT 166; 7: compare PT 167; 8: compare PT 168; 9: PT 161; 10: PT 162; 11: compare PT 70; 13: PT 45 (extract); 14: compare PT 41; 15: PT 142; 17: compare PT 165; 19: PT 120; bottom register, line 2: PT 109; 4: PT 661 (extract); 5: PT 131; 8: compare PT 126; 9: compare PT 127; 10: PT 135; 12: compare PT 132; 13: PT 133; 14: PT 128; 15: PT 130; 16: PT 129; 18: PT 139 (except item); 19: PT 137; 20: PT 136.

On the south wall of the long passage in TT 57 (Myśliwiec 1985, pl. 30) is a combination of scenes from the funeral procession, framed on the top and right by PT 311–12, which may be understood as captions to the figural group (Altenmüller 1972, 56).²⁰ The funeral procession is of course a collective ritual, but these two texts in their original formats were not. Rather, they were personal recitations, meant to be spoken by the beneficiary himself. The indication of this is in the PT 311 exemplar in the pyramid of Wenis, where an original first person suffix pronoun appears in two passages. One of these first person pronouns was later recarved as the third person in a process of incompletely executed editing.²¹ In its original format, then, PT 311 was a personal recitation, but it was altered²² in TT 57 so that the beneficiary now stands in the grammatical third person to correspond to the collective ritual. *That* is the setting which is encountered *here*, and indeed the exemplars of PT 311–12 in TT 57 are uniformly in the third person.²³

Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead papyri and shrouds generally differ from collective ritual texts in that they typically cast the beneficiary in the first person²⁴ or otherwise designate him as speaker of a text.²⁵ Books of the Dead typically consist of personal recitations,²⁶ to be said by the deceased himself²⁷ for his own benefit. TT 57 is the first tomb where Book of the Dead spells are found alongside Pyramid Texts. Adjacent and at a right angle to the funeral procession scenes in the long passage of TT 57 is BD 112 (Saleh 1984, 61; Sethe 1925, 14*–23*; Loret 1884a, 124). The text begins, “Utterance of knowing the Bas of Pe by N, who says ...,”²⁸ one of the typical introductory formulae for placing all of what follows in the beneficiary’s mouth. Among his words: “I know the Bas of Pe.”²⁹

Collective ritual Pyramid Texts and personal recitations from the Book of the Dead occurred also in the now-lost TT C1, where BD 125 and 30B were placed on the jambs leading to the rear of the tomb (Saleh 1984, 64; Loret 1884b, 24). On the adjacent south wall was another tabular series of offering ritual texts corresponding to the type C list, consequently³⁰ with Pyramid Texts.³¹ Alongside it was said to be an image of a *sem*-priest addressing the beneficiary.³²

TT 39 is another tomb with both Book of the Dead spells and Pyramid Texts, specifically in the north chapel (Louant 2000, 88–93). To the right of the false door are fragments of BD 148 (Saleh 1984, 82; Davies 1923, pl. 48). On the false door itself, the natural focus of worship during the performance of mortuary service, one again

²⁰ On this scene and its inscriptions, see also Lüddeckens 1943, 13–14.

²¹ The recarved passage in the pyramid of Wenis is PT 311 Pyr 495c (W): *n hm(=i) htp di* “I would not forget the offering which is to be given,” changed to *n hm=f htp di* “he (Wenis) would not forget the offering which is to be given”; the corresponding section in TT 57 is lost. The unedited first person in Wenis is PT 311 Pyr 499a (W): *dd(=i) n=k rn=k pw n(i) zgb wr pr m wr.t* “as I say to you this your name of ‘Great Abundance who went forth from the Great One (Nut).’” In TT 57, Pyr 499a (TT 57) appears as *dd=f n=k rn=k pw n(i) zgb wr pr m wr.t* “as he says to you this your name of ‘Great Abundance who went forth from the Great One.’” Concerning PT 312 Pyr 501 (W), the translation of Faulkner 1969, 98 (Utterance 312), is incorrect; read *hw.ti* “two houses” rather than *hw.wt=i* “my mansions”; see the variant at CT 712 VI 343b: *p3 z t ir hw.ty* “Ah, let the bread fly to the two houses,” where the dual vocalization is orthographically clear. The version of this passage in TT 57 is *p3 t r hw.wt n.t*, with no indication of a first person. The two houses would be those of Neith; on the two houses of Neith, see Schott 1967.

²² On such alterations, see Sethe 1931, 535.

²³ See footnote 21.

²⁴ And consequently this form might be seen — anachronistically — as “the typical case of funerary literature,” as in Assmann 1986, 1001 with 1006 n. 48; Assmann 1990, 6; and Assmann 2002, 32.

²⁵ See Assmann 1990, 3, 18, and 22–23, for his perception that there was an ancient process of differentiation between mortuary liturgies (dominant in the Pyramid Texts) and the mortuary literature of the sort found in the Book of the Dead, a process said to culminate in the New Kingdom; at that time, mortuary liturgies are said to first appear on tomb walls in cultic spaces, while Book of the Dead spells then appear on papyri. As is evident with several of the tombs discussed in this essay, however, personal Book of the Dead spells are

often found alongside collective Pyramid Texts, a fact which completes but complicates the history. When they appear together, any epigraphic distinction between texts from these corpora (a distinction of the sort Assmann 1990, 22, might wish to see) can be better attributed to an ancient desire to group together larger compositional units rather than to a motivation to separate texts by kind; compare the similar view of Jürgens 1995, 85, concerning seeming dispositional differentiations between Coffin Texts and Pyramid Texts. It may be further noted that the practice of displaying collective Pyramid Texts in cultic spaces is attested prior to the New Kingdom; beyond the above-ground Middle Kingdom source S1S later noted by Assmann (Assmann 2002, 469–70, citing Kahl 1994), Meir tomb B2 also contains an excerpt from a Pyramid Text and occurs in a cultic space, as discussed below at page 100.

²⁶ “Personal spells” by J. Allen (1988, 42).

²⁷ As observed by Lapp (1997, 34 and 55–56) in the context of noting exceptions to this general rule in Ea. It is not clear whether Assmann (2002, 53) is claiming that all texts of the mortuary literature are not spoken by the deceased, or if it is only mortuary liturgies which he means. Whatever his meaning, any text which is introduced by *dd-mdw in N* or similar undeniably presents itself as a text to be recited by the deceased. It is a textual fact.

²⁸ More precisely, BD 112 (Tb) 1: *r3 n(i) rh bz.w p in N dd=f*.

²⁹ BD 112 (Tb) 14, according to Sethe’s transcription (1925, 22*): *iw(=i) rh.kw(i) bz.w p*.

³⁰ See above p. 96 for the association between the type C offering list and certain Pyramid Texts.

³¹ See Loret 1884b, 30; from right to left, the texts correspond to items 1 through 12 of the type C list, thus including PT 108 (twice), 113, 116, and 153.

³² According to Loret (1884b, 30), “à gauche un personnage debout, vêtu d’une peau de panthère, étendant le bras en signe d’adoration.”

encounters excerpts from PT 249, this time along with excerpts from several other Pyramid Texts,³³ all of a collective ritual character. A further connection to the Book of the Dead is exhibited by the texts on the south wall of the same chapel, a scene repeated and augmented in the southern hall of offerings at the contemporaneous Deir el-Bahari.³⁴ In this chapel, Coffin Texts spell 607³⁵ and a series of Pyramid Texts beginning with PT 204³⁶ are conjoined with an offering list of the sort designated type A-B by Barta (Barta 1963, 72–79), a list which in full form corresponds to ninety Pyramid Texts in the offering ritual of Wenis.³⁷ Indeed, the positioning of PT 204 ff. after the A-B list in TT 39 corresponds to its location right after just such a list in the Middle Kingdom source Q1Q, and right after Pyramid Texts from the offering ritual in three other sources from the Old and Middle Kingdoms.³⁸ In short, this series of texts is traditionally deployed in conjunction with representations of the necessarily collective offering ritual. This deployment is suggestive of a collective ritual character for the texts of this series, too, as is the fact that one text includes the specification of ritual objects to be manipulated, just as in the offering ritual texts.³⁹ Taken together, these two points permit PT 204 ff., in their New Kingdom context,⁴⁰ to be understood as belonging to the collective ritual category — to mortuary service, to be precise.

And yet this very group of Pyramid Texts is drawn into the Book of the Dead to serve as the first half of spell 178. The second half of the spell, in addition to drawing from two Coffin Texts spells⁴¹ and adding completely new material, also incorporates parts of two⁴² other Pyramid Texts spells, the beginning of PT 251 and the end of PT 249 (T. Allen 1974, 239). Both of these are also collective ritual texts, inasmuch as the deceased is addressed in them. Because the third person is maintained even when the spells are incorporated into BD 178,⁴³ at first sight the whole new composition also seems to be a collective ritual text. This is not the case, however, for the entire spell is prefixed with *dd-mdw in N dd=f* “recitation by N, who says” (BD 178 [Aa] 2), putting everything which follows into his own mouth. BD 178, consisting of a combination of originally collective ritual texts, has been explicitly converted into a personal recitation, thereby creating a situation in which the deceased is speaking of and to himself,⁴⁴ filling simultaneously the roles of priest and beneficiary. One observes that the conversion of a collective ritual text to a personal recitation, as with BD 178, is exactly the opposite of what occurs in the Old Kingdom pyramids.

The Book of the Dead is discussed further below, but now we return to Pyramid Texts proper. TT 100 is the last of the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs we discuss with Pyramid Texts in accessible areas. This tomb offers another

³³ Davies 1923, pl. 48; PT 677 Pyr 2023; PT 422 Pyr 752–53b; PT 249 Pyr 266a–b; PT 677 Pyr 2028; and PT 252 Pyr 272a–c. These texts are not elsewhere configured together, suggesting that elements of different rites are represented, part for the whole.

³⁴ See Naville and Clarke 1901, pls. 110 + 109 (south wall) and 113 + 112 (north wall). Other but later exemplars of the scene are at Abydos (Winlock 1921, pls. 9–10; and Winlock 1937, pl. 5) and Thebes (Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983, pls. 51–57, esp. 54–56 for texts). Due to the frequency of its repetition, the scene and its texts have often been commented upon, most intensely in regards to the interpretation of CT 607; see Kees 1922; Altenmüller 1967; Altenmüller 1968; Barta 1973; Schenkel 1977; Goedicke 1992; and Hays 2004, pp. 191–98.

³⁵ In TT 39, it appears in place of items B11–29 of the type A-B offering list.

³⁶ PT 204–05, 207, 209–12. Leclant, Berger-El Naggar, and Pierre-Croisiau (2001, 195) incorrectly show PT 206 as being present in TT 39, unless it is their intent merely to indicate that TT 39 possesses a variant of PT 206, which it does have in PT 205.

³⁷ See the table in Junker 1934, 885–96.

³⁸ See J. Allen 1994, 8, for W and S. Another source with the sequence PT 204–05, 207, 209–12 immediately following offering ritual texts is M1Ba.

³⁹ As Kees (1922, 120) has observed in connection with PT 209 Pyr 124d (*dd.t 4 n(i)t mw* “four handfuls of water”); the same observation may be made for *hnd m-b sšr.t* “a shank and roast meat” of PT 209 Pyr 124c; compare PT 208 Pyr 124f–g; PT 212 Pyr 133f; and CT 179 III 70b.

⁴⁰ Then the deceased is referred to in these texts in the third person, and all first-person pronouns will accordingly refer to the officiating priest. However, it is not perfectly clear that these texts were origi-

nally collective or personal, for the first person may be interpreted as indicating the deceased beneficiary, as J. Allen does (1994, 17 with n. 19).

⁴¹ CT 783 and 785; see T. Allen 1974, 239.

⁴² In source Aa. The later source Cg also incorporates a passage from PT 588.

⁴³ BD 178 (Aa) 35–36: *dd-mdw <h> N l m šms n(i) Nfr-tm zšn r šr(t) R< [pr] =f [m šh.t] w< b.w ntr.w m-bšh ntr.w mš(š) =f R< n d.t* “Recitation: <Let> N <appear> in the following of Nefertem, the lotus at the nostrils of Ra, when he [ascends in the horizon], pure and divine in the presence of the gods, with him seeing Ra for ever,” parallel to PT 249 Pyr 266a–b: *h< W. m Nfr-tm m zšn r šr.t R< l pr =f m šh.t r< nb w< b.w ntr.w n mš =f* “Let Wenis appear as Nefertem, as the lotus at the nostrils of Ra, as he ascends in the horizon every day, the gods purified through seeing him.” BD 178 (Aa) 34–35: *dd-mdw l hr(iw) wnw.w[t] tp(i)w< .wi> R< lr.w wš.t n N l swš =f m-hnw phr.t n(i) Wsir nb ‘nh-tš.wi ‘nh d.t* “Recitation: O ones who are over the hours, who are be<fore> Ra, make a way for N, that he pass within the circuit of Osiris lord of Ankhtawy, living for ever,” parallel to PT 251 Pyr 269a–b: *i hr(i)w wnw.wt tp(i)w< .wi> R< iriil wš.t n W. l swš W. m-hnw phr.t n(i)t ‘hš.w hr* “O masters of the hours, ones before Ra, make a way for Wenis, that Wenis pass within the circuit of those warlike of aspect.”

⁴⁴ See the preceding note for citations with the beneficiary in the third person. For the beneficiary in the second person, see BD 178 (Aa) 2: *dd-mdw in N dd =f m-n =k ir.t-Hr dbh.t =k dbh.t-htp.w* “Recitation by N, who says: Take to yourself the Eye of Horus which you sought, the mortuary offerings.” (Naturally, the exhortation to take the eye of Horus, the *dbh.t-htp.w*, is simply an encapsulation of the offering ritual so closely associated with PT 204 ff.)

example of a representation of the funeral procession in association with a pair of Pyramid Texts as seen above in TT 57 (Davies 1943, pl. 89).⁴⁵ The representation in TT 100 is from the scene called “the journey to the god’s booth of Anubis” (Settgast 1963, pl. 11). The setting is obviously a collective rite, with officiants shown bearing up the deceased “after the beautiful encoffining.”⁴⁶ To the left, a lector stands in the recitation gesture and before him are his words, PT 644 (J. Allen 1976, 23). The text, like the image, is of a collective ritual character, referring to the deceased in the third person, as with “O Children of Horus, set out bearing your father, the Osiris N.”⁴⁷ In light of the apparent paucity of Middle Kingdom tombs at Thebes,⁴⁸ it is significant that the Twelfth Dynasty representation of the funeral procession in TT 60 (Davies, Gardiner, and Davies 1920, pl. 21) also integrates an excerpt from a Pyramid Text into its body.⁴⁹ It is well known that the majority of the scenes of Eighteenth Dynasty funeral processions are based on prototypes of the Middle and Old Kingdoms (Settgast 1963, 112); the incorporation of a Pyramid Text in the funeral procession scenes of both tombs underscores the impression of tradition in representation.

Almost directly across the long passage from “the journey to the god’s booth of Anubis” in TT 100 is Rekhmire’s lengthy rendition of the Opening of the Mouth (Davies 1943, pls. 96–107), a ritual whose rites find many parallels with Pyramid Texts (Hays 2002). Scene 73 (Davies 1943, pl. 100) is an appropriate case to mention in regard to PT 644 and “the journey to the god’s booth of Anubis.”⁵⁰ The action represented is the bearing up of the deceased by a group; the text is again PT 644. Whatever their redactional relationship to one another, it is clear that, in the New Kingdom, Pyramid Texts appear in both the collective funeral procession and the collective Opening of the Mouth, and that Pyramid Texts were involved in depictions of the funeral procession already in the Middle Kingdom.

At the end of the long passage in TT 100, beyond the representations of the funeral procession and Opening of the Mouth, is a set of texts including some deemed by Assmann to constitute excerpts from a mortuary liturgy (Assmann 1986, 999; Assmann 1990, 23–24; Assmann 2002, 19). The setting for this liturgy is mortuary service.⁵¹ On the walls to the left and right of the long passage in TT 100, images of the deceased and officiating priests are accompanied by blocks of texts (Davies 1943, pls. 78, 86, 96, 104, and 126⁵²) which consist of a combination of Coffin Texts,⁵³ Pyramid Texts,⁵⁴ and utterances that are parallel to some texts of the papyrus

⁴⁵ Still another is TT 42; see Davies and Davies 1933, 33, with a translation of texts not appearing in the corresponding plate; as observed by Altenmüller (1972, 56 n. 40) the text is PT 249 Pyr 266a–b. Altenmüller (1972, 56) has made further note of several Pyramid Texts in association with scenes from the funeral procession, going on to suppose an association between the texts of Wenit with a sequence of the funeral he infers, in part, from New Kingdom representations.

⁴⁶ Davies 1943, pl. 89: *m-ht ir.t qrs.t nfr.t*. For the meaning “einsargen,” see *qrs* at *Wb.* 5, 63.11, and see also Lapp 1986a, § 77.

⁴⁷ See Davies 1943, pl. 89: *ms.w-hr iz(z) in hr it-tn Wsir N*.

⁴⁸ A dearth noted by Davies (1930, 1) and attributed to their having been appropriated and redecorated in the New Kingdom; compare Dziobek 1992, 121.

⁴⁹ PT 213 Pyr 134a–b; the connection was observed by Lüddeckens (1943, 30); see further Barta 1968, 312, on Bitte 77.

⁵⁰ The scene’s associations to the funeral procession, including representations of it in TT 60, are noted in Otto 1960, ii 166.

⁵¹ As opposed to the Hour Vigil (*Stundenwachen*) as setting. See Assmann 2002, 16–17, on the two basic kinds of mortuary liturgies he perceives.

⁵² Note that the plates in Davies 1943 misleadingly present these blocks of texts together with the ends of the funeral procession and Opening of the Mouth tableaux; they are not related.

⁵³ Left, top register, two texts: CT 28 end and CT 29 beginning, these two texts in that order also occur on T9C and Sid1Cam, with the texts being parallel to pBM 10819 verso 126–31 (BM Photo 197549), the parallel observed by Assmann (2002, 167, and Assmann 1990, 44); compare the first text to PT 595 Pyr 1640a–c and the beginning of rite 16 of the daily temple ritual (pBerlin 3055 V 8). Right, top

register, one text: CT 902, concerning which see Silverman 1982 and Assmann 1984, 286. Right, second register, two texts: CT 831, parallel to pBM 10819 verso 87–89 (BM Photo 197553), the parallel noted by Assmann 1990, 44; and CT 530. We are indebted to the kindness of T. G. H. James, Vivian Davies, and Richard Parkinson of the British Museum for photographs of pBM 10819.

⁵⁴ Left, middle register, two texts: PT 32 (with extensive additions), parallel to pBM 10819 recto II 20–23 (BM Photo 197545), the parallel noted by Assmann 1990, 44; compare also pBM 10819 recto II 8–11 (BM Photo 197546), which gives PT 32 with only minor differences. PT 25, parallel to pBM 10819 verso 115–19 (BM Photo 197550), the parallel noted by Assmann 1990, 44. Right, second register: PT 25 Pyr 18c. Right, bottom register: PT 224 Pyr 218c–21c (T, 2nd version), modified and augmented, this exemplar noted in Schott 1955, 295 n. 1. The right, second register’s excerpt from PT 25 is especially significant since it follows CT 530 in TT 100, just as excerpts from this same utterance do in Sq10C and T9C; the significance is in that T9C gives a different portion of PT 25 than Sq10C and TT 100 (17c in T9C versus 18c–d in Sq10C and 18c in TT 100), with the differences in selection suggesting that the excerpts stand part-for-whole. This conclusion is reinforced by further sources, BH10x and T1C, where PT 25 immediately precedes CT 530, but this time with PT 25 complete on the latter source, and with yet a different excerpt appearing on the former (Pyr 17a–b). The intimate relationship between PT 25 and CT 530 is clear, with the first text evidently so well known that only a few clauses from it need be inscribed so as to connote the utterance in its entirety. That, we feel, is the principle behind the excerpting of Pyramid Texts elsewhere in TT 100 and other Eighteenth Dynasty tombs: the texts were not given in their entirety because they were so much a part of culture’s fabric that it was unnecessary to do so.

BM 10819;⁵⁵ a repetition of PT 25 is located beside the top false door (Davies 1943, pl. 113) (fig. 7.3). As Assmann has pointed out, many of the Pyramid and Coffin Texts in TT 100 have counterparts in papyrus BM 10819,⁵⁶ a contemporary document which he describes as the sort of scroll from which priests recited mortuary service.⁵⁷ Further parallels to this papyrus are found integrated with the images of the lowest south wall registers of TT 100 (Davies 1943, pl. 108); the text⁵⁸ appears above representations of priests performing rites for the beneficiary and immediately next to a type C offering list. The block of text continues with excerpts from PT 223 and 222.⁵⁹

Together with the instances of PT 25 and 32 in this tomb, these are the same texts as those found on pillars,⁶⁰ their repeated occurrence together suggestive of a more or less defined decorative palette. More significantly still, there is a representation of mortuary service of similar components from the Middle Kingdom tomb Meir B2; the far right side of the scene shows the deceased seated at an offering table, the far left shows ritualists, and an offering list occupies the space between them; finally, as in TT 100, an excerpt from PT 223⁶¹ is integrated into the composition (Blackman 1915, 16–17, pls. 7–8). Recalling the Pyramid Texts integrated into the funeral procession scene of the Middle Kingdom tomb TT 60, the impression of the continuation or adoption of tradition is enhanced.

In summary, the Pyramid Texts in the accessible areas of Eighteenth Dynasty tombs tend to be associated with images of the performance of various collective rituals, or they bear a direct connection to collective ritual through immediate proximity to a cultic focus. In concert with this, the texts themselves are of a collective ritual format, in that they cast the deceased in the grammatical second or third person. Observing that Pyramid Texts cluster around what are presumably cultic emplacements, one perceives a correlation between place, image, text, and ritual performance, a relationship whose significance is accentuated by the connections Assmann has identified between texts in tombs and texts in the pBM liturgical scroll. We have described how, in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, Pyramid Texts are typically integrated with the funeral procession on the left side of the long passage; the Opening of the Mouth typically on the right side (Manniche 1988, 42); and scenes of mortuary service often depicted at the end. Citing a famous text from TT 110 (Davies 1932), Barthelmeß noted the correlation between textual accounts of the events on the day of burial and their pictorial representations in tombs, pointing specifically to the funeral procession and the Opening of the Mouth (Barthelmeß 1992, 174⁶²). The funeral procession in that text:

A beautiful encoffining comes in peace
when your seventy days in your *wabet* are complete,
you being placed upon a [b]ier in the house of peace
and drawn by white bulls, ...
until you reach the entrance of your tomb.

The Opening of the Mouth:

Your children's children are assembled as one;
with loving hearts do they cry,
for your mouth has been opened by the lector,
for you have been purified by the *sem*-priest,

⁵⁵ In addition to the parallels noted in the two preceding notes, the left, third register contains a parallel to pBM 10819 recto II 11–III 9 (BM Photos 197546–47), the parallel noted in Assmann 2002, 50 nn. 44 and 46; and Assmann 1990, 44; and the right, third register contains a parallel to pBM 10819 recto VI 2–6 (BM Photo 197536) and verso 39–44 (BM Photo 197541), the parallel noted by Assmann (1990, 44).

⁵⁶ See the three preceding notes for their enumeration. pBM 10819 has still other parallels to Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, such as recto VIII 105 (BM Photo 197538) and verso 110–14 (BM Photo 197550), parallel to PT 33; verso 44–47 (BM Photo 197541), based on PT 94–95; verso 48–49 (BM Photo 197541), parallel to PT 196; recto I 8–II 1 (BM Photos 197545–46), parallel to CT 723 beginning; and verso 47–48 (BM Photo 197541), parallel to CT 926.

⁵⁷ Concerning this papyrus, see further Quirke 1993, 17, 51, and 80 (no. 149); Dorman 1988, 83 with n. 73; Assmann 1984, 284–85; Assmann 1986, 999; Assmann 1990, 26–27; and Assmann 2002, 19.

⁵⁸ The connection noted by Assmann (2002, 44). The text is a variant of CT 831; see pBM 10819 verso 87–89 (BM Photo 197553).

⁵⁹ PT 223 Pyr 215a–16c, parallel to pBM 10819 recto VII 3–4 (BM Photos 197536–38) and verso 49–66 (BM Photo 197540), the connection noted by Assmann 2002, 208; PT 222 Pyr 210b–11c + 213a–b.

⁶⁰ Their recurrence noted by Assmann (1990, 24 with 44 fig. 14) for TT 29 and 100.

⁶¹ PT 223 Pyr 214b–15b, with modifications to the offerings itemized at Pyr 214b–c.

⁶² On this text, see also Assmann 2001, 397–98.

Horus having adjusted your mouth for you,
and opened for you your eyes and ears

On account of what comes next in the TT 110 text, one may add a third correspondence, to mortuary service:

Let the utterances of *sakhu* be recited for you,
the offering given of the king having been performed for you,
your heart being yours in reality, your heart of your existence upon earth....⁶³

Mortuary service is neatly situated at the end of the TT 110 text sequence, just as Pyramid Texts occur in association with images of ritual action at the end of the long passage in TT 100, after representations of the funeral procession and after the Opening of the Mouth. The sequential correspondence underscores the fact that, in TT 100 and in the other accessible areas of Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs, Pyramid Texts are connected to each of the three salient elements of the funeral as a whole.

Pyramid Texts in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs are in most cases situated in accessible areas; however, there are four tombs with Pyramid Texts in subterranean chambers. In these cases the Pyramid Texts are generally complete,⁶⁴ in contrast to what is found in the accessible areas, where excerpts are common. A further difference is that only one of the subterranean examples is associated with an image of a collective ritual character, while above ground such a connection is very common. Despite these differences, there are two prominent points of similarity between Pyramid Texts above and below ground: Book of the Dead spells are found in the same spaces as Pyramid Texts, and, with one fascinating exception, these Pyramid Texts are similarly of a collective ritual kind.

TT 82 contains a burial chamber whose four walls and the back wall of its niche are dominated by spells from the Book of the Dead (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pls. 36–45; Munro 1987, 296 [#88]). In the niche is a depiction of a bull followed by cows, to which direct reference is made in the Book of the Dead spell above it;⁶⁵ it should also be mentioned that scenes of mortuary service performed for the deceased appear on the north and south walls of this niche (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 35). The remainder of the texts in the tomb, however, are without pictorial accompaniment to speak of,⁶⁶ with the notable exception of the south wall (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pls. 37–38), where the Pyramid Texts occur. This south wall bears representations of Isis and two Children of Horus on the left side, and Nephthys and two Children of Horus on the right side. In between these figures, in the lower register, are Book of the Dead spells 80, 133–34, and 65, none of which makes reference to these figures; the Pyramid Texts in the upper register, however, make a number of statements concerning them.

These texts consist of two series,⁶⁷ PT 220–22 — part of one of the most frequently attested recurring sequences of texts in the Old and Middle Kingdoms — followed by a recurring sequence constituting a part of what Altenmüller has labeled Spruchfolge D: PT 593, 356–57, 364, and 677,⁶⁸ attested in that order on several sources (Kahl 1996, 16–21). The majority of references to the figures come from this second series.⁶⁹ Isis and Nephthys

⁶³ Text: Hermann 1940, 32*, 1–9: *qrs.t nfr.t | iýz s m htp 70 hrwz k km m w' b.tz k di.ti hr. [š]fd.w | m pr htp stz.ti hr. k3.w hq.w ... r phz k | r r3 izz k ms.w ms.wz k twt m qd w' rmmz sn | m ib mrr wp r3z k in hri-h3b.t w' bzk in sm mh3.n | nzk hr r3z k zn.nzf nzk ir.tlzk(i) 'nh.wlzk(i) ... l ... šd.tw nzk r3.w szh.w ir nzk htp-di-ni-sw.t | ibzk m-^czk n wn-m3^c h3.tyzk n(i) wnnzk tp t3 iý.tl m | qm3.wzk imi-h3.t mī hrw ms.n.twzk imzf.*

⁶⁴ Exceptions include TT 353; PT 677 Pyr 2028a–c; PT 364 Pyr 609b–10b; PT 532 Pyr 1259–61c; PT 424 Pyr 769c–70d + Pyr 771–74; PT 366 Pyr 626–627a; and PT 367 Pyr 634–35c; and TT 82: PT 356 Pyr 575–77c; PT 357 Pyr 589b–92; and PT 677 Pyr 2018–23a. On our interpretation of extracts of Pyramid Texts in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, see footnote 54.

⁶⁵ Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 36, line 9: *k3 t3iū hm.wt.*

⁶⁶ Besides the exception observed below, see Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 46.

⁶⁷ Compare the juxtaposition of these two series here to Sq2X, which has the sequence PT 220–22 PT 593.

⁶⁸ See footnote 1. For its part, Spruchfolge D proper consists of PT 593, 356–57, 364, 677, 365, 373, and CT 516 (= PT 721); see Altenmüller 1972, 49. The transmission history of this sequence is the subject of Kahl 1996. The sequence is a part of Assmann's later Liturgy III (Assmann 1990, 12, 38 fig. 8). Spruchfolge D is attested as such, without appendix, on B10C (lid), S, and Sq4C, but Spruchfolge D comes to form a portion of a longer sequence attested on B10C (back) and B9C, namely PT 593, 356–57, 364, 677, 365, 373 CT 516 PT 422, 374 CT 517 PT 424, 366–69, 423, 370–72, 332, 722 CT 518 PT 468, 412 CT 519 PT 690, 674, the latter portion consisting of subsequences attested on yet other sources. Compare this sequence to a liturgy Assmann refers to as Liturgy PT.B, consisting of PT 593, 356–57, 363, 677, 365, 373, etc., while PT 220–22 constitutes part of a liturgy Assmann refers to as Liturgy PT.A, consisting of PT 213–19, 220–24 (Assmann 2001, 335, 387–93).

⁶⁹ Besides the passages cited below, PT 220 of the first sequence mentions Nephthys and Isis separately at Pyr 203b, 205b, 210a, and 210b. Isis and Nephthys are mentioned together at PT 593, 356, 357, and 364 Pyr 610c: *sd3.n tw szs.t hn^c nb.t-hwt* "Isis and Nephthys have made you well"; see also PT 364 Pyr 616a.

are named in all but one of the texts, as with “Your two sisters come to you, (that is,) Isis and Nephthys, even after having turned back to (any) place where you might be”;⁷⁰ the reference to the Children of Horus would have appeared where there is now a chunk of damage: “Horus has given you his children, that they may lift you up.”⁷¹

The verbalized actions may be understood as corresponding to one or more ritual acts — one may especially recall the bearing up by the Children of Horus in “the journey to the god’s booth of Anubis” and scene 73 of the Opening of the Mouth — no matter: the Children of Horus in TT 82 are depicted without action, and Isis has her own text immediately above her (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 37), an appeal to Geb on behalf of the deceased, with no thematic connection to these Pyramid Texts. Instead of associating these images with the adjacent Pyramid Texts, one may recall the practice of representing Isis, Nephthys, and the Children of Horus on the exteriors of contemporaneous sarcophagi⁷² since it is in this chamber that the beneficiary’s sarcophagus would have rested.

Although there is no collective ritual connotation to the texts in subterranean chambers so overt as is seen in those above ground, as by juxtaposition to an image of collective ritual or to a false door or statue, the texts themselves cast the beneficiary in the second and third person, and this format indicates a collective ritual context. This conclusion is supported by the presence here of three texts which have been encountered above ground alongside images of collective ritual and a false door (PT 222, 593, and 677).

In contrast to TT 82, where the images of gods do not seem to depict collective ritual action, TT 96B has a scene like many of those encountered above ground (Eggebrecht 1988, 43; MMA Photo T 2522; Virey 1900, 86–87, figs. 20–21). The left half shows the deceased and his wife, the right half a ritualist simultaneously censuring and libating; above is the text to PT 32,⁷³ which was repeatedly encountered in the accessible areas. Another detail links TT 96B to tombs both above and below ground: proximity of a Pyramid Text to Book of the Dead spells. The scene with PT 32 appears on one half of the south wall, and situated at a right angle to it is a representation from the Opening of the Mouth (Eggebrecht 1988, 60; Virey 1900, 84, fig. 19),⁷⁴ and next to that is BD 151 (Eggebrecht 1988, 49; Myśliwiec 1985, pl. 25; Virey 1899, 146, fig. 18).

TT 353 is yet another tomb with Book of the Dead spells and Pyramid Texts in the same space, and, as with TT 100, the Pyramid Texts are combined with Coffin Texts and still other texts besides (Dorman 1991, 99–113, pls. 60–67, 78–81). The eastern half of the burial chamber is devoted to a combination of two sequences identified by Assmann as mortuary liturgies, these being transmitted in part from the Middle Kingdom (Assmann 2002, 469–70; Kahl 1994). As with TT 100, these liturgies show how larger compositions were constructed through the combination of older and presumably newer material,⁷⁵ the new composition then carried forward as a tradition, manifest here. The texts are all of a collective ritual character, principally purely liturgical, but also including two texts drawn from the offering ritual.⁷⁶

In light of the performance setting implied by the relationship of the beneficiary to the recitation of the text, and considering that no visitors would regularly enter TT 353 after burial (Dorman 1991, 99), it is significant to find an appeal to the living just inside the chamber, asking that scribes and lectors “recite the *sakhu* for N.”⁷⁷ The appeal makes it clear that the texts are presented on the wall *as if* they were indeed scripts for rites to be performed by someone else for the deceased. That is, the appeal maintains the texts’ identity as collective ritual recitations.

⁷⁰ PT 593 Pyr 1630a–b (TT 82, Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 38, 6–7): *ī n z k sn.t(i) z ky r-gs z k šs.t hñ^c nb.t-hw.t l hñ.n z sn m bw hr(i) z k im.*

⁷¹ PT 364 Pyr 619b: *rdl.n n z k hr ms.w z f wtz z sn tw.*

⁷² And yet again, such pictorial representations may be traced back to the speeches made by these gods on Middle Kingdom coffins, speeches which Assmann relates to the Hour Vigil (Assmann 2002, 161–64; Assmann 1973, 127); meanwhile, the second sequence of Pyramid Texts in TT 82 is also associated by him with the Hour Vigil (Assmann 1990, 12, 38; Assmann 2001, 392).

⁷³ PT 32 in TT 96B is not from the Opening of the Mouth (contra the implication of Myśliwiec 1985, 24, pl. 40.2); for the identification of the Opening of the Mouth texts in TT 96B, see footnote 74.

⁷⁴ Scenes 1 and 2 (Otto 1960, ii 177 [*34]), with the latter’s purification formula incidentally deriving from or parallel to PT 35; see Otto 1960, ii 48.

⁷⁵ See Assmann 1990, 13, for his argument that these liturgies were assembled as such in the Middle Kingdom (“the coffin”) rather than the Old (“the pyramids”), as well as Eyre 2002, 19 n. 42, who sees in them old liturgies “used in apparently original ways.”

⁷⁶ Since CT.4 is thought by Assmann 2002, 17 (see also Assmann 1990, 22–23), to have an association with the mortuary ritual setting (as opposed to the Hour Vigil setting of CT.1–3), and thus a relationship with Assmann 2002’s liturgy NR.1, it is noteworthy that the sequence of texts PT 25, 32, 82–96, 108–71, 223, attested on P and B2Bo, includes all but one of the Pyramid Texts from the end of TT 100’s long passage, and includes PT 94–95 from TT 353.

⁷⁷ See Dorman 1991, 99, pl. 61, SE1: *šd.w sšh.w n N*; and in fact the first of the liturgies is designated as such; see *ibid.*, pl. 61, SE2: *dd-mdw sšh.w mš^c n N*.

The circumstances of performance are markedly different in the last tomb discussed here, TT 87. Its texts are predominantly Coffin Texts, but most⁷⁸ of these have direct parallels in the Book of the Dead, and one of them is so like its Book of the Dead counterpart that a definitive label is difficult.⁷⁹ To compound matters is the situation of its Pyramid Texts. While three of them, PT 251–53, are not otherwise attested in Coffin Texts⁸⁰ or Book of the Dead variants, two other spells, PT 247 and 248,⁸¹ form the first half of the nearly contemporaneous⁸² BD 174.⁸³

On the one hand, three things serve to distinguish these exemplars of PT 247–48 from BD 174: the absence of the second half of the later version in TT 87; the fact that PT 247–48 are elsewhere attested in series with PT 251–53,⁸⁴ as here; and finally the maintenance of the collective ritual⁸⁵ format in TT 87, casting the beneficiary in the second person, as with “raise yourself from upon your side.”⁸⁶ In comparison, BD 174 recasts much⁸⁷ of the text as a personal recitation through a conversion of pronouns, as with “let me be raised from upon my side.”⁸⁸ One observes that this Book of the Dead conversion of person is precisely the reverse of what pertained in the Old Kingdom pyramids and is directly in line with what was seen with BD 178.

On the other hand, this pair of texts in TT 87 is immediately preceded by the title given to the Book of the Dead spell, “utterance of causing an *akh* to ascend in the gate in the sky,”⁸⁹ and it prefixes the preposition *in* “by” to the very beginning of PT 248 (Guksch 1995, pl. 16). In this position, the preposition is merely an abbreviation for formulae such as that encountered with *dd-mdw in N dd=f* in BD 178: in context, it signifies “(recitation) by (N),”⁹⁰ thereby placing the subsequent words in the mouth of the deceased himself. Even though in what follows in TT 87 the deceased is referred to in the second person, he is in effect filling the role of the officiating priest and thus addresses himself, just as in BD 178. In sum, PT 247 and 248 in TT 87 are as much in association with the Book of the Dead as they are with Pyramid Texts. For this reason, as well as because of the points of contact between the tomb’s Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead, one may see in TT 87 a transitional source, partway between all three stages of mortuary literature. With TT 87, one gets an indication of the continuous character of the mortuary literature tradition,⁹¹ and, consequently, an inkling of how artificial our labels for the ancient texts really are. The reality is far less discrete and more permeable than what is implied by the terms “Pyramid Texts,” “Coffin Texts,” and “Book of the Dead,” as useful as these labels may be.

A further point of interest is that, while a case was seen in TT 353 where collective ritual texts were verbally framed so as to maintain their identity as such, in TT 87 the situation is the opposite; PT 248 is framed as a personal recitation, no matter that the text itself is of a collective character. With that in mind, one may consider the

⁷⁸ See Guksch 1995, 75. Because of the numerous parallels, Hornung (1997, 22) is right to describe the tomb’s texts as constituting an early Book of the Dead exemplar.

⁷⁹ The text at Guksch 1995, pl. 16, 42–46, being either CT 353 or BD 60. Guksch 1995, 75, identifies the first part of it as CT 353 (of which BD 60 is a variant) and the tail end of it as BD 60.

⁸⁰ In the narrow sense (i.e., those Middle Kingdom mortuary texts not falling directly within the corpus of Pyramid Texts, following the definition of Schenkel 1978, 36). However, the Pyramid Texts in question are attested on Middle Kingdom coffins and other sources, with PT 251–53 on Da1X, Siese, and S; PT 252 also on Siese, M57C, and T13C; and PT 253 also on T13C.

⁸¹ Guksch (1995, 75) suggests CT 349 or PT 247 for the first spell, and BD 174, 7–10, or PT 248 for the second. Note that CT 349 is not followed by PT 248 on any source, while PT 247 and 248 are attested together in that order on several sources, for the identification of which see n. 84. (Recurring sequences including CT 349 are CT 349–51 on B1C and B3C, and CT 349–50 on B6Bo.) There is no CT correlate for PT 248.

⁸² Pb (pNfr-wbn=f), bearing the earliest exemplar, dated to Thutmose IV by Munro 1987, 282 (#31).

⁸³ The latter half of it consisting of PT 249 and 250, not present in TT 87.

⁸⁴ In the sequence PT 247–58, 260–63, 267–301 on W and S, with subsequences of this being PT 247–58, 260–63, 267–73 on Siese; and PT 247–58 on Da1X.

⁸⁵ Even without considering the person of the beneficiary, Saint Fare Gamot (1949, 102) identifies PT 247 as a ritual recitation, going so

far as to imagine physical actions concurrent with the recitation’s performance. The notion that it is indeed a collective ritual text is reinforced by its accompanying an image of a priest in the recitation gesture before the beneficiary on the Middle Kingdom stela of Amenemhatseneb; see Boeser 1909, pl. 23.24.

⁸⁶ PT 247 Pyr 260a (TT 87, Guksch 1995, pl. 16, 35): *tz tw hr gs=k*.

⁸⁷ The first part of the text maintains the second person for the beneficiary, as with BD 174 (Af) 1: *ir.n n=k z=k* “your son has acted for you,” matching PT 247 Pyr 257a: *ir.n n=k z=k hr*.

⁸⁸ BD 174 (Pb and Af) 4: *tz.w=i hr-gs=i*.

⁸⁹ Guksch 1995, pl. 15, 28–29: *r3 n(i) rdl(t) pr 3h m sb3 m p.t*, conforming to BD 174 (Af) 1: *r3 n(i) rdl.t pr 3h m sb3 3 m p.t* in all but the adjective 3. On the basis of this caption, Altenmüller 1972, 176, associates PT 247 with *s3h.w*-texts, figuring it as a “Rezitationstext am Ende des Opfers.”

⁹⁰ Compare BD 50 (Aa) 1–2: *r3 n(i) tm 3 q r nm.t ntr dd-mdw in* (with no name): “Utterance of not entering into the god’s slaughterhouse; said by (N)” and BD 39 (Ca) 1: *r3 n(i) rrk(=f) m hri.t-ntr in N* “Utterance of warding off [his] *rrk*-serpent in the necropolis; (said) by N.”

⁹¹ The significance of another transitional source (S8X) bearing both “Coffin Texts” and “Book of the Dead spells” is explored at Lapp 1986b, 144–45. For the continuity between the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts and the New Kingdom Book of the Dead, see Lapp 1997, 56. On the transition between these two stages, see further Parkinson and Quirke 1992, 47–48.

fact that Book of the Dead papyri and shrouds are dominated by personal recitations, inasmuch as their spells regularly situate the deceased as the reciter. Within the context of a Book of the Dead source, then, the beneficiary himself is put in charge of his own post-mortem destiny; this is also the situation with PT 248 in TT 87. The reverse is the case with the actual performance of collective ritual, for during it the deceased is the passive benefactor of rites performed by others on his behalf. His attainment of a beatified state is not, in such a setting, the result of his own effort, but rather is the result of the works and statements of priests. The ramification of these two observations concerning the deceased's relationship to the performance of a text is that tombs bearing both kinds of texts — collective ritual and personal recitations — represent both means of attainment: the deceased does it himself, and it is done for him.

To end with a note on tradition. Tombs of the first part of Eighteenth Dynasty were carrying forward a tradition detectable in the Middle Kingdom, not only in displaying Pyramid Texts in the inaccessible areas of a tomb but also in presenting Pyramid Texts in association with images in the accessible spaces. This tradition, however, began disintegrating with the close of Amenhotep III's reign, from which come the last of the tombs discussed here.⁹² Later monuments would provide a mere echo of what the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty saw — some Pyramid Texts on the offering table of Sarenenutit,⁹³ a repetition of the scene from TT 39 in the Abydos temple of Ramesses I,⁹⁴ and the texts for the type C offering list in KV 17.⁹⁵ This reduction in frequency of text transmission coincides with a reduction in pictorial depictions of mortuary service in general, which, as Gnirs (1995, 238) observes, coincides with the well-known modifications to the decorative program in the Ramesside period.⁹⁶ So ended a tradition, but a tradition that would resurface in attenuated form in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Hays 2003).

⁹² TT 57, 107, and C1. Outside of Thebes but of the same date is the tomb of Sobekmose, with PT 32; see Hayes 1939, pl. 5.

⁹³ Dated to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty or early Nineteenth Dynasty by Clère 1981, 213 with n. 1; see pl. 27, 1–2, for PT 25, 32, 268–69, 275–76, 307, and 595.

⁹⁴ See footnote 34.

⁹⁵ Augmented, although not as extensively as TT 57; see Hornung 1999, 107–09, 153, and 165; Lefébure 1886, pls. 6–8, 12–13.

⁹⁶ The adjustment in the decorative program was felt even in respect to how the Opening of the Mouth was presented, usually with only two or three rites displayed, with them condensed into a single scene (Barthelmess 1992, 93). These changes, moreover, were paralleled by modifications in the architecture of the tomb, as outlined at Assmann 1984, 282, 284; see also Assmann 1990, 17.

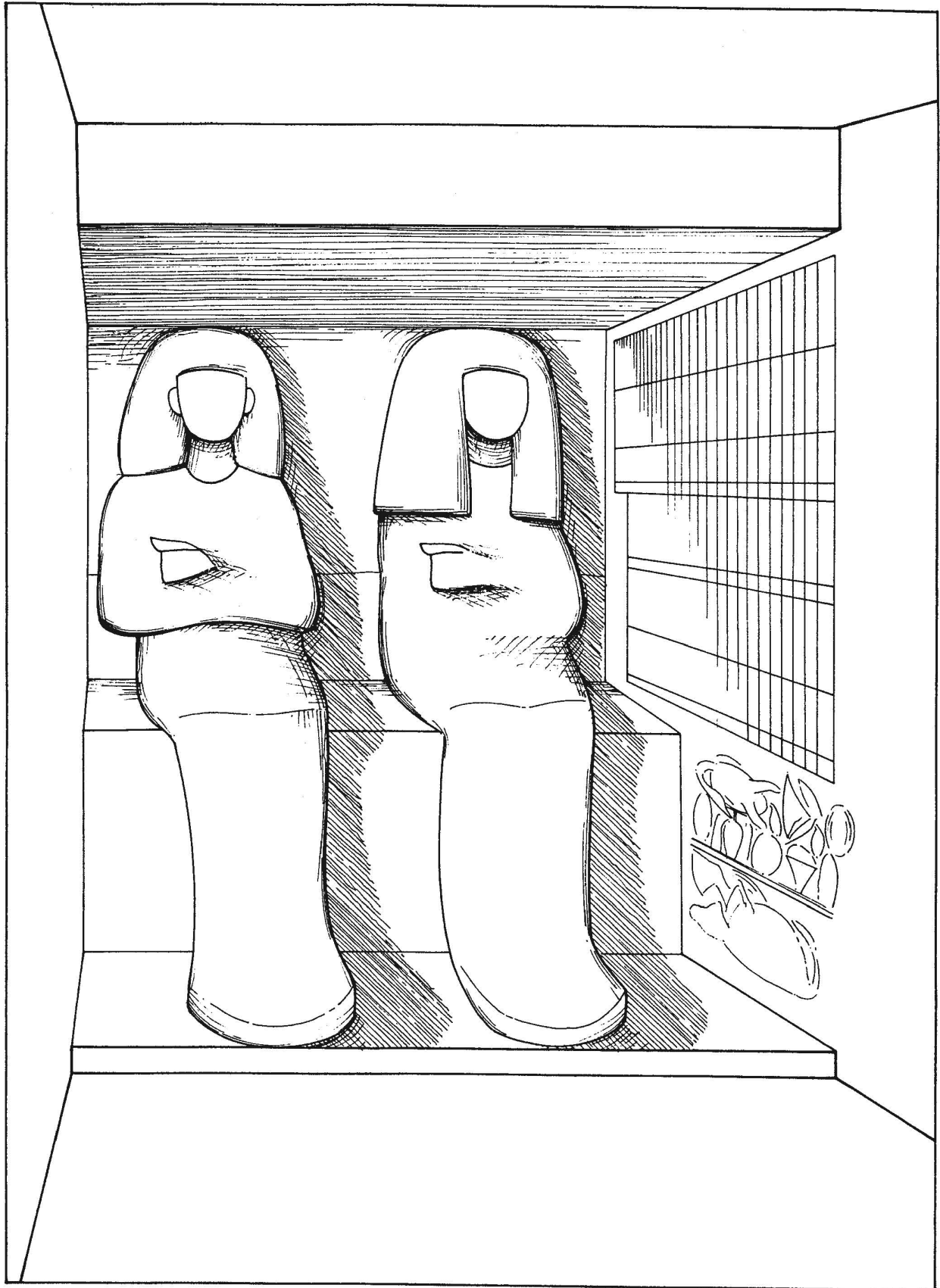


Figure 7.1. Perspective Drawing of Niche in TT 57

[illegible]

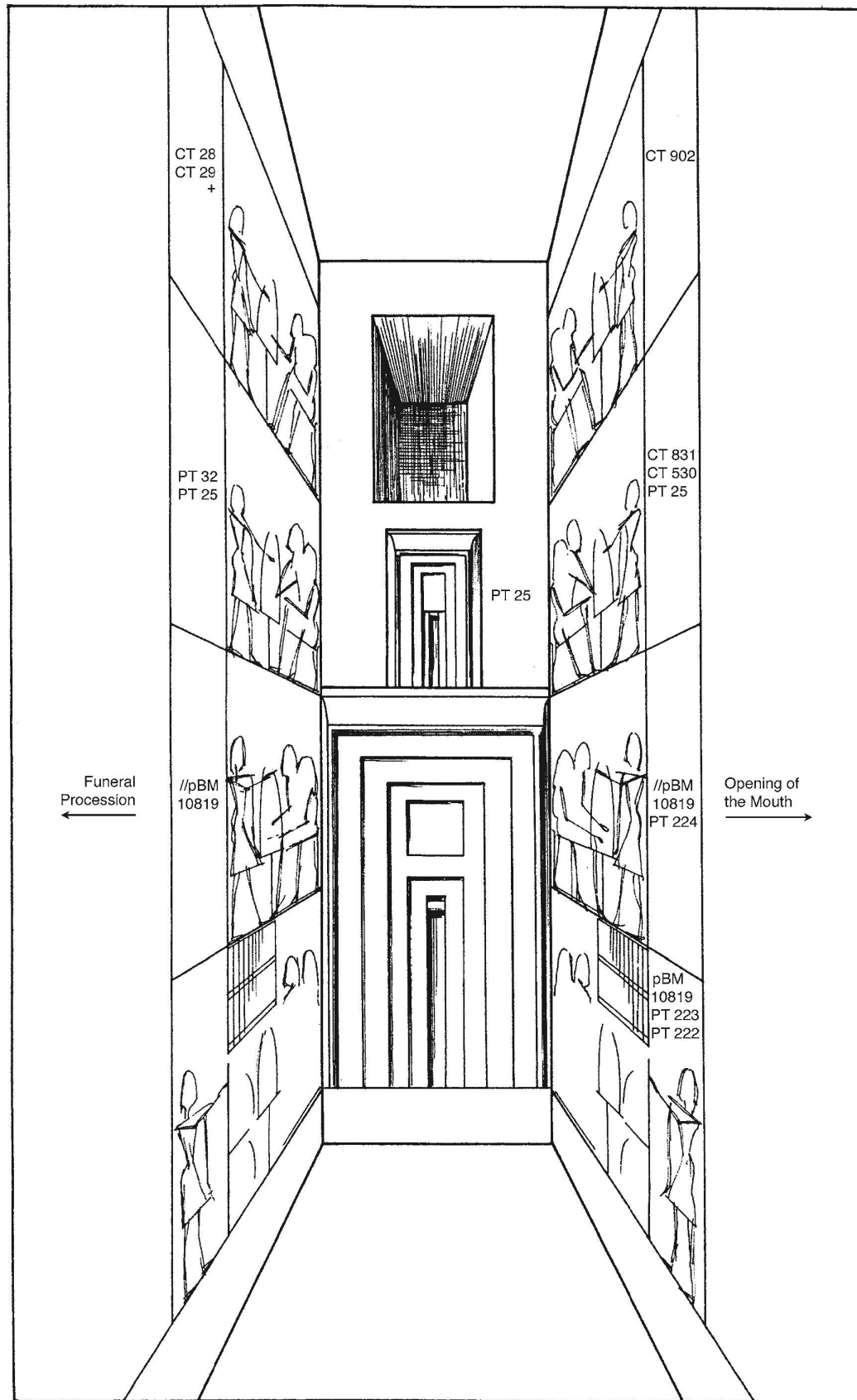


Figure 7.3. Perspective Drawing of End of Long Passage in TT 100

ABBREVIATIONS

BD	Book of the Dead
BM	British Museum
CT	Coffin Text
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MÖR	Opening of the Mouth scene
pBerlin	papyrus Berlin
Pyr	Pyramid Texts spell number

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