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Transformation of Context: The Field of Rushes in Old and Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature¹

THE TERM *sh.t-ỉrw*,² "Field of Rushes," and its synonymn, *š-ỉrw*,³ "Lake of Rushes", occur in forty-six texts in the Old Kingdom mortuary literature, all certain⁴ examples being Pyramid Texts⁵ from Saqqara pyramids.⁶ It occurs in forty-three texts in the Middle Kingdom mortuary literature, both in Pyramid Texts and in newly attested Coffin Texts,⁷ spread across more than a hundred sources distributed throughout sites from Upper

¹ I am grateful to Edward F. Wente and James P. Allen for offering useful suggestions on a draft of this essay, though responsibility for it remains mine. Source sigla employed below are those of T.G. ALLEN, *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts with Cross Indexes of These and Other Egyptian Mortuary Texts*, SAOC 27, Chicago, 1949, slightly revised by L. LESKO, *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents*, Berkeley, 1979, and augmented by H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life: A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*, Leiden, 1988. Notation for a Pyramid Text's position is that employed by J.P. ALLEN, "Reading a Pyramid" in C. BERGER *et al.* (ed.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, *BtEtud* 106/1, Cairo, 1994, p. 7, n. 3, together with J. LECLANT, *Recherches dans la pyramide et au temple haut du pharaon Pépi I^{er}, à Saqqarah*, *Scholae Adriani De Buck Memoriae Dicatae* VI, 1979, p. 11 n. 3. Notation for a Coffin Text's position is that employed by H. WILLEMS, *op. cit.*, p. 13-15. In the following, "PT" refers to the *Spruch* numerical designations and "Pyr." to the sectional assignments of K. SETHE, *Die altägyptische Pyramidentexte*, vols. I-II, Leipzig, 1908-1910. "CT", when followed immediately by Arabic numerals, refers to the Spell numerical designations of A. DE BUCK, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 vols., Chicago, 1935-1961, while Roman and Arabic numerals plus letter refer to volume and page numbers plus section.

² Not dealt with as if distinct from *sh.t-ỉrw* is *sh.wt-ỉrw* "Fields of Rushes," as it occurs interchangeably with the more typical singular form in a group of

variants consisting of PT 263-266 (the "Schilfbündel-sprüche"), with the plural *sh.wt* at Pyr. 340c (PT 263), Pyr. 343b (PT 264), and Pyr. 352b (PT 265) and the singular *sh.t* at Pyr. 359a (PT 266). One recognizes, however, that at least two parts of the Field of Rushes are attested in the Coffin Texts, as R. KRAUSS, *Astronomische Konzepte und Jenseitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten*, *ÄgAbh* 59, Wiesbaden, 1997, p. 61, n. 203 observes.

³ Evidently also considered synonymous by J. LECLANT, *LÄ I*, col. 1156, s.v. "Earu-Gefilde", where in speaking of the inundating of *sh.t ỉrw*, it is noted how "de façon plus explicite, on trouve parfois mention du 'lac (š) des Souchets'". The identity of the two terms may be inferred from their interchangeability in a group of variants consisting of PT 253, 564, and 567: cf. Pyr. 275b (PT 253) *w'b.n r' m sh.t ỉrw* and Pyr. 1430a (PT 567) *w'b.n r' m sh.t-ỉrw* to Pyr. 1421a (PT 564) *w'b r' m š ỉrw*.

⁴ A fragment from BalX, no. 925, 4, may possibly contain either CT 1011 or CT 159 (and CT 160). As preserved, the source does not now contain the term *sh.t-ỉrw*, but both of these texts, as attested elsewhere, do. If CT 1011 or CT 159 were involved, then one must reckon with a Coffin Text bearing the term in the Old Kingdom. For the fragment, see M. VAILOGGIA, *Balat I, le mastaba de Medou Nefer*, *FIFAO* 31/1, Cairo, 1986, p. 76, pl. LXII. A similar situation pertains to Berlin Inschr. 7730, ll. 4-5, from a non-royal tomb, as it appears to preserve elements of PT 474, although not now the term *sh.t ỉrw*. The fragment's provenance

and Lower Egypt.⁸ Occurring in so many texts from both the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the term evidently figured importantly in the religious discourse⁹ of each period, and thus in thought, since writing is a representation of thought.¹⁰

And yet there is a discontinuity: only eight of the Pyramid Texts bearing the term are attested on Middle Kingdom sources,¹¹ while the remaining thirty-five attestations occur in

is unknown, as it was purchased in 1877 from a private collection (for which information I am indebted to the kind assistance and cooperation of Klaus Finneiser and the Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin), and this unknown complicates an attribution of date to it, hence the question mark for Dynasty 6 of T.G. ALLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁵ PT 210, 253-254, 263-266, 268, 306, 308, 323, 325, 419, 437, 442, 461, 470-471, 473-474, 477, 479-480, 482, 493, 504-505, 507, 510, 512, 517, 519, 525-526, 548, 563-564, 567, 572, 606, 609-610, 616, 655, 670-671. *ḏr.w* of Pyr. 352b (PT 265) is evidently a mistake for *ḏr.w*; cf. that line's *mḥi ḥwt ḏr.w* to lines from the same stanza found in variants of this text—Pyr. 359a (PT 266): *i.mḥi ḥwt ḏr.w* and Pyr. 343b (PT 264): *mḥi ḥwt ḏr.w m mw*—as well as a line from a modified version of this stanza in another variant, Pyr. 340c (PT 263): *mḥi(i) ḥwt ḏr.w*. Besides these fortysix complete texts, there are a handful of fragments preserving the term, of which some have been kindly brought to my attention by J.P. ALLEN: P S/Se 92 (for which see now I. PIERRE-CROISIAU, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, 2. *Facsimilés*, MIFAO 118/2, Cairo, 2001, pl. II B); N 1308+24-26 (for which see G. JÉQUIER, *Le monument funéraire de Pépy II*, Cairo, 1936, vol. I, pl. XVIII); P/A/S 7-8, 19, and 29 (formule nouvelle 1025, PT 706, and formule nouvelle 1027, for which see now I. PIERRE-CROISIAU, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII); and N fr. *W 7-8 (for which see G. JÉQUIER, *op. cit.*, pl. XV fr. I, 1. 8).

⁶ With all Old Kingdom pyramids having texts bearing the term, except that of Apouit, perhaps owing to the very fragmentary condition of its remains. Some sources which have Pyramid Texts which bear the term have, in the past, been dated to the end of the Old Kingdom, while nowadays they receive Middle Kingdom dates. For example, K. SETHE, *Die Totenliteratur der Alten Ägypter*, SPAW 18, Leipzig, 1931, p. 527, n. 2 attributes Q1Q (*nh*) to the close of Dynasty 6, while T.G. ALLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 33, dates it to Dynasty 12, and H. WILLEMS, *op. cit.*, p. 246, n. 23, also to the Middle Kingdom (the latter reference gotten thanks to an unpublished index of H. Willems' dates compiled by St. Parker).

⁷ PT 210, 253-254, 263, 268, 306, 308, and 437, and CT 30, 112, 131, 159, 161, 173-174, 179, 184, 193, 215-216, 227, 243, 260, 279, 288, 296, 335, 397, 398, 400, 404-405, 473, 622, 631, 723, 765, 791, 827, 837, 983, 1005, and 1011. Note that modified versions of PT 670, a text containing the term in the Old Kingdom, are

attested on six Middle Kingdom sources, but none of these transmits or preserves the term *ḥwt ḏr.w*. B4C, R1X, and T1C, as preserved, end PT 670 at Pyr. 1977. B10C and T9C give *ḥm=k <ṛ> ḥwt ḥr* and *ḥm=k ṛ ḥwt ḥr* respectively for Pyr. 1984b and do not give Pyr. 1985a. T1L gives *ḏ=k ṛ=k ṛ ḥwt ḥr* for Pyr. 1984b and does not give Pyr. 1985a. For B4C, B10C, T1C, T9C, and T1L, see the Oriental Institute's Coffin Texts Project notebooks IX, XI, XXXIV, XXXV, and XXXVI respectively; for R1X, see R. ENGELBACH, *Riqqeh und Memphis VI*, BSA 25, London, 1915, pl. XXIV. The modifications might be related to this text's Middle Kingdom adaptation into sequences of mortuary liturgies (Liturgy III and Liturgy 3); for these series, see J. ASSMANN, "Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies" in S. ISRAELIT-GROLL (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology presented to M. Lichtheim*, Jerusalem, 1990, vol. I, p. 12, 21-22, 38, fig. 8, and p. 41, fig. 11. J. Assmann's Liturgy 3 is almost identical in composition and order to *Spruchfolge B* of H. ALTENMÜLLER, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, ÄgAbh 24, Wiesbaden, 1972, p. 47.

⁸ Including A1C, Aby1Ph, B2Be, B1-4Bo, B6Bo, B1C, B3-7C, B9C, B10C, B12-13C, B15C, B17C, B1-4L, B1-2P, B1Y, BH1Br, BH3-5C, D1C, G1-2T, L1-3Li, LINY, S, M1-8C, M13C, M19C, M23-25C, M42C, M46C, M54C, M57C, M1-2NY, Q1Q, R1X, S1-3C, S5-6C, S10-12C, S16C, S2-3P, S6P, S1X, S8X, Sid1Sid, Sq1-3C, Sq6-7C, Sq1-2Sq, Sq5Sq, Sq7-8Sq, T1-3Be, T1-2C, T9C, T13C, T1-5L, Y1C, pGardiner II, pGardiner III, H (X1Len), and X3C.

⁹ The term *discourse* as used here, in the sense of a body of statements whose form and content are produced by an underlying set of implicit conventions and concerns, is derived from M. FOUCAULT, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, New York, 1972, esp. p. 36-38, 47-48, 80, 107-108.

¹⁰ Or more precisely, according to the traditional view of J.-J. Rousseau, writing is a representation of speech, which in turn is a representation of thought; compare the chain of relationships between thought, speech, and writing depicted at L. MORENZ, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der 2. Zwischenzeit*, ÄAT 29, Wiesbaden, 1996, p. 56, fig. 4. J.-J. Rousseau's distancing of writing from its "presence," its author, is reduced at J. DERRIDA, *Of Grammatology*, corrected edition, Baltimore, 1997, esp. p. 295-316.

¹¹ With six of these occurring only on S: PT 253-254, 263, 268, 306, and 308.

Coffin Texts. Assuming that most of these thirty-five were in fact drafted after the Old Kingdom,¹² the term Field of Rushes was accordingly figuring into the creation of new texts: it was not simply a case of the mechanical transmission of old texts, and thus merely a perpetuation of old ideas and sentiments; it was a participant within a sphere of living discourse. One might even suspect that, even as the array of texts bearing it changed, so also would its meanings shift.

Previous studies concerning the Field of Rushes, most recently by R. Krauss,¹³ have the common denominators of identifying its cosmographic position¹⁴ and of determining its identity with or distinction from the Field of Offerings (*sh.t-ḥtp*).¹⁵ As a contrastive complement, the present essay is less interested in circumscribing its location or in distinguishing or drawing it toward the Field of Offerings,¹⁶ but is more aimed at proposing simply that its meanings did change and at offering a suggestion as to the mechanism behind the change.

¹² P. JÜRGENS, *Grundlinien einer Überlieferungsgeschichte der altägyptischen Sargtexte*, Wiesbaden, 1995, p. 5-6, gives a summary of *past* views concerning the period of composition of the Coffin Texts, and at p. 73-84 presents his own sound ones, but it remains to be seen whether the last word has been or can have been said on the matter. Post-1995 statements on the period of production of the Coffin Texts include G. LAPP, *Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum I. The Papyrus of Nu* (BM EA 10477), London, 1997, p. 56 (§ 93), according to which Dynasties 11 and 12 saw the "continual generation" of new Coffin Texts; and, in diachronic consideration of the number of texts occurring on coffins, *id.*, "Die Entwicklung der Särge von der 6. bis zur 13. Dynastie" in H. WILLEMS (ed.), *The World of the Coffin Texts Proceedings of the Symposium held on the Occasion of the 100th Birthday of Adriaan De Buck*, Leiden, December 17-19, 1992, Leiden, 1996, p. 87, gets the impression that "gerade am Beginn der Entwicklung besonders viele solcher Sprüche angebracht wurden." The few Coffin Texts spells which may be dated to the Old Kingdom include those attested in pyramids (e.g. CT 516-519; see J.P. ALLEN, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, Malibu, 1984, p. 697-698), some from the Gardiner Papyri (for references to date-attributions, ranging from the Old Kingdom through the First Intermediate Period and to doubts against early datings, see H. WILLEMS, *op. cit.*, p. 246 n. 24), and the fragmentary texts of BaI X, contemporary with Pepi II.

¹³ R. KRAUSS, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 37-39 (§ 26) and p. 59-61 (in § 32a).

¹⁴ R. WEILL, *Le champ des Roseaux et le champ des Offrandes dans la religion funéraire et la religion générale*, Paris, 1936, p. 75-80 (in the east or eastern horizon); A. BAYOUMI, *Autour du champ des Souchets et du champ des Offrandes*, Cairo, 1940, p. 15-16 (in the southeast of the sky);

H. FRANKFORT, *Ancient Egyptian Religion: An Interpretation*, New York, 1961 [1948], p. 113 (identical with "Heaven," although a more incorporeal sense may be meant); H. KEES, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter*, 5th ed., Berlin, 1983 [1956], p. 73 (east side); W. BARTA, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte für den verstorbenen König*, MÄS 39, Berlin, Munich, 1981, p. 86-87 and 95 (the east, and the eastern horizon); J.P. ALLEN, "The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts", in J. P. ALLEN *et al.*, *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, YES 3, New Haven, 1989, p. 6, 19, and 23 (lies on sky's rim); H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, OLA 70, Leuven, 1996, p. 257 (toward eastern horizon); R. KRAUSS, *op. cit.*, 59-61 (region of sky south of the ecliptic belt).

¹⁵ R. WEILL, *op. cit.*, p. 89-101 (distinguishing); A. BAYOUMI, *op. cit.*, p. 52-68 (distinguishing); H. FRANKFORT, *op. cit.*, p. 110 (treating as same); H. KEES, *Totenglauben*, p. 73 with n. 44 (treating as same), and see also 91-92; J. LECLANT, *LÄ* 1, col. 1156, s.v. "Earu-Gefilde", (distinguishing); L. LESKO, "The Field of Hetep in the Egyptian Coffin Texts", *JARCE* 9, 1971-1972, p. 101 (distinguishing before Coffin Texts and merging in Coffin Texts); J. P. ALLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 6 (distinguishing); E. HERMSEN, *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits*, OBO 112, Leiden, 1991, p. 15, 145, and 149 (treating as same); R. KRAUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 59-61 (distinguishing).

¹⁶ Which is to say that it is not so much a hermeneutical endeavor. On the contrast between hermeneutics and structuralism, see G. GENETTE, *Figures of Literary Discourse*, New York, 1982, p. 11-17. On their synthesis—or rather on attempting transcendence of them in producing diachronic studies, see M. FOUCAULT, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 162. To signpost this essay's methodological perspective, it adheres to neither a hermeneutical nor a structuralist approach, although it, like Foucault's ideal, tends more along the latter's lines.

The doors of the sky are opened;
the doors of the firmament²⁷ spread to Horus of the Gods,
that he may ascend at dawn,
having become pure in the Field of Rushes.²⁸

Another example in PT 567:²⁹

Re has become pure in the Field of Rushes:
Horus has become pure in the Field of Rushes:
Pepi has become pure in the Field of Rushes.³⁰

And, as a last example, in PT 525:³¹

May you descend into the Kenzet Canal,
and become pure in the Field of Rushes,
the following of Horus purifying you,
them performing for you the Utterance of Ascent,
them performing for you the Utterance of Passage.³²

All contexts condition meaning, but repetition reinforces it:³³ It controls an audience's evaluation of the details of both the text as such³⁴ as well as the larger fabric of literature to which the text belongs.³⁵ With it so frequently recurring, one may reckon purification in the Field of Rushes as one of the central contexts conditioning the term's meanings in the Old Kingdom.

This simple conclusion and the statistic from which it is inferred will achieve greater significance later on, when the contrastive circumstances of the Middle Kingdom are

²⁷ Or "Fresh Water," by J.P. ALLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 8. On the term, see also S.A.B. MERCER, *The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary*, vol. IV, New York, 1952, p. 53-54.

²⁸ Pyr 981a-b:
wn 'j.wi p.t
i.zn 'j.wi qbh n hr ntr.w
prsf m tp(i) hrw
w'b.nsf m sh.t-ir.w.

²⁹ Related to PT 567 as variants are PT 253 and 564. Similar to these three are two further texts, with these being variants of one another—PT 323 and 526.

³⁰ Pyr 1430a-c:
w'b.n r' m sh.t-ir.w
w'b.n hr m sh.t-ir.w
w'b.n P pn m sh.t-ir.w.

³¹ Related as variant to PT 525 is PT 471.

³² Pyr 1245a-e:
h3=k m mr knz.t(i)
w'b=k m sh.t-ir.w
w'b tw 3ms-hr
ir=sn n=k r3 n(i) pri.w
ir=sn n=k r3 n(i) hpi.w.

³³ Or, according to R. BARTHES, *op. cit.*, p. 93, "the exchange value of a seme, its ability to participate in

a thematic economy, depends on its repetition". Or, according to M. FISHBANE, *Biblical Text and Texture: A Literary Reading of Selected Texts*, Oxford, 1979, p. XII, the repetition of "theme-words" serves "to highlight major and minor features of content. A reader may thus be guided or provoked towards certain interpretations on the basis of theme-words recurrent in one or several texts which are thereby brought into association," with what applies to theme-words held to be "equally pertinent with respect to larger themes or motifs". For B. MATHIEU, *La poésie amoureuse de l'Égypte ancienne. Recherches sur un genre littéraire au Nouvel Empire. BiEtud 115*, 1996, p. 176-177, the repetition of leitmotifs and clichés in love poetry serves as confirmation of their importance.

³⁴ Compare W.C. BOOTH, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, 2nd ed., Chicago, 1983, p. 272.

³⁵ Because the audience (and composer) of any given text will bring to it every other text so far encountered, especially those of the same corpus. On this notion, a ramification of intertextuality, see for example P.J. GRIFFITHS, *Religious Reading: the Place of Reading in the Practice of Religion*, Oxford, 1999, p. 53 (who mistakes "intratextuality" where "intertextuality" should have been used instead).

examined. But the frequent occurrence of the theme of purification is also indicative of its participation in the religious discourse which produced the Pyramid Texts, because the recurrence of a given theme in multiple texts³⁶ signals engagement with an idea.

Such concern is abstractly evident in the statistic which was invoked a moment ago. But a related detail is in another circumstance: the texts bearing this theme generally come from groups of variants—texts with more points of contact with each other than differences. Indeed, each of the three citations just now presented come from members of three different groups of variant texts. To summarize the points of contact of the group from which the first citation comes, a group consisting of PT 325, 479, and 563,³⁷ they all begin with a stanza involving the opening of the doors of the sky in its forms of *p.t* and *qbḥ*, an ascent (*pri*), and purification in the Field of Rushes (*wʿb m šḥ.t-ỉr.w*). This stanza is repeated³⁸ five times, each time substituting four gods and the deceased as principal figure.³⁹ Two of the three texts add a further stanza, also repeated with substitution, but involving only ascent and purification in the Field of Rushes.⁴⁰ The order of subsequent elements in the members of this group varies somewhat: two invoke Re;⁴¹ and two speak of *tꜥp* (perhaps meaning “pressure”⁴²) in the womb of Nut, the beneficiary being the seed of the god within it.⁴³ Purity is mentioned again in two of the three texts, now in conjunction with the receipt of a kilt (*swḥ*).⁴⁴ All three close with invocations of obscure gods—*hꜥꜣt*⁴⁵ and *ipꜣti*,⁴⁶ *hnni*,⁴⁷ and *zmnnw*⁴⁸—and with commands to these gods that they take the beneficiary away (*iti*).⁴⁹ Finally, two append the demand that the beneficiary stay (*zm*)⁵⁰ with him.⁵¹

The continuities are many, but there are also a number of passages which are unique to each of them. One sees substantial discontinuity even in the summary just now given: it is often the case that only two of the texts share an attribute, but it is not always the same two.⁵² These kinds of linkages join the texts together as if in a circular chain—a simile

³⁶ A phenomenon widespread in Egyptian religious literature. For the Pyramid Texts, see the index of parallel passages compiled by W. BARTA, *op. cit.*, p. 151-160.

³⁷ R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford, 1969, p. 105, n. 1 under “Utterance 325,” remarks that other versions of PT 325 are PT 479 and 563. Related to these as possessing a section common to them, but in a text otherwise markedly different, is PT 510.

³⁸ Repetition of a section being a structural scheme termed “Prädikationslitanei” by O. FIRCHOW, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Stilistik II Grundzüge der Stilistik in den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, Berlin, 1953, p. 202-206.

³⁹ PT 325 (Pyr. 525a-529c); PT 479 (Pyr. 981a-985b); PT 563 (Pyr. 1408a-1411d). The repeated stanzas are described as a poem by J.P. ALLEN, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, Malibu, 1984, p. 15 (§ 23).

⁴⁰ PT 479 (Pyr. 986b-989b); PT 563 (Pyr. 1412a-1415b).

⁴¹ PT 325 (Pyr. 532a); PT 479 (Pyr. 990a).

⁴² For the word *tꜥp*, see R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford, 1969, p. 105, 219.

⁴³ PT 325 (Pyr. 532a); and PT 563 (Pyr. 1416c-1417a). PT 479 (Pyr. 990a) offers terms to this effect, but with substantial difference in choice of words.

⁴⁴ PT 325 (Pyr. 533b); PT 563 (Pyr. 1416a).

⁴⁵ PT 325 (Pyr. 533a and 533d); PT 563 (Pyr. 1418a and 1420a).

⁴⁶ PT 479 (Pyr. 991c), perhaps an antisthecon of *hꜥꜣt*.

⁴⁷ PT 325 (Pyr. 533a and 533d); PT 479 (Pyr. 991c); PT 563 (Pyr. 1418a and 1420a).

⁴⁸ PT 325 (Pyr. 533d).

⁴⁹ PT 325 (Pyr. 533c); PT 479 (Pyr. 991d); PT 563 (Pyr. 1420b).

⁵⁰ Wb III, 453, 2 “jemanden weilen lassen unter Personen (*m*)?” and Wb III, 453, 3 “sich verweilen (mit reflexiven Pronomen)?”

⁵¹ PT 325 (Pyr. 533c); PT 563 (Pyr. 1420b).

⁵² For example, PT 479 shares a point of contact with PT 325, the invocation of Re, which PT 563 does not have; and yet again PT 479 shares the additional

which quickly dissolves, because there are yet attributes common to them all. Nevertheless, the circular linkages make it impossible to identify any one of these variants as the origin of the other two.

What these texts exhibit are a series of intertextual⁵³ linkages, showing not a failure to faithfully copy an original and authentic version of a text, but rather an interlocking complex of related themes—related since they sometimes or always occur together, but a complex whose relations are fluid, since sometimes they do not. This fluidity, rather than fixed permanence, is something which I take as an indication that the discourse which generated the Pyramid Texts was alive,⁵⁴ with texts combining and recombining themes occurring in others, as if in a *bricolage*.⁵⁵ The intertextual connections exhibit the familiarity of their authors with other members of the body, and yet a freedom to produce new texts, to thus memorialize innovation. The repetition in a new text of an element from another, far from indicating mechanical reiteration, shows how the pre-existent could be subverted in order to generate the new.⁵⁶

The theme of purification in the Field of Rushes occurs in thirteen Pyramid Texts, and all except for two are associated with a variant group.⁵⁷ Not only was this theme important, as may be concluded from its raw frequency of occurrence, but its prominence was not due to a mechanical reproduction of traditional formulae: it was a participant in a living discourse.

One may widen the context of this theme and the term Field of Rushes still further in view of an observation of J. Leclant, that the Field of Rushes, in contrast to the Field of Offerings, is a place of passage as opposed to a place of rest, and that the Field of Rushes is specifically the place where the beneficiary is purified prior to his ascent to the sky.⁵⁸ That this is so may be seen from PT 479, cited earlier, where the doors of the sky are opened for the gods and the beneficiary "that he may ascend⁵⁹ at dawn, having become pure in the

noun-substitution stanzas with PT 563, but not with PT 325; and still further PT 325 overlaps with PT 563 in adding a demand that the god stay with the beneficiary, but this is a theme which PT 479 lacks.

⁵³ For the term *intertextual*, see nn. 19 and 35 above.

⁵⁴ This conclusion sets aside the problematics of the exact dates of composition of the texts so far mentioned.

⁵⁵ *Bricolage* here indicating the construction of a text through the reuse of pre-existing elements. Compare the usage of *bricolage* at Cl. LÉVI-STRAUSS, *The Savage Mind*, Chicago, 1966, p. 16-33, and see also the characterization of the construction of a myth through the combination of "gross constituent units" present in mythic discourse (or rather, myth as a kind of language), at *id.*, "The Structural Study of Myth", in Cl. LÉVI-STRAUSS, *Structural Anthropology*, New York, 1963, p. 209-211.

⁵⁶ Compare B. MATHIEU, *op. cit.*, p. 179, on the usage of *topoi* (fixed combinations of several motifs): "à subvertir le donné pour produire du nouveau: plus la matière première est contraignante, plus elle est susceptible de provoquer l'imagination"

⁵⁷ Besides the group consisting of PT 325, 479, and 563, there are the group of PT 323 and 526 (R.O. FAULKNER, *op. cit.*, p. 198, "a variant of Utterance 323"), the group of PT 253, 564 (*ibid.*, p. 220, "a variant of Utterance 253"), and 567 (*ibid.*, p. 221, "a variant of Utterance 564"), and the group of PT 471 and 525 (since Pyr 920a-922c, the bulk of PT 471, is virtually identical to Pyr 1244c-1246a, the bulk of PT 525). The two texts which contain this theme but which do not belong to a variant group are PT 470 and 512.

⁵⁸ J. LECLANT, LÄ I, col. 1156, s.v. "Earu-Gefilde"

⁵⁹ The sense of *pri* as "ascend" was first observed by J.H. BREASTED, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1959 [1912], p. 276, n. 1.

Field of Rushes".⁶⁰ This notion is repeated several times in this text and is one of the points of contact it has with its variants, PT 325 and 563.⁶¹

The wider contexts of two other prominent themes containing the term Field of Rushes are also typically connected with passage to the sky, or, as is sometimes expressed, the horizon (*ḫt*).⁶² First, it is connected with the theme of the inundation of the Field of Rushes,⁶³ itself attested in seven Pyramid Texts,⁶⁴ as for example in PT 264:

Opened is the Nurse Canal;

⁶⁰ Pyr 985b. *prsf m tp(i) hrw, w'bsf m ḫt.t-izrw.*

⁶¹ Though these employ the past passive circumstantial *sdmḫ*, e.g. *w'bsf* at Pyr 525c (PT 325) and Pyr. 1408b (PT 563). Interpretation of the form as a past passive circumstantial *sdmḫ* is implicit in the translation of the latter example, Pyr 1408b, at J.P. ALLEN, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, Malibu, 1984, p. 15 (§ 23). PT 510 incorporates a modified section of the poetic introduction of this variant group, with repeated stanzas of the following structure (Pyr 1134a-1135b):

wn.tl 'ḫwt p.t
tzn.tl 'ḫwt qbh.w n ḫr dw.t(i) tr tp(i) hrw
hwtlḫ
w'b.tsf m ḫt.t-izrw.
 The doors of the sky are open;
 the doors of the firmament spread open for the
 Netherworld Horus at dawn,
 that he may go down,
 having become pure in the Field of Rushes.

The most significant modification is in the substitution of *hwt* for *prt*, a substitution which superficially seems to show a reversal of meaning, as this pair of words occurs in opposite senses, e.g. at Pyr 821b-c: *prt-k ḫn' sḫ m' izb.tl n(i) p.t, hwt-k ḫn' sḫ m' imn.tl n(i) p.t*. "Just as you ascend with Orion from the east of the sky, so do you descend with Orion from the west of the sky." But the significance of *hwt* extends beyond descent into the West, to include also the boarding of a vessel, as at Pyr. 1246a-d:

hwt-k r-k m wlt pw n(i) r' ḫnn.w ntr.w
šwt
i.ḫ'ḫsn m ḫsf-k
mr ḫ' tsn m ḫsf.w r'
prsf m izb

May you go down to (i.e. board) this bark of Re which the gods row!

Rise up!
 They rejoice at meeting you
 precisely as they rejoice at meeting Re
 when he ascends in the East.

Understanding *hwt* in PT 510 in this manner is supported by Pyr 1135b's maintenance of *tr tp(i) hrw*, indicating that the temporal position of the passage is dawn, and thus its spatial position the East.

Following the sun's cycle, the Netherworld Horus is to ascend

⁶² Note that, as argued by J. P. ALLEN, "The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts", in J.P. ALLEN *et al.*, *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, YES 3, New Haven, 1989, p. 18-19, the *ḫt* is situated in the sky. On passage to the sky in the Pyramid Texts in general, see J. ASSMANN, LÄ II, col. 1206-1211, s.v. "Himmelsaufstieg"

⁶³ A theme which may be metaphorically linked to ritual purification, as inundation certainly is in PT 455 (Pyr. 848a-849b):

mḫ mr.w
izh.w tr.w
m rsf 'bw pr m wsir
sm tri-p' t io wr 'ḫ io wr twnw psd.t wr.t
ḫms
mwt n w'b pn n(i) it wsir P pn.
 Filled are the canals,
 inundated are the waterways,
 with the purity which went forth from Osiris.

O sem-priests, princes, great ten of the palace, great ten of Heliopolis, o Great Ennead,
 be seated

and witness this purification of the father, of Osiris, of Pepi!

On a chain of associations involving inundation, Osiris, and revivifying libation, see B. ALTENMÜLLER-KESTING, *Reinigungsriten im ägyptischen Kult*, Hamburg, 1968, p. 38: "Dem Osiris als Vegetationsgott entströmt der Nil, den er zugleich als Erfrischung in Form einer Libation für seine Wiederbelebung empfangen soll" PT 455 goes on to extensively elaborate on the process of purification with statements phraseologically associated with PT 34, the rite of purification with Upper Egyptian natron (on which see *ibid.*, p. 47-57)

⁶⁴ Consisting of a group of variants (PT 263-266) and texts incorporating a section found in this group (PT 507, 519, and 609, and probably N 1308+24-26 [G. JÉQUIER, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, Cairo, 1936, vol. I, pl. XVIII] as well as *ibid.*, pl. XV fr. I, l. 8). Compare also PT 473 and 504, each containing phraseology found in the present group of variants, but modified to the point where the theme of the filling of the Field of Rushes does not occur

inundated is the Shifting Waterway;⁶⁵
 filled are the Fields of Rushes with water!
 Let Teti really be ferried thereon to that eastern side of the sky,
 to the place where the gods will bear him.⁶⁶

And, second, it is connected with the theme of being given the Field of Rushes, also appearing in seven Pyramid Texts,⁶⁷ as in PT 482:

May you ascend to the sky,
 becoming as Wepwawet,
 your son Horus guiding you through the ways of the sky.
 The sky has been given to you:
 the earth has been given to you:
 the Field of Rushes has been given to you,
 even with these two great gods who come forth from Heliopolis.⁶⁸

In sum, a wider, intratextual context of the term is passage to the sky, found in association with purification in the Field of Rushes, inundation of it, and being given it.

Examining a still wider context of the term as it occurs in the Old Kingdom adds further support to J. Leclant's observation. Figure 1, below, comparatively presents the series of texts in the order in which they appear on the antechamber, west wall, of the pyramids of Pepi I, Merenre, and Pepi II. Bold indicates texts which bear the term Field of Rushes.

One notices that these three series are closely related in composition and structure. To be sure, this is not a strictly fixed sequence of texts, such as those sought after in the seminal

⁶⁵ For detailed summary of interpretations of this term (read here as *mr-nḥꜣi* but elsewhere sometimes as *mr-n(i)-ḥꜣ*), see R. KRAUSS, *Astronomische Konzepte und Jenseitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten*, ÄgAbh 59, Wiesbaden, 1997, p. 14-17 (§ 15), who, for his part, matches references to *mr-nḥꜣi* to celestial phenomena associated with the ecliptic at *ibid.*, 49-63 (§ 31).

⁶⁶ Pyr. 343a-344b:

wbꜣ mr-mn'
iḥꜣi mr-nḥꜣ(i)
mḥꜣi shꜣwt-ḥꜣr.w m mw
dꜣ:t(i) dꜣ:wt T ḥm ḥr gs pf iḥꜣti n(i) p.t
ir bw msi sw nṯr.w ḥm.

⁶⁷ In two variant groups, one consisting of PT 482 and 670, the other consisting of PT 306, 474, 480, and 572, as well as a text containing a section found in members of the second group, PT 477. PT 306 and 480 may be translated as having the theme of being given the Field of Rushes through comparison to the phraseology of PT 572 (Pyr. 1475a-1476a):

dmꜣd.n ḥm spꜣ:t n P pn
dī.nꜣf niwꜣw(t) [gb] n P pn

mdw ḥrꜣs

iḥꜣwt iḥꜣwt ḥr iḥꜣwt stš shꜣt-ḥꜣr.w

P pw rḥs ḥnt(i) iḥꜣ sm'

Atum has gathered the nomes for Pepi

he has given the cities [of Geb] to Pepi

(Geb), who spoke concerning it—

the mounds, the mounds of Horus, the mounds of Seth, and the Field of Rushes.

Pepi is Iahes, foremost of the land of the south.

The A pw B construction at the end of the passage shows the beginning of a new statement, *iḥꜣwt iḥꜣwt ḥr iḥꜣwt stš shꜣt-ḥꜣr.w* must belong with the preceding. PT 306 (Pyr. 479b-480c) and PT 480 (Pyr. 993a-994a) may be understood in light of this.

⁶⁸ Pyr. 1009c-1010c:

prꜣk rꜣk ḥr p.t
ḥ prꜣk m wp-wꜣwt
sšm ṯw rꜣk ḥr m wꜣwt p.t
dī nꜣk p.t
dī nꜣk iḥꜣ
dī nꜣk shꜣt-ḥꜣr.w
ḥn' nṯr.wi ipw 'ꜣw(i) prꜣr.w m iwnw.

work of H. Altenmüller,⁷⁰ but rather a group of texts whose composition and order are more flexible—a conclusion drawn by H. Willems⁷¹ from the work of P. Jürgens⁷² can be extended for the texts of these series: though one has here a number of texts transmitted together, the components of a series are always subject to modification and innovation. But more importantly for the present discussion, the fact that texts are transmitted together suggests that they have a relationship to one another, its members presumably belonging to a larger compositional unit or to an anthology.

That they do is likewise evident from the fact that many of the texts bear the term Field of Rushes, those indicated in bold. For example, fully half of the texts in Pepi I's sequence bear it. This is an important statistic, because only about thirty⁷³ texts in the whole pyramid have the term. The latter is no small figure, but it still represents only about ten percent of the total number of preserved texts in the pyramid, three hundred and some. One tenth of all the texts in the whole tomb bear it, but half in this sequence have it: what one is dealing with here is a concentration of texts with the term.

⁶⁹ On *sh.wt-ḏj* <ḏj> *ḏw* of PT 265 (Pyr. 352b), see above n. 5.

⁷⁰ H. ALTENMÜLLER, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, ÄgAbh 24, Wiesbaden, 1972, p. 40-51.

⁷¹ H. WILLEMS, "Preface" in H. Willems (ed.), *The World of the Coffin Texts* (Fs De Buck), Leiden, 1996, p. vi, with n. 2. He connects the dispersed character of transmission dealt with by P. Jürgens (see following note) to cases of "offene Überlieferung" in Egyptian literature presented by J.F. QUACK, *Die Lehren des Ant: Ein neugyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem kulturellen Umfeld*, OBO 141, Leiden, 1994, p. 18-23. With the latter, the question centers around identifying in secular texts the dynamics behind variations which cannot be explained through the invocation of scribal error, an identification which is to have oral vs. written transmission as its tension. A resolution of this tension is proposed by J.F. Quack through a synthesis of thesis and antithesis—a written imitation of oral compositional techniques (a different approach to the same tension appears at J. ASSMANN, *Religion und kulturelle Gedächtnis: Zehn Studien*, Munich, 2000, p. 132-134).

⁷² See P. JÜRGENS, "Textkritik der Sargtexte: CT Sprüche 1-27", in H. Willems (ed.), *The World of the Coffin Texts. Proceedings of the Symposium held on the Occasion of the 100th Birthday of Adriaan De Buck*, Leiden, December 17-19, 1992, Leiden, 1996, esp. p. 57-61, the identification of (overlapping) groups of texts transmitted together, and p. 70, stating that there can be no certain reconstruction of the transmission history of CT 1-27.

⁷³ These being PT 265, 266, 323, 325, 437, 442, 461, 470, 471, 473, 474, 477, 479, 480, 482, 493, 504, 505, 507, 510, 512, 517, 519, 525, 526, 548, 563, 564, 567, and 572, besides fragments cited at n. 5 above.

P	M	N
265 ⁶⁹		
470		
471		
472		
473	473	473
474	474	474
475	475	475
476	476	476
	310	
	487	
	472	
	468	
	467	
	483	
477	477	477
270	270	270
		472
478	478	478
479	479	479
480		480
		470
481	481	481
407		
		271
		471
		461
482		
483		
310		

Fig. 1.

Numbers indicate Pyramid Text Utterance number (PT).

Texts are arranged here from top to bottom in the order they occur.

Bold indicates a text bearing the term *sh.t ḏw*.

Italics indicates a text recurring in this sequence, but not in fixed order.

In this, the series of Figure 1 are representative of a more general phenomenon: texts bearing the term Field of Rushes tend to cluster together,⁷⁴ the highest concentrations being in the antechamber, corridor, and vestibule.⁷⁵ The most striking series occurs on the corridor, west wall of Merenre, with a series of nine contiguous texts of which only one does not contain the term.⁷⁶

The significance of such concentrations, and of the transmission of texts together, is in underscoring the importance of taking into account the content of other texts surrounding any given text. Groups of texts really are just that—larger compositions or anthologies. As a consequence, the identity of a text is conditioned by its environment of transmission, through conditioning an audience's expectations of it.

Taking a step toward this through considering some of the content of the texts of Figure 1, one finds a way back to Leclant's observation: nearly⁷⁷ all of them make explicit reference to a passage of some kind, above all to the horizon or the sky. For example, PT 265, heading the sequence in Pepi I:

Opened is the Nurse (Canal);
inundated is the Shifting Waterway;
filled are the Fields of Rushes,
that Pepi may really cross to the eastern side of the sky,
to this place where the gods are born.
This Pepi [has been] born there,
even with him being born with them,
like Horus, like Akhti!⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Another sequence of flexible order and composition containing texts bearing the term (with texts bearing the term marked in bold) is P C/Es PT **323**, 503, **504**, **505**, 506, **507**; also M C/Ws PT **606**, **504**, 506, **505**, **563**, **323**. Another is M C/Ws PT **525**, **507**, **526**, 527-531, 523, 521; also N C/Wm PT **563**, **525**, **507**, 527-531, **526**, 523, 521; and P C/Wm PT 521-524, **525**, **526**, 527-531, 532, **266**. Another is M C/Wn PT **609**, 558-560, 515, 516, **517**, 518, **519**, **510**; also N C/Es-m PT **609**, 558, 559, 560, 503, 322, 515, 516, **517**, 518, **519**; and P C/Wm PT 515, 516, **517**, 518, **519**. Other cases of texts bearing the term occurring in close proximity are W A/W PT **253**, **254**; W A/S PT **263**, 267; **268**; W A/N PT **306**, 307; **308**; T S/W PT 323, 324; **325**.

⁷⁵ Of the fully extant Pyramid Texts bearing the term, 35 occur regularly in the antechamber, corridor, and vestibule. To list the exceptions, since considerably fewer texts which occur sometimes in the sarcophagous chamber and sometimes outside it are PT 268, 323, 325, and 461. Texts which occur regularly in the sarcophagous chamber are only PT 210, 437, and 442. Texts which are attested only once in the

Old Kingdom, with that attestation being the sarcophagous chamber, are PT 655, 670, and 671. PT 264 is attested but once, and then in a passage. The preceding statements do not reflect positional information from the sarcophagous chambers of the queen's pyramids or the pyramid of Ibi, since their plans differ from the others.

⁷⁶ With the series PT 606, 504, 506, 505, 563, 323, 525, 507 and 526; PT 506 does not bear the term *sh.t-i:r.w*. These texts come from M.'s juxtaposition of two series given above in n. 74.

⁷⁷ Those not making explicit reference are PT 468, 476, 477, 479, and 487.

⁷⁸ Pyr 352a-353c:

wbꜥ mn' iꜥ
iꜥ mr-nꜥ(i)
mꜥ.iꜥ sh.wt-[d]<i>:r.w
dꜥ P dꜥ.wt iꜥ gs iꜥ b.t(i) n(i) p.t
iꜥ bw pw mss.w nꜥr.w im
ms[.n.t]i P im
msw.t(i)ꜥf hn'ꜥsn
hr is sh.t(i) is.

On *sh.wt-[d]<i>:r.w* of PT 265 (Pyr 352b), see above, n. 5.

To proceed to the next, PT 470:

You ascend to the sky even as (do) falcons,
your plumage that of birds.
—says she (sc. the red crown⁷⁹) to Neferkare.⁸⁰

And then to PT 471 (a variant of PT 525, cited above):

Pepi has come,
only that he, Pepi, may become pure in the Field of Rushes,
only that Pepi may go down to the Field of Kenzet,
the Followers of Horus purifying Pepi,
bathing Pepi,
drying Pepi,
performing the Utterance of Guidance⁸¹ for Pepi,
performing the Utterance of Ascent for Pepi, for life and dominion,
that Pepi might ascend to the sky, for life and dominion,
[that] Pepi [might go down,] for [life and dominion,] to this bark of Re.⁸²

One could go on to list other cases of texts in this figure bearing reference to passage to the horizon⁸³ or the sky,⁸⁴ and add to them references to a ferryman,⁸⁵ to ascent via ladder,⁸⁶ ascent

⁷⁹ More specifically, *ḫms.t dšr.t nb.t idb.w dpw* (Pyr. 911a).

⁸⁰ Pyr. 913a-b:

pr=k ir. p.t m bik.w
šw.wt=k m špd.w
i.t(i) ir N.

⁸¹ Compare E. EDEL, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, Rome, 1955-1964, §259, "Tätigkeit des Geleitens." The interpretation of *mš'w* is accepted here, although tentatively, since the word does not bear a determinative. The present interpretation of *ir*, however, follows R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford, 1969, p. 160.

⁸² Pyr. 920b-922b:

i.n P.
w'b=f P. m šh.t-iw.w
h'li P. pn ir šh.t knz.t
w'b šms-ḫr P. pn
sw'b-sn P. pn
šw=sn P. pn
ir=sn n P. pn r n(i) mš'w
ir=sn n P. pn r n(i) pr.w n 'nh wš
pr P. pn hr p.t n 'nh wš
[h] P. pn n ['nh wš] m wš pw n(i) r'.

⁸³ As in PT 473 (e.g. Pyr. 927a) *shw n M. zhn.wi p.t in m'nd.t pr M. ḫr=sn ḫr r' r šh.t* "Let the two reed floats of the sky be brought down to Merenre by the day-bark, so that Merenre might ascend upon them to Re, to the horizon." Another instance occurs at PT 481.

⁸⁴ As in PT 483 (Pyr. 1016a) *bl=k tr p.t hr ḫndw=k bl*: "May you remove yourself (lit. be away, far) to the sky upon your metal throne." Other instances of passage to the sky occur in this sequence in PT 480 and 482.

⁸⁵ Who is to take the beneficiary to a place other than the Field of Rushes, as in PT 472 (Pyr. 925c-d) *mš-ḫ=f k ngr.w in nw n P. pn; di P. pn m gs pf n 'nh wš* "O Mahaf, bull of the gods, bring this (sc. the ferryboat) to Pepi; set Pepi on that side for life and dominion!"; in this sequence other references of this kind occur in PT 270, 310, 475, and 481. On PT 270's containing the theme of passage (Überfahrt), see H. ROEDER, "Themen und Motive in den Pyramidentexten", *LingAeg* 3, Göttingen, 1993, p. 86-87. Compare a ferryman specifically assigned the task of taking the beneficiary to the Field of Rushes, as at Pyr. 1091a (PT 505): *ḫr=f ḫw=f d P. r šh.t-iw.w* "O Herehaf, ferry Pepi to the Field of Rushes."

⁸⁶ As in PT 474 (Pyr. 940a-941b) *pr=f r=f r p.t m-m sbj.w m i.ḫm.wsk, j.t=f tp=f; š'.t=f r gs.wt=f(i), i.šm=f im hr mwt=f nw.t; lq=k ḫr=s m rn=s pw n(i) mšq.t*; "when he thus ascends to the sky to be among the stars, among the Imperishable Stars, with his power upon him, terror of him on either side of him, with him going thereby to his mother Nut. May you go up upon her in this her name of 'Ladder'." Other references in this sequence to a ladder occur in PT 271 and 478. On the motif of the ladder and its connection to ascent,

as a bird,⁸⁷ and being conveyed in the bark of Re at the horizon.⁸⁸ And as for the nine texts bearing the term Field of Rushes, all but one⁸⁹ of them have the theme of passage to the sky.

To summarize what has been discussed so far, in the Old Kingdom the dominant immediate context of the term Field of Rushes is purification, a theme participating in a vital discourse. Purification in the Field of Rushes as well as two other themes bearing the term are further associated with passage to the sky. All of these contexts will have served to condition the term's meanings in the Old Kingdom, and prominently, since well over half of the texts concerned are associated with these things.

These circumstances are in stark contrast to those of the Middle Kingdom. But before moving on to consider them, it will be useful to make a seeming digression which will, however, turn out to be a point of reference between the two periods.

The discussion just now culminated in highlighting a broader context of the term Field of Rushes, passage to the sky, making it in such contexts a site of transit, specifically a place of purification prior to departure. As appropriate as this identification might have been, it by no means epitomizes the whole of the term's context. In fact, in the Old Kingdom there are texts which situate the term not as a point of departure, but rather as a destination. Certainly they are fewer; there are only seven Pyramid Texts making statements like this. One of them is found in Pepi I's series shown in the figure above, PT 461:

The doors of the sky are opened to you;
the doors of the firmament spread to you,
that you may seize the oar to the Field of Rushes.
Plant barley;
reap (lit. sickle) emmer;
grow your plants there like Horus son of Atum.⁹⁰

see H. ROEDER, *op. cit.*, p. 90-93. For citations of Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts bearing the term, and for an observation that the theme (Motiv) of ascent via ladder occurs comparatively infrequently in the latter, see J. ASSMANN, "Spruch 62 der Sargtexte und die ägyptischen Totenliturgien", in H. Willems (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 28, n. 44.

⁸⁷ As in PT 467 (Pyr 891b-c): (i)g.p.n P p.n i.r p.t m 'h'w, s.n P p.n p.t m b.k. "Pepi has risen to the sky even as a heron, Pepi kissing the sky as a falcon." On i.g.p. as an image of ascent, see Wb I, 14,1-2, and J. ASSMANN, LÄ II, col. 1207, with n. 10.

⁸⁸ As in PT 407 (Pyr 710a-711d) šz.p f n.s.f s.t.s.f w'b.t imit p.t...; šz.p n.s.f T s.t.s.f w'b.t imit h.j.t w.t r', in h.m i.r.w-iz h.ni.w r', ntsn h.n.s.n T, in h.m i.r.w-iz p.h.r.i.w r' h.j. j.h.t, ntsn p.h.r.s.n T h.j. j.h.t. "Let him assume his pure place which is in the sky...; let Teti assume his pure place which is in the bow of the Bark of Re. It is indeed the crew which rows Re; it is they who will row Teti; it is indeed the crew which bears Re around the hori-

zon; it is they who will convey Teti about the horizon." The tension between the use of the term i.r-iz in connection with a celestial voyage in PT 407 and the term's contextually indicated sense of "tomb-maker" in more secular texts, a tension perceived by H.G. FISCHER, "An Old Kingdom Monogram", ZÄS 93, 1966, p. 57 and 69, might be understandable through analogy to the strong connection in the New Kingdom between i.z.t p.j h.r "the gang of the tomb" and i.z.t as crew of a ship, on which see J. ČERNÝ, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, BiEtud 50, Cairo, 1973, p. 99-100.

⁸⁹ Namely, PT 461, discussed presently.

⁹⁰ Pyr 873c-874b:

w.n n=k 'j.wi p.t
i.z.n n=k 'j.wi q.b.h
i.t=k h.p.t r s.h.t-l.r.w
s.k.j n=k i.t.w
j.z.h n=k b.d.t
i.r m.p.w.t=k im m.r h.r z.j im.

The phrase “seize the oar (*it̄i ḥp.t*)” is a kind of synecdoche for travel by boat,⁹¹ with the sense of the clause thus having to do with travel to the Field of Rushes; the same image is employed in one of the other six texts of this kind.⁹² The remaining five Old Kingdom texts are more explicit, speaking of crossing or being ferried (*d̄zi*) to the Field of Rushes,⁹³ traversing (*nmi*) the sky to it,⁹⁴ going (*šm*) to it,⁹⁵ and reaching (*ph*) the sky at it.⁹⁶

To now move directly to the Middle Kingdom mortuary literature, the theme under discussion is important not in signifying discontinuity, but the reverse: as often as it occurs in the Old Kingdom, so often does it occur in the Middle Kingdom, if not a touch more frequently, in ten texts. One of these is a Pyramid Text,⁹⁷ the rest Coffin Texts, for example, CT 30:

“Go,
and row to the Field of Rushes within the islands of the sky,
taking the oar therein to the one who is upon his *kadet*-plant!”
—so will the gods say to Osiris N.⁹⁸

To be sure, one could pursue in these newly attested texts a measure of discontinuity, for their ways of expressing motion to the Field of Rushes do not precisely match the several dispersed ways in which it was expressed in the Old Kingdom: besides the rowing (*hni*) of CT 30, there is descent (*h̄zi*) to it,⁹⁹ landing (*zm̄w*) at it,¹⁰⁰ entering (*‘q*) it,¹⁰¹ proceeding (*w̄d̄z*) to it,¹⁰² with only crossing (*d̄zi*)¹⁰³ and going (*šm*)¹⁰⁴ to it being communicated from the Old Kingdom. One could go further and observe that their combination with other ideas in new texts places the

⁹¹ Wb III, 67, 13.

⁹² Pyr. 1345c-1346a-c (PT 548): *h̄z̄f m wt̄ m̄ r̄ ḥt̄ id̄b w m̄ r̄ nh̄z̄, i.h̄nw P pn m h̄nb.w, it̄f ḥp.t im̄ ir̄ šh̄.t-nn.ti r̄ h̄nt̄ w̄ pw̄ n(i) šh̄.t-l̄r.w* “Let him board the bark like Re at the banks of the Shifting Waterway, Pepi rowing in the Bark of Radiance, taking the oar therein to the Field of the two Lower Skies, to (or: at) the front of this land of Field of Rushes.”

⁹³ Pyr. 374b (PT 268): *d̄z̄f r̄ šh̄.t-l̄r.w*, “that he may cross to the Field of Rushes”; Pyr. 1091 (PT 505): *h̄r̄f-h̄z̄f d̄z̄ P r̄ šh̄.t-l̄r.w* “O Herefhaf, ferry Pepi to the Field of Rushes.”

⁹⁴ Pyr. 749c (PT 419): *nmi T p̄.t ir̄ šh̄.t-l̄r.w*. “Let Teti traverse the sky to the Field of Rushes.”

⁹⁵ Pyr. 1984b (PT 670): *šm̄f ir̄ šh̄.t-l̄r.w*, “him going to the Field of Rushes”. To complement the array of information being presented in the body of the essay, PT 670 also contains the theme of being given the Field of Rushes, illustrating the term’s polysemic value, or multivalence.

⁹⁶ Pyr. 1845a-b (PT 655), text R.O. FAULKNER, *op. cit.* (Supplement), p. 19: *šwt̄ n(i) N [m] ip̄d, ph̄f p̄.t m̄ b̄ik.w n̄r [r] šh̄.t-l̄r.w*. “The plumage of Neferkare [is] (that of) a bird, him reaching the sky as (do) divine falcons, [at] the Field of Rushes.”

⁹⁷ PT 268 (attested on the chamber, east wall, of S). PT 670 is attested several times in the Middle Kingdom, but, as transmitted and preserved, the Middle Kingdom

versions do not contain reference to the Field of Rushes; see above, n. 7.

⁹⁸ CT 1 94a-c (B1P, location B).

*iz̄
h̄n̄k r̄ šh̄.t-l̄r.w r̄ h̄nw lw̄.w ḥr̄(i)it̄
it̄k ḥp.t im̄ n̄ tp̄ q̄d̄.t̄f
k̄z̄sn n̄t̄r.w r̄ w̄st̄r N. pn.*

⁹⁹ CT 243 III 329c (B4C, location B): *r̄z̄ n(i) h̄z̄t r̄ šh̄.t-l̄r.w*. “Utterance of descending to the Field of Rushes”; and CT 404 V 199b (B10C, location FR): *ir̄ <r>h̄ r̄z̄ pn lw̄f h̄z̄f r̄ šh̄.t-l̄r.w*. “As for the one who knows this utterance, he descends to the Field of Rushes.”

¹⁰⁰ CT 279 IV 26e (Sq6C, location FR): *zm̄w w̄st̄r N. pn w̄ r̄ šh̄.t-l̄r.w*. “Let Osiris N. join the land at the Field of Rushes.”

¹⁰¹ CT 827 VII 27p (T1Be, location FR): *r̄z̄ n(i) ‘q [r̄ šh̄.t-l̄r.w*. “Utterance of entering [into the Field] of Rushes.” For the restoration of *šh̄.t*, see the reference to *šh̄.t-l̄r.w* at CT 827 VII 28i.

¹⁰² CT 335 IV 220a-b (Sq1C, location L): *w̄d̄z̄ pw̄ šm̄.t it̄t̄ im̄ ḥt̄ : m̄ w̄d̄z̄f r̄ šh̄.t-l̄r.w*. “It is the road upon which my father Atum goes when proceeding to the Field of Rushes.”

¹⁰³ PT 268 (Pyr. 374b); and CT 791 VII 3d (L11i, location exterior FR, in *h̄tp̄-di-ni-sw̄.t*) *d̄z̄ N. r̄ šh̄(t̄)-l̄r.w* “that N. may cross to the Field of Rushes”.

¹⁰⁴ CT 397 V 105h (T1C, location exterior B; typical location BO): *šm̄t̄ r̄ šh̄.t-l̄r.w* “Let me go to the Field of Rushes.”

theme of going to the Field of Rushes within new situations, with the dispersion letting one expect at least subtle shifts of sense. But it nevertheless becomes useful to accept a measure of continuity exhibited by this theme's roughly equivalent frequency in both periods.

It becomes useful to do so once one goes on to consider how often in the Middle Kingdom the theme of passage to the sky occurs as a wider context: it occurs once¹⁰⁵—once in comparison to the seven Old Kingdom texts with inundation of the Field of Rushes, in comparison to the seven with the Field of Rushes being given, and in comparison to the three with purification in it, all with the wider context of passage to the sky, and, further, in consideration of Old Kingdom concentrations of texts with passage as a theme. In the Old Kingdom, the Field of Rushes is prominently associated with passage to the sky; in the Middle Kingdom, it is barely attested. This is a discontinuity, and a first indication of a shift in meaning through shift in context.¹⁰⁶

One also encounters attenuation of context with the theme of purification in the Field of Rushes. In the Old Kingdom, it is attested in thirteen texts, making purification the most prominent immediate context of the term. In the Middle Kingdom, however, it occurs in only two texts, one of them a transmitted Pyramid Text.¹⁰⁷ In sum, as we begin to move over to the Middle Kingdom data, one meets with continuity—about as many attestations of Field of Rushes as a destination—and discontinuity, attenuations in the contexts of passage to the sky and purification.¹⁰⁸

The two contexts just now compared, purification in and passage to the sky from the Field of Rushes, both involve themes which are attested in both periods, and their comparative frequency of occurrence suggests shifts in meaning. Another indication of shifting meaning is in the appearance in the Middle Kingdom of new contexts for the term. In the Old Kingdom, there is no case where knowledge is an immediate context, but in the Middle Kingdom knowledge occurs as an immediate context in four utterances, as within CT 159:¹⁰⁹

I know this Field of Rushes of Re:
the wall which is around it is metal,

¹⁰⁵ In PT 263 (S, location chamber, south wall).

¹⁰⁶ A hermeneutical reconciliation of this contrast would be simple, were one to consider the cyclical solar process encoded in the Pyramid Texts (see J.P. ALLEN, "Reading a Pyramid" in C. BERGER et al. (ed.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant, BiÉtud* 106/1, Cairo, 1994, p. 24, citing W. BARTA, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte für den verstorbenen König*, MÄS 39, Berlin, Munich, 1981, p. 136-150); then one could see the Field of Rushes as both destination and starting point, more precisely as a station in a circuit.

¹⁰⁷ In CT 723 VI 353q (B3Bo, location L; and T2C, location BO), within a large section adapted from PT 510 (Pyr 1128a-b, 1129b, 1132a-1133b); and in PT 253 (Pyr 275a-d, at S, location chamber south wall; and T13C, exterior L).

¹⁰⁸ Similarly, A. BAYOUMI, *Autour du champ des Souchets et du champ des Offrandes*, Cairo, 1940, p. 73 and III, noted that, in contrast to the situation in the Pyramid Texts, the Field of Rushes in the Book of the Dead is no longer a place of purification.

¹⁰⁹ Besides CT 159, there is CT 161, e.g. II 388d (L1Li, location exterior FR): *iw N rh sh(.t)-iṣr.w, niw.t [pw] n(i)t r'* "N. knows the Field of Rushes; it is the city of Re"; CT 296 V 49p (L1Li, location exterior F): *iw N rh wṣ.wt šṣ.w(t) sbṣ.w n(i)w sh.t-iṣr.w*, "N. knows the mysterious ways and the gates of the Field of Rushes;" CT 397 V 114a-f (T1C, location exterior B): *iw=k i.rh.t(i) niw.ty iptf hḳz.ii pw, iw=ī rh.ki, s(y) tyṣpw niw.ty iptf hḳz.ii pw, dwṣ.t pw hn' sh.t-iṣr.w*. "You know these two towns, o magician? I know (them). What are these two towns, o magician? They are the netherworld and the Field of Rushes."

the height of its Lower Egyptian barley is four cubits,
 its ear one cubit,
 its stalk three cubits;
 its emmer is seven cubits,
 its ear two cubits,
 its stalk five cubits.¹¹⁰

This is from one of the spells for knowing Bas, a set of texts which typically occur together as a transmitted unit.¹¹¹ To be sure, some of the themes¹¹² and figures of diction¹¹³ of these new knowing-Bas texts are discernible already in the pyramids,¹¹⁴ but these texts as well as many other Coffin Texts exhibit an intense Middle Kingdom concern with knowledge of arcana—knowing what a god knows,¹¹⁵ knowing how to do something,¹¹⁶ knowing spells¹¹⁷—but especially with the beneficial results secured through knowledge of spells.¹¹⁸ In comparison, the Pyramid Texts¹¹⁹ show little interest in the same, with only a few utterances

¹¹⁰ CT II 368c-370d (S2P, location L):

lw(=i) rḥ.ki šḥ t-iṛ.w tw n(i)t r'
iw inb nt(i) hꜣs m blꜣ
iw qꜣ.w n(i) it-mḥs m mh 4
iw šms=f m mh 1
iw mꜣ.w.t=f m mh 3
iw bd.t=s m mh 7
iw šms=s m mh 2
iw mꜣ.w.t=s m mh 5

¹¹¹ With CT 154-160 occurring in that order on, among others, B2Bo, B4Bo, B1L, and B4L, locations L, FR, F, and B respectively.

¹¹² For example, the theme of not eating excrement, appearing in CT 160 II 373a-374b (S2P, location L): *wḥ tp ꜣ, tm wnm ḥs m ḥr(ilt-nṛ, tm mwt n ḥfꜣw, wꜣꜣ tp ꜣ; 'q pꜣ.t m sbꜣ.w iꜣb(iw) n(i)w p.t.* "Enduring upon earth, not eating excrement in the necropolis, not dying because of a serpent, entering from and going out of the eastern gates of the sky", and already in PT 210 and 409, discussed below.

¹¹³ For example, the question-answer "figure of diction" (for which term, G. GENETTE, *Figures of Literary Discourse*, New York, 1982, p. 55), appearing in CT 160 II 383a-e (S2P, location L): *ink wr-ḥkꜣ.w, iw dii.n=i r=k; lšst pw ꜣḥ pw; šm ḥr ḥ.t=f ph.ty=k(y) n ḏw=k.* "I am Great of Magic; I have striven against you (lit. put to you). What is it, this Akh-power? O one who goes upon his belly, let your strength be to your mountain," and already in PT ferryman texts, e.g. PT 505 (Pyr 1091-1093).

¹¹⁴ CT 159 might already be attested in the Old Kingdom, though outside the pyramids, on BalX; see above, n. 4.

¹¹⁵ For example, CT 154 II 266b (S3P): *rḥ rḥ.t.n ḏḥwti m sdꜣ.w.* "Knowing what Thoḥ knows of protective utterances" (or "utterances of keeping safe"; on *sdꜣ.w* < *swḏꜣ*, see K. SETHE, *Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte*, Sonderdruck aus ZÄS 57-59,

Leipzig, 1925, p. 11); for further examples, see CT 443 V 306c-d; CT 827 VII 28d; and CT 1017 VII 236o.

¹¹⁶ For example, CT 573 VI 152h: *iqꜣ l.rḥ ḥsq ḏsf* "The one who knows how to chop up caught fish is skilful"; see also CT 752 VI 381f; CT 1054 VII 306e; CT 1089 VII 370b, CT 1113 VII 444b, CT 1116 VII 447b; and CT 1117 VII 450b.

¹¹⁷ For example, CT 238 III 316g (T2L): *ink rḥ rꜣ=f* "I am one who knows his utterance"; see also CT 281 IV 30g; CT 535 VI 1321; CT 828 VII 29g; CT 1062 VII 320c; CT 1081 VII 354b; and CT 1087 VII 366d.

¹¹⁸ For example, CT 83 II 47b (B1C): *ir zi nb rḥ rꜣ pn n mwt.nsf mwt wḥm, n šḥm.n ḥft(i)w=f imsf, n zꜣn sw ḥkꜣ.w tp ꜣ ḏ.t, pꜣ.t pw in zi r mrrsf m ḥr(ilt-nṛ* "As for any man who knows this utterance, he does not really die again, his enemies do not have control over him, and magic never restrains him upon earth: it is a going forth by a man according as he desires in the necropolis"; see also CT 228 III 267d; CT 297 IV 501; CT 339 IV 3381, CT 404 V 199b; CT 576 VI 1911; CT 651 VI 273d; CT 712 VI 343d; CT 760 VI 390m; CT 1035 VII 282d; CT 1035 VII 283b; CT 1087 VII 364a; CT 1113 VII 445c; and CT 1130 VII 471c. Statements of this format are called the "knowledge formula" (Wissenformel) by H. BUCHBERGER, *Transformation und Transformat Sargtextstudien I*, ÄgAbh 52, Wiesbaden, 1993, p. 151-152.

¹¹⁹ However, outside of the Pyramid Texts, numerous Old Kingdom monuments bear statements laying claim to efficacious knowledge, e.g. L. HABACHI, *The Obelisks of Egypt: Skyscrapers of the Past*, New York, 1977, p. 40 fig. 16, l. 3 = L. HABACHI, *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia*, CASAE 23, Cairo, 1981, p. 21 fig. 5: *ink ꜣḥ iqꜣtṛ rḥ rꜣ=f, lw(=i) rḥ.k(i) rꜣ n(i) i' n nṛ 'ꜣ nb p.t.* "I am an effective Akh who knows his utterance; I know the utterance of ascent to the great god, lord of the sky." For further Old Kingdom examples of assertions of

making reference to knowledge of spells,¹²⁰ names of gods,¹²¹ and gods.¹²² In the case of the theme of knowing the Field of Rushes, it is, on the one hand, a matter of combining two things which perhaps had not been joined in writing before, with the result that an idea is newly manifest, and, on the other, a matter of the elevation to new prominence of a basic notion, knowledge itself. With knowledge of the Field of Rushes, one encounters another indication of change in context, another indication of shifting meaning.

Knowledge represents the introduction of a new context in the Middle Kingdom; passage to the sky and purification represent attenuations of old contexts. A final aspect of indications of change is in the amplification of a previously infrequently encountered context. As an introduction to it, the theme of the booth of the beneficiary being in the Field of Rushes occurs in just one text in the Old Kingdom, PT 210:

What Neferkare detests is excrement,
with him refusing urine.
What Neferkare detests, what he detests—
what Neferkare detests is excrement.
He does not eat what Neferkare detests nor this,
just as Seth refuses the *poison.¹²³
O Two Companions of his who cross the sky
—Re and Thoth—
take Pepi out with you,
that Neferkare may eat of what you eat,
that Neferkare may drink of what you drink,
that Neferkare may live by that by which you live,
that Neferkare may sit where you sit,
that Neferkare may be strong by that by which you are strong,
that Neferkare may sail by that by which you sail.
The booth of Neferkare is woven in the Field of Rushes,¹²⁴

knowledge of arcana, see E. EDEL, "Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches", MDAIK 13, 1944, p. 22-26 (§ 22).

¹²⁰ Pyr. 856a-d (PT 456) *i.rḫ sw N rꜥ pn n(i) r', iril N ḥkꜣw ipn n(i)w ḥr ḫt.t, wnn N. m rḫ.i n(i) r', wnn N m smr n(i) ḥr ḫt.t(i)*. "Neferkare knows it, this utterance of Re, with Neferkare performing these magics of Harakhti: Neferkare is one known of Re, and Neferkare is a friend of Harakhti." As noted by H. BUCHBERGER, *op. cit.*, p. 152, this passage shows that the "knowledge formula" (see above n. 118) was, form-critically, not an innovation of coffin decoration in the Middle Kingdom. Note that this colophon, like those of n. 118, constitutes a paratextual element (on which term, see nn. 20 and 131).

¹²¹ Pyr 449a (PT 301) *kw W rḫ sw rḫ rn=f*, "for Wenis knows him (sc. Atum); he knows his name".

¹²² PT 262 *passim*, e.g. Pyr 327a: *m ḥm T nṯr sk sw i.rḫ lw*. "Do not forget Teti, o god, for he knows you"

¹²³ So R.O. FAULKNER, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹²⁴ W., T., and M. give *ḫ n(i) N šht m iṯr.w* or *ḫ N. šht m iṯr.w*. Q1Q and S also have *ḫ n(i) N. šht m iṯr.w* and *ḫ N. šht m iṯr.w* respectively; S8X has *ḫ n(i) N. m šht-iṯr.w*. For Q1Q, see É. CHASSINAT *et al.*, *Fouilles de Qattah*, MIFAO 14, Cairo, 1906, p. 63, ll. 66-67. For S, see W. C. HAYES, *The Texts in the Mastabeh of Senwosret-Ankh at Lisht*, PMMA 12, New York, 1937, pl. V, l. 307. For S8X, see G. LAPP, "Der Sarg des Jmnj", SAK 13, 1986, Faltafel, l. 137.

the abundance of Neferkare is in the Field of Offerings,
and the oblation of Neferkare is with you(rs), o gods.¹²⁵

The theme of the booth being in the Field of Rushes is unique to this text in the Old Kingdom, and the text is also unique in the sense that it is not a member of a group of variants, such as was seen with texts bearing the context of purification. Nor does it share any large section of text with any other Pyramid Text.¹²⁶ In comparison to other themes we have encountered, the theme of the booth being in the Field of Rushes was not manifest as a prominent element of discourse in the Old Kingdom. But PT 210 is transmitted into the Middle Kingdom, and there it is apparently the source in whole or part for three newly attested Coffin Texts. Chief of these is CT 216, a loose variant of PT 210:

Not eating excrement.

I am the Ba who is over the Two Lands, Wepwawet in Asyut.

I am protected, o excrement,¹²⁷

even with urine being rejected,

just as Thoth is protected

by those two great and magnificent gods who travel in the sky.

Take me,

that I may traverse the sky with you;

that I may eat of what they eat,

that I may drink of what they drink,

eating a *ra*-goose,

slaughtering a *tjerep*-goose.

My booth is in the Field of Rushes;

my abundance is in the Field of Offerings.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Pyr. 127c-130c:

bw.t N. pw ḥs
twr=f wṣ.t
bw.t N. bw.t=f
bw.t N. pw ḥs
n wnm=f bw.t N. nw
mri twr stṣ mt(.wt)
rḥ.wy=f ḏlī p.t
r' pw ḥn' ḏḥwti
ṣd t'n P ḥn' t'n
wnm N m wnm.t t'n im
zwr N m zwr.t t'n im
'nh N m 'nh.t t'n im
ḥms N m ḥms.t t'n im
wsr N m wsr.t t'n im
sqd N m sqd.t t'n im
zh N sh t m sh.t t'r.w
ḏgb N m sh.t ḥtp
'ḏb.t N m-m t'n n'r.w

¹²⁶ Naturally this is not to say that its individual statements are unique in comparison to those of all other Pyramid Texts; a chief point of contact is brought out below.

¹²⁷ As an indication of the problematics of this passage, R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 3 vols., Warminster, 1973-1978, I, p. 148, 172; III, p. 226, gives two different translations for the clauses *mk wi ḥs*, *twr w(i) wṣ.t* (in some versions *twr wi*) or, as the case may be, *mk.w=i ḥs*, *twr.w wṣ.t* of CT 173 III 54e-f, CT 216 III 190c-d, and CT 1011 VII 227j. The confusion of the old word *twr* "to reject" (e.g. Pyr. 127c, 128b, 577d, and 718a) with *twr* "to respect," more typical to Middle Egyptian—a confusion evidenced by the addition in some versions of a determinative standard to the latter word—could have contributed to the addition of an *-i* to *twr.w* > *twr w(i)*.

¹²⁸ CT 216 III 190a-193c (B2Bo, location FR):
im wnm ḥs

The modifications are several, including a deliberate or accidental transformation of the old *bw.t N. pw ḥs*¹²⁹ “What Neferkare detests is excrement” into *mk.w=i ḥs* “I am protected, or excrement,” and above all the omission of the first few statements of PT 210,¹³⁰ (not cited above). More significant is the introduction of a thematic title, “Not eating excrement,” which makes the point of the whole text clear as it is understood in this Middle Kingdom source.¹³¹

In addition to this variant, two other Coffin Texts, CT 173 and CT 1011, incorporate a modified form of PT 210 within new and larger compositions,¹³² retaining “my booth is in the Field of Rushes; my abundance is in the Field of Offerings.”¹³³ Both of these other texts also have titles similar to CT 216: “Not eating excrement and not drinking urine in the necropolis” in the former,¹³⁴ and “Utterance of not eating excrement in the necropolis” in the latter.¹³⁵

The titles of these three new texts condition their identities. So also does the content of the texts alongside which they can be found. Some series containing exemplars of these texts are displayed in figures 2 and 3:

S1C (L)	S2C (B)	B2Bo (FR)	B9C (F)	B1L (FR)
	<u>207</u>		<u>184-186</u>	
			<u>187-191</u>	<u>187-191</u>
<u>192-193</u>	<u>192-193</u>	<u>192-193</u>	<u>192-193</u>	<u>192-193</u>
			<u>194</u>	<u>194</u>
<u>215</u>	<u>215</u>			
<u>216</u>	<u>216</u>			

Fig. 2.

Numbers indicate Coffin Texts Spell number (CT).
 Texts are arranged here from top to bottom in the order they occur.
 Bold indicates a text bearing the term *sh.t-lr.w*.
 An underline indicates a text bearing the theme of not eating excrement or similar

B1C (FR)	B3C (FR + F + H)	B2L (B)
<u>173</u>	<u>173</u>	<u>173</u>
<u>174</u>	<u>174</u>	<u>174</u>

Fig. 3.

pGard II
<u>1011</u>
<u>1012</u>
<u>1013</u>
<u>1014</u>

Fig. 4.

ink bꜣ ḥr(i)-tp ꜣ wp-wꜣ.wt m zꜣ(w).t
mk.w=i ḥs
twr.w wꜣ.t
ml mk.t ḏḥwt
m ntr.wl lpwy wr(w)y ꜣ.wy ḥnz.wy p.t
lꜣ wi
ḥnz=i p.t ḥn'=tn
wnm=i m wnm.t=sn tm
zwr=i ml zwr.t=sn tm
wnm=i rꜣ
npḏ=i tꜣp
zh=i m sh.t-lr.w
ꜣgb=i m sh.t-ltp

¹²⁹ Pyr. 127c

¹³⁰ Specifically, Pyr 126a-127b.
¹³¹ A title is not properly part of a text, but is a paratextual element. On thematic titles, see G GENETTE, *Paratexts Thresholds of Interpretation*, Cambridge, 1997, p. 81-85.
¹³² CT 173 III 53g-55f is a modified form of Pyr. 126a-130b; CT 1011 VII 227g-t is a modified form of Pyr 126a-130d
¹³³ CT 173 III 55e (B2L, location B): *lw zh=i m sh.t-lr.w*, *lw ꜣgb=i m sh.t-ltp.wt*; CT 1011 VII 227q (pGard. II): *zh=i m sh.t-lr.w ꜣgbil=i m sh.t-ltp*.
¹³⁴ CT III 47a-b (B2L, location B): *tm wnm ḥs*; *tm zwr wꜣ.t m ḥr(i)-ntr*
¹³⁵ CT VII 225a (pGard II): *rꜣ n(i) tm wnm ḥs m ḥr(i)-ntr*.

The texts underlined in the figures are those which make reference to the rejection of excrement (*hs*, *hṭp-kꜣ*, and *hṭp-wr*, the latter two translated here as “filth”¹³⁶) or urine (*wꜣš.t*), with these references appearing in the body of the text,¹³⁷ in title¹³⁸ or colophon,¹³⁹ or in both. Often this reference comes in the form of a statement which has attained nearly formulaic status, as in CT 185 through 188, 190, and 192: “What I detest, what I detest—I will not eat. Excrement is my detestation; I will not eat it; I will not consume filth.”¹⁴⁰

In short, CT 216, 173, and 1011 are of an anti-scatophagous type,¹⁴¹ where such texts are characterized as being clustered together as in the figures, as having the theme of not eating excrement, and above all as having mention of the same in the title. The type of texts in which this theme occurs serves as a wider intertextual context in the Middle Kingdom.

PT 210 naturally does not have a title. But based on the facts that these newly attested Coffin Texts are linked to it, even in large part derivative of it, and that they do indeed have such a title, one might well be inclined to regard PT 210 also as being a text of anti-scatophagous type. But I think it would be mistaken to do so, for two reasons. First, although the theme of not eating excrement is frequently attested in the Middle Kingdom, it is only very rarely attested in the Old Kingdom:¹⁴² besides PT 210, it appears elsewhere only in PT 409.¹⁴³

¹³⁶ Following the practice of R. O. FAULKNER, *op. cit.*

¹³⁷ Figure 2: CT 184 III 80a (B9C), CT 185 III 84e (B9C), CT 186 III 85c (B9C), CT 187 III 87f (B9C), CT 188 III 92c (B1L), CT 189 III 96c (B1L), CT 190 III 98b (B1L), and CT 192 e.g. III 103b (S1C), all with *bw.tꜣi pw hs* “What I detest is excrement;” CT 191 III 99a (S1C): *i hwn hs m m hs=k pn ꜣꜣi*, “O child of excrement, do not bring this your excrement to me;” CT 193 III 190c–110a (S2C): *i hṭp-wr, n wnmꜣi tw m ꜣꜣi*, “O filth, I will not eat you with my mouth”; CT 216 cited above.

Figure 3: CT 173 e.g. III 47g (B1C): *hṭp-kꜣ n ‘qꜣf ꜣ ꜣꜣi pn* “filth, it will not enter this my mouth”; CT 174 III 60c–f (B1C): *bw.tꜣi pw hs; nn wnmꜣi sw; nn smꜣi sw; wꜣš.t m ꜣwrꜣi sw (!)* “What I detest is excrement; I will not eat it; I will not smell it. Urine, I will not drink it.”

Figure 4: CT 1011 e.g. VII 225c: *bw.tꜣi pw hs*, “What I detest is excrement;” CT 1012 e.g. VII 228g: *n hṭpꜣi n hṭp-kꜣ*, “I will not be satisfied with filth”; CT 1013 e.g. VII 231h: *n wnmꜣi nꜣtn hs; n ꜣwrꜣi nꜣtn wꜣš.t* “I will not eat excrement for you; I will not drink urine for you”; CT 1014 VII 232: *bw.tꜣi hs; n wnmꜣi hṭp-kꜣ*, “What I detest is excrement; I will not eat filth.”

¹³⁸ Figure 2: CT 191 III 99a (S1C): [*ꜣꜣi*] *n(i) tm wnm hs m hr(i)ꜣ-nꜣr*, “[Utterance] of not eating excrement in the necropolis”; CT 192 III 102b–c (S2C): *tm wnm hs tm ꜣwr wꜣš.t*, “Not eating excrement and not drinking urine”; CT 193 III 104d (B2Bo): *ꜣꜣi n(i) tm ꜣwr wꜣš.t*, “Utterance of drinking urine”; CT 215 III 175b–c (B2Bo): *ꜣꜣi n(i) tm wnm hs [m] hr(i)ꜣ-nꜣr tm ꜣwr wꜣš.t*, “Not eating excrement [in] the necropolis and not drinking urine”; CT 216 cited above; a source not shown in figure 2,

TIL (location BO), has CT 184 III 79b: *tm wnm hs m hr(i)ꜣ-nꜣr; tm šm shd; šhm m mw tꜣw; ꜣꜣi m hrw*, “Not eating excrement in the necropolis, not going upsidedown, having control over water and air, and going forth into day”.

Figure 3: CT 173 cited above.

Figure 4: CT 1011 cited above; CT 1012 VII 228a: *tm wnm hs m hr(i)ꜣ-nꜣr*, “Not eating excrement in the necropolis”; CT 1013 VII 229h: *ꜣꜣi n(i) tm wnm hs m hr(i)ꜣ-nꜣr*, “Utterance of not eating excrement in the necropolis”.

¹³⁹ Figure 2: CT 207 III 160c–d (S1C): *tm wnm hs tm ꜣwr wꜣš.t m hr(i)ꜣ-nꜣr*, “Not eating excrement and not drinking [urine] in the necropolis. B1Bo, a source not given in figure 2, has CT 192 III 109b: *tm wnmꜣi hs m hr(i)ꜣ-nꜣr*, “Not eating excrement in the necropolis.”

¹⁴⁰ CT 185 III 84c–h (B9C), CT 186 III 85a–f (B9C), CT 187 III 87d–88a (B9C), CT 188 III 92a–f (B1L), CT 190 III 98a–e (B1L), CT 192 III 102d–103f (B1L): *bw.tꜣi ꜣꜣi-2 n wnmꜣi bw.tꜣi pw hs n wnmꜣi hṭp-kꜣ n hmlꜣi imꜣf*.

¹⁴¹ A partial list of texts bearing references to the rejection of excrement and/or urine is given in G. E. KADISH, “The Scatophagous Egyptian (1)”, *JSSA* 9, 1979, p. 205 n. 7. On the notion of eating excrement and urine in the underworld, see J. ZANDER, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conception*, Leiden, 1960, p. 73–75.

¹⁴² As noted by G. E. KADISH, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

¹⁴³ Pyr. 718a–b: *bw.t T. pw hs.w; [ꜣwrꜣf wꜣš.t]; n ꜣwrꜣf s(i)*, “What leti detests is excrement, [with him refusing urine]: he will not drink it.”

Consequently, PT 409 and 210 are not found among texts whose common thematic denominator is the rejection of excrement and urine.¹⁴⁴ Figure 5, below, shows the serial context of PT 210, plus a related series from Pepi I. As in Figure 1, there is considerable variation from one source to the next, including the omission of some texts and the introduction of others. Nevertheless, again considerable overlap is discernible.

W S/E	T S/E	P C/Sc	M S/E	N S/E
204-205				
207				
209				
	338-339		338-339	338-339
210-212	210-212		210-212	210-212
	340-346		340-346	340-346
				400
	208 ¹⁴⁵		208	208
	347			347
	348-349	348-349	348-349	348-349
		206 ¹⁴⁶		206

Fig. 5.

Numbers indicate Pyramid Text Utterance number (PT).

Texts are arranged here from top to bottom in the order they occur.

In the texts of this figure, only one, PT 210, makes mention of the rejection of excrement and urine: this is not a group of anti-scatophagous texts.

What sort of texts are these then? Concerning the series appearing in the pyramid of Wenis, J.P. Allen characterizes it as "a kind of 'response' on the part of the deceased to the Offering Ritual conducted on his behalf", with the beneficiary establishing himself "as the source of his own food-supply" and demanding "nourishment from the deities".¹⁴⁷ To add detail, among these texts there is repeated reference to the "butler (*wdpw*)"¹⁴⁸ of a

¹⁴⁴ PT 409 occurs only in T, A/Es, at the end of the series PT 400-403, 206, 404-409. PT 206 also occurs in the texts shown in Figure 5 below and is cited below as making reference to a butler of a god and to drink. PT 400 is likewise in Figure 5 and is cited below as making reference to bread and beer; PT 406 matches it in this. PT 408 makes reference to the sixth- and seventh day ceremonial meals (*snit* and *gnit*), and PT 409 to a meal (*ist*). With the exception of PT 407, the remainder of the texts make allusions to the red crown. PT 407 is dominated by purification and ascension to the throne.

¹⁴⁵ PT 208 is a variant ("andere Fassung") of PT 207 according to K. SETHE, *Die altaegyptische Pyramidentexte*, Leipzig, 1908, vol. I, p. 71.

¹⁴⁶ PT 206 is a variant ("andere Fassung") of PT 205 according to K. Sethe, *ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁴⁷ J. P. ALLEN in C. BERGER *et al.* (ed.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant, BtÉrud* 106/1, Cairo, 1994, p. 17. H. ALTENMÜLLER, *Begräbnisritual*, p. 89-90, interprets the series shown for Wenis in figure 5 as the "1. Handlungzyklus" of the closing rites of the offering ritual, an interpretation rejected by G. LAPP, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches, DAIK Sonderschrift* 21, Mainz, 1986, p. 182. H. ALTENMÜLLER, *Begräbnisritual*, p. 42-46, connects the texts of T, P, M., and N. with W's, and, after proposing dates for the various redactions exemplified, concludes "dass die Pyramidentexte nicht also Einzelsprüche behandelt werden dürfen, sondern zu Spruchfolgen geordnet werden müssen".

¹⁴⁸ *wdpw* "butler" without following genitive at PT 207 (Pyr. 124b); this example of the word shows full phonetic writing.

god,¹⁴⁹ a meal (*ih.t* and *iš.t*),¹⁵⁰ bread and beer,¹⁵¹ and eating¹⁵² and drink.¹⁵³ All of these things, combined with the fact that they are transmitted together as shown in the figure, permit the description of these texts as "provisioning texts": they have to do with the provisioning of the beneficiary.¹⁵⁴

Seeing the texts surrounding PT 210 in this light sets up expectations in the reader for PT 210 itself and for the statements contained in it: it is found among texts understood as provisioning texts; one expects it to be a provisioning text as well.

And indeed the text does make reference to eating and drinking,¹⁵⁵ as might have been noticed when it was cited above. How then to understand the anti-scatophagous statements in it? For PT 210, they may be placed against the backdrop of another theme appearing three times among the texts in this figure: the rejection of thirst and hunger.¹⁵⁶ Thirst and hunger as well as the eating of excrement and drinking of urine are the flip-side of being provided with satisfactory food and drink.

In respect to the kinds of themes within it and the texts surrounding it, in the Old Kingdom provisioning is a wider context of PT 210's transmission. But given what has been said above about CT 216, 173, and 1011, that they are anti-scatophagous texts and that they are much derived from PT 210, it may come as a surprise that PT 210 in the Middle Kingdom nevertheless continues to be found among texts having to do with provisioning.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, one of the Middle Kingdom sources initiates this sequence with the red-written "Making the offering-table of a man to flourish in the necropolis".¹⁵⁸ In sum, PT 210 remains within the wider context of provisioning in the Middle Kingdom. The ramification of this is that the theme of the booth being in the Field of Rushes also retains provisioning as a wider context.

In point of fact, the same may even be said for its derivatives, CT 216, 173, and 1011, because all three of these contain modified versions of PT 210's clauses of purpose. CT 216 was cited earlier.

¹⁴⁹ PT 205 (Pyr. 120b) and PT 206 (Pyr. 123g) *wdpw n(i) r'* "butler of Re"; PT 344 (Pyr. 559b) and PT 348 (Pyr. 565b) *wdpw ntr.w* "butler of the gods", PT 345 (Pyr. 560b) and PT 349 (Pyr. 566b) *wdpw n(i) hr* "butler of Horus."

¹⁵⁰ PT 207 (e.g. Pyr. 124a), PT 208 (e.g. Pyr. 124e), PT 209 (Pyr. 125a), PT 343 (Pyr. 558b), and PT 346 (Pyr. 561d).

¹⁵¹ PT 205 (Pyr. 120d), PT 338 (Pyr. 551d, *kmhw*-bread), and PT 400 (Pyr. 695c).

¹⁵² PT 210 (Pyr. 129a), PT 212 (Pyr. 133e), PT 341 (Pyr. 555e), PT 345 (Pyr. 560c), PT 347 (Pyr. 563b), and PT 349 (Pyr. 566c).

¹⁵³ PT 210 (Pyr. 129a).

¹⁵⁴ Compare H. ALTENMÜLLER, *op. cit.*, p. 43-44.

¹⁵⁵ Pyr. 129a-b.

¹⁵⁶ PT 204 (Pyr. 119a): *n ib W n hqršf*, "Wenis will not thirst; he will not hunger"; PT 338 (Pyr. 552a): *n ib T m šw, n hqr T. m tfn.t*, "Teti will not thirst as Shu;

Teti will not hunger as Tefenet"; and PT 211 (Pyr. 131a-b): *b(w).t W pi hqr, n wnm.nšf sw, b(w).t W pi ib.t, n žwr.nšf s(i)* "Hunger is what Wenis detests; he does not eat it. Thirst is what Wenis detests; he does not drink it."

¹⁵⁷ This is because it is uniformly transmitted within the sequence given in Wenis. In S (PT 204-205, 207, 209-212 on its north wall, east end), S8X (PT 204-205, 207, 209-212 on its "west" and "north" sides), and Q1Q (PT 204-205, 207, 209-210 on its east wall). Note that C20520, a slab, also gives the sequence PT 204-205, 207, 209-210, but its version of PT 210 is not complete; see H.O. LANGE, H. SCHAFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, CG vol. 4, 1902, pl. XXXVI; *ibid.*, vol. 36, 1908, p. 120 l. 36.

¹⁵⁸ *swd wd.h.w n(i) ži m hrit-ntr* in S8X. For the text, see G. LAPP, "Sarg des Imnj", *Faltafel*, l. 112.

In CT 173, the section appears as:

that I may eat of what you eat,
that I may drink of what you drink,
running the sky,
traversing Nut.
My booth is in the Field of Rushes;
my abundance is in the Field of Offerings.¹⁵⁹

In CT 1011:

that I may eat of what [you] eat,
that I may drink of what you drink,
that I may consume that which you consume,
eating a *ra*-goose,
slaughtering a *hedj*-goose.
My booth is in the Field of Rushes;
my abundance is in the Field of Offerings.¹⁶⁰

With such texts all making reference to notions of eating and drinking in association with having a booth in the Field of Rushes, one begins to suspect that the latter has provisioning as its connotative sense—having a booth in the Field of Rushes would have to do with receiving appropriate food and drink in it.

The Field of Rushes is indeed explicitly linked with such notions in the Middle Kingdom. For example, CT 215 and 174, found adjacent to 216 and 173 in figures 2 and 3 respectively, contain statements of this kind. From CT 215:

A great one, owner of nine meals before the Great Ennead,
three meals being in Busiris,
three in Heliopolis,
and three in the House of the Ibis in the Field of Rushes—
the food of Re is my food.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ CT III 55a (B2L, location B):

wnm=i m wnm(.t)=tn im
zwt=i m zwt.t=tn im
zhz(h)=i p.t
wnw=i nw.t
tw zh=i m sh.t i:rw
iw sgb=i m sh.t htp.t.

¹⁶⁰ CT VII 227m-q:

wnm=i m wnm(.t)=tn im
zwt=i m zwt.t=tn im
zfti=i m zft.t=tn im

wnm=i rj
npd(=i) hqdw
zh=i m sh.t i:rw
sgbli=i m sh.t htp.

¹⁶¹ CT III 176a–178a (S2C, location B):

wr nb i:st(t) 9 m hnt psd.t wr.t
i:st 3 m dd(n)w
i:st 3 m i(w)nw
i:st 3 m hwt (gm.t) m-hnt sh.t i:rw
sbaw=i pw sb.w r'

And from CT 174:

my food is in Heliopolis;
three meals are in the Field of Rushes.¹⁶²

It is significant that both of these citations come from anti-scatophagous texts.¹⁶³ One sees how the themes of rejecting excrement and of having appropriate food are interwoven in the Middle Kingdom as well as the Old.

Still other Coffin Texts link anti-scatophagous themes with being provisioned in the Field of Rushes: appearing in figure 2, CT 184, once entitled "Not eating excrement in the necropolis",¹⁶⁴ has "I will live on bread in the Field of Offerings; (I) will (have abundance) in the Field of Rushes,"¹⁶⁵ and, appearing outside of the series shown in the figures, CT 473, which insists that "I will not eat excrement for you",¹⁶⁶ but that "my bread is in the Field of Rushes, and my supper in the field of flood".¹⁶⁷ In their poetic balance, these last two statements are evocative of statements in PT 210—"The booth of Neferkare is woven in the Field of Rushes, the abundance of Neferkare is in the Field of Offerings."¹⁶⁸ This evocation tends more to confirm the connotative sense suggested above, as does, for that matter, the balance of "the abundance (*ꜥgbi*)¹⁶⁹ of Neferkare" against "the booth of Neferkare".

A further passage from CT 1011 can also be seen as confirming it:

because I sit between the two great gods,
living on bread of white emmer,
my altars ///
I sit in the Field of Rushes;
my abundance is in the Field of Offerings.¹⁷⁰

"Sitting" (*ḥmsi*) can be understood in several ways, but in its balance against "abundance" (*b'ḥ.t*), one thinks of the sitting to a meal, an element integral to the offering ritual.¹⁷¹

For the Middle Kingdom, at least, it would be natural to see things this way, because, in addition to the texts mentioned so far—all of which have anti-scatophagous themes

¹⁶² CT II 60a-b (B1C, location FR):

'b.t-i m i(w)nw
ḥ.t 3 m sh.t-i.r.w.

¹⁶³ Characteristic thematic elements are identified at nn. 137-140 above.

¹⁶⁴ In TIL, not listed in Figure 2, cited at n. 138 above.

¹⁶⁵ CT III 81d-f (B9C). 'nh-i m t m sh.t-ḥtp, b[ḥ]ii(i) m sh.t-i.r.w. Restore b[ḥ]ii through b'ḥii of B1L and B3Bo.

¹⁶⁶ CT VI 14a (B1C): n wnm-i n=ḥn ḥs.

¹⁶⁷ CT VI 13h-i (B1C): iw t-i m sh.t-i.r.w (var. B9C sh.t-i.r.w and the same in B1Y, where 'r.w is a correction over older i.r.w), msw.t m sh.t-ḥgb.

¹⁶⁸ Pyr. 130a-b: ḥ N. sh.t m sh.t-i.r.w, ḥgb N. m sh.t ḥtp.

¹⁶⁹ Wb I, 22, 10-14 "Überfülle an Speisen," from the basic meaning of "Wasserfülle," "flut," "Überschwemmung."

¹⁷⁰ CT VII 225i-m:

n nt(i)t ḥms-i is imit(w) ntr.wi 'ᵚ
'nh-i m t n(i) bd.t-ḥd.t
iw ḥr.wr-i ///
ḥms-i m sh.t-i.r.w
iw b'ḥ t-i m sh.t-ḥtp.

¹⁷¹ A18 of the Type A offering list of W. BARTA, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-romischen Epoche*, MAS 3, Berlin, Munich, 1963; see p. 47-50, for the itemization code. G. LAPP, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches*, DAIK Sonderschrift 21, Mainz, 1986, p. 173 (§289) in conjunction with p. 187 (§ 312), associates this event with PT 86. This text is attested in at least four Middle Kingdom sources (B2Bo, M1NY, Sq2C, and S), and contains the keyword *ḥmsi*, as at Pyr. 59d: *shn n=k s(i) ḥr=k; ḥms iḡr*. "Cause it to turn back to you and be seated".

interwoven with provisioning themes—there are still other texts, not anti-scatophagous, which also explicitly feature provisioning in the Field of Rushes as a theme. For example, CT 179:

O Ferryman of the Field of Rushes,
bring me this for a leg, water, and a *mitewer*-bird.¹⁷²

And CT 404, for "arriving at the first gate of the Field of Rushes":¹⁷³

As for the one who knows this utterance, he descends to the Field of Rushes; he is given a *shenes*-loaf, a jug, a *pesen*-cake, and an *aroura* of land of seven-cubit barley and of the same for emmer.¹⁷⁴

And CT 405, a variant of the preceding:

The Great Ennead which is in the Field of Rushes is to say:
"Give him a *shenes*-cake, a beer-jug, and a sufficiency [of meat];
he is to be eating thereof."¹⁷⁵

To summarize all of this last, one has provisioning in the Field of Rushes manifest in the Middle Kingdom in the themes of having one's booth in the Field of Rushes, sitting in the Field of Rushes, having portions there, living of bread there or just having bread there, a ferryman of the Field of Rushes whose function is here to bring foodstuffs, going down to it to receive food and drink, and gods in it bestowing food and drink: by my reckoning, there are eleven texts in the Middle Kingdom with provisioning as context.

Returning to the Old Kingdom to find other cases where the Field of Rushes is connected with the notion of provisioning, one finds only two other instances besides PT 210. One of these, PT 461, was cited previously, and involved cultivation of crops. The other is in PT 493: "Let them induct [Neith to] abundance and provisioning, the two who are before the offerings of the Field of Rushes."¹⁷⁶ With only three instances in the Old Kingdom compared to eleven in the Middle, what has happened is that a context has become amplified.

This is the reverse of what happened with the context of purification. Roughly speaking, the Field of Rushes has gone from being more a site of purification to being less this and more a site of provisioning.

¹⁷² CT III 71a- (S10C, location FR):

i mhn.ti n(i) sh.t-i.r.w
in n=i nw r w'r.t mw mit=f-wr

¹⁷³ CT V 181a (B5C, location FR): *r n(i) spr(r) r sbj tpi n(i) sh.t-i.r.w*. CT 404 and 405 are considered to be variants constituting a guide to the other world by D. MUELLER, "An Early Egyptian Guide to the Hereafter", *JEA* 58, 1972, p. 99-125, and the two are further labelled as a "Bild-Text-Komposition" by E. HERMSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 20, and *id.*, "Die Bedeutung des flammensees im Zweiwegebuch", in T. Duquesne (ed.), *Hermes Aegyptiacus. Egyptological Studies for B.H. Stricker, DiscEg Special Number 2*, 1995, p. 76 with n. 19, owing to

their combining image with text.

¹⁷⁴ CT V 199b (B10C, location FR): *ir <r>h rj pn iw=f h=f r sh.t-i.r.w, iw ditw n=f šns ds prn sh.t slt mh 7 m it-mh mit(i)t {ir} m b.d.t*

¹⁷⁵ CT V 209a-c (M1C, location BO):

dd.hr psd.t 't i imt sh.t-i.r.w
'n=f šns ds wr {n(i) lwf}
wn.hr=f hr wnm im.

¹⁷⁶ Pyr. 1060a-b: *i.bz=s[n Nt. pn hr] b'h dfj hnti htp.t sh.t-i.r.w. hnti*, a masculine *nisba*, is written with doubling of the *t* so as to indicate the dual, according to R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford, 1969, p. 175 n. 7 under Utterance 493.

Still further, in three cases (CT 216, 173, and 1011) these themes occur among texts which have strong intertextual connections to PT 210, attested in both periods. These connections, as with the groups of variants containing the theme of purification in the Field of Rushes, also exhibit the familiarity of their authors with other texts in the literature as well as some freedom to set down in writing new ideas informed by that familiarity. More still, these newly attested texts are ones whose principal connections are to an Old Kingdom text.

This last phenomenon is of the sort invoked by P. Jürgens in holding for a Memphitic-Heliopolitan point of origin for the later material,¹⁷⁷ but the phenomenon is significant not only for showing a geographic vector, but also an intellectual one, because it shows a Middle Kingdom engagement with the Old Kingdom mortuary literature. There is active thought connected with the transmission of a Pyramid Text into the Middle Kingdom, of a sort which stimulated the production of new but related texts. With Coffin Texts drawing inspiration from Pyramid Texts, a distinction between the two finds itself further eroded.¹⁷⁸

In final summary, one has met with a series of transformations in context: although about as many texts with the term occur in each period, the most prominent context in the Old Kingdom, purification, is comparatively rarely attested afterwards, and a context not often attested in the Old Kingdom, provisioning, becomes prominent in the Middle Kingdom. Right alongside this, the context of passage to the sky from the Field of Rushes became less prominent in the Middle Kingdom, although it remained a destination. Last, in the Middle Kingdom the Field of Rushes entered into a new context in becoming an object of knowledge.

All of these transformations in context are indications that the senses of the term shifted between the two periods, and the vitality of discourse, allowing for dispersed textual production, provides a mechanism to explain it. Such shifts were able to come about because thought in both periods was alive, in contact with but adapting the past.

¹⁷⁷ P. JURGENS, *Grundlinien einer Überlieferungsgeschichte der altägyptischen Sargtexte*, Wiesbaden, 1995, p. 69, in harmony with a general trend perceivable over numerous strata of data by L. GESTERMANN, *Kontinuität und Wandel in Politik und Verwaltung des frühen Mittleren Reiches in Ägypten*, GOF IV/18, Wiesbaden, 1987, p. 55-57. The view of a northern origin for the Coffin Texts, with a spread to the south, is in contrast to that of H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard-Class Coffins*, Leiden, 1988, p. 248, with Coffin Texts being "southern" and PT "northern" texts, the practice of inscribing coffins originating in the South and adopted in the North.

¹⁷⁸ H. Willems, *ibid.*, p. 248 (similarly P. BARGUET, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, LAPO 12, Paris, 1986, p. 18-19), asserts that the Coffin Texts are to be understood as a genre separate from the

Pyramid Texts because they tend to appear on different surfaces. But, according to P. JURGENS, *op. cit.*, p. 85, "Die überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen machen aber deutlich, daß die Dichotomie 'Sargtexte' vs. 'Pyramidentexte' nicht gerechtfertigt ist": such a phenomenon as H. Willems perceives is held to be due to the tendency for texts to be transmitted as sets rather than individually; as a result, whole sets of texts already in circulation and transmitted in blocks in the Old Kingdom were naturally also transmitted in blocks in the Middle Kingdom. Others holding for a view of the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts as forming a continuous (*bruchlos*) tradition include J.P. ALLEN, "Funerary Texts and Their Meaning", in S. D'AURIA *et al* (ed.), *Mummies & Magic the Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, Boston, 1988, p. 40, and J. ASSMANN, *Tod und Jenseits im Alten Ägypten*, Munich, 2001, p. 334.