

The Presence of Myth in the Pyramid Texts

by

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**A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
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THE PRESENCE OF MYTH IN THE PYRAMID TEXTS

Doctor of Philosophy 2001

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The Pyramid Texts, written on the walls of the entrance corridors, antechambers, and funerary chambers of the royal pyramids of the late Fifth and entire Sixth Dynasties, are filled with mythic statements and allusions, without using prose or poetic narrative. They functioned as a holistic group, each distinct from the other, yet each working within the group to create a situation paralleling the mythic, celestial world of the afterlife. By this means, the king (and later, queen) were caused to enter and assume their rightful place in the afterlife as deities. The language of the texts provides evidence for the process by which this takes place: aligning the royal with the deities by means of family terms, and using various literary methods of inserting the king into the world of the myth. The placement of the texts has proved to be of interest because, while certain spells of protection or offering were placed around entrances or around the stone sarcophagus, the majority of the spells show by their content that no specific placement was intended. Many spells are found on different walls in different pyramids; in fact, rarely are the same spells found in the same place in two pyramids. Ultimately, the Pyramid Texts functioned as a passageway into the afterlife, creating a mythic existence for the king (and queen), with the rooms of the pyramids used as the vehicle for this creation.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Pyramid Texts are a corpus of religious literature inscribed on the walls of the pyramid tomb chambers of the last king of the Vth Dynasty, Unas, and all the kings of the VIth Dynasty, Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, and Pepi II, and on the walls of the funerary chambers of Pepi II's queens, Apouit, Oudjebten, and Neith. They were divided, by the ancient Egyptians, into separate portions which are distinguishable by the words *ḏd mdw*, or "words to be spoken," and modern Egyptologists have, therefore, called each portion an Utterance. In total, there are over 759 Utterances, although the complete number are present in no single pyramid, and new Utterances or variants of those already known have been discovered during the excavations of Jean Leclant in the pyramids of Pepi I and II. These new discoveries have yet to be published in one single monograph; however, Leclant has, admirably, published the discovery of new Utterances in a series of articles and lectures¹. The Texts in the kings' pyramids are found in the entrance corridors, the antechambers, the passages between the antechambers and the funerary chambers, and in the funerary chamber itself. In one pyramid, Teti's, the passage between the serdab² and the antechamber was also inscribed.

¹ For these, see bibliography.

² A serdab is a room meant to contain statues of the king and, perhaps, his relatives. In the pyramid of Djoser, the serdab is accessible to the public to bring offerings to the ka, in the form of a statue, of the king, and in mastabas of the Old Kingdom, the serdabs were often no more than enclosed niches, with small holes, at the statues' eye-level, in the wall facing the outside. The

In none of the pyramids, including those of the queens, were the serdabs inscribed.

A study such as this pursues one goal from the outset, that of elucidating the use of myth in the Pyramid Texts and examining that use from as many aspects as are practical. The aspects chosen for this particular study are placement and overall content. It was deemed necessary to begin with an understanding of myth, which was done with the express intention of providing an understanding for use in the Pyramid Texts alone. Given the extreme length of Egyptian history, as compared with our own, such a restriction was necessary. Myth in the Old Kingdom, and specifically the end of the Vth and all of the VIth Dynasties, would likely not be exactly comparable to myth in the Middle Kingdom, the New Kingdom, or any of the Intermediate Periods, and would certainly not be applicable in the Late Period with cultural intrusions having made their mark from the XXVIth Dynasty on. Even within the various pyramid corpora, some differences in the use of mythology and the extent to which it was employed can be glimpsed, although it is rarely more than a glimpse and the ice is thin out there.

The easiest answer to the implicit question proposed by this study, "Is myth present in the Pyramid Texts?", is "Yes." Of course, if the question's logical corollary, "If so, how and in what form?", is also proposed, the answer becomes considerably more difficult and complex. As with many studies of this kind, one

serdabs of the pyramids of the late Old Kingdom kings, the ones discussed here, were found empty, without statutes, although each serdab in these pyramids, with the exceptions of the queens', contained large floor-to-ceiling niches which might have once contained life-sized statues. These,

begins with an intuition, necessarily subjective, and the consequent research is an effort to hunt down evidence for that intuition and pin it, butterfly-like, to reason. On first reading, the Pyramid Texts seem confused and without continuity, almost worthy of damning statements made by Gardiner, who regarded much Egyptian religious literature as being "unmitigated rubbish" with a "deplorable poverty of invention," lacking in any literary or aesthetic merit³, nothing more than "vast accumulations of mythological rubbish"⁴. Further readings indicate that an application of Gardiner's assessment is rash and even wrong-headed, that the Pyramid Texts are, in fact, lucid and contained.

The research for such a study begins, as it must, with the Texts themselves, reading and rereading them with an eye to myth. Many Egyptologists, Jan Assmann, John Baines, and Seigfried Schott to name but a few, understand the only acceptable form of myth to be prose narrative, and have judged, therefore, the Pyramid Texts to be without myth. The kind or type of myth in the Pyramid Texts remains hidden, however, and one eventually comes to the understanding that it is a mistake to look for such evidence using modern and foreign definitions. According to relative time-lines, even the ancient Greek sense of 'myth' as 'a story' is modern to the ancient Egyptian of the Old Kingdom. It is likely that the word had yet to be coined, making the use of it towards an Egyptian understanding of the term anachronistic, not to mention foreign. The sense of the word has changed in the intervening centuries as well, and 'myth'

together with the rest of the tombs' chambers, were robbed long before discovery and/or excavation.

³ Gardiner, 1957, 55-56.

⁴ Gardiner, 1961, 227.

no longer means simply 'a story,' but a compendium of precepts, religious and linguistic. Applying these precepts to the Texts yields a meaning that is perhaps, although by no means assuredly, closer to the Egyptian meaning of the term. When conducting the research it must be acknowledged that, even with the caution that should be inherent in studying ancient concepts using modern terms, the complete elimination of modern inclinations or experiences in the application is impossible.

Armed with such a proviso, research into the use of myth throughout the world and using that research in an investigation of the Pyramid Texts shows that myth as poetic or prose narrative had no place in their composition. The Texts were created with a specific end in mind and every allusion, every statement within them goes toward achieving that end. The allusions show a familiarity with the habits, experiences and actions of the deities in the Egyptian pantheon, not to mention their attributes and alliances with one another. To a lesser extent, they also show a familiarity with stories behind those habits, experiences and actions. This kind of familiarity with the deities is one indication that myth held a prominent place in the religious activities and beliefs of the Old Kingdom Egyptians, myth as an intrinsic, working part of the world that surrounded them. How, then, is myth to be understood in the context of this literature, and more pertinently to this study, how do we delineate the presence of myth in the Texts?

The use of both mythic allusion and the alliance of deity and nature within the Texts betrays the sense that, for the ancient Egyptians, myth was an

everyday occurrence, one as familiar, and unconscious, as breathing. Not only did mythic events have mundane consequences, but they also were repeated day after day in the actions of the Egyptians themselves. In the world of the mundane, the king would act as a deity acted 'on that day of ...' whatever the mythic event might be, and the consequences of his action would mimic the consequences of the mythic action. In a funerary context, however, the dead king did not 'mimic' the actions of omniscient, omnipresent deities, but rather, having crossed over into the otherworld where the deities were the inhabitants, the king was making myth himself, as a newly minted deity in his own right. Within the Texts, the king was participating in the myth, and, as the Texts were intended for the use of the king in achieving the passage from death to rebirth in the otherworld, the corpus of Pyramid Text Utterances were myth.

There are three foundational, unspecified myths intrinsic to the insertion of the king into the Texts: the myths of the sky, the sun's journey through the sky, and the king's ascension into the sky. In terms of relative importance, the myths begin with the sky, the necessary scene in which everything else occurs. Next is the sun's journey through the sky. The journey cannot function independently of the sky itself. Without the myth of the sky and its landscape, the sun would have nowhere to journey and, arguably, would have no reason for existence. Finally, the king's ascension to the sky depends on both the previous foundational myths. It is clear that without the landscape and the sun in the sun-barque travelling through that landscape, the king would not reach the desired ultimate goal of accompanying the sun in that barque. It follows,

then, in a circular argument, that the existence of the myth of the Pyramid Texts depends on the existence of the three foundational myths. The king's place in the Texts, his ascension to the sky, his divine family in the afterlife, his final status therein all depend on the way in which he is portrayed in the Texts, and on the way in which the literary character of the Texts depends upon his involvement. This kind of specific examination of the literary nature of the Pyramid Texts is necessarily holistic, and aims to look at the Texts as a complete corpus, while at the same time dissecting them to discover the exact nature of the foundational myths, the king's presence therein, and the way they contribute to the realization of the Pyramid Texts as myth.

Finally, extending the holistic nature of this study to the physical, mundane realm, the use of the Texts within the pyramids must be examined. The placement of Texts within the chambers of the pyramids was deliberate and to a large extent, similar from one pyramid's chambers to the next. There are some exceptions, most notably the pyramids of Unas and Teti, which share the 'Cannibal Hymn,' and the pyramids of Teti and Pepi I, which share exact Utterance placement and textual content to a certain extent, but in the main, the pyramids' walls all maintain a fairly regular pattern of textual placement. This regularity of pattern throughout indicates that it was important for the use of the Texts, for the foundational myths, and the overlying mythic allusions, to work as they were intended. Arguments have been run back and forth across scholars' desks concerning the way in which the Texts were meant to be read, whether from the sarcophagus chamber out or from the entrance corridor in, all with an

eye to religious ritual and the final putting-to-rest of the dead king's body. One finds, however, not only that it is possible to read them either way, in or out, but also that the majority of the Texts provide very little in the way of continuity of mythic allusion throughout the chambers. There are exceptions, again, with Utterances providing magical protection against evil incursions, either supernatural or mundane, around entrances and in some corridors; however, even these exceptions are not consistent in their placement. In a holistic sense, the Texts surround the king with all types of Text on all sides. On some level, this ensures beyond doubt the continued existence of the king in the afterlife. There is no place within the chambers of the pyramid, and hence the entire afterlife, that the king is not protected by all the types of Text: ascension, protective, reed-float, etc.. While the modern imagination might prefer some kind of effective mythic continuity throughout the textual corpus and the chambers, the ancient faith saw the need for ensuring the rebirth and renewed life of the king by means of preparing for any eventuality.

The Pyramid Texts provided Unas, Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, and Pepi II, together with Pepi II's wives, the means by which they might not only be reborn into the afterlife, but more importantly in some respects, the means by which they might attain a status therein akin to their status on earth. In the attempt to do so, they created a myth, grounded on three foundational myths that accounted for the sky, the sun, and the royal ascension thereto. The Pyramid Texts themselves are the form of that myth, a form unfamiliar to modern eyes, but one that was used throughout Egyptian funerary literature.

CHAPTER TWO

An 'Egyptian' Definition of Myth?

A PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

"It is impossible to define a myth, but it is cowardly not to try."

- Wendy D. O'Flaherty, Other People's Myths: The Cave of Echoes

The search for the meaning of myth for the Egyptians is not new. Seigfried Schott wrote one of the earlier treatises on this subject in 1945⁵, and other Egyptologists have contributed to the topic with numerous important papers⁶, but the number of theories regarding myth and its definition in Egyptian religious literature runs apace with the number of hypotheses. Some Egyptologists, Jan Assmann in the main, believe that the Egyptians did not have myths until the New Kingdom. This argument is based primarily on the fact that until the Middle Kingdom, and Assmann believes the New Kingdom, no written trace is left of anything resembling our narrative idea of a myth. The evidence from the Middle Kingdom is a scrap of papyrus with an apotropaic function from Lahun, recounting the homosexual episode from 'The Contendings of Horus and Seth'⁷, and the rest of the myths in prose narrative come from the New Kingdom and later, leaving large temporal gaps between

⁵ Schott, 1945.

⁶ Assmann, 1977, 7-43; Assmann, 1982, 13-61; Baines, 1991, 81-105; Baines, 1996, 361-377; Junge, 1978, 87-108; Meeks, 1996; Zeidler, 1993, 85-109.

⁷ Griffith, 1898, 4.

sources. Other Egyptologists believe that hidden behind the mythological allusions are unwritten, likely oral myths, at least until the New Kingdom. This group includes John Baines⁸, Seigfried Schott⁹, Friedrich Junge¹⁰, and J. Zeidler¹¹. Not all of these scholars espouse the same rhetoric; however, one of the basic tenets common to all is the presence of mythic prose narrative, in one form or another.

MYTH ELUCIDATED? - DEFINITION AND RECOGNITION

To begin with, myth can be studied according to its philological nature, that is, according to its semantic content, as "myth means ...". Myths are sacred stories¹², which are understood to be true for those who believe them to be myths, the believers, the faithful¹³. For those mythologies and religions having a myth concerning the sun crossing the sky, whatever explanation is given for that event is true -- the very existence of the sun, of day and night, of the passage of the sun through the sky proves its truth. The sun rises, crosses the sky and disappears at night, only to repeat the process at night. Without fail, this happens; therefore, whatever explanation the myth presents must be true. The existence of the sun proves it.

⁸ Baines, 1991, *ibid.*

⁹ Schott, 1945, *ibid.*

¹⁰ Junge, 1978, *ibid.*

¹¹ Zeidler, 1993, *ibid.*

¹² Assmann, 1977, *passim*; Baines, 1991, 94; Bascom, 1984, 7-9; Day, 1984, 13, 16; Eliade, 1963, 1-5; Hatab, 1990, 19; Honko, 1984, 49.

¹³ Frankfort, 1946, 8; Gaster, 1984, 132-134; Pettazzoni, 1984, 98-109.

A necessary adjunct to the idea that myths are true is the larger context of the myths is religious - myths are true and *sacred*. They can be used in religious rituals¹⁴, and they deal with supernatural explanations of various phenomena social, climatic, astronomical, geographical, and sometimes political. The main characters are lesser and greater deities, and their actions and reactions are earthforming and earthshattering. Broadly, the purpose of myth is to provide reasons, explanations and justifications for human behaviour and natural occurrences that might otherwise be inexplicable. The myths explain the world as it was and as it came to be; thus, in a very real and concrete sense, myths tell history.

The next level of the study of myth is attempting to understand myth as an existential concept, "myth is ...". This is more complex than simply defining the term semantically. The idea of an existential meaning for myth is filled with the desire to resolve questions, the answers to which go far beyond the empirical. Myths set out to "explain the world"¹⁵, in an existential sense. They not only explain how but, more importantly for our purposes, they attempt to resolve why, the answering of which question is much more involved than providing a straightforward definition of myth. Myths explicate and justify the reasons for human presence in the world, and they have a profound effect on the ways in which humans view every action and relationship in their world. The divine

¹⁴ This is a hotly debated subject, that lies outside the scope of this thesis. The bibliography for myth and ritual as simultaneous or concurrent phenomena is wide. See, for example, Blackman, 1918-1919, 26-53; Eliade, 1959; Fairman, 1954, 165-203; Frankfort, 1952, 1-12; Gaster, 1975; Hooke, 1958, and also edited by Hooke, 1933; Reymond, 1969. For a bibliography devoted solely to myth and ritual, see Dundes' introduction to Gaster, 1984, 110-111.

¹⁵ Detienne, 1986, 16.

beginnings of things, shown through myths, give everything reason for - and validity in - existence. They create a natural, human world that, for believers, is fully integrated with the divine world. The 'human' world functions at the same time and in the same space as the divine world. As everything is imbued with mythological importance, random encounters and accidents are explained through myth¹⁶. One of the results of this is to make the world a slightly more comprehensible and ordered place¹⁷. It does not become more predictable or less dangerous, but it becomes somewhat more reasonable¹⁸.

While those examining myth from outside the experience may see the reasons for the original creation of, or recitation of, myth arising from a human need for order and stability on all levels in part¹⁹, believers, or people *inside* the myth, perceive it as an experience greater than themselves, and at the same time, as intrinsic to their own existence. Through myth, humans touch the divine; we live surrounded by evidence of the workings of deities, and we are a part of the myth²⁰. Myth itself defines the world in which we live; it divides that world into two levels, the sacred and the profane. The sacred, the 'myth,' makes the profane, 'the world,' a reality²¹, and reality is revealed through the *gestalt* of the myth²². The two interact and coexist in an intimate symbiotic relationship so closely aligned that often the line of distinction between the two is blurred²³.

¹⁶ Frankfort, 1948, 4-5; O'Flaherty, 1988, 142.

¹⁷ Ausband, 1983, 2-6.

¹⁸ Kolakowski, 1989, 2-4.

¹⁹ Ausband, 1983, ix.

²⁰ Cook, 1980, 38.

²¹ Davis, 1990, 319; Hatab, 1990, 22.

²² O'Flaherty, 1988, 142.

²³ Griffiths, 1975, 13.

Hand in hand with the idea that believers are surrounded by myth is the concept that, for the believers, myths had no beginnings in human history²⁴. Myths were not first told specifically to account for, say, the kingship or the geography of the heavens. They do not give human reasons for events and phenomena; they are the explanations that initiated these events and phenomena. Because the kingship existed, the Osirian cycle of myths concerning the kingship had always existed. The myth without the office of kingship in the human world was merely a story; the office of kingship without the myth was merely a struggle for power. In Egyptian terms, the battle for sole kingship of the two lands was of earthshaking significance, creating one land out of two and setting the path of Egypt's politics for millennia. Leaving it in the hands of humans would considerably weaken that significance. As O'Flaherty has suggested, the beginning of a *tradition*, such as the origins of Egyptian kingship, cannot be shown²⁵, and in a very real sense, myth is tradition. To assign an origin to either myth or tradition destroys their credibility. They are no longer predicated of the sacred, but become purely human constructs, the validity of which can be questioned, and perhaps ultimately rejected.

MYTH AND THE EGYPTIANS

The lack of a prose narrative form has been a stumbling block for Egyptologists studying myth in the early religious literature. On the basis of the

²⁴ Austin, 1990, 15; O'Flaherty, 1988, 29-30.

lack of mythic prose narrative, Egyptologists have argued that the early Egyptians had no myths. Jan Assmann believes that a narrower use of the terms 'myth' and 'mythical' is necessary; he considers the use of these to have led to a distortion of our understanding of the presence of myth in Egyptian literature as a whole²⁶. He sees attempts by Schott and others to reconcile the mythic allusions in the Pyramid Texts, and other religious texts, with the assumed necessity of mythic presence as unnecessarily complicated²⁷. He would prefer to separate the gods and goddesses into "constellations" of deities. By this, he means that deities having some relationship with one another should be considered to be 'orbiting' around each other; in the literature, they consistently appear in the near vicinity of each other, and share symbolism and imagery²⁸. As constellations of deities, rather than individual deities reacting to one another in the guise of myth, the deities are allowed freedom of movement and association. Although they might appear in a consistent vicinity, they are not restricted to that vicinity by myth. According to Assmann, these 'constellations' are present in the earlier Egyptian literature only as *mythische Aussage* or mythical statements. "Die mythische Aussage "vergegenwärtigt" den Mythos

²⁵ O'Flaherty, 1988, 29-30.

²⁶ Assmann, 1977, 10.

²⁷ Assmann, 1977, 14-15.

²⁸ Assmann, 1977, 14; see also Baines, 1991, 96, and Baines, 1996, 366. The concept of ideas and theories as constellations can also be found in other writings on religion, in particular modern Christianity and Judaism. Walter Benjamin used the term to explain ideas in terms other than concepts in restricted systems, a notion that influenced Theodor Adorno and later, Marsha Hewitt. See Hewitt, 1995, 4, 152, 153.

...²⁹; they 'imagine'³⁰ or stand in for the myth, but they do not imply the presence of myth outside the literature in which they appear.

John Baines believes that while it may be that truly narrative mythic texts do not exist until the New Kingdom, this does not necessarily admit a complete lack of narrative myths outside the literature³¹. He believes the reason for the lack of narrative mythic texts may be the low level of importance held by myths in the religion³²; the myths themselves might not be as important as the events to which they allude, making the myths unnecessary³³. He sees the Pyramid Texts as "performative," and hence, the mythic statements in them are meant to "enact rather than evoke an identification between a ritual action and a divine occurrence."³⁴ Baines maintains, in "Myth and Literature," that "myths did exist, but that they were not the principal high-cultural vehicle for transmitting fundamental beliefs and values, and were less important than such types of record as lists"³⁵.

This position seems to be at odds with Baines' own concept of 'decorum'³⁶, which holds that much of the religious knowledge of the Egyptians was restricted to a defined hierarchy of priests³⁷. This knowledge is and will remain unknown to us because the language used in the religious literature is deceptive and, in a

²⁹ Assmann, 1977, 28.

³⁰ For this definition of *vergegenwärtigt*, see the Collins German-English dictionary, 528.

³¹ Baines, 1991, 94, 104; Baines, 1996, 360-365.

³² Baines, 1991, 100; Baines, 1996, 362.

³³ This view is also held by Junge and Zeidler. See Junge, 1978, 99-102 and Zeidler, 1993.

³⁴ Baines, 1991, 85.

³⁵ Baines, 1996, 365.

³⁶ This is a concept discussed fully in his article, Baines, 1990, 1-23.

³⁷ Baines discusses all types of restricted knowledge, not simply religious; however, for the purposes of this argument, I have restricted myself to religious knowledge.

sense, code-like, available in measured fashion only to those whose position in the temple or society permitted such knowledge. In "Myth and Literature," Baines reiterates his position regarding decorum, stating, "Decorum and the restriction of esoteric knowledge affect deeply the presentation of the solar cult and are likely also to have influenced the very reticent treatment of the death of Osiris and associated motifs"³⁸. These two positions, the unimportance, and resulting lack of presence, of myth and the sense of 'decorum,' are, thus, maintained simultaneously. It seems highly likely to me, however, that myth came under the umbrella of 'decorum,' as one type of 'esoteric knowledge,' and the prevalent use of myth in the Pyramid Texts is a strong indication of the presence of decorum. The Texts were ultimately meant for the eyes of the dead king alone; they were recorded in an ostensibly inviolate space that was intended never to be seen again, making that space safe from unintentional viewing by those outside of the 'decorum' loop, as it were³⁹.

The fact of the Texts' placement in the pyramids is the indication of 'decorum'; the content of the Texts is not. The allusory nature of the Texts themselves is not part and parcel of 'decorum,' despite the fact that the use of allusions seems to point to some sort of restricted knowledge. The restrictions of various types of knowledge lessen as one goes up the Egyptian ladder. The fewer people who are in a position to be given certain pieces of restricted knowledge,

³⁸ Baines, 1996, 375-376.

³⁹ This, of course, is ignoring the certainty that people other than the king inscribed the texts onto the walls from hieratic copies undoubtedly written by yet another hand. Baines makes the point that any completely exclusive knowledge of the king was impossible. The knowledge must have been shared between the king and his upper echelon of courtiers, making the knowledge the same but the significance different (1990, 13).

the lower those restrictions become; in other words, fewer and fewer people know more and more⁴⁰. The king was at the top of the 'decorum' pyramid, the only person in the country - and hence, the world - allowed access to every and all types of knowledge without restriction⁴¹. With this in mind, then, the allusions in the Pyramid Texts become free of 'decorum' and, instead, become articles of the most highly restricted knowledge, the explanations of which were irrelevant to the omniscient king⁴². The information was already his. The Texts were locked in the 'inviolable' spaces of the pyramid and were, thus, inaccessible to anyone for whom that knowledge was restricted, a group that did not include the king.

It is fundamentally important, in the study of myth in the Pyramid Texts, to view the Texts both as a homogeneous group and as individual mythic allusions that provide cohesive structure for that homogeneity. The corpus of Texts was to be used as a whole with every allusion within every Utterance contributing to the desired net result – the king's, and later, queen's, ascent into the sky. It was not necessary to recount myths fully when allusions would do, when the Egyptians felt themselves to be as immediately present in the mythic world as the recital of that allusion would grant.

Allusory continuity and structure, then, took the place of narrative continuity and structure in Egyptian myth. Without a prose, oral, or poetic narrative structure, allusions were the means by which myths were used in the

⁴⁰ See Baines' discussion of the solar cult in Baines, 1990, 13, 21, from Assmann, 1972, 111-116.

⁴¹ see fn. 37.

⁴² For a discussion of this, see Barta, 1981, 50-53.

Texts. This indicates that what the Texts could *do* was considerably more important than what they *said*. C.J. Bleeker⁴³, J. van Dijk⁴⁴, and John Baines⁴⁵ have noted this, van Dijk going on to postulate that one of the major reasons for myth in Egyptian religion was in "its use in ritual or magic contexts"⁴⁶. The Pyramid Texts were without doubt ritualistic. The Utterances were placed in the pyramids with the intention of providing a service for the dead king, and there was no need for narrative text. It was the broader contexts of the mythic allusions themselves that firmly placed the king in that mythological time and place inhabited by the gods.

The earthly world of the Egyptians existed simultaneously and in community with the mythological world in a way unknown in modern western culture⁴⁷. One of the clearest examples of this is archaeological, the burial of bodies on the west bank of the Nile. The Egyptians saw the sun ostensibly die every evening in the western part of the sky. It was natural for them to view the West as the place of the ascended deceased, including both the sky and earth. In the Pyramid Texts, the inhabitants of the West, and thus the dead pyramid-owners, are called the Westerners. Throughout the Texts, the king is called 'Foremost of the Westerners,' an epithet of both Anubis, god of the necropolis, and Osiris, god of the dead⁴⁸. By the use of this epithet, the king is not only paralleled with two of the most important chthonic deities, he *is* Osiris or

⁴³ Bleeker, 1967, *passim*.

⁴⁴ van Dijk, 1979-1980, 10-25.

⁴⁵ Baines, 1991, 99-100.

⁴⁶ van Dijk, 1979-1980, 25.

⁴⁷ Rue, 1989.

⁴⁸ Hart, 1986 152-153. See, for example, Utts. 357 § 592, 371 § 650, 441 § 818, and 510 § 1146, among

Anubis, as the text warrants. The western bank of the Nile, in a similar manner, not only symbolized the West for the Egyptians, it *was* the West, the geographical region of the ascended dead. The voyage across the Nile in order to get to the places of burial was the voyage of the deceased across the sky; the sky was the heavenly river Nile reflecting endlessly in the earthly river Nile. Locating the tombs on the western bank gave the deceased an added advantage in the afterlife: they were already one step along the road to ascendancy, having crossed the river and built their 'homes' on the side of the setting sun.

The hieroglyphs themselves were understood to be alive on a supernatural level in much the same way the geographic west was magical on the same supernatural plane. The glyphs, accorded such supernatural existence, could possibly be dangerous to the dead Egyptian they were meant to protect linguistically. It was necessary, therefore, to ensure that these signs did not use that ability to harm the king. As a result, some signs, those understood to be more dangerous than others - generally human figures or carnivorous animals and reptiles - were shown mutilated in some way, either by weapons or with missing body parts, to render them harmless to the helpless corpse⁴⁹. For example, in the Pyramid Texts specifically, a few determinatives depict a man with a club and a man with his arms raised in Utt. 478 § 957 and Utt. 482 § 1004, showing only the upper halves of the men, the head and arms. Stephen Quirke states that this mutilation of signs only began to occur at the end of the Twelfth

many others.

⁴⁹ See Lacau, 1914, 1-64.

Dynasty, during a period of considerable political unrest in Egypt⁵⁰. However, Leclant notes that certain signs in the texts from the pyramid of Pepi I either show evidence of mutilation, are simply omitted, or are substituted with another, less dangerous sign⁵¹.

The gods of the Egyptians appeared in concrete form on earth in tomb and temple reliefs, in painting and in their cult statues in much the same way as the experiential, geographical west was concurrent with the West of the dead. This brought the gods closer to the empirical world, into a form in which they could be seen and touched. This is particularly true of the cult statues, which were worshipped in the temples as the gods themselves. The myth concerning the destruction of humankind⁵², for example, provides a vivid account of Re getting old; his bones have turned to silver, his flesh to gold and his hair to true lapis lazuli – a wonderful description of a cult statue, the earthly manifestation of the god. The myth has used to great advantage an empirical piece of evidence within its own decidedly unempirical form. The cult statues were the counterpart in the human world of the dead king's body in the next one. Both were infirm and had to be awakened by means of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, and then clothed and fed. As with reading hieroglyphs, one was participating in the mythological world in the attendance on the cult statue and the dead king's body.

⁵⁰ Forman and Quirke, 1996, 100-103.

⁵¹ Leclant, 1985, 301-302.

⁵² Focusing on the fomenting of rebellion by humankind, Dimitri Meeks has pieced together a myth of a second rebellion from fragmented sources and incidental allusions in other religious texts (Meeks and Meeks-Favard, 1996, 24-25). In light of this evidence, the destruction of humankind

In Egyptian religion, many explanations were routinely made to stand for a single occurrence, a phenomenon for which Frankfort coined the term "multiplicity of approaches" ⁵³. The several Egyptian myths regarding the passage of the sun through the sky, and its disappearance at night, made it possible for them to see the truth in every myth, regardless of overlapping explanations. It meant seeing that truth with different emphasis for each separate narrative, without one emphasis being more true than another. The fact of an array of different explanations for what seems to be basically the same occurrence should be understood to mean that they were using a sort of religious safety net. The 'approaches' to the gods and myths were quite specific, and although they may seem limitless, they were, in fact, finite in number. This indicates a sense of solidity in Egyptian religious thought, a deliberation of choice which the number of approaches seem to belie. They were not choosing explanations *ad hoc* out of the aether. They used explanations that suited their purposes, that unveiled their universe for them.

MYTH IN THE PYRAMID TEXTS

The lack of myth in the form of prose or poetic narrative in the Pyramid Texts is answered by the depth and quantity of mythic allusion. Despite the lack of narrative continuity between Utterances, there are very clear instances within single Texts that show the allusions to have come from complete conceptions

would seem to be one of a cycle of myths, similar to the Osiris - Seth - Horus cycle.

regarding the lives and actions of the deities. The most common examples of this are those referring to a specific day of action. These are characterized by the phrase "on that day (or night) of," which would seem to indicate a reference to a day or night on which some mythological event occurred⁵⁴. Frequently, these phrases are not elaborated upon. Rather, they provide mythical points of reference that bring the event into the empirical world; the occurrences on "that day" became applicable to events ongoing in the Egyptians' world. The specific use of the phrase "that day" implies prior knowledge of a mythical event, one which was familiar to every Egyptian who came into contact with the text. This familiarity itself implies a larger context behind the allusive mention in the Pyramid Texts. The events of the day are of primary importance for the completion of the allusion. While we may not know the fuller context, the Egyptians were undoubtedly aware of it for the allusion to have any impact at all on their perception of the heavenly ascendancy of the dead king.

The myth of the ascent of the king to the sky is prevalent throughout the Pyramid Texts, providing the bulk of the imagery, and the reason for the divinity of the king. As with other myths, the details of this myth are subject to change. This is something to be expected given Frankfort's 'multiplicity of approaches.' For example, the king ascends to the sky using a number of different approaches - a ladder⁵⁵, a stairway⁵⁶, sunshine as a stairway⁵⁷, Horus' eyes⁵⁸, Isis' or Nephthys'

⁵³ Frankfort, 1948, 4.

⁵⁴ Utts. 249 § 265, 254 § 286, 273 § 399, 362 § 606, 485 § 1027, 506 § 1096, 508 § 1107, 515 § 1180, 517 § 1189, 519 § 1211, 553 § 1362, 581 § 1555-1556, 627 § 1785.

⁵⁵ Utts. 304 § 468; 305 § 472; 474 § 941; 478 § 971-980; 480 § 995.

⁵⁶ Utts. 267 § 365; 505 § 1090.

⁵⁷ Utt. 508 § 1108.

thighs⁵⁹, wings⁶⁰, smoke⁶¹, a blast of fire⁶², a part of a cult standard (*šdšd*⁶³)⁶⁴, an unknown means of ascent (*šfrt-htp*)⁶⁵. The final goal of the king is entrance into the company of the gods, the realisation of which asserts the king's innate divinity. As it functioned in the Pyramid Texts, the myth did not justify the right for the 'Horus' to be on the throne at any given time, nor was it likely to have provided valid evidence for the historical existence of the pharaonic throne; it merely explained the fact of the royal office. In other contexts, it may have worked as a preventive measure in justifying one king's presence over another; however, in the context of the Pyramid Texts, the myth simply showed the dead king the way to divinity so he might live in the presence of his equals, the gods⁶⁶. It was meant as a sort of royal Baedeker's for the heavens.

Other examples of the likely presence of complete mythic ideas lie in the comparison of later versions of the myths with the pertinent allusions in the Pyramid Texts. This will be examined in full in a later chapter; however, for the sake of the argument for an Old Kingdom existence of myth, the presence of the relevant myths in the Texts will be reviewed here. Given that allusions were used in the Pyramid Texts as points of reference and thus, the more the better for the sake of the point being made, it should come as no surprise that most

⁵⁸ Utts. 106-107 §§ 69-71.

⁵⁹ Utt. 480 § 996.

⁶⁰ Utts. 245 § 250; 267 § 366; 302 § 461; 467 § 890; 491 § 1056; 521 § 1225.

⁶¹ Utt. 267 § 365.

⁶² Utt. 332 § 541.

⁶³ Faulkner calls the *šdšd*, "the bolster-like protuberance on the front of the cult-standard of Wepwawet" in his translation of the Pyramid Texts (1969, 106).

⁶⁴ Utts. 330 § 539; 331 § 540.

⁶⁵ Utt. 321 § 517.

⁶⁶ Griffiths, 1991, 160-162.

allusions were used in the company of many others. They were grouped according to sense; for example, the great mourning of Isis and Nephthys is intimately connected with the murder of Osiris, and both are intimately connected to the trial of Seth for that crime. The tendency to cluster complementary allusions together results in the situation in which complete sentences containing even simply one single allusion are rare. They are not non-existent, however, and several examples can be found relating to the cycle of myths surrounding Osiris, Seth and Horus, as well as the myth of the royal ascendancy into the heavens and divinity.

Utterance 477 discusses the trial of Seth for the murder of Osiris in relative detail.

Remember, Seth. Put to your heart these words that Geb spoke, this threat that the gods made against you in the mansion of the magistrate in Heliopolis, because you threw Osiris to the ground;
When you said, Seth, "Indeed, I have not done this against him," so that you might have power therefrom, having been taken away, your power being for Horus;
When you said, Seth, "Really, he attacked me," when this his name of 'Attacker of the Earth' came into being;
When you said, Seth, "Really, he kicked me," when this his name of Orion long of leg, far of stride, came into being, who is pre-eminent of Upper Egypt⁶⁷

In this text there are a number of allusions that point to the 'external' presence of a myth we know to have existed by virtue of Plutarch's retelling of the myth of Isis and Osiris⁶⁸. The struggle between Osiris and Seth for the throne of Egypt, the need for Seth to 'prevail over Horus' who would have become the next ruler on his father's death, the throwing to the ground - i.e. the killing - of Osiris by

⁶⁷ Utt. 477 §§ 957-959.

Seth, and the trial of Seth before a tribunal of deities – all these are echoed in Plutarch, indicating that a myth surrounding the original kingship of Egypt existed from the Pyramid Texts through to the second century AD.

References to the myth of Osiris and Seth are generally quite clear. They describe Osiris as being ‘laid low,’ or ‘being thrown down, or having fallen, upon his side,’ all euphemisms for having died⁶⁹. Seth is most frequently, although by no means always, an evil-doer, with specific reference to the murder of Osiris⁷⁰; Isis and Nephthys, often as kites circling with loud cries of sorrow, look for the body of their dead brother⁷¹; when the body of Osiris is found, it is often in many pieces and in need of reassembling⁷². Despite the lack of a properly Egyptian text for these particulars, having only Plutarch upon whom to rely, the details are obvious enough that we can be in no doubt that they are part of a larger story.

The gods of Pe are inclined, coming to Osiris on account of the voice of crying of Isis and Nephthys.⁷³

You (fem.) have come, seeking your brother Osiris, his brother Seth having thrown him down on his side in that side of *Ghsty*.⁷⁴

The second myth in the Osirian cycle is Horus’ struggles with Seth⁷⁵. These struggles take the form of a fight for the throne, left empty by the death of Osiris. We assume, only, that the throne has been vacated as a direct result of

⁶⁸ Plutarch, *Moralia V*, 351-365, in Plutarch, 1936, 7-191.

⁶⁹ Utts. 412 § 721; 442 § 819; 478 § 972; 485 § 1033; 532 § 1256; 576 § 1500; 637 § 1799; 677 § 2018; 701 § 2188.

⁷⁰ Utts. 357 § 592; 477 §§ 956-959 in particular, but *passim*.

⁷¹ Utts. 482 § 1004; 532 §§ 1255-1256; 535 §§ 1280-1282; 670 § 1973; 694 § 2144.

⁷² Utts. 357 § 584; 364 §§ 616-617; 367 § 635; 450 § 835; 482 § 1008; 535 § 1284; 606 § 1684; 612 § 1732; 637 § 1801.

⁷³ Utt. 482 § 1004.

⁷⁴ Utt. 478 § 972.

⁷⁵ See Quirke, 1992, 57-69 for a discussion of the cycle.

Seth's murderous actions; that information is not found in the text. The struggle first goes to a tribunal of the gods, and then it is settled through a series of contests of strength and cunning, with various gods intervening along the way. This myth is one of the most completely recorded in Egyptian literature. Portions of it can be found in the Pyramid Texts⁷⁶, the Coffin Texts, and to a lesser extent, Book of the Dead⁷⁷, as well as the aforementioned scrap of apotropaic papyrus of Middle Kingdom date from Lahun and the near-full version of the myth in the New Kingdom Papyrus Beatty I.

In human terms, it is possible to see a legitimization of the right to Egypt's rule in this myth. The events clearly describe a struggle between Horus and Seth for the throne. Each adversary must try and prove his case before the tribunal, Horus on the basis of his paternal lineage, Seth on the basis that Osiris was his brother. A political origin for the myth has been seen by, e.g., Griffiths⁷⁸ and, to a lesser extent, Tobin⁷⁹ as the primary reason for its existence⁸⁰. In an opinion echoed by Tobin, Griffiths sees in the myth a story of the original human battle between the worshippers of Horus and the Seth-worshippers for the rule of the country, going so far as to call the story a 'legend', as opposed to a 'myth'⁸¹. There is some question of the actual location of the cults of Horus and Seth, as Horus

⁷⁶ See, for example, note 205.

⁷⁷ BD Chapters 9; 17; 86; 134.

⁷⁸ Griffiths, 1960, 119-124.

⁷⁹ Tobin, 1993, 100.

⁸⁰ See also Lesko, 1991, 88-122. Lesko discusses the various cosmologies in political terms, relating the events of the cosmologies and accompanying myths to the contemporary political situations in historical order.

⁸¹ Griffiths, 1960, 130-148. It might be argued that the 'human' story of the union of the two lands into Egypt could be called a legend; however, the story of the quarrels between Seth and Horus must be called myth, due to the divinity of the characters and the way in which the myth explains the

might originally have been a Lower Egyptian god⁸², and Seth originally Upper Egyptian. The difficulty is, of course, that the forces of Upper Egypt are understood to have been victorious over Lower Egypt⁸³. This conflicts with the fact of Horus as the symbol of the living king. In order to counter this problem, Griffiths shows that the archaeological record, in opposition to the written record, places the origin Horus in Upper Egypt, around Nekhen⁸⁴. Regardless of the arguments or methods used to place the event in real time and real place, any attempt to do so places the myth firmly on human soil by giving it a purely human origin. This is a position argued above as being untenable, because to 'humanize' the myth immediately lessens the impact and meaning inherent in a story about the gods. The politics of the myth are, indeed, vitally important both inside and outside the chambers of the pyramids, providing validation for the rule of the new king and investing the kingship itself with divinity. A solely political origin for the myth of the murder of Osiris, however, does not take into account the fact that the story is a *myth*, and not simply human history. Neither does it account for the presence of the Texts in a context that has little to do with politics and the march of human history.

The Pyramid Texts are unambiguously religious in nature, and are concerned primarily with the ascent of the king to the sky. The inclusion of the myth in the mythological allusions and imagery in the Texts must, then, have

fact of kingship.

⁸² This is a much-debated question, a good synopsis of which can be found in Griffiths, *ibid.* While the question of Seth's Upper Egyptian origins is relatively secure, the problems surrounding the origins of Horus in the Delta provide most of the material for the debate.

⁸³ See, for example, Spencer, 1993, 68-69, and Emery, 1961, 42, 100. For an alternate view, see Hoffman, 1979, 350-351.

been of some benefit to that end. This might have been as relatively simple as an affirmation of the royal prerogative, to assert the king's right to the mere attempt at ascent⁸⁵, although it was undoubtedly much more complicated than a simple assertion to the right of divinity. The myth not only gave the ruler the right to divine rule; it also, and perhaps more importantly, defined the state of the world in terms of cosmological and cosmogonical significance. It provided a divine origin for their ruler, and at the same time, it paralleled, and hence intermingled, an empirical Egypt with a divine Egypt inhabited by the gods. The parallelism of the two Egypts was so close that as the dead king began the ascent into the sky, he entered the myths of Osiris and Seth, and of Seth and Horus; he became a player in those myths. The king became Osiris, witnessed by the association of the dead king's name with Osiris. He took on the identity of the father of Horus and the consort of Isis, ready to take his rightful place in the sun barque and in the company of the gods. The myth in the religion was inextricably entangled with the legend in the history. The cosmology within the myth as it is found in the Pyramid Texts surpassed the importance of the function of the legend as the political legitimization⁸⁶.

The references to the myth of Horus and Seth are slightly less plentiful and more obscure than those relating to the myth of Osiris and Seth. There are only a few references to the judgement by Geb and a tribunal of the gods⁸⁷. The individual instances of struggles between Horus and Seth are scarcely

⁸⁴ Griffiths, 1960, 144.

⁸⁵ This will be discussed in a later chapter.

⁸⁶ See Frankfort, 1948a, 19ff. for further discussion on this.

represented⁸⁸ and never with the use of specific citation. Other details of struggles known from later versions of the myth in prose narrative form are scanty to the point of ambiguity. Nevertheless, the relationship of the allusions to the fuller accounts is without doubt. The fact of later fuller accounts is the most important piece of evidence, though admittedly circumstantial, for the presence of a fuller account during the period of the Pyramid Texts. It might not have been quite as detailed as the later versions; however, that might simply point to a fleshing-out of the story over a period of years, or centuries, as the case may be. The longevity of the myth, together with the relatively plentiful copies preserved⁸⁹, indicates that it was one of the more important myths in the Egyptian religion⁹⁰ and justifiably incorporated into the Pyramid Texts as well as existing in proposed Old Kingdom copies outside the pyramids.

The Texts themselves are grouped in the pyramids by allusion - that is to say, those Utterances containing references to the same types of ideas were close to one another. For example, the individual Texts containing references to Fetket, the butler of Re⁹¹, are generally confined to membership in the group following the Texts connected with food. Often this meant that Texts with similar allusions were placed in close proximity to one another on the pyramid

⁸⁷ Utts. 218 § 162; 474 § 942; 477 §§ 956-959.

⁸⁸ Utts. 68-73 § 41; 260 §§ 318-319; 393 § 679.

⁸⁹ And this, in spite of the sheer luck involved in accidents of preservation and the avoidance of hazards in leading to destruction.

⁹⁰ It is impossible, of course, to say whether it was important because it was particularly entertaining, or because it was particularly vital to religious continuity. The reason for importance is, perhaps, not as relevant as the fact of importance, and for our purposes, both occupy a lower rung on the hierarchical ladder.

⁹¹ Utts. 205 and 206.

walls. The Texts known as the "reed-float" Texts are found in three groups⁹² in three separate areas but these areas are all located in the entrance passageway and around the door into the antechamber⁹³. This will be further addressed in a later chapter; however, these examples are enough to show a concern with allusion and content that required a physically pervasive sense of perception regarding the allusions in each individual Utterance, yet another level of mythic operation. The myths in the Pyramid Texts, thus, operated within the Texts as allusion, and within the architecture of the pyramids as a physical presence on the tomb walls. The hieroglyphs were magic in themselves and worked on yet another mythic level, providing protection and assistance in their very forms.

CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING MYTH AND THE EGYPTIANS

The mythic allusions within the Pyramid Texts performed an essential role. They were specifically chosen, one must assume, to aid in creating a situation similar enough to the one in the heavens that they were indistinguishable. For the Texts to operate as they were intended, the position of the king was necessarily the position of a god. His actions repeated the actions of the gods, his words echoed those of the gods, his familiar relationships were identical to those of the gods. Everything about the king had to parallel precisely that of the gods. The background of the myths, the complete context from which the allusions were taken, was as important as the allusions themselves. It

⁹² Utts. 263 to 266; 473 and 481; 504; 507; 519; 609.

surrounded and imbued those allusions with an implicit sense of significance, of substance and weight that the allusions could not capture alone. Without that context, the allusions would have been meaningless, pieces of stories chosen for random and inconsequential reasons with little or no thought for intended use. This was manifestly not the case.

On a very deep level, the Egyptians worked in a world permeated with myth. Evidence of the divine was found everywhere and in everything. The human world was indistinguishable from the mythological world, making the presence of prose narrative inessential, needless. Allusion supplied the literary form and the supernatural context without recourse to the relative obviousness of traditional story-telling recitation. Myth, then, for the Egyptians was a sense of participation with the mythological world. It meant an awareness of another level of existence, something that could be felt but not touched or seen. Intimate knowledge of that world is found in evidence throughout the Pyramid Texts, and in nearly every other piece of literature, religious or not, in Egypt's history, through allusion to myths outside the Texts themselves.

⁹³ See Osing, 1986, 131-144, and Quirke, 1992, 153-155.

CHAPTER THREE

The Mythic Foundations of the Pyramid Texts

INTRODUCTION

Much of the scholarship on myth in the Pyramid Texts has focused on the presence of fragmented myths familiar from later sources and those pieced together from evidence within funerary and religious texts - the Osiris cycle and the battle between Horus and Seth⁹⁴, and the various creation myths⁹⁵, etc. - and on the relationships between the deities themselves. This method of studying myth is predicated on the idea of myth as prose narrative. The literature of ancient Egypt, however, does not give evidence of this type of myth until the New Kingdom and it would seem likely that myth was present particularly in early Egyptian literature in forms other than prose narrative, an issue addressed in an earlier chapter. In the study of later Egyptian myths in prose narrative form, the dissection of texts such as the Pyramid Texts is the only avenue open to the study of the early appearance of the later prose myths. A microscopic identification and study of that style, however, has the effect of segregating the Pyramid Texts into various mythic patterns, while leaving the question of their function as a complete and holistic set of texts answered merely by their definition as a guidebook to the next world. Second-guessing the intentions of

⁹⁴ Gardiner 1931, 8-26, pl. 1-16, and the Utterances of the Pyramid Texts, *passim*.

the ancient Egyptians is always a chancy proposition, but we may with some certainty state that the intention of the Texts was not the ultimate isolation of fragmented myths and mythic episodes. Those fragmented myths and mythic episodes were used intentionally in the liturgy of the Pyramid Texts to a specific end, the ascension of the king into the heavens, and with an eye to accomplishing this goal, the Texts were meant to be used as a set of funerary literature, incorporated within the structure of the pyramids and maintaining an inner literary and imagistic filiation. The textual consolidation within the corpus seems to have been of importance even given the likelihood that the Texts included in each pyramid were specifically chosen for the use of the pyramid's owner⁹⁶.

The segregation and subsequent definition of the Pyramid Texts as a guidebook has overshadowed the character of the Texts and in doing so has disregarded to a large extent the richness of imagery and the coherence of individual Utterances with one another. By the term 'character,' I mean the literary sense in which the Texts display evidence of their purpose, through the use of imagery, both mythic and other, and the use of particular linguistic styles. Through an examination of literary character, it may be possible to discern how the Egyptians viewed funerary texts in terms of the texts' actual method of operation. How was the ascent of the king perceived to occur? What images were used, which mythic episodes were referred to, in order to accomplish this

⁹⁶ See, for example, Utt. 527 §§ 1248-1249 for the appearance of the Heliopolitan creation myth in the Pyramid Texts; and Breasted, 1901 (among many others) for the Memphite Theology.

⁹⁷Thompson, 1990, 17-25.

goal? The Texts, however, have become 'negative' entities, characterised as a group of texts without mythic narrative integration, rather than as a set of texts to be studied as a complete and synthesized work of religious literature. It is the presence, and recognition, of these characteristics of holistic cohesion and synthesis that allows us broadly to fashion the guidebook definition; the Texts, however, convey much more than simple instructions and it is that particular recognition that is vital to the understanding of the mythic character of the Texts. They convey religious archetypes, they communicate a certain Egyptian sensibility toward the divine and the supernatural, and they provide a distinctive framework within which those archetypes and that sensibility operate.

The character of the Texts is done a disservice by the segmentation and culling, for in viewing the Texts solely as one of the earliest sources for myth in ancient Egypt, and extracting the evidence for individual myths therefrom, the composite nature of the Texts is necessarily set aside. Sentences or imagery referring to mythic events known from later literature are cut out from the rest of the Utterances and used as evidence for the early presence of those events. The context within which those sentences and imagery are found is disregarded. Although the examination of the myths as narrative texts has benefitted from this isolation of imagery, the study of the Pyramid Texts as a group of religious texts intended to be used complete within themselves and in context has been limited⁹⁷. More importantly, the significance of the myths that comprise the

⁹⁷ See Barta, 1975 and 1980; Griffiths, 1960, *passim* and 1980, 7 + *passim*.

basis from which the idea of the Texts was built has not yet been fully understood as a result, although the myths themselves have long been recognized.

In an investigation of the Pyramid Texts as holistic within themselves, it becomes apparent that there are a number of avenues open for discussion. From these numerous avenues, three have been selected as being representative. The first is a study of the foundational myths. These have been defined as the myths that provide the foundation for the group of Pyramid Texts taken in their entirety. They provide structure and form for the corpus of Texts and, in so doing, provide a basis from which further points of discussion can be launched. The next study examines the role of the king in the Texts from the perspective of language. That the king is put into the geography and action of the Texts is quite clear, but what is not as clear is the method for doing so, and it becomes a question of how we are made to understand the position of the king in the Texts. Finally, the king's divine family is investigated in the celestial context. This goes toward an understanding of the role of the king in the Texts and the question of the multiplicity of fathers, mothers, sisters, and sons of the king.

THE FOUNDATIONAL MYTHS

The basis of the Pyramid Texts comprises three mythic ideas, here called the 'foundational' myths. They are the myth of the sky, the myth of the sun's movement through the sky, and finally, the myth of the king's ascent and progress through the sky. The term 'foundational' is used primarily because

these ideas were not written down as narratives later on, nor were they referred to by allusion in the Pyramid Texts. It is clear, however, throughout the Texts that these three mythic ideas are intrinsic to the functioning of the Texts as an indispensable aid to the king in his ascent. For example, the king functioned within the mythic idea of the sky. He was manifest in the mythical world of the deities, operating as an entity within that world, not as an inhabitant of the mundane world imposing himself onto the myth. The mythic world, however, did not exist solely because of the king's manifestation therein; it existed regardless of the king's presence or lack therein. The foundational myths, which compose the *idea* of the afterlife, were complete within themselves, despite the lack of a narrative framework, and needed no legitimization in the mundane world. In terms of literature, the myths provided oxymoronic structure-without-form as inherent myths within the Texts, and hence operated by giving a real form in metaphoric terms to the otherworld in which the king was meant to survive after death. In a very real, metaphoric sense, they were the myths *behind* the Texts; they gave the king an arena of action.

Although couched in different terminology, the myth of the sky has been well-documented, as has the myth of the sun's journey through the sky. James Allen⁹⁸, H-J. Klimkeit⁹⁹, W. Helck¹⁰⁰, and Winfried Barta¹⁰¹ have addressed the question of the geography, and inevitably the cosmology, of the sky. That the area of the sky as a setting for the afterlife in the Pyramid Texts was accorded

⁹⁸ Allen, 1989, 1-28.

⁹⁹ Klimkeit, 1974-1975, 266-281.

¹⁰⁰ Helck, 1986, 421-425.

certain concrete, or at the least non-nebulous, geographical and hence cosmological features is commented on by scholars as being of importance to the ultimate goal of twentieth-century understanding of the religious thought processes of the ancient Egyptians¹⁰².

The myth of the king's ascent into the sky has also been well-documented. The most complete survey is by Davis¹⁰³, but the myth has been 'recovered' from various religious texts, including the Pyramid Texts, by nearly every scholar writing on the religion of the Egyptians in general terms¹⁰⁴. After awakening and having the Opening of the Mouth ceremony performed on him, the king ascended to the sky and made his way through the landscape (or skyscape?) to the deities. The methods of ascent were numerous including wings, ladders, sunlight and stairs, as documented in the previous chapter on the meaning of myth¹⁰⁵. Seeing birds fly upward, seeing the sun stream through a window in the form of rays, and using ladders and stairs to climb to the rooftops all supplied likely imagery. From this plethora of images, it would seem that, for the ancient Egyptians, an individual use of imagery was not as valuable as using imagery in multitudinous and varied ways, something that in itself reveals an idiosyncrasy of the logic of Egyptian thought¹⁰⁶, namely the well-known (and for modern scholars, somewhat confusing) idea that there is nothing 'sacred' in any single

¹⁰¹ Barta, 1975, 39-48; Barta, 1980 1-4.

¹⁰² Allen, 1989, 1; Klimkeit, 1974-1975, *passim*. See also Jacq, 1982, 27-30.

¹⁰³ Davis, *ibid*.

¹⁰⁴ David, 1982, 59, 72; Frankfort, 1948, 134-135 (Frankfort here alludes to the ascent of the king into the afterlife by means of the Pyramid Texts specifically); Morenz, 1973, 205; Thomas, 1986, 50, for just a few examples of the ubiquity of the myth in the secondary literature.

¹⁰⁵ See *fns.* 55-65.

¹⁰⁶ See Baines, 1984, 25-54.

formulation of an idea. The method of ascent was not the point; rather, it was the fact of ascent that was of consequence and that fact could be described as occurring in ways that indicate its mythic origins.

While the mythic allusions grouped the king with the gods, thus aiding in the affirmation of his divinity, it was the foundational myths that situated the king in the mythic world itself, in terms of both imagery and religious perception. The foundational myths created the environment through which the king had to travel, giving the afterlife a sense of multi-dimensional real space. As the Egyptians lived in a world predicated on the sacred, hence on myth¹⁰⁷, to have created a completely dissimilar afterlife would have been to negate the earthly surroundings in which they lived, and vice versa. An utterly different otherworld would not have agreed with what the Egyptians saw around them, e.g. the river, the sky, the land, and so forth. If the sacred surrounded them, then what surrounded them must conversely be sacred; if what surrounded them was sacred, then it must logically follow that the afterlife, being in itself sacred, would look and behave with at least some sense of semblance to the sacred surroundings on earth. The geography of the afterlife was inescapably Egyptian; hence, the king having been alive and in recognizable human form in the profane world¹⁰⁸, he was understood to take on the same form in the sacred world. Such being the case, it was necessary to place that royal form in a situation similar to the one on earth. This meant land to walk on,

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter 2.

water in various forms to sail on and grand buildings to house the Residence, all of which would be given an Egyptian flavour.

While the geography of the afterlife was necessarily similar to the geography of Egypt, with swamps, lakes, waterways and areas of dry land, it was not completely identical. The afterlife of the Old Kingdom kings contained elements understandable to those who would be traveling through it toward divine company; these elements, however, did not precisely parrot the geography of the mundane world. In fashioning places of the imagination, the Egyptians assigned familiar and comfortable features to unfamiliar ideas, which are thereby made more palatable, more acceptable. This is very much the case when dealing with the afterlife and matters religious; however, due precisely to the necessity of retaining a sense of mystery and awe in the omniscience and omnipresence of deities, the terrain could not be indistinguishable from that of earth. The mystery lay in a dissimilarity strong enough to render the initially familiar, unfamiliar and thus, instilling more terror than wonder in the minds of the worshippers. The forms of the animals and other beings living therein can only be guessed at, and while the assumption may be made that the gods have human forms and the animals have recognizable avian, reptilian or mammalian forms, some of those forms must also differ significantly enough that they cannot be found on earth¹⁰⁹. The best example of this is the form of

¹⁰⁸ Although the king was actually seen by a negligible number of humans, due largely to the sanctity of the royal office on earth and the divinity of the man holding that office, the question of an alternate bodily form seemed never to have been put forward.

¹⁰⁹ For example, Taweret, Bat, Bes, and Seth, all of whose forms are unlike any single animal but are amalgamations of several different beasts or of human and beast.

Seth¹¹⁰, a composite animal unseen in nature with a long, straight tail that ends in a brush or an arrow, a long pointed snout, a thin body, and large erect ears. While many different animals have been proposed as its last, the animal seems to be a result, rather, of artistic vivisection and grafting than the desire to portray any single animal¹¹¹.

In creating such an amalgamation as the figure of Seth - familiar pieces fitted into an unfamiliar whole - existing in an equally amalgamated afterlife, the Egyptians ensured that the afterlife was made as dangerous as *humanly* possible. They included fear-provoking images from the mundane natural world: crocodiles, snakes, scorpions, as well as the Seth-animal, and a topography they knew to be dangerous, i.e. the river and the marshes. It is interesting to note that the afterlife was one of water and watery land, not one making use of the arid horror of the desert. The Nile valley and its marshes provided life as well as death, while the desert provided only death. It was the tenuous balance between the lush fertility of the river valley's fields and the hazards of both the riverine animals and the water of the Nile itself. The dangers of the afterlife had to be

¹¹⁰ The nature of the so-called 'Seth-animal' has long been debated. With its long snout, thin body, and long tail with either an arrow or brush-shaped end, it seems to encompass a number of different animals in one. In one of the most comprehensive articles on the subject, Newberry makes a good case for the animal as a pig (Newberry, 1928, 211-225). Other animals proposed have included the aardvark, the jerboa, the okapi, and the fennec. All of these are discussed in Newberry, *ibid*, 223. Ahmed Eissa understands the animal to be a donkey, based on similarities found in the temple of Denderah with a figure of Seth in an Osiris ritual depicted as a cloaked human body with a donkey head. He notes that it was as a donkey that Seth fled from Horus. See Boessneck, et al., 1992, 1-10. Barbara Adams notes similarities between the Seth-animal and both the hippopotamus and the wild pig, but believes that those associations were not made by the ancient Egyptians. See Adams, 1996, 10-11. I am of the opinion that the animal neither resembles nor was meant to resemble any living creature. (See also Quirke, 1992, 54.) This conglomeration of an animal accords well with the chaotic nature of Seth, as well as with the undesirability of having recognizable elements that might be dangerous to the dead king's body.

¹¹¹ See te Velde, 1967, *passim*. See also Quirke, *ibid*.

manageable on human terms and to the human imagination. While it was a certainty that the desert would kill, perhaps it was marginally less certain that the river and marshes would kill, and it was fully certain that the Nile valley provided the only life possible in Egypt, and so the lesser of the two evils was chosen, allowing the element of chance to enter into the equation, and therein possible, indeed probable salvation.

THE KING WITHIN THE FOUNDATIONAL MYTHS

From the evidence of the Pyramid Texts, and generally throughout the literature, the Egyptian understanding of myth seems to have been based on allusion; mythic allusion informed every movement and action of the ancient Egyptians, creating an impression from the ancients' written work that the world of the Egyptians was one in which religion played a vital part¹¹². This is most obviously the case in the funerary texts, where the king was set side by side with the deities and his actions echo theirs and vice versa. By alluding to situations in which the king was geographically on a divine plane, the actions of the king

¹¹² Kemp disagrees with this assessment, basing his conclusions on a study of solely archaeological evidence pertaining to shrines assumed to have been frequented by the common Egyptians and the relative lack of artifacts associated with them. He strictly separates the religion of the masses, the common Egyptians, and that of the state and king, including those wealthy enough to afford shrines and tombs of their own. On the basis of his study, he comes to the understanding that the common Egyptians were as religious a people as is the secular society of today. See Kemp, 1995, 25-54. This argument, while convincing on the face, has the disadvantage of pulling evidence from archaeological sources alone, surely a research practice as one-sided as that of examining solely textual evidence. A balance would seem to be needed between the two. While the impression that the Egyptians were a profoundly religious people based on their literature is surely false, so too must be the impression that the commoners were profoundly areligious. With so little archaeological evidence left from the common Egyptians, and that which is left being of such

were aligned with the actions of the deities on that plane. Alignment was a static state of being, however, a two-dimensional situation without interaction between the king and the deities who populated the location; alignment with the gods was necessary to place the king by their side, but it was only the first, most facile level of a royal/divine fusion. In order for the king to be completely integrated into the afterlife and to become divine within that setting, however, more than simple alignment was necessary¹¹³.

The foundational myths can be identified and fairly easily differentiated from those that were written down by later theologians by paying attention to imagery and sentence structure. By virtue of the type of address used in connection with the king, he was brought into the mythic world of the language of the Texts. He was addressed directly, the deities were addressed on his behalf, he was included in a list of gods and goddesses as having the same property or performing the same action as they do, and he was given the same powers as the gods¹¹⁴. Through the use of similes, commands, and direct speech, the king was equated with the gods. The 'characters' in the Pyramid Texts, king and deity alike, were in the same space at the same time and able to communicate with one another as solid manifestations in the flesh. The equivalence of the king and the gods also had a further application. It not only placed them within the

marginal quality, one must assume that the commoners perhaps practiced their religion without the help of large numbers of votive objects or inscriptional tablets.

¹¹³ See Homung, 1983, 90-92 for a reiteration, following H. Bonnet, of the idea of syncretism as 'inhabitation', rather than alignment.

¹¹⁴ These last two methods are labelled by Davis, among others, as an 'identification' of the king with certain deities (see Davis, 1977, 161-179, esp. 167). See also footnote 113 for a different term - 'inhabitation' - used by both Homung and Bonnet.

space and geography of the foundational myths; it also made communication with the deities a reality for the king in the afterlife.

Speech directed to the king was based on the assumption that he was in that plane of existence in the afterlife which the Texts are meant to address, together with the rest of the pantheon. This was represented by Utterance 468 § 895:

O King, raise yourself. Stand up! The Great Ennead which is in Heliopolis has assigned you to your great throne, so that you may sit, O King, at the head of the Ennead - Geb, a noble among the gods, Osiris at the head of the Powers, and Horus, Lord of men and gods.

The king was understood to have a three-dimensional place, real and tactile - 'your great throne' - in which to sit once he had arisen to the sky. Having sat in the throne, the king ruled as, variously or perhaps simultaneously, Geb, Osiris and Horus. The importance of this passage for our purposes lies not in the appropriation of form, but rather, in the sense of a fullness of dimension given by the assignation of the 'great throne' and the appropriation of rule once the king has seated himself on that chair.

The same holds for the addresses to deities on behalf of the king. The deities were approached with the sense that they were to be of tactile and genuine use to the king. In Utterance 444 § 824, Nut was addressed on behalf of the king in such a manner as to suggest that by a simple command, she would be able to reconstitute the body of the king:

"O Nut, cause that the king is restored, so that he may live."

Restoration of the body meant life in the afterlife, the state of being in which the king would join Nut, among other deities. This regeneration of the body was of

particular importance; without it, the king would languish forever in the mundane world, never reaching the heavens and divinity. Even with the use of this simple line of text alone and disregarding all other evidence found in the Texts and elsewhere, it is possible to determine that Nut was understood to have the ability to provide the initial means by which the ultimate acceptance of the king into the pantheon might occur and would provide that service to the king.

The so-called 'reed-float' Texts - Utterances 263-266, for example - primarily consist of similes that align the king with various gods. Reed floats were placed down in order that various gods and the king might cross over them to Re or Harakhti.

The reed-floats of the sky are placed for Horus
So that he may cross on them to the horizon and to Harakhti
The reed-floats of the sky are placed for me
So that I may cross on them to the horizon and to Harakhti
(Utterance 264 § 342)

The formula adheres to the pattern throughout the text; using the same vocabulary and sentence structure, it names different gods in place of Horus and follows with the king's name, or a first person masculine pronoun (suffix, dependent or independent) to indicate the king. By including the king in groups of deities having common properties or powers, or performing common action, it was tacitly understood that the king was together spatially with those groups as a part of their physical presence. The mere existence of the afterlife was not a concern; rather, the concern had become the king's multi-dimensional existence therein. The king was more than simply mimicking the gods; he was one of their company. The interspersal of king and god admitted the king into the

pantheon, and into the myth of the sky together with the gods. The king was myth, as the gods were myth.

The king was not only included in the company of the gods; he was also given the same powers as the gods.

I shine in the East like Re. I travel in the West like Kheprer.
I live on that which Horus, Lord of the sky, lives on as
Horus, Lord of the sky, commanded. (Utterance 465 § 888)

Once again, the king was aligned with different gods, the most powerful gods of the pantheon in the example quoted, and the physical qualities of shining and travel attributed to the king are those of the sun. In the endowment of these qualities, giving him the aspect of Re, he was acknowledged as an integral part of the myth of the sun's journey through the sky and again, this settled upon the king the same quality of myth attributed to the gods.

Another method of inserting the king into the myth of the sky was by making his presence known to the gods, and once known, causing that presence to be perceived as being on legitimate equal standing with the rest of the divinities. One manner of accomplishing this end was by commanding that the gods not be ignorant of the king's existence, as in Utterance 262 §§ 327-333. The following stanza serves as a paradigm for the rest of the Utterance.

Do not be unaware of me, O god;
As you know me, so do I know you.
<Do not be unaware of me, O god;
Of me it is said: 'He who has perished.'>¹¹⁵ (§ 327)

¹¹⁵ See Faulkner's translation of the Pyramid Texts (Faulkner, 1969, 71, fn. 2) for a short discussion of the need for the arrow brackets. Faulkner used the text from Unas' pyramid for this particular Utterance, and the arrow brackets indicate a minor corruption in the otherwise superior 'Unas' text.

The names of various gods are substituted for the initial generic *ntr* and the epithets given to the king, seen in the fourth line above, differ from stanza to stanza. The reiteration of "As you know me, so do I know you" throughout each of the stanzas contains within it the implicit understanding that the perception by deity of king and vice versa was reciprocal, and was, in fact, little more than a subtle reminder of the king's divinity and right of passage through the afterlife.

The fact that the king was placed into the myths by virtue of his use of the Texts as a vehicle of ascendance indicates that the foundational myths were understood to be as real as the ascendance of the king. For the king to ascend to the gods, he had to move through the celestial geography. In the process, the *concept* of the sky as a part of the afterlife was dropped and the *reality* of the sky as a part of the afterlife was assumed. In other words, the king, being mobile in the afterlife and hence alive in that environment, reflected that quality of reality on his surroundings as a direct result of his own animation. The same was true conversely, the environment providing a goal to which the king endeavoured to attain. As with much of Egyptian religion, the idea was circular and unending¹¹⁶.

The use of the image of Seth supporting his dead brother, Osiris (and hence, of course, the dead king), is one used frequently to convey the sense of the king being resurrected, rising to the sky, and being supported therein not only physically but politically, as well; it hearkens back to the punishment of Seth by

¹¹⁶The question of the two different 'eternities' has been the subject of much debate. The general consensus has defined *dt* as a linear eternity, one in which events occur in a line resulting in historical progress. *Nhh*, on the other hand, involves cyclical time, time that recurs and is then necessarily the eternity of the afterlife and the sky. See Westendorf, 1983a, 422-435; Westendorf,

the tribunal of the gods for the murder of Osiris¹¹⁷. In participating in such a mythic image, one tied intimately to a previous action of a god, the king is participating in the original action and by doing so, is taking on the persona, the essence, of Osiris in that situation and by extension, has then become Osiris in the afterlife.

The fundamental importance of the sky in the Pyramid Texts can scarcely be overestimated. The whole purpose of the Texts was to awaken the king into the afterlife that he might ascend into the sky and into the presence of the gods. As the place in which the divinities resided and held court, it was, quite naturally, a fully realized location with geography, climate, inhabitants, and movement. As well as presenting an area with certain empirical limits, the sky contained within itself temporal boundaries, both diurnal and nocturnal. The temporal boundaries were restricted to endless day and night. While that may not seem much of a restriction, it meant that time was cyclical and the very notion of cyclical time, by definition, does not admit endings or beginnings. Time continued in the same space, uninterruptedly and cyclically, in perpetual, neverending rhythm, providing us with a mythic definition of *nḥh*. In contrast, time on earth, mundane time, was linear (*ḏt*). Humans and animals died, civilizations changed hands and borders, and the Egyptians were hard-pressed throughout the millennia to keep the world in its proper original order. In creating from the sky an immutable topographical space with a cyclical temporal

1983, 71-75; Kákosy, 1978, 95-111; Niwinski, 1981, 41-53; Žabkar, 1965, 77-83 for just a few of the opinions regarding this topic.

reference, mythic events operated with absolute freedom within a specific geographical arena, taking the dimensional formlessness of thought and idea, and from them, creating form and place. This, in turn, engendered multi-dimensionality, hence familiarity.

Klimkeit has made the observation that "the spatial type of thinking (is) more relevant to the Egyptian than the temporal"¹¹⁸, and this may be seen in the operation of the king through the sky. The time was endless, one might almost say almost nonexistent, with the sole indication that time passed being the movement of the sun through the sky; space, on the other hand, was there to be moved through. Events occurring within the limits of the sky were contingent on space rather than on time. The length of time it took the king to reach the seat of the deities was never mentioned or alluded to in the Texts; the journey and accompanying use of space provided the focus.

The creation of form from formlessness imitates the creation of something from nothing. The best illustration of this concept is the creation myths. From the formlessness of the Nun, the form of the Primeval Mound arose and the world began. The creation of mythical form in the sky, however, did not override the sky's mundane form. Rather, the mythical and mundane forms worked concurrently, a process which admitted two categories of 'spatial thinking.' The mythical location of the sky existed in the same place and at the

¹¹⁷ Utts. 356 § 581; 357 §§ 587-588; 478 §§ 971, 974; 510 § 1148; 532 § 1258; 593 § 1628; 606 § 1699; 615 § 1742; 673 § 1993; 719 § 2235.

¹¹⁸ Klimkeit, 1974-1975, 272.

same time as the empirical location of the sky¹¹⁹. It occurred as a divinely inhabited place in the afterlife with a defined depth of geography, but it was at the same time the 'profane' sky under which the Egyptians worked and slept day and night. It was both a reality in the mundane world, something that could be seen and in which celestial phenomena could be observed, and a part of the mythic world, a place of divine occupation invisible to the eye. In death, the king moved through the mythical environment of the sky as he moved through the mundane environment of the land in life.

By dividing this 'spatial thinking' into two separate categories, mythical and empirical¹²⁰, the 'mapping' of the otherworld allowed the sky to be used as a myth in itself. It was filled with dangers of the mundane kind (such as snakes) and those of the less-than-mundane kind (such as the possibility of walking upside down), it was peopled with deities whose forms were indeed those of 'people,' and it was cast in a configuration closely, but not identically, resembling that of Egypt; the sky became not simply the form within which the other amorphous myths played out but rather, it existed quite on its own. The water flowed whether the sun was being floated down it or whether the king was crossing it. The snakes lived in holes in the ground or in the bricks regardless of the presence of the king and outside the myth of his ascension. The deities' place of existence was the sky. None of the entities or objects within the sky were imagined by the king as either potential or imminent; they were perceived to be

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 274.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 273.

certain, and that certainty both granted the existence of the myth of the sky and was granted existence by the same myth.

The myths of the ascension and the voyage of the sun through the sky were predicated on the myth of the sky, having as their site of operation the geography of the heavens. The two myths, however, were predominantly discrete unto themselves, without requisite synthesis. The sole point of necessary integration came when the king had reached the court of the deities and joined Re in his barque for the endless voyage of the sun through the sky. Prior to this, the two myths functioned separately: the king ascended to the heavens and made his way to the presence of the gods regardless of the journey of the sun, and likewise, the sun unceasingly crossed the sky, indifferent to the existence and manoeuvring of the king. That point of integration, though, assumed the pre-existence of the sun and its journey, and the assumption indicated the temporal hierarchy of the ascension-myth and the solar-myth, with the solar-myth taking precedence. It can be postulated that the progressive order of the myths was the sky, then the sun's journey, and finally the ascension. First, the sky existed autonomously; then within the sky, the journey of the sun arose and finally, the king ascended to the sky. The sky's existence depended on nothing to maintain itself. The journey of the sun, however, depended on the existence of the sky alone, and the ascendance of the king depended on both the sky and the sun's journey. For the purposes of this particular argument, the progression of myth is perhaps less important than noting that the king involved himself in all three simultaneously, negotiating the geography and

inhabitants and interacting with all the elements of each, and not only of the ascension of which he was the primary participant.

MYTHIC IMAGERY AND THE KING

Having placed the king in the myth of the afterlife by means of the three foundational myths, it is now necessary to examine the rest of the Texts, with the intention of coming to terms with the seemingly fragmentary use of mythic statement. Along this approach to the material lies a fairly stony path. Some of the obstacles seem insurmountable, not the least of which was the distance in ideology in the ensuing millennia, engendered not only by time but also by culture. Other difficulties include an imperfect grammatical knowledge of the language, an ever-imperfect knowledge of the semantic meaning in the vocabulary, and a somewhat hazy understanding of Egyptian religion as a whole. Once these blocks in the approach have been identified, however, and retained in memory but cautiously side-stepped in practice, the Texts can be dissected and examined in terms of imagery and metaphor.

Several themes or single, specific applications of imagery are used throughout the Texts generally - although not always - with seemingly little regard for the tenor of the surrounding Texts. Preponderant among these themes was the reintegration of the body of the king in the afterlife, the 'knitting together' or 'reassembly' of the king's bones. Instances of the iteration of the wish that the king be whole and able to function physically ranged from

Utterance 13 § 9 to Utterance 700 § 2182; in other words, for all intents and purposes, from the beginning to the end of the Texts. This desire for reintegration took the linguistic form of assertions that the king's body had been reassembled¹²¹, that his head had been knit back on¹²², that his lips and mouth had been attached to the head and were operational¹²³, that various parts of his body, for example his eyes, were set into the rest of his body¹²⁴. Much less often, the desire came as a request for reassembly¹²⁵.

The desire for reassembly and for functionality in that reassembly indicates a strong need for a physically healthy and hale body, and hence, king. Presumably this need was engendered by the mundane need for a healthy and hale king, one who could rule the country with strength¹²⁶. A king with physical deformities or disabilities (such as the inability to speak or see through lack of a mouth or eyes) would have had difficulty negotiating the afterlife and would have appeared before the deities in a weakened condition as a result of both the trip and the disabilities themselves. A healthy and hale king would have been an apt representative for humanity in the afterlife, standing before them on strong legs and with all the knowledge needed for entry into their company.

¹²¹ Utts. 368 § 639; 364 § 617; 447 § 828; 450 § 835; 451 § 840; 452 § 843; 457 § 858; 576 § 1514; 603 § 1675; 606 § 1684; 637 § 1801; 665A § 1908; 666 § 1916; 667C § 1952; 669 § 1966; 670 § 1981; 676 §§ 2008, 2016; 690 § 2097; 700 § 2182.

¹²² Utts. 13 § 9; 17 § 10; 254 § 286; 355 § 572; 450 § 835; 451 § 835; 452 § 843; 603 § 1675.

¹²³ Utts. 20 § 12; 369 § 644; 447 § 828.

¹²⁴ Utts. 4 § 3; 5 § 3; 15 § 9; 37 § 30; 45 § 35; 80 § 55; 364 § 610; 450 § 835; 453 § 844; 595 § 1640; 598 § 1643; 638 § 1805; 639 § 1807.

¹²⁵ Utts. 448 § 830.

¹²⁶ This harks back to the scenes from the Step Pyramid complex, and the two half-moons in the court of the complex around which the king was to run to prove his worth and ability to rule for another year. See, for example, Lauer, 1962, 144-171, and pls. xxv-xxvi.

From the evidence in the Texts, it would seem that the faculties of sight and speech were of particular importance to the king in the afterlife (and thus, one postulates, in the mundane life as well). The essential nature of sight is grounded in the prosaic, but it takes on a philosophical significance; the distinction can be made between 'seeing' the king and 'perceiving' him. The forms of the deities, and indeed, of the king himself, had to be seen. Utterance 246 §§ 255-256 states,

They (i.e. the gods) go in and they fight evil, they come forth and lift up their faces, and they see you, Min indeed, at the head of the Conclave of Upper Egypt and the Conclave of Lower Egypt.

The gods perceived that the king was appearing as Min by seeing him. The gods saw the king at the 'head of the Conclaves of Upper and Lower Egypt', and perceived him as Min. He had not taken on the form of Min; rather he had taken on the aspect, the persona of the god and was thus understood to be the god.

The king in his journeying through the afterlife needed his sight both to see and to perceive¹²⁷, and his eyes, often replaced with those of Horus, were the organs necessary for that result. That the king's human eyes were substituted with Horus' magical Eyes is important, for they gave the king divine eyes, eyes which had, among other mythical properties, that of healing. They also gave the king the resource of sight itself, the requisite mundane corollary to the mythical properties. In using Horus' eyes, the king was granted both sight and perception, thereby entering a optical state approximating that of the gods.

¹²⁷ See, for example, Utt. 167 § 99 - "Oh Osiris N, open your eyes so that you may see with them..."

The use of a mouth was, likewise, important, and similarly, it had an importance grounded in the mythical and the mundane¹²⁸. As with the statues in the temples, the mouth of the king had to be struck open each morning in order for him to eat. This was accomplished by means of the 'Opening of the Mouth' ceremony for both the temple statues and the king¹²⁹ and by other magical means¹³⁰. The mouth as a means of speech, then, was the corollary of the eyes as the organ of sight. The other, less prosaic use of the mouth involved the capacity for speech and was related to the eyes' sense of perception. When speaking of the reassembly of the king's body, particular mention was made of the necessity for the mouth to be attached to the bones¹³¹. If this did not occur, if the mouth was not attached to the facial bones, the king would be denied both the ability to eat as well as the use of speech.

A sense of divine and earthly reciprocity was found in the daily performance of 'Opening of the Mouth' ceremony. The beings - to be understood here as the divine essences of the statues and the divine essence of the mummified body of the king - were felt to be present in the afterlife, with static representatives on earth, i.e. the statues and the body of the king. Through the ceremonies performed each morning on the temple statues and the ceremonies called upon in the Pyramid Texts, the essences of the statues and the king were brought into the mundane world. This did not seem to exclude their presence in

¹²⁸ For an example of the closing of the mouth of a snake in order that it be made less dangerous, see Utt. 230 § 230.

¹²⁹ Utts. 20 § 11; 21 §§ 13-14; 34 § 26; 38 § 30; 369 § 644.

¹³⁰ The Eye of Horus, for example, in Utts. 47 § 36; 54 § 78; 93 § 63; 155 § 93; 156 § 93; 185 § 106, and other unidentified means in Utts. 48 § 36 and 153 § 92.

¹³¹ Utts. 20 § 12; 369 § 644.

the afterlife. They could only have existed as ambulatory beings in the afterlife, the quality of movement being one of the vital aspects of life, and that movement was attested throughout the Pyramid Texts; it was the divine essences which inhabited the mummy and the statues and those essences would seem to have been more than adequate as aids to the perception of the divine world of the deities as an invisible, yet essential, part of the mundane world.

It is to be expected that those Utterances containing mention of splitting open the mouth are predominantly found early in the corpus¹³². The first requisite was the awakening of the king, a service rendered by the 'Opening of the Mouth' ceremony. The same requisite of awakening was found in the mundane world, although it was possible to do this sans ceremony. The king required food initially upon animation in the afterlife. It was necessary for his *b3* to be provided with sustenance in order for the king to wake into the afterlife and remain there. Later, self-protection, the king's introduction of himself and his establishment in the company of the gods required the use of language, which in turn required the use of his mouth. The words used, the speech was akin to the idea of the eyes' perception. The king perceived the presence of the deities and understood himself to be their equal; the words chosen for that, in order to attain the desired deified end, had to be magical in themselves. Often, the exact words to be spoken were given to the king, indicating how necessary it

¹³² An exception to this is Utterance 369 §§ 640-644. This particular text, however, is less concerned with the mouth being a serviceable instrument for the king and more concerned with the restoration of the king's body by his divine son, Horus. It is included among a group of texts which stress the protection and care that Horus will give the king in the afterlife - Utts. 369-372.

was to perform these ceremonies and rituals correctly¹³³. A good example of the instructive nature of some of these uses of speech was found in Utterance 667 § 1940.

O N, they will ask your name from you, but you shall not tell them your name. 'Who acts for you?' they will say. 'It is my successor who makes for you ... (untransliteratable word) ... his tomb (?); his brick (robing-room? sarcophagus?) is installed(?),' you shall say ... (untransliteratable word).¹³⁴

Here, the king was instructed by friendly deities on the correct words to use in the event of questions addressed to him by unnamed foes. The consequences of not following the instructions are not elaborated upon; it is perhaps enough that the king should know the proper answers. Other less explicit uses tended merely to put words into the king's mouth, without addressing the king directly¹³⁵. He was not instructed, as he was in the example above; rather, he answered questions put to him autonomously, without obvious coaching.

Despite the necessity of the king being in the form of a healthy human being in the afterlife, the eventual goal of the Texts was to insert him into the company of divine beings. Thus it was understood that the king should eventually be a god in human or other form. One method in which the sense of this was communicated was through the 'inhabitation' of the king's body of, or the assignment of various limbs to, deities or exalted mortals¹³⁶. Another means was by creating a form which did not resemble the king's earthly form, but which

¹³³ This brings up the question of how often the texts were intended to be used for each king. Were they intended to be used once only, after which time the king would be ensconced in the afterlife? Or were they to be used daily to ensure the presence of the dead king with Re and the dawning of the sun every morning?

¹³⁴ See Faulkner, 1969a, 40-41.

¹³⁵ For example, Utts. 660 §§ 1870-1872 and 667B § 1950, both of which include speech by the king without instructions regarding what must be said.

contained his essence and hence, was the king. Through the use of these two approaches to the concept of divinity, the king became divine both inside and out, in form and in essence.

The king took different entities within his body and literally incorporated them. The king took the nobles as a limb¹³⁷; he assumed the essences (we presume, although this is not stated explicitly) of a group that was on a lower rung of the social register that he was himself. This is an anomalous example, the sole instance of the assumption of a company of entities which at one time would have been of a lesser mundane social status. The other examples of the assumption of beings name either deities or divine animals, such as the vulture¹³⁸. Utterance 539, in particular, made full use of this type of allusory imagery, working from the king's head and face down to his toes and the soles of his feet. In this example, the longest of the few Texts of this type, the king's nose was Thoth¹³⁹, his heart was Bastet¹⁴⁰, his thighs were Neith and Selket¹⁴¹, and the soles of his feet were the two barques of righteousness¹⁴². Utterance 485C, making use of Sethe's reconstruction, states that there was no limb of the king devoid of god, meaning here divinity or the essence of 'deity'¹⁴³. Every part of the king was imbued with a divine essence and overall, with such variation of divine essences as to preclude the notion of an attack against him. He was one

¹³⁶ See fn. 113.

¹³⁷ Utt. 268 § 371.

¹³⁸ Utt. 539 § 1303.

¹³⁹ Utt. 539 § 1305.

¹⁴⁰ Utt. 539 § 1310.

¹⁴¹ Utt. 539 § 1314.

¹⁴² Utt. 539 § 1315.

¹⁴³ Utt. 485C § 1037.

with the deities in the afterlife as a social equal and as one of their collective body.

The king also appeared in a nonhuman form as a falcon¹⁴⁴, and as a mythical and constructed creature, described as having the forepart of a jackal and the hind part of a falcon¹⁴⁵, the face of a jackal¹⁴⁶, the middle of the Celestial Serpent, and singularly, the hindparts of a broad hall¹⁴⁷, or alternatively the front of a jackal, the hindparts of the Celestial Serpent, and the spine as the door-bolt of the god¹⁴⁸. No such creature was ever depicted in the later reliefs and it is doubtful that any such creature was meant to be assumed to be the king. It is interesting, although not surprising, that Utterance 539, the most complete catalogue of the king's bodyparts and their divine equivalents, does not agree with the other Utterances regarding the character of the spine, said to be the Wild Bull (§ 1308), and the middle, which has numerous deities attached to it, from the shoulders as Seth to the toes as the Souls of On (§§ 1309-1315). This divergence can be attributed both to the idea that it was best to prepare for all contingencies, and more importantly, to the understanding that what was necessary was for the king's parts to be divine, not for them to be filled particularly with the same divine essence. Utterance 649 § 1831 tells the king, or

¹⁴⁴ Utts. 627 §§ 1778-1780; 682 § 2043; 724 § 2247.

¹⁴⁵ Utt. 459 § 865.

¹⁴⁶ Utts. 721 § 2241; 734 § 2262 - these Utterances mention the face only, while those in the footnote below include the face, the middle and the hindparts, as indicated.

¹⁴⁷ Utts. 582 § 1564 and 619 § 1749, the latter being the reference also for the hindparts as a broad hall. See fns. 109 and 110.

¹⁴⁸ Utt. 691B § 2128.

Osiris the king, that he is the "k3 of all the gods," thus doing away with the notion of specialization when it came to deities and limbs.

Another aspect of the king taking on divinities as his limbs is the infamous consumption of deities found in Utterance 273/4 §§ 393-414. This well-known example of anthropophagy is often called "The Cannibal Hymn" and has been used as evidence that the ancient Egyptians at one time practiced cannibalism, partly due to the fact that the Utterance is found only in the Vth Dynasty pyramid of Unas, the earliest with Pyramid Texts, and the pyramid of Teti, the first king of the VIth Dynasty¹⁴⁹. Other examples of violent imagery are found in the Texts, however. Utterance 535 § 1286 exhorted,

Seize them, remove their heads, cut off their limbs, that you may disembowel them, and cut out their hearts, and drink from their blood ...

and Utterance 254 § 292 used similarly vehement imagery:

...their hearts fall to <my> fingers, their entrails are for those who are of the sky, their reddening (i.e. blood) is for those who are of the earth.

In both instances, the unknown 'they' were alluded to as evil spirits, waiting to dismember the king and relieve him of a second life. The use of this type of figure of speech, particularly that involving the ingestion of human body parts or fluids, had a close correlation to the assertion that the king's body was made up from the essences of various deities. In this type of imagery, however, the king was physically and, perhaps more important, knowingly taking divine beings into his own body. He was operating under his own steam and doing so with strength and power. He was in control of the events and would act

decisively to control them. He would also take into himself the power that motivates these evil spirits, making that power part of himself and thus incapable of causing him further harm. By ridding himself of his enemies through anthropophagy, the king was at once adding to his own power and firmly asserting his stature as the one with whom any evil spirits or deities must reckon in the afterlife. Not unimportantly, the king also became the first king of Egypt, having done away with his predecessors, a unique position, and hence, one that aided in elevating his stature in the afterlife¹⁵⁰.

ROYAL AND DIVINE FAMILIAL CONNECTIONS

To maintain the myth of divinity (and entrance) for the king in the afterlife, the myth had to be complete. Not only was it necessary for the king's body to be composed of or equivalent to various deities, but it was also necessary for the parentage of the king to have been divine. Thus, the king's immediate family - father, mother, sisters, and very rarely brothers, (grand)mother and (grand)father - was composed of deities. It was acknowledged once that the king had had a mother, presumably human, previous to his entrance into the afterlife - "<I> do not know (now) <my> first mother whom <I> knew (once)" (Utterance 565 § 1428) - but the Texts did not linger upon the fact of mundane birth; it was

¹⁴⁹ Barta, 1979, 89-94; Foster, 1978-1979, 51-63. See also Barta, 1985 for a study of the transmutation of this Utterance from the Pyramid Texts to the Coffin Texts.

¹⁵⁰ See below Ch. 4, pp. 124-125 for further discussion of this Utterance, regarding content and placement.

even repudiated outright¹⁵¹. The gods saw the divine essence within the king, most often seeing him as the father of Horus, Osiris¹⁵². The notion of perception mentioned earlier is here at work; Horus was required to come and see the king in order for the essence, in this case of Osiris, to be recognized¹⁵³. The precise definition of the nature of the divine essence does not seem to have been of paramount importance, according to the evidence in the Pyramid Texts. The king's father was variously Geb¹⁵⁴, Re¹⁵⁵, Atum¹⁵⁶, Osiris¹⁵⁷, Shu¹⁵⁸, Re-Atum¹⁵⁹, Orion¹⁶⁰, and a host of less familiar divine objects and beings, most without particular designations: the sky¹⁶¹, the moon¹⁶², a beetle¹⁶³, and *ndi*, *pndn*, *dndn*¹⁶⁴, the Great Wild Bull, the Great Float-user, Soped, the One Sharp of Teeth¹⁶⁵. Some of these fathers doubled as brothers: the moon¹⁶⁶, Osiris¹⁶⁷, and Orion¹⁶⁸. Only once is Seth referred to as the brother of the divine king, and in this

¹⁵¹ Utts. 675 § 2002; 703 § 2203.

¹⁵² Utts. 356 § 580; 357 § 589; 369 § 640; 423 § 767.

¹⁵³ Utt. 357 § 587.

¹⁵⁴ Utts. 2 § 1; 3 § 3; 214 § 137; 254 § 277; 307 § 483; 373 § 655; 485A § 1030; 510 § 1142; 536 § 1296; 553 § 1367; 592 § 1620; 606 § 1689; 640 § 1810; 666 § 1922; 669 § 1971; 673 § 1992; 676 § 2015; 717 § 2229.

¹⁵⁵ Utts. 205 § 121; 222 § 200; 467 §§ 887, 893; 470 § 915; 485A § 1029; 539 §§ 1316-1318; 573 § 1479; 575 §§ 1492-1495; 576 § 1508; 681 § 2035; 691 §§ 2120, 2123.

¹⁵⁶ Utts. 216 § 151 (?); 222 §§ 207, 211, 212, 213; 269 § 380; 273-4 § 395; 480 §§ 992, 997; 555 § 1376; 570 § 1451; 571 § 1466; 660 §§ 1870-1871.

¹⁵⁷ Utts. 553 §§ 1362, 1368; 576 § 1505; 582 § 1567; 666 § 1925; 677 § 2022; 691B § 2127.

¹⁵⁸ Utts. 254 § 294; 261 § 324.

¹⁵⁹ Utt. 217 §§ 152, 154, 156, 158, 160.

¹⁶⁰ Utt. 699 § 2180.

¹⁶¹ Utt. 442 § 820.

¹⁶² Utt. 507 § 1104.

¹⁶³ Utt. 519 § 1210.

¹⁶⁴ All three are found in Utt. 222 § 200.

¹⁶⁵ All four are found in Utt. 222 § 201.

¹⁶⁶ Utt. 481 § 1001.

¹⁶⁷ Utts. 536 § 1297; 676 § 2016.

¹⁶⁸ Utt. 691A § 2126.

instance, it is clearly the king in the form of Osiris to whom reference was being made:

'He to whom ill was done by his brother Seth comes to us,' say the Two Enneads. 'Indeed, it will not be permitted that Seth be free from raising you for ever (*dt*),' O my father Osiris the King, say the Two Enneads concerning you, O my father Osiris the King. (Utt. 606 § 1699)

It should be noted about the above passage that Seth is both mentioned as one who has committed a crime against Osiris (the king) and as one who must pay for that crime for the rest of time on earth. The punishment of Seth is important, as it illustrates the need to keep all potential dangers away from the deceased king. In becoming Osiris upon awakening into the afterlife, the king was weak and vulnerable, in need of divine aid. The same requirement that led to the mutilation of dangerous signs on the walls of the pyramids was put into practice for protecting the king from dangerous beings in the afterlife¹⁶⁹. The signs were, in a sense, crippled and so taken out of dangerous circulation; Seth was punished for the crime of fratricide, rendering him impotent as a potential criminal. In bringing his crime into the light of day, his aspect was generally reduced from one of danger to one of servitude.

The mother of the king in the afterlife was named as variously as was his father. Most often, she was Nut¹⁷⁰; however she also took on the identity, or essence, of a fairly wide range of other goddesses, for example Isis¹⁷¹, Nephthys¹⁷²,

¹⁶⁹ See a brief discussion of this in the previous chapter.

¹⁷⁰ Utts. 1 § 1; 3 § 2,6 § 4; 7 § 5; 356 § 580; 368 § 638; 422 § 756; 427 § 777; 446 § 825; 447 § 827; 450 § 834; 451 § 838; 452 § 842; 468 § 902; 474 § 941; 485A §§ 1029, 1030; 510 § 1145; 540 §§ 1300, 1328; 565 § 1428; 576 § 1516; 588 § 1607; 593 § 1629; 609 § 1703; 650 §§ 1833, 1835; 669 § 1965; 677 § 2028; 684 § 2052; 690 § 2107.

¹⁷¹ Utts. 511 § 1154; 609 § 1703; 661 § 1873; 663 § 1883.

¹⁷² Utt. 511 § 1154.

Ipy¹⁷³, Sothis¹⁷⁴, the great wild cow who dwells in Nekheh¹⁷⁵, dawn-light¹⁷⁶, the sky¹⁷⁷, the White Crown¹⁷⁸, the two White Crowns¹⁷⁹, the living uraeus¹⁸⁰, Bastet¹⁸¹, the two vultures¹⁸², *pt wrt*¹⁸³, the great *hwrt* -serpent¹⁸⁴, Meskhenet¹⁸⁵, Sakhmet¹⁸⁶, and Shezmetet¹⁸⁷. Again, as with the father of the king, the legitimacy of the king was not an issue in the afterlife, although it would perhaps be expected that, in the mundane world, the Egyptians would be concerned with the legitimacy of the king and thus have had the parentage of the king secure with one father and one mother. Rather, of greater importance would have been the fact of divine parents, whomever they might happen to be. Divine parents guaranteed the king the right to claim divinity in the afterlife, and the greater the number of those divine parents, the greater the right for (already ostensibly present) deification of the king.

A striking difference found in allusions to the king's afterlife mother from those of the king's afterlife father is those Utterance sections that distinguish between the conception and the birthing of the king. When this distinction is made, and it is not always made by any means, two goddesses are named, one

¹⁷³ Utt. 269 § 381.

¹⁷⁴ Utt. 302 § 458;

¹⁷⁵ Utt. 412 § 729; 554 § 1370; 582 § 1566; 675 § 2003.

¹⁷⁶ Utt. 422 § 820.

¹⁷⁷ Utt. 422 § 820; 650 § 1835.

¹⁷⁸ Utt. 470 §§ 910-911.

¹⁷⁹ Utt. 721 § 2242.

¹⁸⁰ Utt. 508 § 1108.

¹⁸¹ Utt. 508 § 1111.

¹⁸² Utt. 508 § 1118.

¹⁸³ Utt. 571 § 1469.

¹⁸⁴ Utt. 703 § 2204.

¹⁸⁵ Utt. 667C § 1952.

¹⁸⁶ Utt. 704 § 2206.

¹⁸⁷ Utt. 704 § 2206.

who conceives and one who gives birth to the king. For examples, in Utterance 511 § 1154, Isis conceived the king and Nephthys begat or gave birth to the king. In Utterance 704 § 2206, Sakhmet conceived and Shezmetet bore the king. A linguistic distinction between conception and birth was not an unusual one for the Egyptians to have made; the allocation of each to separate goddesses, however, was. This would seem to be evidence for a method of deification similar to that of having deities for parents, siblings and offspring. It is not possible to have more than one woman involved physically in the process of carrying a child to term and giving birth to that child in the mundane world. The fact that it is conceived of as being possible in the afterlife, as shown by the above examples, indicates the necessity of associating deities with every moment of that process which was so dangerous to both mother and child. The difficulty with this and its use in the Pyramid Texts is the king arises from the dead as a man, presumably fully-grown. He has had his birth in the mundane world of a mundane mother. Reference to it, then, in the afterlife is evoked retroactively and apotropaically in justification for the king's deification in the afterlife. Apotropaics come in with the need to keep the king as sound, physically, as possible, and two divine birth-mothers, each involved intimately with the very act of childbirth, were a strong hedge against the possibility of harm in the afterlife.

It is interesting that while the identity of the king's parents was fluid, the identity of his siblings and offspring was less so. The identity of parentage was vital for the sake of the king's divinity; it provided him with the requisite divine

familial descent that gifted him with the proper inheritance that would allow him to remain in the company of the gods. The identity of siblings and offspring was of lesser importance with regard to divine legitimacy. That the king had divine sisters and, in one case, a divine brother, and a divine son was to be expected given the theological identity of the king's parents in the Pyramid Texts. A wide breadth of examples was not as necessary to prove the king's divinity when it came to siblings and sons. While it might be of benefit to the king in showing divine ancestry by naming a number of different goddesses and gods as mother and father, it might be of negligible benefit to do so with sisters and progeny. This is not to propose that the ancestry of the king's siblings and son were of no importance or worse, of no benefit to the king; rather, that the ancestry of these relations was self-evident, given the reputed divine procreation of the king. Horus is almost uniformly mentioned as the son of the king, generally in unambiguous terms¹⁸⁸. An interesting feature of the acknowledgement, or assertion, of the king as the father of Horus and hence, as Osiris, is the use of a parallel sentence structure in which the word 'son' or *š3* in one sentence is replaced with the name of Horus, as in the example following:

I come to you, for I am your son; I come to you, for I am Horus. (Utt. 674 § 1994)¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Utts. 20 § 11; 21 § 13; 63 § 44; 106 § 69; 173 § 101; 179 § 103; 214 § 137 (?); 247 §§ 257, 261; 356 § 578; 371 § 650; 482 § 1007; 510 § 1129; 540 § 1331; 541 § 1334; 542 § 1335; 606 § 1683; 608 § 1702; 641 § 1813; 645 § 1824; 665 § 1898; 670 § 1976; 670 §§ 1976, 1979, 1980; 674 § 1994.

¹⁸⁹ Other examples of this type of sentence structure using the king's son and the name of Horus are found in Utts. 106 § 69; 482 § 1007; 510 §§ 1128-9; 540 § 1331; 606 § 1683; 641 § 1813; 665 § 1898; 670 § 1976.

This use of immediately allusory sentences serves to establish the idea of the son of the king as Horus. This is how the son, the new king, was viewed on earth by his subjects: he is filled with the essence of Horus. The assumption of that essence occurred as a result of the assumption by his father of the essence of Osiris who was, indeed, the very embodiment of Osiris as the king in the afterlife.

A daughter was bestowed upon the king in only one instance - Utt. 670 § 1977 - and she is not named but rather referred to as "your (i.e. the king's) eldest daughter who is in *Kdm*". Other children of the king are alluded to as 'offspring'. Once the unnamed offspring is called the "dawn-light"¹⁹⁰; the rest of the references are to the "morning star"¹⁹¹. Whether we are to assume that these entities are feminine or masculine in gender is unanswerable, and therefore, for our purposes, they remain genderless.

The siblings of the king were sisters and much less often and with much greater ambiguity, brothers. In an investigation into the identity of the siblings of the king, it is necessary to mention first the tenuous grasp we have on Egyptian kinship terms. The most obvious example of our vague understanding is the use of the term 'sister' in the love poetry of the New Kingdom from P. Harris¹⁹² and P. Chester Beatty I¹⁹³. The term *s3t*, or 'sister', is used in the love poems in situations in which we would expect the word 'lover' or more colloquially, 'girlfriend', to appear; however, the term for 'sister' is used

¹⁹⁰ Utt. 263 § 341.

¹⁹¹ Utts. 265 § 357; 473 §§ 929, 925; 481 § 1001; 507 § 1104; 609 § 1707.

¹⁹² Budge, 1923, pls. 41-46.

throughout, rendering the poems seemingly incestuous to the unwitting reader. When a strict meaning for the term 'sister' is eliminated, in other words when the association of familial bond is removed, the poems become love poetry of a more regular sort. The term 'sister', then, in Egyptian would seem to mean not simply a woman or girl borne of the same mother's body as a male but in a wider sense, a female with whom one, here a male, has a close, if not intimate, bond. Evidence for a non-familial use of 'sister' in female relationships is not available; however, it is not unlikely that the same breadth of meaning for 'sisters' was applied equally in male-female and in female-female relationships.

The sisters of the king were generally named as Isis¹⁹⁴ and Nephthys¹⁹⁵; however, Sothis was also well-represented in the corpus as a sister of the dead king¹⁹⁶, and the Lady of Pe, and the Celestial Serpent¹⁹⁷ were mentioned as sisters of the king as well. Having a number of different sisters is, of course, within the bounds of possibility, unlike having a number of different fathers and mothers. It is usually true, however, in the Texts that mention of Isis and Nephthys as sisters of the dead king, the Osiris king, is found within an allusion to the myth of the death of Osiris. The two deities wailed in human form or as kites flying around the dead god's body¹⁹⁸ and they collected the parts of the murdered god

¹⁹³ Gardiner, 1931.

¹⁹⁴ Utts. 4 § 31; 42 § 32; 356 § 577; 366 § 628; 535 §§ 1281-1282; 593 § 1630; 670 § 1981; 691B § 2127; 701 § 2192.

¹⁹⁵ Utts. 5 § 3; 356 § 577; 366 § 628; 535 §§ 1281-1282; 593 § 1630; 670 § 1981; 691B § 2127; 701 § 2192.

¹⁹⁶ Utts. 263 § 341; 265 § 357; 266 § 363; 473 § 929; 509 § 1123; 609 § 1707; 691A § 2126.

¹⁹⁷ Lady of Pe - Utts. 258 § 308; 259 § 313.

Celestial Serpent - Utt. 690 § 2103.

¹⁹⁸ Utts. 535 §§ 1280-1; 701 § 2192-3.

and made the god healthy once again¹⁹⁹. In these allusions, the king is not merely the Osiris king of the Texts but he *is* Osiris participating in the allusion to his death and discovery of his body. At work in Utterance 535 §§ 1280-1 is the parallel sentence structure mentioned above with reference to the son of the king.

So said Isis and Nephthys: The one who screeches comes, the kite comes, namely Isis and Nephthys; they have come seeking their brother Osiris, seeking their brother the king.

In this Utterance portion, the sentence containing the name of Osiris came first, before that containing the title of king, unlike the example referred to earlier, in which the 'son' came before 'Horus'. Regardless of the order, the same principle of parallel sentence structure was in operation in the example directly above. The fact of alliance was found in the exact similarity of sentence structure and wording rather than in the order of persons named. The king is allied with Osiris by means of Isis and Nephthys seeking the two of them, i.e. the king and Osiris, as one entity.

Finally, the brothers of the king in the afterlife need some discussion. It was noted above that brothers of the king were mentioned much less frequently than were sisters or other family of the king, and that when they were mentioned, it was with great ambiguity. Given the relative silence on the matter of brothers in the Pyramid Texts, perhaps it is not a coincidence that in what narrative myth remains the only family member from whom Osiris suffered harm was his brother, Seth. Logically, if the king was assumed to have entered

¹⁹⁹ Utts. 366 § 628; 670 § 1981.

the afterlife and the realm of deities full of the essence of Osiris, then a potential for danger from Seth might have been expected. Keeping specific and frequent mention of brothers of the king out of the Pyramid Texts was one way of lessening the threat of danger to the king from Seth. As mentioned earlier, Seth is mentioned only once as the brother of the king²⁰⁰, although it is to be expected that if the king is Osiris in the afterlife then Seth would be his brother therein, and even in this one instance, the relationship is not as clearly defined as can be found with the other blood members of the king's divine family. The threat of Seth is kept at a distance semantically by using language in a more circumspect manner than usual. The implication of fraternal bond is present but without the specification of such, the bond remains ambiguous and that much safer.

A HOLISTIC SENSE OF TEXT

From three such diverse themes as the identification of foundational myths within the Pyramid Texts, the insertion of the king into the afterlife by means of the Texts, and the divine familial connections of the king, some understanding of the Pyramid Texts as a holistic work is possible. The most important common feature of these themes is their presence throughout the entire corpus of Texts, an aspect that connects even disparate Utterances to one another by virtue of similar imagery. The foundational myths, in particular, provide the groundwork by means of which the Texts can be perceived in the

²⁰⁰ See above, p. 63, for the Utt..

form of an Egyptian mythic narrative. Their constancy as an image, or several images, give the interior drama of the Texts a spatial structure, a framework that allows for the possibilities of action without temporality. The movements, or what might even be called the performances, of the king and of the gods are timeless in the sense that they occur again and again in neverending repetition. Without the constraint of time, these performances adopt the substance of myth; they have no beginning or finale, hence they have always existed, and in the endless recurrence of these events, the Egyptians remain permanently within a mythic sphere while operating within a mundane world²⁰¹.

The language of the Texts provides for the operation of the king within the myth as a mythic character, as opposed to a mundane visitor to the heavens. By including him in the action of the Texts as an equal with the deities therein, he loses his mortality and substitutes divinity and immortality. Utterance 267 § 369 makes this explicit:

You mount up to the sky, you are far from the earth, far from wife and kilt.²⁰²

The king is no longer concerned with the affairs of mundane Egypt; rather, he is set as far apart from them as the Egyptians deemed possible, by his ascent to the sky. The term 'kilt' is intended to represent the royal office of kingship²⁰³ and the mention of the queen is used as a symbol of family and earthly existence. No

²⁰¹ This seems to me to be the very essence of the two notions of 'forever' - *nḥh* and *ḏt*.

²⁰² It is interesting that both the family and the royal office are mentioned as elements of the mundane life the king has put behind him in death.

²⁰³ See Faulkner, 1969, 76, fn. 3 to Utterance 267.

longer a part of the society and structure of the prosaic, the king becomes one of the invisible inhabitants of the sky, omnipresent and ever-present.

As a part of the myth, the king's body and being were necessarily whole, recognizably human and yet intrinsically divine. In the prosaic sense of a human body - head, ears, mouth, nose, trunk, two arms and legs - the king was still the acknowledged ruler of Egypt and perceived as an Egyptian. In the less-than-prosaic sense of an ascent into true divinity, the king was distinguished from the common Egyptian by containing within his body the essences of fellow divinities, essences that ensured synonymy of king and deity in the space of the heavens. Those instances in which the king adopts the outer form of various amalgamated deities or creatures, the human body of the king is set aside and the essences which fill that corporal entity are visible, emphasizing the vast difference between the common Egyptian and the now fully divine king.

The king's familial relations are very closely aligned with this sense of inner divinity and outer humanity again being used to indicate a familiar outer self, one having had an immediate family composed of mortal Egyptians, and an unfamiliar inner self, one having had an immediate family composed of various divinities. It is of fundamental importance to recognize that the human family of the king is royal and thus, at least partially imbued with divinity itself. In a sense, the mundane world of the reigning king which includes office of kingship and royal family parallels closely the divine world of the king in the afterlife; the primary difference is the king's situation in the afterlife. He is not the reigning god, but one of the pantheon. This may have been seen as an ascendance to

rightful place - one among equals - from the lesser company of mortals - first among equals. As has been seen, the corporal body of the king was seen by the Egyptians and acknowledged as the rightful heir to the throne of Osiris through the line of Horus, while the spiritual body of the king was perceived to be the reason for the acknowledgement. The 'ascent' into the heaven and into divinity was more of a sloughing off of the mortal coil and allowing the admission of the true and divine nature of the kingship, hence king.

These ongoing themes provide, in some sense, the body of the Texts. The various imageries, allusions, and mythic statements all work within this body to bring about the conclusion of the myth, the ascent of the king. Although that ascent is one of the foundational myths in itself, the quality of its mythic proportions outweighs those of the other foundational myths, the sky and the sun's journey through the sky. As has been noted above, the sky and the sun's journey exist without the king's ascent; hence, the myths inherent in the sky and the sun's journey are less immediate than that of the ascent. The king is absorbed into the sky and is perceived by human and deity alike as having reached a place of parity. He is acknowledged as an immediate member of the divine family, one in which the precise identity of the members is fluid, yet firmly celestial. The king's body, then, is suffused with aspects of divinity by incorporating into it different celestial constituents, making the royal body an amalgam of various gods and goddesses. The language of the Texts provides for these themes and completes the hierarchical aspect of space over time by giving the formless form. The spirituality inherent in the Texts is made explicit and

vivid by means of the language, a medium that solidifies and characterizes the religious funerary ideas and perceptions of the Egyptians while simultaneously furnishing the instrument of ascension for the deceased king.

The Pyramid Texts are, then, in themselves myth, and they can be defined as such without the criterion of narration. They provide for the king in accordance with the religious perception of the Egyptians and within such provision, they create a concrete sense of divine space and a corresponding sense of celestial inhabitation. The space and inhabitation, together with the inherent action, are progressive and continuous, without end. They all - space, inhabitation, action - exist in the same space as the sky above the Egypt that exists in the mundane world. In so doing, at the same time they inform and surround the mundane world of the Old Kingdom Egyptians with the afterlife and the presence of divinity, rendering an uninterrupted connection through both space and time to the mythic world of the Egyptian pantheon.

CHAPTER FOUR

Textual Placement in the Pyramids

INTRODUCTION

The Pyramid Texts worked in a two-fold manner within the epigraphic pyramids of Unas, Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, and Pepi II and his queens Neith, Apouit, and Oudjebten²⁰⁴ of the Vth and VIth Dynasties in the Old Kingdom. Through the use of mythic allusion, exhortation, spells of protection, and rituals of opening of the deceased's mouth, offering them food and clothing, and equipping them with various daggers or knife-like weapons, the content of the Texts helps make certain the ascent of the king or queen into the sky to join Re and the other gods in the sun-barque. This, however, fulfills only part of the complete function of the Texts. Hand in hand with the significance of the content is the placement of the Texts within the chambers and corridors.

With the particular content of each spell containing some measure of myth, the specific use of that portion of the spell in terms of placement remains to be assessed. This is often impossible to discern through an analysis of content alone. For example, there are numerous repetitive cycles that run through many of the spells, the use of reed-floats for travel through the sky being only one of

²⁰⁴ The Pyramid Texts of Aba will not be discussed. The First Intermediate Period date of his reign leaves his pyramid out of the framework of the Old Kingdom, but the near exact copy and placement of text in the queens' pyramids ensures that the information contained within his pyramid is represented. Jéquier, 1935, 5.

those²⁰⁵. How do we understand the apparent randomness of content and placement as pertains to these cycles? Is there some indication of their *raison d'être* to be found in an examination of placement and content together? The use of ferrying Texts and resurrection and ascension Texts in particular areas of the pyramids' chambers also raises similar questions²⁰⁶. Given the very specific goal of the Pyramid Texts, it seems probable that randomness was not a part of the epigraphic plan of the pyramids, either in terms of content or placement. A study of the mythic qualities of the architecture of temples²⁰⁷ shows clear evidence that every part of these sacred buildings, and by extension the entire religious process, was allusory in a mythic sense, something from which the Pyramid Texts were not exempt, despite their literary nature.

The later pyramids of the Vth and VIth Dynasties are less architecturally complex than the earlier pyramids of the IIIrd and IVth Dynasties. They are equipped with three rooms running east-west one after the other joined by short corridors, and a much longer corridor that runs north-south, leading to the entrance of the pyramid. The entrance corridor of each of the later kings' pyramids leads north to south²⁰⁸. In each of these pyramids, the corridor descends until it reaches a 'waiting' room (*Wartesaal* or *salle d'attente*, as they have been called by modern scholars²⁰⁹), through which it passes, continuing

²⁰⁵ These include the Osiris and Seth cycle (Utt. 218 § 162; 474 § 942; 477 §§ 957-959, among many others), the Horus and Seth cycle (Utt. 260 §§ 318-319; 393 § 679), and the reed-float cycle (Utt. 263-266, among others).

²⁰⁶ On the use of the ferry as a motif in the Pyramid Texts, see Roeder, 1993.

²⁰⁷ See Bell, 1985; David, 1982, 127-129; Raymond, 1969, among others.

²⁰⁸ Sethe, 1922, 116, 120, 125, 139, 146.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, 133.

horizontally until the antechamber is reached. The corridors, in every pyramid with the exception of Unas', has four portcullises; the first is located before the 'waiting' room and the last three are located after the 'waiting' room and before the antechamber. The kings' pyramids are equipped with three rooms – the anepigraphic serdab and the two rooms containing hieroglyphs, the antechamber and the funerary chamber, where the deceased was laid to rest. The queens' pyramids have only one room and thus "conflate ... the texts that occupied the more extensive substructures of the pharaonic tombs."²¹⁰

A certain amount of debate has been devoted to the 'correct' order in which to read the Texts: from the outside in or the inside out²¹¹. This debate originated in the belief that the Texts were read aloud by priests performing the funerary service and burial rituals, either coming into the pyramid down the corridor and into the epigraphic rooms, or exiting, having lain the deceased to rest. While attractive, the idea of priests reading the Texts as they proceeded down the corridor and into the antechamber, then the funerary chamber, must be seen as being romantic, at best. The architecture of the pyramids' interiors, the height of the entrance corridor in Unas being 1.295 m²¹² for example, make this an unrealistic vision. The rooms themselves are inscribed generally from the floor to the ceiling and to read or recite the Texts in the gables requires a ladder. Spiegel postulates that the corridor Texts would necessarily have been read

²¹⁰ Allen, 1986, 1-25.

²¹¹ See, for example, Allen, 1994, 16 in particular, Altenmüller, 1971, Barta, 1981, or Spiegel, 1972, 18-32.

²¹² Labrousse, 1996, 28.

outside, due to the physical restrictions of height²¹³, a suggestion not without superficial allure, but also with attendant difficulties. As will be seen, the entrance corridor Texts are resurrection and ascension Texts, together with some ferrying spells, exactly the types of text that would be essential to send the king's spirit and soul skyward. To have such Texts performed outside the pyramid's entrance would undoubtedly serve to aid in that essential ascent.

The objection to this suggestion is found in another hypothesis put forward by Spiegel and expanded upon by Allen²¹⁴, that the three chambers inside the pyramids represent the journey of the king to the sky going from the mundane earth in the funerary chamber through the antechamber and into the sky represented by the serdab²¹⁵. The connection between the representational space of the inner chambers and the Texts in the entrance corridor read outside by priests, however, seems tenuous; it is unclear how the Texts inside the chambers would have been expected to work if they were read aloud once at the kings' burial and then were silent, or how the ascension and resurrection Texts in the entrance corridor aided the kings' journey unless they were included in a daily ritual in the valley temple, something for which there is, unfortunately, no evidence.

Negative evidence is not to be scorned; however, in this case, another hypothesis, namely that of a holistic group of Texts used as a Mobius-like group, can be put forth that addresses these concerns. The notion of reading the Texts,

²¹³ Spiegel, 1971, 17.

²¹⁴ Allen, 1994.

²¹⁵ Spiegel, 1971, 22.

beginning either from the entrance corridor or the funerary chamber, is one that has meaning for the priests of the funerary ritual only. The deceased, on the other hand, is not led from either direction in a clear and concise manner, something that would be expected if we accept the nature of the Pyramid Texts as a sort of handbook for celestial ascension. As will be seen, a sense of continuity from Text to Text and chamber to corridor to chamber is often impossible to discern. The fact that arguments have been made for either direction is an indication that the direction was irrelevant. The 'handbook' was for the use of the king, and was meant to be used as a whole with the Texts serving to surround the king with magic and protection and advise.

Despite difficulties with the connection between Spiegel's theories, the hypothesis regarding the representational inner (chamber) space of the pyramids is an interesting one. Spiegel notes that the two corridors between the ante- and funerary chambers and between the antechamber and the serdab are of varying heights, the corridor into the funerary chamber being slightly higher than that into the serdab. This, he postulates, is an architectural image of the concept that the sky ought to be difficult to enter²¹⁶. The antechamber contains Texts of all types – protective, resurrection, ascension, ferrying, all of which would be necessary for an intermediary area in which the king would manage the ascent to the sky. How, exactly, the serdab works in this is unanswered by Spiegel. Being without Texts makes this space particularly vulnerable to evil and dangerous influences. It seems out of character for the Egyptians to leave a space meant to

²¹⁶ Ibid, 22-23.

stand in for the sky, arguably the most important area in the Egyptian religious geography, without any kind of protection whatsoever. Protection for the dead king is found on the east wall of the antechamber, that wall containing the doorway into the serdab, and so he is safe from the dangers that inhabit the serdab. This is not the case for the serdab itself. Reconciliation of the idea of the serdab as the sky and the fact that the chamber is dangerously anepigraphic is difficult, if not impossible. The main thrust of Spiegel's hypothesis is the ritual, rather than the mythic, nature of the Texts. To that end, the notion of mythic content is irrelevant. The corpus of Texts, however, was mythically homogeneous and that homogeneity must be considered in a discussion of the Texts and the pyramids that housed them.

There can be delineated from the content of the Pyramid Texts three foundational myths: the myth of the sky, the myth of the sun's journey through the sky, and the myth of the king's ascension to the sky. These form the basis of the Texts, and provide the king with the means by which he will accomplish the task of joining his ancestors in the sun-barque. The foundational myths are not immediately apparent in the body of the Texts, being rarely even alluded to; however, they are indispensable to the functioning of the Texts for the king. The fact that evidence of these myths can be found throughout the entire corpus of Pyramid Texts indicates a strong sense of homogeneity in that corpus, a sense that the Texts were meant to be used as a whole, each Utterance as important and intrinsic to the smooth transfer of the king from mundane corpse to supernatural entity.

As far as the deceased was concerned, the Texts were locked into the open inner area of the pyramid, creating a space that, with the exception of the always anepigraphic serdab, was protected on all five sides (including the floor) by Texts and sheltered from above by the presence of a starred sky cut in relief on the ceiling. This provided the deceased with an area in which he / she could move with impunity. The serdab, being without the aid of any type of textual protection, was open to the intrusion of pernicious influences; placing Texts of protective content around such a potentially dangerous entrance, one that led deeper into the pyramid and closer to the vulnerable king, worked to surround the deceased with buffers of protection²¹⁷.

Of all eight textual pyramids, only Unas' and Neith's are preserved well enough to provide, with certainty, placement of the Texts. A considerable amount of work has been done on the Texts in the other pyramids, with Sethe's collation and translation of all contemporarily available Texts from the kings' pyramids²¹⁸, and the work done into the 1990s by Jéquier²¹⁹, Garnot²²⁰, Leclant²²¹, and Lauer²²² on new Texts uncovered in new and renewed excavations of the VIth Dynasty pyramids; however, despite the considerable expertise these scholars developed in determining placement and content of the Texts on the destroyed walls, there are inevitably areas that cannot be reconstructed due to the minuscule size of the remaining pieces, the lack thereof or the desperately

²¹⁷ Leclant, 1985, 301.

²¹⁸ Sethe, 1908; 1910; 1922.

²¹⁹ Jéquier, 1928; 1933; 1935.

²²⁰ Garnot, 1949; 1956; 1958.

²²¹ Leclant, 1975; 1977; 1979; 1982; 1982a; 1984; 1984a; 1985; 1985a; 1985b; 1986; 1988.

²²² Lauer, 1971-72/1972-73.

ruinous state of the rooms themselves. The two main rooms of Teti are known to have been inscribed, through epigraphic remnants, but the rooms themselves have largely been destroyed by 'excavators' of the fine granite and limestone for re-use elsewhere²²³. As a result of the incomplete state of the Pyramid Texts in the VIth Dynasty pyramids, Unas' pyramid has often been used as the paradigm for placement and content of the Texts in the later pyramids, with the assumption that the other textual pyramids had much the same content and placement of Texts as Unas²²⁴. There are a large number of Texts in the later pyramids not found in Unas' corpus, however, including those found in the entrance corridor. The use of Unas as the paradigm is not without some justification, but the existence of the numerous entrance corridor Texts in most of the VIth Dynasty pyramids, and only very few Texts in Unas, could be possible evidence toward a shift in theological ideology. The presence of Texts in the corridors could very well indicate a sense of urgency regarding the ascent of the king or a new view of the role of the entrance corridor as a method of ascent²²⁵. Such changes indicate that to a certain degree, at any rate, the choice of textual placement was idiosyncratic and, likely, not without subjectivity.

The Utterances in the Pyramid Texts begin (physically) in the entrance corridor and carry through into the antechamber and the funerary chamber. According to Sethe's numbering, the wall Texts begin with Utt. 23 § 16 in the

²²³ Lauer, 1991, 60.

²²⁴ See, for example, Osing, 1986, 131 or Altenmüller, 1971.

²²⁵ The existence of so many corridor texts in the VIth Dynasty pyramids may equally have been a case of royal ego.

funerary chamber and end with Utt. 759 § 2291²²⁶. Not every pyramid has a copy of each spell on its walls; in fact, this is far from the case. Even the Texts in Unas' paradigmatic pyramid number only from Utt. 1 to Utt. 321, or somewhat less than half the full corpus of 759. These, and others included in the corpus of only one pyramid, represent a group either not chosen from an original hieratic corpus²²⁷ or not yet written for inclusion in that body of Texts. New Texts, and new versions of old ones, were regularly added to the complete corpus by Garnot²²⁸ and Leclant²²⁹. The later pyramids, those of the VIth Dynasty (Pepi II and Pepi II's queens), contain Texts from the entire group of 759, although they are generally not in the same order as those in Unas. It must be kept in mind that the system used for collation of the Texts is an artificial numbering system that is entirely based on which direction Sethe understood the Texts to have been read. The fact that Pepi I's pyramid, for example, contains a different group of spells by number is irrelevant to the investigation into the mythic elements of said group. This study begins with the spells in the entrance corridor simply because they provide the first textual evidence as one enters the pyramid.

²²⁶ The first texts, Uts. 1-22 are sarcophagus texts, and have been left out of this investigation.

²²⁷ Hayes, 1937, 11; Thompson, 1990, 20. See also Leclant, 1986, 418 in which Leclant notes finding a number of papyri in the section south of the private temple of Pepi I, among which was one particularly important document. This document consists of two pages on which were written §§ 2096-2101 and §§ 155-159 of the Pyramid Texts in 'an elegant hieratic hand.' These two texts are frequently included in groups of Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom.

²²⁸ Garnot, 1956; 1958; 1961.

²²⁹ Leclant, 1982; 1983, 3.

ENTRANCE CORRIDOR TEXTS

As noted above, the pyramids of Pepi I, Merenre, and Pepi II have a much larger number of Texts in the entrance corridor than does Unas²³⁰. In Pepi I's pyramid, the Texts begin in the corridor before the first portcullis; in the other two pyramids, the Texts begin after that portcullis. The 'waiting' rooms and corridors leading into the antechambers in all three pyramids are epigraphic, until just before the entrance to the antechamber. This area of the wall is only inscribed in Unas and Pepi II, and in Unas, it is the only portion of the corridor wall inscribed at all²³¹. With some anomalous Texts from Unas and Merenre²³², and some repetitions from the chamber Texts, the Texts in Pepi II's pyramid corridor were given numbers from 501 to 587. The Texts in Merenre are much the same²³³ with a similar number of anomalies²³⁴. Those in Pepi II's pyramid, again, are similar to the Texts in both Pepi I and Merenre²³⁵. Ascension Texts, ferrying Texts, spells from the resurrection ritual and from the offering ritual, and spells of protection are among the most prevalent types of text. In all, each of these collections provides a representative 'micro-content' of the Texts within the pyramids' chambers²³⁶.

²³⁰ Teti's pyramid entrance corridor is anepigraphic. Sethe, 1922, 120.

²³¹ Labrousse, 1996, 28.

²³² The anomalies are Utts. 206, 266, 269, 271, 307, 322-333, 348-351, 353, 357, 359, 401-405, 474, and 697.

²³³ The primary Utts. here are 269, 306, 323, 504-507, 510, 521-523, 525-531, 555, 558-560, 563, 565, 569-570, 572-573, and 583.

²³⁴ The anomalies are Utts. 606-619.

²³⁵ These Utts. are 306, 359, 486, 504, 506, 507, 511, 512, 515-519, 521-523, 525-529, 530-532, 555, 556, 562-564, 565, 566-568, 573, 583, 606-608, 610-612, 617, and 619. The anomalies are Utts. 697-703.

²³⁶ For the particulars of placement, see Appendix A.

Many of the entrance corridor Texts are found in different places in the various pyramids' corridors. For example, Utt. 697 §§ 2169-2175 appears on the south wall of the 'waiting' room in Pepi I's pyramid, while in Pepi II's pyramid, it is found on the west wall of the corridor leading from the portcullises to the antechamber. This spell is one that calls upon the king to resurrect and take his place in the barque of the sun. The king is warned not to travel on the western waterways, but rather to keep to the eastern ones (§ 2175); this is presumably because the sun rises daily in the east. The rising of the sun was a sign of renewed (and repeating) life and one in keeping with the general theme of resurrection in the spell. Another example, Utt. 269 §§ 376-382, is found both on the east wall of Pepi I's 'waiting' room and on the west wall of the corridor from the 'waiting' room to the portcullises of Merenre's pyramid; it is concerned with lighting incense for the gods and the king's ascent thereby, and ends with a short prayer to Ipy, a hippopotamus goddess, requesting that she give her breast to the king so that he might never hunger again in the afterlife (§§ 381-382). These two examples are fairly representative of the kinds of Texts found throughout the entrance corridors. They are examples of a resurrection text and an ascension text, respectively, and their differing placement in separate pyramids indicates what might be a certain notion of inclusiveness throughout the entrance corridors.

Only rarely are the same Texts found on the same walls from pyramid to pyramid. When such a phenomenon does occur, it is generally (although not always) the Texts of Merenre and Pepi II that concur in number and placement.

This does not mean, however, that an entire group of spells is repeated exactly on the same wall of each pyramid; rather, a small number of Texts, or even individual spells, are repeated. The west wall of the corridor running from the portcullises to the antechamber is a good example of this: the Texts inscribed on this wall in Merenre's pyramid are Utts. 521-523, 526-531, 607 and 608, and Pepi II's wall includes Utts. 521-523, 525-528, 530-531, 607 and 608. While the two lists of Texts are nearly identical, the list here for Pepi II's corridor wall is not inclusive and contains a number of other spells. These spells are also found, almost *in toto* (Utts. 515-533), on the west wall of the corridor from the 'waiting' room to the portcullises in Pepi I's pyramid. The collections of the later pyramids have been chosen to coincide, more or less, with those in Pepi I, with some deletions and alternate selections having taken place, perhaps in an attempt to individualize the Texts while still appearing to follow in the footsteps of a predecessor. These differences help illuminate the individual, seemingly idiosyncratic nature of each of the corpuses in the various pyramids and at the same, they are the exceptions that prove the rule.

The first part of the entrance corridor that is inscribed is in Pepi I's pyramid, a descending passageway leading to the first portcullis. Only the east wall is inscribed and that with only one text, Utt. 587 §§ 1587-1606. This is primarily a hymn to Egypt; the land in the form of the Eye of Horus is requested to lift the king into the sky and into a commensurate position therein, following which the king requests in the same language the same actions on his own

behalf. The king is aligned with Horus, as the living embodiment of the Egyptian kingship, and it is this alignment upon which the requests are based.

The portion of the entrance corridor between the first portcullis and the 'waiting' room is, again, inscribed only in Pepi I's pyramid; the only other possible epigraphic pyramid corridor, Merenre's, at this point is so ruined as to render it impossible to tell whether it contained Texts or not. Pepi I's Texts here comprise mainly ascension Texts in different forms: a purification text (Utt. 325), an 'admonishing' text directed at the gods (Utt. 569), and those declaring the king's right to ascension and right to presence in the sky (Utt. 584-586). The only other text on this wall, Utt. 570 §§ 1443-1465, is a long ascension text employing a number of different literary techniques. From §§ 1444 to 1448, for example, the text is one in which the same sentence is repeated, requesting a number of different gods to listen to the king, gods including Kheprer (§ 1445), Nu (§ 1446), and Atum (§ 1447). After this, with the exception of § 1453, the text proceeds without repetitious sentence structure.

THE WAITING ROOM

The next epigraphic area in the entrance corridor is the 'waiting' room. The north and south walls of this room in each pyramid are equipped with doorways through which the corridor runs, the south wall doorway leading deeper into the pyramid and the north wall leading out. The north wall in Pepi I's 'waiting' room is too destroyed to provide any information; the south wall,

however, provides us with a number of Texts. The north, south, and east walls of Merenre's pyramid are inscribed, while the west wall has the same problem as Pepi I's north wall, any Texts having fallen prey to destruction of one kind or another. Pepi II's 'waiting' room's west wall, as with Merenre's, has been destroyed, while the south, north and east walls are inscribed.

The Texts found on the south wall provide an amalgam of resurrection, ascension, and protection Texts, and are inscribed in a rather narrow area around the doorway itself. They vary considerably between Pepi I (Uts. 539-552), Merenre (Uts. 610-612) and Pepi II (Utt. 556), with the only protection spells being found on Pepi I's wall. Those spells are significantly different from the protection spells surrounding the entrance into the serdab in the antechamber. While the majority of the antechamber protection Texts are aimed at mundane dangers such as snakes and bulls, the Texts on the south wall of Pepi I's 'waiting' room are specifically directed at supernatural dangers, with particular reference to the possibility of harm from Seth. Utterance 541 makes specific mention of this and the need to protect the king. As someone who had previously guarded the king, Horus is mentioned here again in this capacity. In the rest of the 'supernatural' protection Texts (Uts. 542-545), this theme is reiterated, omitting the name of Seth but alluding to him as the one who killed (or would kill) the king. It is interesting that resurrection and ascension Texts follow these protection spells, and when read consecutively, provide a 'snapshot' of the journey after dangers have been made impotent. The Texts on this wall in the other pyramids are resurrection and ascension Texts, with no apparent need to

avert danger. The text on Pepi II's south 'waiting' room wall, a resurrection spell, is only represented by a small piece of inscribed block left in situ above the door²³⁷. Merenre's south wall Texts are resurrection Texts.

The north wall, where one might again expect protection spells, and perhaps with greater justification given the anepigraphic status of the corridors leading in to the 'waiting' rooms from the north in Merenre's and Pepi II's pyramids, also contains spells of resurrection and ascension, although the most prevalent type here is ascension. Merenre's wall contains Utts. 306 and 618-619; Pepi II's contains Utts. 562, 564, 582, and 702-703. It is possible that this small room was too far away from the antechamber and the funerary chamber to be dangerous enough to warrant spells of protection to be put around its entrance and exit. In between the 'waiting' room and the main chambers of the pyramid, after all, were three massive granite²³⁸ portcullises that would presumably have been in place to prevent the entry of those pernicious influences.

The east wall of each pyramids' 'waiting' room contains a number of the same Texts, with fourteen Texts (Utts. 553-570) found in varying measures of entirety as a group. Pepi I's wall is in situ only in the southern portion of the wall and that portion is inscribed with Utts. 271 and 553-561. Merenre's east wall has only the last 48 columns remaining, including in those lines Utts. 555, 569-570, 572, and 613-616. The east wall in Pepi II's 'waiting' room contains only a portion in situ, almost 1 m wide, near the south end against the ceiling²³⁹. The

²³⁷ Sethe, 1922, 159.

²³⁸ Labrousse, 1996, 27.

²³⁹ Utts. 306, 566-568, 610-612, 617, 619, and 698-701.

Texts on that portion, as with those on the north wall, are primarily resurrection and ascension spells with some purification Texts included.

The sole pyramid in which the west wall is in situ is Pepi I's pyramid and there only the southern portion of the wall next to the south wall remains. It is inscribed with a miscellany of resurrection and ascension Texts, and spells asserting the king's right of presence in the sky²⁴⁰.

The west and east walls of the corridor between the 'waiting' room and the first of the portcullises of Pepi I's and Pepi II's pyramids are inscribed, as is the west wall of Merenre's corridor. The east wall of Merenre is in too ruined a condition to provide textual data. The west wall of Pepi I's corridor is inscribed with ferrying Texts, those that either request or demand ferrying across a body of water that is never named (Utt. 266, 515-533). The ferrymen themselves are generally named as those assigned to specific bodies of water, or marshes – the ferryman of the Field of Offerings (Utt. 518 § 1193), the Field of *p3't*-land (Utt. 516 § 1183), or the Field of Rushes (Utt. 517 § 1188). Although bodies of water are not named as needing crossing themselves, the goal of the ferrying is mentioned, as in Utt. 520 in which the king desires to cross to "that side on which are the Imperishable Stars" (§ 1222). The west wall of Merenre, in situ only for 31 columns in the north part against the entrance to the 'waiting' room, contains only one ferrying text, the rest of the Texts being concerned, rather, with ascension and resurrection²⁴¹. The sole ferrying text, Utt. 609, uses the imagery of ferrying as a means to the end of ascension, rather than to the end of travel

²⁴⁰ Uts. 269, 307, 359, 562-583.

through the sky, as found on Pepi I's wall. The west wall of Pepi II's corridor, with Texts remaining only on the south part of the wall next to the first of the portcullises, contains one text in which the king is identified with various inhabitants of the sky (including the sons of Horus²⁴²) and one text that is primarily an ascension text²⁴³.

The east wall of this portion of the entrance corridor continues the same themes of ascension and resurrection – Pepi I's wall has Utts. 357, 534-538, and Pepi II's has Utts. 359, 532 twice, and 573. The group of Texts on each wall (i.e. Pepis I and II), however, also contains at least one text that makes specific mention and use of the imagery of Osiris' death at the hands of Seth, the discovery of his body by Isis and Nephthys, and the mourning that resulted. The text on Pepi I's wall is Utt. 535 and that on Pepi II's wall is Utt. 532. Utterance 534 on Pepi I's wall is a protective spell of the 'supernatural' kind. Various deities are exhorted, in the third person, not to arrive in "their evil coming"²⁴⁴. The king, in turn, is warned not to "open his arms to them"²⁴⁵ and finally, the deities are sent to other locations. This type of protective spell, noted among the group of the south wall of Pepi I's 'waiting' room, is not specifically directed at an earthly danger and therefore, is not strictly speaking a spell of protection for the body of the deceased. Rather, it is meant to protect that part of the king that ascends to the sky.

²⁴¹ Utts. 269, 558-560, 565, and 609.

²⁴² Utt. 506.

²⁴³ Utt. 606.

²⁴⁴ From § 1267 *passim*.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

The corridor past the portcullises in all three pyramids is inscribed on both the west and the east walls, up to approximately one and a half metres before the entrance into the antechamber. From there, as was noted above, this part is inscribed only in Unas' and Pepi II's pyramids. Pepi I's corridor's west wall is inscribed with Utts. 322, 333, and 510-514, Merenre's with 323, 504-507, 521-522, 525-531, 563, and 606-608, and Pepi II's with Utts. 507, 512, 521-523, 525-528, 530-531, 555, 563, 607-608, and 697. The east wall of Pepi I has Utts. 323, 503-509, the east wall of Merenre has Utts. 510, 515-520, 573, and Pepi II's east wall has Utts. 486, 515-519, and 565. The Texts in Pepi II's corridor in the same area as in Unas' corridor are found on the west wall and contain Utts. 504 and 511.

The entrance corridor to Unas' pyramid chambers contains Utts. 313-321, found abutting the door to the antechamber. The two Utterances closest to the door leading into the antechamber are 313 and 318. Utterance 313 §§ 502-503 is on the west wall of the entrance corridor and begins with the drawing back of the doorbolt, the "phallus of Babi"²⁴⁶ (§ 502). Once the drawing back has been accomplished, the doors of the sky are open and a fiery heat comes out. Next, the king is directly aligned with Horus through the use of apposition²⁴⁷, and lastly, the king is allowed to pass on the now-opened road, "the king being Horus" (§ 503). The purpose of this particular spell is clearly to ensure that the door into the chambers of the pyramid is open when the king needs entrance. The fact that

²⁴⁶ It is clear from another reference in the texts that Babi's form is that of a baboon (Utt. 549 § 1349). See Derchain, 1952, 26-29.

²⁴⁷ 'As Horus does [something], so does the king do [something],' is a common and frequent example of apposition. The use of this literary technique is not simply to compare the king with whichever god is named; it is meant to show that the king inhabits the god's being. Whatever the god does, the king does because the king IS that god.

it is not meant for exit lies in its very position in the pyramid, outside the primary epigraphic chambers. Once the doors are closed, there is no accompanying spell on the inside requesting the retraction of the inner doorbolt.

Utterance 318 §§ 511-512, on the east wall of the entrance corridor, is unrelated to either exiting or entering through a door. As Faulkner notes in his translation of the Pyramid Texts, Utt. 318 exists in three versions, one in Unas and two in Teti²⁴⁸. These versions are similar to each other in general content but differ in detail. Generally they pronounce the king a serpent who swallowed his seven uraei so that they would become his seven neck vertebrae. They mention the bringing of myrrh to the king and then they end with a declaration of the king as ruler over the gods. Specifically, they all mention the mythic element of the king's / serpent's uraei and neck vertebrae, while the second text of Teti is myrrh-less. Other than differences in wording, there is little else to distinguish the two versions from one another. In the first section of each version, the king, also called here the Bull of the Ennead, has been given the power to order the Seven Enneads through the act of swallowing the uraei²⁴⁹. Through this mythological means, the king has been given divine and magical rights over powerful groups of gods, including the right to give them orders. The right to give orders to deities is one that ensures the place of the king in the social hierarchy of the sky, no doubt similar to that in mortal Egypt.

²⁴⁸ Faulkner, 1969, 100. The text in Teti's pyramid is found in the antechamber on the east wall.

²⁴⁹ The traditional number of the Enneads is nine; however, the number of Enneads here is undoubtedly named to coincide with the number of vertebrae, i.e. seven.

The rest of the Utterances on both sides of Unas' corridor are concerned with the ascent of the king into the sky. On the west wall, following Utt. 313, are Uths. 314-317. The east wall continues from Utt. 318 to 321. Both the west and the east wall Utterances provide little apparent coherence of thought from one to the next. Utterance 315 § 506 addresses baboons (*l'n* and *p3t*²⁵⁰) and a hyaena, assuredly celestial creatures as opposed to those of the earth, and Utt. 316 § 506 calls upon *hmi*²⁵¹ and the *šhd*-star to take the king to the sky.

The west and east walls in this portion of the entrance corridor in Pepi I, Merenre and Pepi II are inscribed with ascension, resurrection, and ferrying Texts. These corridor walls share a number of the same Texts which run from around 503 to 531. For example, Utt. 323, a 'lustration' text, a type of text in which the king's body is cleansed or rubbed by the gods, occurs on the west wall of Merenre near the portcullises and occurs on the east wall of Pepi I next to the portcullises.

Mythic Elements of the Entrance Corridors

It has been noted previously that mythic, and narrative, continuity seemed unnecessary for the ancient Egyptians. What took over in place of those elements was continuity of allusion. In searching for mythic elements in the entrance corridor Texts, it is of greater importance to begin looking at similarity

²⁵⁰ These animals are not named, thus it is impossible to know if Babi (see fn. 29) is intended; however, one of the appearance of Babi in the Pyramid Texts calls him the bull of the baboons, *k3*

of mythic reference, rather than to look for narrative similarity. Mythically speaking, the Texts in the pyramid corridors of Pepi I, Merenre, and Pepi II give considerable room for thought. Beginning with the south wall of the 'waiting' room, the Texts are, for the most part, ascension or resurrection Texts. Three short spells on the wall of Pepi I's room are protection spells (Utt. 549-551). Two spells on this wall are Texts matching parts of the king's body with deities and divine barques – Utt. 539 §§ 1303-1327 and 610 §§ 1710-1723. Despite this similarity, they differ in terms of general intent; Utt. 539 is an ascension text, while Utt. 610 is a resurrection text. The various royal body parts of Utt. 539 seem to have little relation with the divine aspects with which they are matched. The king's face is Wepwawet, an epithet of Anubis and a minor deity in its own right (§ 1304), his nose is Thoth (§ 1305), his heart is Bastet (§ 1310), his shoulders are Seth (§ 1309) and so on. Whatever the affiliation the king's shoulders might have with Seth, or his nose with Thoth or heart with Bastet, is not explained. It is possible that they had no strict affiliation with one another, that they were simply chosen at random with the understanding that any sort of divine affiliation allowed the king to participate in the celestial realm.

The Texts on the north wall of the 'waiting' room, from Merenre and Pepi II only, range again from ascension Texts²⁵² to spells of resurrection²⁵³ to several that defy either ascension or resurrection categorization²⁵⁴. Geb, in Utt. 306 §§

l'rw (Utt. 320 § 516).

²⁵¹ For a definition of *Hmi*, WB III, 82, 2 gives only "ein Wesen am Himmel."

²⁵² Utt. 306, 562, 582, 583, and 702.

²⁵³ Utt. 619 and 703.

²⁵⁴ Utt. 564, 617, and 618.

476-481, has prepared the way for the king by acting on the king's behalf "very much like the way in which things are done for him"²⁵⁵ (§ 477), referring, perhaps, to a particular process through which the king must go in order to enter heaven unimpeded. Utterance 562 §§ 14-5-1407, on the other hand, while also an ascension text, uses imagery of the king at the head of the gods. The Eye of Horus is mentioned as belonging to the gods²⁵⁶ and it is stated that it will not be given to the rage of Seth, whose name is spelled, as usual, without a determinative. This is a reference to the battle for the throne of Osiris by Horus and Seth, as well as a reference to the inherently dangerous and menacing character of Seth²⁵⁷.

Utterance 582 §§ 1558-1567, the third ascension text in the group, is quite explicit, as far as Pyramid Texts go, concerning the programme the king will follow once he has risen to the throne in the sky. Having gone to Horus for a magic word by means of which Horus caused Osiris to rise, the king assumes the power of movement and flight and flies skyward to take the throne.

"He sits upon his heavenly²⁵⁸ throne, his sceptre being in his heavenly hand. He lifts his hand to the children of their fathers and they stand. He lowers his hand to them and they sit" (§§ 1562-1563).

"N summons to a thousand. The sun-folk come to him, bowing" (§ 1565).

²⁵⁵ *ir.n n.f Gb mi kd lry n.f im*

²⁵⁶ The 'you' is plural in the original, prompting Faulkner to postulate that it refers to the gods. Faulkner, 1969, 218 (Utt. 562, n. 4).

²⁵⁷ See te Velde, 1967, *passim*; LÄV, 909-910; Hart, 1986, 195-196.

²⁵⁸ Faulkner, 1981 translates this word, *bt*, as iron, but I can see no reason for this. The word has a number of meanings, most of which have something to do with mining, minerals, and metals, or the heavens, or wonders and marvels. A meaning of 'heavenly' or even 'marvellous' fits this use of the word more than adequately.

These are actions that a king might make to his courtiers and visitors to his court, and a sense of the majesty and bearing of the king, not to mention the power inherent in his rank, are evident.

Utterance 583 §§ 1568-1572 is an ascension text in which the deceased is lifted and upheld by the arms of Horus and Thoth (§ 1570) and the king's place is prepared in the sky (§ 1571). Utterance 584 §§ 1573-1575 is a 'right of presence' text that combines much of the imagery found in Utt. 583, including the preparation of celestial place. Neither of these Texts, however, contains mythic imagery that has any relation to 'hidden' narrative relating to the foundational myths. In fact, the mythic imagery within these Texts is of the kind that pertains only to the situation of the king on the way to or in the sky. The situational use of mythic imagery is by far the most common; its sole purpose is to work for the king and simplicity is imperative for these spells to be effective.

Those that do not fall within either the ascension or the resurrection Texts on the north wall are Texts that have parallels elsewhere in the canon. Utterance 564 §§ 1421-1422 is a bathing text; the king bathes in the Lake of Rushes and afterward, is lifted to the sky by Shu and Tefnut. The Lake of Rushes, perhaps the same as the Field of Rushes, was the gods' 'bathtub,' or the place in which ritual purification takes place on the part of all inhabitants of the sky, divine and human. Utterances 617 §§ 1744-1745 and 618 § 1746 are both very short; Utt. 617 includes a boon to be granted by the king (§ 1745) and 618 requests that men be silent and listen, in one brief sentence (§ 1746) and neither contains any mythic allusion at all. Again, these 'uncategorized' Texts use mythic imagery

to work specifically for the king, as opposed to mythic imagery that has reference to a narrative.

On the east wall of Pepi I's 'waiting' room, Utt. 553 §§ 1353-1369, a resurrection text found only in this pyramid narrates the process by which the deceased king rises from his supine state and begins the journey to the sky. The spirit of the king, his *ꜥḥ*, is the part of the king that manoeuvres, eats and drinks (§ 1357), and rises (§§ 1353, 1357, 1360, 1363) and the spell begins with Geb raising the king's *ꜥḥ* that it might begin the proceedings. As the successor of Osiris (§ 1358), the king, or his *ꜥḥ*, is enjoined to throw off his dust and loosen his bonds (§ 1363). The bonds are called "the tresses of Nephthys" (§ 1363) and they represent the linen mummy wrappings and the dust, presumably that which would settle on the sarcophagus and mummy after burial and interment. Meanwhile, the period of mourning has begun for the inhabitants of the earth as the king becomes a star (§§ 1364-1366). As is usual with the Pyramid Texts (and religious Texts in general), many deities are referred to and they take their part in the king's resurrection, creating a situation in which the king is divinely aided in his journey and as a result is divine himself through this contact. Allusion to specific mythic days appear; Isis and Nephthys have seen the king's father, Osiris, on "that day of fowling with a throw stick" (§ 1362). The allusion here is opaque, as with nearly every other allusion to a mythic day; knowing neither what occurred to Osiris on that day nor why it was important that he was seen by Isis and Nephthys, the mythic significance of that day is lost to us.

The transformation of the king into a star is the partial subject of the following text, Utt. 554 §§ 1370-1372. The king is born as the son of the Great Wild Cow, under whose protection he journeys. He is admitted into the company of Re' as a morning star.

Utterance 555 §§ 1373-1378 is primarily a text declaring the healthy state of the deceased king and his right to rule in the sky, as a result of his celestial health. His mother and nurse are goddesses, Isis and Nephthys, and two funerary goddesses, Neith and Selket, are named in protective positions, in front of and behind him.

The following text, Utt. 556 §§ 1379-1386 is again a resurrection text. The king is called upon to waken and raise himself (§§ 1381, 1382), and once again, he is a star upon his resurrection (§ 1384). What differentiates this text from Utt. 553 is the use of divinities. This text is spoken by the new king; the old king's son, and divinities are seldom named, with the exception of Osiris, although the gods as a collective are mentioned with greater frequency.

The final four Texts, Uths. 557-561, are short and consist of addresses to the king. Utterance 558 §§ 1390-1391 makes several allusions to specific divine actions – the progress, or travelling of the Great Black One, the alighting of the oldest god and the censuring of the *Kꜣt-šmk* in Heliopolis (§ 1390). Utterance 559 §§ 1392-1393 also alludes to a specific mythic action, that of Osiris rewarding and giving the king that which is upon the *ššrw*-cloth (§ 1393). Once again, the exact nature of the object on the *ššrw*-cloth is not elaborated upon, and the mythic understanding of this particular section of the text has vanished. Utterance 560

§§ 1394 -1395 presents a partial rendering of the actual burial ceremony, and calls upon Geb, as the father of Osiris, to open his mouth. As the primary earth deity, requesting Geb to open his mouth asked the earth to open as a grave in mythic terms.

The east wall Texts of Merenre follow the same programme of imagery as do those of Pepi I and II, using different Texts. The only text in common at all is with Pepi I – Utt. 555, discussed above. The other Texts are Utts. 569, 570, 572 and 613 to 616, which are almost universally found on other walls in the ‘waiting’ rooms of the other pyramids. Utterance 569 §§ 1434-1442, also present on the west wall of the corridor leading from the first portcullis to the ‘waiting’ room of Pepi I, is one in which the knowledge of the sun-god’s name (apparently – the name of Re’ appears only in the last paragraph, § 1442) is averred by the king. What follows is of considerable interest mythically, being a set of events that will be prevented should the king be prevented from entering the sky or from going aboard the sun-barque. The events that will be prevented include “the birth of He who is without his limit in the horizon” (§ 1435), “the birth of Selket” (§ 1435), “the coming? of the Two Banks to Horus” (§ 1436), “the birth of Sopdet” (§ 1437), “the two apes held off? from Re’, his two sons whom he loves” (§ 1437), “the birth of Wepwawet in the *pr-nw*” (§ 1438), and “the crew of the day-barque to row you (i.e. Re’)” (§ 1439). The assertions of what will occur if the king is not allowed to board the sun-barque begin with the sun-god being told that the crew of his barque will be prevented from rowing him. Thereafter, men will be held off from death (§ 1439) and food (§ 1440), two restrictions that pertain only to the

mundane world, except insofar as making men immortal and not dependent on the deities for health and life, and starving them, leaving no-one left alive to worship the deities, would negatively impact their service to the gods. The rest of the text involves the king stating his place as one of the gods²⁵⁹.

The next text, Utt. 570 §§ 1443-1465 on the east wall of Merenre's 'waiting' room²⁶⁰ is one also concerned with the sun, evoking imagery of dawn in the first paragraph – "the face of the sun is washed" (§ 1443) and "the celestial expanse is bright" (§ 1443). What follows in this relatively lengthy spell is the process of the king's ascension to the sky. At one point (§ 1453), the king's immortality is asserted by using apposition, the deity with whom he is apposed being Seth. The rest of the mythic imagery is related to the king's divine status and his right to be in heaven.

Utterance 572 §§ 1472-1477 is an ascension text that involves the familiar imagery of the gods coming to the aid of the king in his climb to the sky. Utterances 613 to 616 are boat or ferrying Texts and contain few references to myth. The ferry boat itself in Utt. 615 is drawn in vaguely mythic terms but these terms cast no illumination on any mythic force that boat might have. Once again, the lack of narrative mythic imagery is answered by the specific use of mythic imagery in service for the king.

The Texts on the east wall of Pepi II's 'waiting' room follow the same course as those in the other pyramids with ascension and resurrection Texts

²⁵⁹ Utt. 569 §§ 1440-1442.

predominating. The ascension Texts, Utts. 306, 566 to 569, and 699, all carry imagery related to journeying to the sky, in other words, crossing by ferry or wing tip (§ 1429), climbing by means of a ladder (§ 1431) or the arms of the Souls of Pe and Nekhen and those of the gods in the sky and on earth as a ladder (306 §§ 478-479), and flying as a falcon or a heron (699 § 2179). None of this ascension imagery is clearly mythic, in terms of relating to a 'hidden' narrative; rather, it is all directed purely toward the ascent of the king. This type of imagery serves to surround the king in a sort of aura that places him in a supernatural space; he is ascending not to the sky of mundane Egypt but to the sky of divine Egypt, that space inhabited by deities and other supernatural entities where the king's divinity creates for him a common ground. The resurrection Texts use the same type of imagery with the content directed toward the rebirth of the king. With this goal in mind, the king's death is closely related to the death and rebirth of Osiris. Utterance 701 begins: "The Great One has fallen in Nedit" (§ 2188), referring to Osiris as the Great One and to one of the places of his death, Nedit. The raising of the body of Osiris and the mourning of his death by Isis and Nephthys are used in conjunction with the allusion to his murder, as is common in resurrection Texts, to aid in relating that death to the king's demise, the eventual resurrection of Osiris providing, of course, the requisite mythic imagery for the resurrection of the king.

²⁶⁰ This appears, as well, on the west wall in the corridor just before the 'waiting' room of Pepi I's pyramid. The differing literary techniques used in this rather long text have been discussed above, page 87.

Finally, the west wall of the 'waiting' room remains to be discussed. As might be expected, given the content of the other three walls in this small room, the content of this wall also pertains primarily to resurrection and ascension. There are a number of ferrying or travel Texts, as well, one of which, Utt. 359, uses allusions to the battle between Horus and Seth.

Then Horus cried out because of his eye; then Seth cried out because of his testicles, / and the Eye of Horus, which had fallen in that side of the Winding Waterway, / leapt up that it might save itself from the hand of Seth. / It saw Thoth in that side of the Winding Waterway / When the Eye of Horus leaped in that side of the Winding Waterway, / When <it> fell upon the wing of Thoth in that side of the Winding Waterway. / O, those gods who cross upon the wing of Thoth to that side of the Winding Waterway, / to the eastern side of the sky, to speak in front of Seth concerning the Eye of Horus, / ferry this N with you upon the wing of Thoth to that side of the Winding Waterway, / to the eastern side of the sky. / N would speak in front of Seth concerning the Eye of Horus. (§§ 594-596)

The purpose of bringing the contendings of Horus and Seth into what is essentially a text that should enable the king to journey to the sky is simple; it provides the king with yet another means by which he may travel through the mythic world of the sky²⁶¹. What follows in the text supports this; both Re' and the ferryman of the Winding Waterway are called upon to ensure the king reach the eastern side of that body of water²⁶² by means of a ferry.

²⁶¹ See Gunn, 1922, 71-72 for a short discussion of this passage in relation to the counting of fingers upon alighting on the eastern side of the Winding Waterway (called by Gunn, 'the canal of *h3'*') and the conclusion of BD 99.

²⁶² As an aside to the question of crossing the Winding Waterway, it is interesting that the word 'itrw' does not appear in the Pyramid Texts. The word generally used to describe bodies of water that must be crossed are *mr* or 'canal,' and *šht* or 'field,' as in the Field of Rushes. Canals are man-made, for the most part, even in the Egyptian language where canals are indicated as routinely travelled smaller waterways and fields of the type found in the Pyramid Texts must be marshy, more wetland than water. Could it be that the sky, as the Nile, is not the actual goal for the ascending king, but rather the sides of the sky/Nile, where canals and marshes might be found? If

The resurrection Texts on this wall of Pepi I's 'waiting' room use the same kinds of allusion found in resurrection Texts throughout this space, focussing on the resurrection of Osiris and using that in apposition to the rebirth of the king. The ascension Texts, likewise, make use of the same imagery involving the aid of the gods in the ascent of the king, seen in other ascension Texts.

Despite the fact that the same walls of the 'waiting' rooms, with rare exceptions, do not have the same Texts in each of the three pyramids, it is striking that as a group, rather than as four separate walls, they use the same Texts. Of all the Texts used here, only five are found in Unas' corpus of Texts. Most of the rest, then, were chosen (or written?) specifically for use in this room. The types of text used here are not specific to this area, however; ascension and resurrection Texts are found throughout the entrance corridors of the pyramids, often overlapping a fair amount with the 'waiting' room Texts. The west walls of the corridor between the first portcullis and the 'waiting' room, and of the 'waiting' room itself in Pepi I, for example, both contain Utts. 569 and 570. Utterance 269 is found on the west wall of the corridor proceeding from the 'waiting' room in Merenre as well as on the west wall of the 'waiting' room of Pepi I. Utterance 555 can be found on the east 'waiting' room walls of both Pepi I and Merenre and on the west wall of the final section of corridor in Pepi II leading into the antechamber. Utterance 563 is present on the west wall of Pepi I's 'waiting' room as well as on the east walls of the final section of corridor

this is the case, then the king is indeed not rising to the sky but to the horizon, something that would explain the lack of anything in the sky other than blue and clouds.

before the antechamber in Merenre and Pepi II. Although these examples show that the entire length of the entrance corridor can be considered when looking for similarity in usage of Texts, it is the 'waiting' room that provides the most striking examples of continuity within a single space in these lengths of corridor. In itself, this shows a knowledge of previous pyramids' placement, indicating that the priests of Merenre must have been familiar with which Texts were allocated to the 'waiting' room of Pepi I, and those of Pepi II with both Merenre and Pepi I. It also shows a particular programme is in place for this small, otherwise unused, room.

The group of Utterances, numbers 515 to 538, from the west wall of the corridor that lead from the 'waiting' room to the main set of portcullises in Pepi I's pyramid represent a miscellaneous group that includes ferrying or boat Texts and ascension Texts. It also includes Texts that do not fit categorically into any particular type. Utterance 523 §§ 1231-1232 is one such text, concerned generally with the properties of the Eye of Horus, primarily healing, so also protective. It aids the ascent of the king into the sky, it helps promote the king into the company of the highest gods, and more, it gives the king a divine aspect – "his scent is the scent of a god" (§ 1241). Utterance 526 § 1247 is a purification or cleansing text, the king announcing that he has bathed in the Field of Rushes, the 'bathtub' of Re' and the other gods²⁶³. Utterance 529 § 1252 calls on the gatekeeper of the sky to watch over the comings and goings of the messengers of the gods who might be harmful to the royal deceased. Utterance 527 §§ 1248-1249

²⁶³ See p. 97.

provides one of the rare instances of narrative myth in the Pyramid Texts, the Heliopolitan creation myth in which Atum, having come alone from the *dw3t*, masturbates and brings Shu and Tefnut into existence (§ 1248). It is perhaps *à propos* that ferrying and ascension Texts are found in the ascending corridor (from the point of view of the deceased) that leads to the outer world and thence, the sky. They would provide the necessary impetus for the king to maintain the goal of keeping company with the gods. A purification text would provide the same service, ensuring the proper physical condition of the king for such company. Finally, a myth of creation is, in itself, a powerful mythic tool for resurrection, for renewed birth and activity.

Aside from the presence of the Heliopolitan creation myth which is more narrative than allusion, the allusions within the Utterances on this corridor wall are as miscellaneous as the Texts themselves. The Eye of Horus, is mentioned three times²⁶⁴, with reference to the facts of its damage (§ 1227), its magical properties (§ 1231) and its special place in the myth concerning the battles between Horus and Seth (§ 1242). In particular, Utt. 523 places emphasis on the Eye as a means by which the king might be prepared as completely as possible for entrance into the company of the gods.

Another mythic allusion, in Utt. 517 § 1188, is to the divine birth of the king.

"This N is truthful on the sky and on the earth; this N is truthful on this island of land, to which he swam and at which he arrived, which is in the thighs of Nut."

²⁶⁴ Utt. 522 §1227; 523 § 1231; and 524 §§ 1236, 1238-1239, 1241-1243.

'This island of land' – *tw pw n t3*, referring to 'the primeval mound,' *t3t* – is a unusual turn of phrase in Egyptian and emphasizes the element of the original earth in creation myths. The following statements are also allusive, referring to both a specific celestial inhabitant and to a specific day.

"This N is that dwarf who dances that the heart of the god may forget, in front of his great throne. This is that which you heard in the houses and that which you heard on the roads on that day when you were called to hear the orders." (§ 1189)

The reference to the king as a sort of court-jester is reminiscent of the myth, recorded much later, of the Contendings of Horus and Seth in which Hathor lifts her skirt in front of Pre-Harakhti to relieve his bad mood²⁶⁵. In Utt. 517, the king performs the role taken by Hathor (although it is unlikely he lifts his dress and thereby immediately lightens the mood of the god). Pepi II's famous letter to Harkhuf asking the trader from Aswan to bring this marvellous new 'toy', the Nubian dwarf, to the court so the young king might watch it dance²⁶⁶ is evidence that such an entertainment might be enough in itself to cause the god's 'heart to forget' without including a peep-show. The second mythic reference, to a particular day, is not immediately identifiable with any known myth, a situation not unusual when discussing these mythic days²⁶⁷.

The west wall of this part of the corridor in Merenre's and Pepi II's pyramids contains none of the same Texts as Pepi I's west wall; a good portion of them from Merenre, however, are found in Pepi I's 'waiting' room. Another

²⁶⁵Lichtheim, 1976, 216.

²⁶⁶Urk. I, 128-131.

good portion from the opposite east wall in this corridor section in Pepi II are also found in Pepi I's 'waiting' room. The homogeneity of the 'waiting' room Texts would seem to spill over into the corridors in these two later pyramids. Although the two later pyramids do not share any identical Texts on these walls, the basic themes are the same. One spell of particular mythic interest is Utt. 532 §§ 1255-1262, found twice on Pepi II's east wall. It is also found (once) on Pepi I's east wall in the same part of the corridor. Faulkner calls this "an Osirian text"²⁶⁸, taking this identification from the text's references to the death of Osiris. The death of Osiris is never referred to by the term 'death.' In keeping with the Egyptian literary policy of supernatural safety by omission or prevarication, Osiris is always referred to as having been 'laid to the earth.' Such is the case with this Utterance.

Isis comes, Nephthys comes, one of them from the west and one of them from the east, one of them as one who screeches, one of them as a kite. They have found Osiris, his brother Seth having laid him to the ground in Nedit. (§§ 1255-1256)

The usual elements of this myth found in the Pyramid Texts are contained in this text. The mourning of Isis and Nephthys, as Osiris' sisters, the appearance of the sisters as predatory birds, and the mention of Osiris' having been laid to the earth in Nedit are all parts of the myth found throughout the Texts. The only slightly unusual inclusion is the reference to Seth as the brother and murderer of Osiris. More often, the fratricide is not referred to as such, an omission that changes the crime to one of homicide. This spell, however, is particularly anti-

²⁶⁷ See, for example, Bács, 1990; Bakir, 1966; Spalinger, 1991; Troy, 1987 regarding the Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days.

Sethian, not only in the mention of Seth as the murderer of Osiris but also in naming Seth as someone against whom the king must stand (§ 1259), as well as someone who will never be free from carrying Osiris (§ 1258). It is not surprising, therefore, that in keeping with these sentiments, Seth should be named outright as the murderer. The inclusion of this spell twice on the same wall, one following the other, may be an emphasis of the Osirian nature of the burial and of the divine nature of the king as Horus, the son of Osiris.

Other spells on this east wall of Merenre and Pepi II use imagery not immediately recognizable as that taken from narrative myth, using, instead, imagery centred on the king and intended to help his rise to the sky and the journey thereafter.

The entrance corridor Texts of Unas show little mythic continuity, which is to be expected. Utterance 320 §§ 515-516 makes mention of the king as Babi, "lord of the night sky" (§ 516), as well as calling upon the 'phallus of Babi' to be drawn back. Utterance 320 equates Babi with the king, but the rest of the text is void of 'door' imagery and Babi's phallus. Derchain has noted that Babi's phallus was given an important role in the narrative myths of the god throughout Egyptian history and Babi himself appeared to be a figure of fecundity, or at least, one of good fortune²⁶⁹. It is of interest, then, to find that two other Utterances within this group are concerned with fecundity and growth, Utts. 317 §§ 507-510 and 319 §§ 513-514.

²⁶⁸ Faulkner, 1969, 199.

²⁶⁹ Derchain, 1952, 33-34.

Utterance 317 equates the king with Sobek and states that the king is the reason for the greenness on the riverbanks. Green as a colour in Egypt is symbolic of growth and fertility²⁷⁰, and despite the dangerous aspects of Sobek as a crocodile-god, the idea of the king as one who lives and procreates on the banks of a life-giving river or waterway, and who is at home in the waters themselves is a potent one. In aligning the king with a riverine deity, one that portrays the qualities of both fertility and supremacy over his environment, those qualities are transferred to the person of the king from the god. These aquatic qualities were never ones that were a part of the king during his life on earth. The river was portrayed as always dangerous and always fertile, but the king did not participate in that imagery, as far as can be ascertained in the Old Kingdom. He stood outside it, as a common Egyptian. The king as Sobek, son of Neith, is to be in the sky as he was on earth; he will perform all the human actions in their proper way and with their proper equipment (§ 510). The king, then, has taken on not the aspect of Sobek as a crocodile, but rather, the aspect of Sobek as a human-shaped god of fertility and growth²⁷¹, the opposite of the carnivorous reptile justifiably feared by the Egyptians.

Utterance 319 identifies the king with what seems to be the sun-god – “this Unas is the bull, sunshine being in the middle of his eye” (§ 513) – and through this identification, the king has power to cause growth in minerals (lapis lazuli – *ḥšbd* – § 513) and in plants (*tw*n – § 513; *šmšmt* – § 516). He has power over the two

²⁷⁰ LÄ V, 998.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

lands (§ 514), and as such would be responsible for the growth and health of the country.

Fecundity comes in two types in these Utterances – natural and political. The king rules the country well and with wisdom, and thus brings about the same kind of growth as he does to the physical land in that aspect of Sobek associated with fertility. This does not mean, of course, that these are the only Texts in the entire corpus making use of fecundity figures or imagery of growth and wealth. There are numerous other such Utterances – for example, Babi is mentioned in three other Utterances: Utts. 278 § 419 in Unas' antechamber, 539 § 1310, and 549 § 1349, both from the south wall of the 'waiting' room in the entrance passage of Pepi II's pyramid. References to fertility can be found in Utts. 581 §§ 1551-1554, and 592 §§ 1623-1624. Both contain elements of fertility, equating the king with the fertile ground or naming one of his aspects to be that of nourisher of the two lands.

ANTECHAMBER TEXTS

The Utterance on the north wall on the inside of the antechamber of Unas is Utt. 302, the content of which consists of imagery sending the king to the sky. The king is called the "son of Sothis" (§ 458), the star whose rising indicates the beginning of the new year. It is as a result of Sothis, so the text states, that the king rises to the sky. Nut welcomes the king and the king calls upon Re', stating that he will rise to the sky, into the company of Re', as a bird of one kind or

another²⁷². The mythic imagery contained in this Utterance relates to the death of Osiris and the mourning thereafter by Isis and Nephthys (§ 460). This type of allusion indicates that this is a resurrection text, the metaphor of Osiris' death meant as an allusion to the king's death. The rest of the Texts on this wall of Unas, Utts. 303 to 312, are ascension Texts and Texts in which the king asserts his right to join the gods, or requests acknowledgement therefrom.

The north wall is the one into which the door leading from the entrance corridor breaks. There are no protection Texts on this wall whatsoever; the three sides of the door frame are filled with Texts relating to ascension and the king's right of presence in the sky. Clearly the entrance was not felt to be a place of possible, even imminent, danger for the deceased. In Unas, the entrance corridor has very few Texts, none of which are themselves protective, either. Perhaps, as is possible with the epigraphic corridors in the late pyramids, the portcullises were considered protection enough.

The only other pyramid with Texts still extant on this wall of the antechamber is Pepi II. The Texts are found on the west half of this wall, the east half having been destroyed for the most part. Largely, they are the same group of spells – Utts. 303 to 305, 308 and 310 – together with a group of Texts not found in Unas at all, Utts. 679, and 681 to 691. These last spells consist of the by-now familiar ascension Texts (Utts. 682, 684, 685, and 688); however, together with ascension spells, this group also contains spells concerned with offerings to the

²⁷² The birds mentioned include falcons, kites, geese, and ducks, the first three of which are divine animals. Utt. 270 § 386 mentions ducks and oxen making accusation against the king; in other words,

king in the form of ointments (Utt. 686) and perfume (Utt. 687) for him to wear, as well as a spell relating to the Eye of Horus (Utt. 689) and two generally regarding the place of the king in the heavens and his right to be therein, again a familiar theme (Utts. 690-691).

In the style of Unas, the Texts on this wall are not protective but are primarily concerned with ascension. Both Unas' and Pepi II's walls contain Utt. 310, a two-part spell warning in the first part that if the king is cursed in any way, Atum will suffer the same curse. The second part is brief and calls upon the ferryman to bring his boat. This spell is found over the entrance corridor door in Pepi II; in Unas, it is found to the right of the door, in the middle of the east panel. This wall in both pyramids shares other Texts as well: ascension Texts in which ladders are used to climb to the sky (Utts. 304-305) and a ferryman text (Utt. 303). The ferryman and first 'ladder' text are found on both west panels, to the left of the door, and the second 'ladder' text is on the west panel of Pepi II and the panel over the door in Unas.

The east and west walls of the antechambers of Unas' and Teti's pyramids are intact. There are remains of the east walls in Merenre's and Pepi II's pyramids; Pepi I's east wall, however, is nearly completely reconstructed by Sethe,²⁷³ and further restoration work has been done by Leclant²⁷⁴. Leclant's work indicates that this wall contained a number of new Texts concerned with

states Faulkner, 1969 in n. 5 of this Utterance, the ducks represent the mammals of the sky and the oxen the mammals of the earth.

²⁷³ Sethe, 1922, 130-131.

²⁷⁴ Leclant, 1977, 269-288.

food, food offerings, and festivals²⁷⁵, Texts that are similar to various Coffin Texts²⁷⁶, resurrection Texts²⁷⁷, and specifically Utts. 289, 293 twice, 384, 499, and 500. The wall also contained a relatively explicit reference to one of the battles between Horus and Seth, the homosexual episode, providing an anomalous reference in the Pyramid Texts²⁷⁸. Leclant notes that the Texts as reconstructed for this wall in Pepi I are two quite different groups. Those Texts on the north portion of the wall betray a Heliopolitan influence, with resurrection as part of the imagery; those Texts on the south portion of the wall are protective spells²⁷⁹.

The east wall contains the entrance to the serdab, mentioned earlier as a place of possible danger to the deceased. The south section of the gable over the door in Unas²⁸⁰ and the centre panel over the door in Teti²⁸¹ share one of the most-discussed²⁸², and most notorious, Texts found in the entire corpus, Utt. 273/4, the "Cannibal Hymn"²⁸³. The 'hymn' is found over the door to the serdab in both Teti and Unas; in Teti, the Texts runs from the top of the gable by the ceiling to the door top, while in Unas, the text runs across the south panel of the gable from ceiling to approximately 2.5 m above the floor and does not touch the door top.

²⁷⁵ Ibid, 274.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Ibid, 276.

²⁷⁸ Ibid, 278.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, 280.

²⁸⁰ Ibid, 119 – lines 496-525 in Unas on the XIIIth panel.

²⁸¹ Ibid, 123 – lines 319-331 in Teti on the IXth panel.

²⁸² See Barta, 1979 and 1991, and Foster, 1978-1979, 51-63 for discussions of this text.

²⁸³ After Teti, this text disappears from the corpus. It may have been felt that the addition of this texts was perhaps an overly bombastic measure or perhaps it was deemed simply not necessary in the later pyramids. The king, from here on in the Texts, is merely an equal of the gods and desires that stature, as opposed to one that would involve such an act as the ingesting of one's ancestors.

The 'Cannibal Hymn' is far from the only text on this wall in either Unas or Teti, however. The final text on this wall of Unas' pyramid, Utt. 301, is one propitiating the primeval gods, a far cry from calling for their flesh as food. Two other non-protective spells are Utts. 275 and 300. Utterance 275 is concerned with the king's journey to the horizon and Utt. 300 is a ferryman text. The rest of the spells here are all protection Texts.

Teti, on the other hand, has a fair mix of protection and ascension Texts. The protection Texts²⁸⁴ are found in the north panel from gable ceiling to floor, the middle panel and the centre strip of the middle panel over the door into the serdab, and five rows into the south panel beside the serdab door. The 'Cannibal Hymn,' as in Unas, is directly over the door, taking over the centre strip and the south half of the middle panel. With all this protection around the actual serdab opening itself, the ante-and funerary chambers are impermeable to the threats of evil spirits or dangerous beasts. The rest of the south panel in Teti is filled with food spells²⁸⁵, spells concerning the rebirth of the king as the sun²⁸⁶, the presence of the king in the afterlife²⁸⁷ and in festivals²⁸⁸, as well as a small number of miscellaneous Texts²⁸⁹.

The south wall of the antechamber is only available for study in two pyramids, Unas and Pepi I. The Texts are complete in Unas and only marginally present in Pepi I, due to extensive damage. The other pyramids' antechambers'

²⁸⁴ Utts. 240, 273/4, 277, 280-283, 285-293, 295-296, and 376-399.

²⁸⁵ Utts. 206, 400, 406, and 409.

²⁸⁶ Utts. 401, 402, and 405.

²⁸⁷ Utt. 407.

²⁸⁸ Utt. 408.

²⁸⁹ Utts. 403, 404, and 410.

south walls are ruined and unable to provide textual data. The only remaining text in Pepi I, Utt. 488, is an ascension text. The Texts in Unas on this wall consist of a number of 'reed-float' spells, from Utts. 263 to 266. These spells are not particular to Unas; Utt. 264 appears on the south wall of the corridor between the antechamber and the funerary chamber in Teti's pyramid, and on the west wall of the antechamber of Pepi I. This type of text is one in which reed-floats – *šḥnw* – are put down for a select company of gods - Re', Harakhti, Horus, Shezemty²⁹⁰, the king - in order for them to pass over to the horizon. 'Reed-float' Texts are found in the other pyramids; however, the style of the later Texts is a little different than those in Unas. Unas' Texts contain what might be considered as refrains using reed-float imagery:

The reed-floats are placed for Re' that he might travel thereon to the horizon.

The reed-floats are placed for Harakhti that Harakhti might travel thereon to the horizon with Re'.

The reed-floats are placed for Unas that he might travel thereon to the horizon with Re'.

The reed-floats are placed for Unas that he might travel thereon to the horizon with Harakhti, with Re'. (Utt. 263 § 337)

or

The reed-floats are laid down for Horus that he might travel thereon to the horizon with Harakhti.

The reed-floats are laid down for the king that he might travel thereon to the horizon with Harakhti.

The reed-floats are laid down for *ššmti* that he might travel thereon to the horizon with Harakhti.

The reed-floats are laid down for the king that he might travel thereon to the horizon with Harakhti. (Utt. 264 § 342)

²⁹⁰ 'She of the sacred girdle'? See Faulkner, 1981, 272.

A good portion of the 'reed-float' Texts in the other pyramids, for example Pepi I, integrate the imagery of the reed-floats within the body of the Texts. Utterance 515 § 1179, from the portion of the entrance corridor closest to the antechamber in Pepi I's pyramid, only includes the reed-floats as a means to move in the sky.

The king walks upon the reed-floats which are before Re'.

Here, the reed-floats are simply part of the body of the spell, rather than being highlighted in a refrain. Utterance 507, found in the final part of the entrance corridor before the antechamber door on the west wall in Merenre and Pepi II, and on the east wall in Pepi I, provides a similar example of this use of the image of reed-floats as part of the spell (§ 1103), as does Utt. 519 § 1206 from the part of the entrance corridor after the 'waiting' room and before the portcullises on the west wall in Pepi I and from the final part of the corridor on the east walls of Merenre and Pepi II. Taking the focus off the reed-floats and placing it firmly on the presence of the king in the sky change the intent of this type of Text to one of ascension, rather than travel.

The Texts on the west wall of the antechamber are present in all five kings' pyramids. The door into the funerary chamber interrupts this wall. As should be expected by now, the Texts in each pyramid except Unas', comprise a mix of ascension and resurrection Texts, with some ferryman Texts and some that are not readily categorizable. In Unas, the gable Texts, which run from ceiling to ca. 1.5 m above the floor²⁹¹, pertain to the presence of the king in the

²⁹¹ Sethe, 1922, 118.

sky in one way or another²⁹². The king arrives in the sky²⁹³, cleanses himself²⁹⁴, joins the sun-god (presumably Re')²⁹⁵, and generally inserts himself into the workings of the sky as the supreme ruler²⁹⁶, as a star²⁹⁷, and as Nefertem - a lotus flower - in the god's hand²⁹⁸. The Texts on either side of the door are much the same in content²⁹⁹.

The Texts in Teti on the west wall are mostly concerned with the resurrection of the king³⁰⁰, with a few of them leading from resurrection to ascension³⁰¹. Those around the door are a combination of all the types of content found on this wall. The wall is divided into four sections with a narrow band running vertically from the ceiling to the door top in the middle of the wall.

Pepi I's west wall Texts include reed-float Texts³⁰², which are generally ascension or 'right of presence' Texts, ferryman Texts³⁰³, again generally ascension spells, and Texts more clearly showing ascension³⁰⁴. The Texts around the door in particular, similarly to Teti's wall, are an aggregate of ascension, 'right of presence,' ferryman, and reed-float Texts.

²⁹² Utts. 247-254.

²⁹³ Utt. 254.

²⁹⁴ Utt. 253.

²⁹⁵ Utt. 251.

²⁹⁶ Utt. 252.

²⁹⁷ Utt. 248.

²⁹⁸ Utt. 249.

²⁹⁹ Utts. 255-260.

³⁰⁰ Utts. 364-373.

³⁰¹ Utts. 253-259, and 374.

³⁰² Utts. 265, and 473.

³⁰³ Utts. 270, 363, 472, 475, and 481.

³⁰⁴ Utts. 337, 467, 470-471, 478, 480, and 484-486.

The Texts on this wall in Merenre's pyramid are nearly exactly the same as those in Pepi I: ascension³⁰⁵, resurrection³⁰⁶, ferryman³⁰⁷, and 'right of presence'³⁰⁸, with 'lustration,³⁰⁹ and offering³¹⁰ Texts as well. The lower half of the wall, from approximately the line of the door top across from side to side, is destroyed. Utterance 473 is found in the south part of the gable and Utts. 310, 474-476, and 487 are inscribed on the north part. Utterance 472 occurs in a narrow band between the gables and the main panels of the wall. The rest of the Texts are found on the main panels which are divided into three, one on each side of the door and one over the door. Utterances 467-468, and 483 are found on the south panel beside the door, Utts. 477 and 482 are inscribed above the door and Utts. 270, 478-479, and 481 are on the north panel beside the door.

Again, the Texts in Pepi II are very similar both in a similar content of different Texts, and in the same Texts to both Merenre and Pepi I³¹¹. Utterances 468, 483 and 487 are found on the south portion of the gable and Utts. 467, 482 and 678 to 680 are on the north gable. Utterance 457 is inscribed in a narrow horizontal band between the gables and the three main panels. The south panel, which runs from the floor to the gables, approximately 3 m, contains Utts. 473 to 476. The middle panel, from the door top to the gables, is inscribed with Utts. 270, 472, and 477 to 479. The north panel, like the south running from the floor to the gables, contains Utts. 271, 461, 470 and 471, and 480 and 481.

³⁰⁵ Utts. 474, 467, and 478.

³⁰⁶ Utts. 468, 477, and 482-83.

³⁰⁷ Utts. 270, 310, 472, 473, 475, and 481.

³⁰⁸ Utts. 456, 461, 476, and 670.

³⁰⁹ Utt. 479.

³¹⁰ Utt. 487.

Similarities arise not only in content, however; they arise also in placement. Utterance 477, a spell raising Osiris from the dead, and hence a resurrection text, is located directly above the door close to the centre of the door in each of the three pyramids. This text contains one of the very few sections of extended mythic narrative, a lovely piece of character observance concerning Seth and Horus, quoted in a previous chapter (§§ 957-959),³¹² in which Seth appears before a royal tribunal to defend himself and, to a modern ear, sounds like a bully in a playground. Following this small portion of narrative, the king asserts himself as servant to Osiris, performing the duties the priest performs for the cult figure in a temple on earth (§§ 962-970). Another text, Utt. 270, a ferryman text, also appears on each of the later pyramids' west walls. In both Pepi I and II, the text is found over the door, while in Merenre, the text is on the south panel, to the right of the door. In fact, most of the Texts on these walls are repeated from pyramid to pyramid. If they are not found on all three of the antechambers' west walls, they are found generally on at least two. For example, Utt. 310 is inscribed on both Merenre and Pepi I; Utts. 470-471 are found in Pepi I and II; Utts. 467-468, 472-479, 481-483, and 487 are all found on all three west walls. This is a fairly significant number of similarities between the later pyramids and the Texts on this particular wall, and given the lack of coherence between these and the Texts on the antechambers' west wall in the earlier two pyramids, it shows a definite unity, not simply of religious thought, but more, of a knowledge of previous rulers and their textual programmes.

³¹¹ Utts. 270-271, 457, 461, 467-8, 470-483, 487, and 678-680.

SERDAB-ANTECHAMBER CORRIDOR TEXTS

Originally, it was thought that the only epigraphic antechamber/serdab corridor was found in Teti; however, subsequent research by Leclant has shown that Pepi I's corridor was also inscribed³¹³. The Texts on the north wall of Teti's corridor are resurrection Texts³¹⁴, and those on the south wall are concerned primarily with the attire of the king in the afterlife³¹⁵. While protection spells might have been expected in this space, given the anepigraphic status of the serdab, the resurrection spells in particular serve somewhat the same function as spells of protection. Utterance 412 reaffirms the rebirth of the king, from the moment of his death until the moment of his acceptance by Re' into the sky and his ascension therewith. The king's dead body is raised, his head lifted by Re' (§ 721), and in one of the rarer instances of a recognition of the ephemeral nature of the physical body, it is hoped that the body will not rot or putrefy and prayers are offered to avoid that end (§§ 722-724). Thereafter the use of imagery indicating an equality with the gods, royal protestations of the right of divine company, and appositional sentence structures allow the king to insert himself into the gods' company and by-pass the need for protection against mundane dangers, such as snakes, bulls, lions, etc. (§§ 728-733). The south wall Texts, among which are those concerned with the attire of the king³¹⁶, are simply part of the resurrection

³¹² Ch. 2, p. 25.

³¹³ Leclant, 1979, 285-301.

³¹⁴ Utts. 412 and 413.

³¹⁵ Utts. 414-421.

³¹⁶ Utts. 414-418.

process; the king must appear in garments befitting a divine neophyte, adornments that included unguent³¹⁷, and garments³¹⁸. Utterances 419 to 421, completing the group on this wall, reiterate the king's right of presence in the sky. A portion of these Texts includes a brief description of the mourning on earth and the ascension of the king upon resurrection³¹⁹. Mythically speaking, there is mention of the battle for the throne and the murder of Osiris by Seth³²⁰, although this is not specific and only alludes to an evil done to the king by Seth.

The Texts on both walls of Pepi I's corridor echo those on Teti's south wall and pertain, likewise, to clothing, unguent, and mummification. The goddess of weaving, Taït³²¹, is mentioned throughout, a reference to be expected given the 'textilian' nature of the Texts on these walls.

ANTECHAMBER-FUNERARY CHAMBER CORRIDOR TEXTS

Unas, Teti, Pepi I and Pepi II each have a set of Texts in the corridor between the antechamber and the funerary chamber. Of those four, Unas, Teti and Pepi II are complete; Pepi I's south wall is destroyed, rendering it unreconstructable, at least for the time being³²². The entire corridor in Merenre's

³¹⁷ Utt. 418.

³¹⁸ Utts. 414 and 416.

³¹⁹ Utt. 419 §§ 743-744.

³²⁰ Utt. 419 § 746.

³²¹ Cruz-Urbe, 1996.

³²² See Leclant, 1975, 137-149.

pyramid is likewise destroyed. The Texts in Unas' corridor³²³ set out the process by which the king prepares for ascension, and having ascended, rules in the afterlife³²⁴. Teti's corridor Texts, however, are related to the journey of the king through the sky and his eventual admittance into the afterlife³²⁵. The corridors of Pepi I and II are, again, much more similar to each other than they are to either Unas or Teti, or than either Unas or Teti are to each others. These Texts are concerned with resurrection and share Utts. 462 to 464. Pepi II's corridor, as is usual with the text groups in his pyramid, has a number of 'new' spells, not found in other pyramids³²⁶.

Mythic Elements of the Antechamber and Its Corridors

The areas around the three doorways in the antechamber are the most vulnerable, mythically speaking, and the most vulnerable of these areas is the doorway in the east wall to the serdab. The east walls of Unas and Teti are more than adequately protected with the various spells protecting them against mundane dangers, as well as with the 'Cannibal Hymn' (Utt. 273/4) protecting them from supernatural dangers. This text provides the most graphic images in the Pyramid Texts, regardless of content, and the placement of the text above the

³²³ As read from left to right (as is the case in all the pyramids - Leclant 1975, 140) and from the north wall to the south; this is according to Sethe's numbering system, and it should be kept in mind that the (apparent) textual flow on the north and south walls may be a modern construct.

³²⁴ Utts. 23, 25, 32, 199-200 on the north wall and Utts. 244-246 on the south.

³²⁵ Utts. 359-363 on the north wall and 262, 264, and 272 on the south.

³²⁶ Utts. 583, 463-464 and 673-677. Utt. 676, a resurrection text, is inscribed twice, one right after the other.

door into the anepigraphic serdab emphasizes in the strongest manner the vulnerability of the various aspects of the deceased king. Thus, according to the imagery and allusion of the 'Cannibal Hymn,' the king was perceived not only as one who might give orders to the gods, or as one who is an equal with the gods, but as one of whom the gods (and demi-gods) must be fearful. This Utterance provides a tremendous leap from the push for equality and recognition found in the rest of the Pyramid Text corpus; the superiority of the king is that of the top of the food chain, literally, although it is hardly likely that an Egyptian would have put it in those terms. Through his ingestion of the most ancient gods ("the ones who are the oldest" - § 399), and his unspoken right of command for the death, dismemberment and preparation into food of those oldest of the old, the king wields the most supreme, unquestionable power. By devouring "(their) mothers and fathers" (§ 394), Unas and Teti begin history. No other rulers existed before them and as the first rulers, they become enshrined – and the word is used advisedly – as part of the myth of the beginnings of the ancient Egyptians' history of Egypt. All of this matters not at all to the ancient Egyptian outside the pyramid; however, inside the pyramid, as the most avowedly powerful ruler in Egypt's history by virtue of this Utterance, Unas and Teti each have been vaulted to the position of protector of their own sanctum. As a protection spell of the 'supernatural' variety, the king is not protecting himself from earthly dangers; he is protecting himself from every inhabitant of the afterlife.

The antechamber's east wall in Pepi I's pyramid, without the benefit of the fierce guardianship of the 'Cannibal Hymn, has its own measures of protection

for the serdab door. It combines protection Texts with two food Texts³²⁷, three resurrection Texts³²⁸, and one invoking the king's participation in various festivals³²⁹. The protection Texts, 10 in number, are spells meant to dispatch a number of different kinds of snakes. One untranslatable spell, Utt. 292, is also clearly meant to do away with, or guard against, a certain kind of snake; the insuperable textual difficulties of this spell would make even such a basic identification impossible were it not for the determinative (?) of a snake at the end of the text³³⁰. The snake spells as a whole, wherever they are found, are meant to protect against mundane evils, earthly dangers and as such, these spells are often, but not always, void of any mythic elements. Some few use mythic

³²⁷ Utts. 493-495, and 501.

³²⁸ Utts. 496-498.

³²⁹ Utt. 469.

³³⁰ *ḡd mdw nt tk k ntki ikn ni tkn t k ntk n.k ikn hi* – this spell seems to consist of a number of independent pronouns followed by ... what? Rather than attempting translation, however, I propose a different solution to this problem. I am not entirely sure they were meant to be translated coherently. There are several different texts of this nature in the corpus – Utts. 281, 286, 502B. Utterances 281 and 286 are found on the east walls of the antechambers of Unas, Teti, and Pepi I. Utterance 502B, recorded in Faulkner 1969a on page 11, is inscribed over the west door of Pepi II's funerary chamber. Each text is incomprehensible. Utterance 502B can be transliterated thusly: *kkk kkk kkk kkk lbf lm.k di di*; Utterance 281 like so: *ḡd mdw lsf h kwk bb h tiw tiw tiw bi rw n phui rw n ptti phui ptti m di n twnw hnw n'i n'i n'i n'i*; and Utterance 286: *ḡd mdw bšwm tiw tiw 3 šw tmlthnw kbnw šbnw ḥs nt dšrwt tiw tiw tiw šl tiw tiw tiw šl nšl dšrwt l3.t rn.l*. It will be noted that each of these spells repeats a particular cluster of consonants or sounds. This is particularly noticeable in Utt. 502B. See Allen, 1988, 38, for a short discussion of this spell. It was recently noted by Robert Ritner (at the general ARCE conference in Ann Arbor on April 11, 1997) that there seemed to be religious or magical texts that could only be described as being 'glossalalia' or 'speaking in tongues.' He was not commenting on the Pyramid Text spells; however, these spells would seem to fall into that same category, although rather than glossalalia which implies unrehearsed and impulsive, not to mention incomprehensible, 'divine' speech, we should perhaps consider them to be simply 'divine' speech of the unimpulsive, rehearsed and prerecorded kind. These spells, placed over a doorway in the company of spells protecting against snakes and other evil creatures, seem to be part of the select corpus of protection spells. That they are inherently magic should be taken as a given; that they are perhaps meant to imitate some presumed language relating specifically to snakes or other dangers should also be taken as a given. Perhaps they were meant to terrify dangerous beasts, with their odd combinations of harsh consonants, or perhaps they were intended to be used as the ultimate kind of rhyme or pun, a number of the 'words' in Utts. 281 and 286 in particular betraying this well-known Egyptian literary phenomenon. See Malaise, 1983 for a commentary on this. That

allusions, most notably Utt. 283 in which the royal deceased attacks the bit of evil "on behalf of Min and the *ikiw*" (§ 414).

Some spells provide protection against a number of dangers, not simply snakes. Utterance 284 mentions centipedes, lions, and bulls as well as a snake. The bull as an animal against whom one must guard is found in Utts. 277 and 289; a clue to the identity of the bull, and the reason for guarding one's self against it is found in Ut. 277³³¹. The text as it appears in Teti substitutes the word 'bull' or *k3* with *stš* or 'Seth.' The animal of Seth bears no relation to a bull, so it must be assumed that the substitution has some relevance regarding an alternate identity or form for Seth, at least for this spell.

The other walls with doorways, the north and west walls, contain no protection spells whatsoever in any of the pyramids; instead, they are inscribed with mainly resurrection and ascension Texts. The west wall in Unas' antechamber is slightly different and addresses the question of the presence of the king in the sky. The king is born from between the thighs of the Ennead as a star³³², using the myth of the birth of the sun and, apparently, stars to affirm the divinity and celestial nature of the king. Sometimes, indeed most times, the mythic imagery is obtuse, such as that in Utt. 254. The king speaks:

O you female apes who cut off heads, N will escape from you in safety. N has tied his head to his neck. His head is on his trunk in this his name of

the majority of examples of inscription of these strange spells are over the door into the serdab is significant and may signal the high regard in which their effectiveness was held.

³³¹ This text appears in Unas and Teti only.

³³² Utt. 248 § 262.

"Tie-er of heads," and he ties the head of the Apis bull by means of it on that day of lassoing the ox. (§ 286)

This passage mentions a specific day on which a presumably mythic event occurred, it mentions the fact that the head of the Apis bull will be joined to the rest of its body on that day, and it notes that the king is able to do this by means of his name of "Tie-er of heads." Whenever a particular day of mythic event occurs in the Texts and some action is described as taking place on that day, it is never clear whether the action happens on the same temporal day, or whether it happens on the anniversary of that day, like the modern celebration of a queen's birthday. Since the space in which these actions take place is a spiritual or supernatural one, it can be argued that the events occur on the same day in time. It could even be argued that every day is that mythic day, since the temporal nature of mythic space is not the same as that of mundane space. The import of this particular day is beyond our knowledge of Egyptian religions and mythic literature, rendering the imagery frustratingly obtuse and unavailable.

The south [left] part of Teti's west wall from the centre of the wall over the door to the south wall is filled with resurrection Texts. The Texts on the north [right] portion of the wall are similar to Unas'. These deal with the king in the sky in one way or another, whether through his arrival, his passage through, or his place therein. The resurrection Texts on the south section include an intriguing use of names as material objects in Utt. 364.

[Nephthys] gave you to your mother, Nut, in her name of 'Sarcophagus.' She embraced you in her name of 'Coffin.' You have been taken to her in her name of 'Tomb.' (§ 616)

The names of Sarcophagus, Coffin, and Tomb are those of Nut, rather than of Nephthys. The coffin or sarcophagus was the purview of Nut; her figure appeared inside the lid, arms outstretched as if arching over the sky. The tomb, or chambers therein, may be seen as a larger edition of the sarcophagus lid, which, although not decorated with a figure of Nut, was decorated with stars, celestial bodies often found on representations of Nut³³³.

Another text from this wall of Teti's, one of a group in which Horus resurrects the king, makes reference to the presence of Horus' spirit (*k3*) in the king:

Horus has acted on behalf of his spirit which is in you. (Utt. 370 § 647)

This reference is vital to the myth of kingship, the king being Horus while on the earthly throne. In order to understand this tenet of the kingship, it is necessary to come to terms with the idea that while the king may indeed be Horus during his reign, Horus as the god is in simultaneous existence in the pantheon, acting independently as a deity in his own right. The reconciliation of this notion of concurrence with modern notions of individuality is a formidable undertaking, the understanding of spirituality as a whole being difficult enough without peering into the inner workings of belief; however, if the simultaneity is removed from the picture and the notion of the several parts of a person – body, *k3*, *3h*, and *b3* – kept in mind, the idea of concurrence is made less strange. The

³³³See, for example, the representation of Nut on the ceilings of Ramses VI's and IX's tombs in Piankoff and Rambova, 1954, and Guilmant, 1907, pl. 85.

king as a body may have been on the throne while his *k3*, *3h*, and *b3* were part of Horus, the deity relating specifically to the office of kingship and the throne that symbolized that office³³⁴.

Utterance 469, from Pepi I's west wall, alludes to a divine ruler of Khem³³⁵ and his throwsticks "which remove the evil that is in front of him and dispel the evil that is behind him" (§ 908). That the ruler of Khem is divine is without doubt, standing as the subject of an allusion in which the sceptre of the king is placed in apposition to the ruler's throwsticks. The use of such relatively mundane items as throwsticks in this allusion and their comparison to a royal badge of leadership suggests that two distinct levels of existence are referred to: a mundane, earthly existence of the king and an otherworldly existence of Khem's ruler. The throwsticks are a mythic parallel to the sceptre, and when this analogy is used in the format of a religious text, the sceptre itself becomes mythic, as, by extension, does the king.

It is noteworthy that one of the few (relatively) extended pieces of mythic narrative in the Pyramid Texts is found in the pyramids of the later rulers of the VIth Dynasty in Utt. 477. The pyramids of Unas and Teti contain no such narrative. Another text found only in the later three pyramids, on the west wall of the antechamber in each, is Utt. 474. In Pepi I and Merenre, it is inscribed over the door to the funerary chamber and in Pepi II, it is found on the right [north]

³³⁴ Thus, the body was left in the funerary chamber in the pyramid while the other parts of the king were to take their rightful place next to Osiris.

panel. Geb confers with Atum regarding the duties Geb has performed on behalf of the king, such as the assembly of the gods, and the gifts bestowed on the king, such as the Mounds of Horus and Seth, images relating to the Two Lands of Egypt. Geb then states that although Seth will come to kill the king, he will be unsuccessful and the king will, in fact, kill Seth (§§ 941-944). This sort of rhetoric is common throughout the Texts; it presents a kind of apposition, albeit negative, that involves the king and powers that might prove dangerous to him and his dead body. The image of discussions between Geb and Atum on behalf of the king is a powerful one and indicates a kind of underlying mythic progress, one in which the deities act in community when it concerns the addition of a new element to their company. This, in turn, indicates a measure of the mythic rank of the king, that he would merit discussion in such elevated quarters.

The reason for the inclusion of this piece of narrative is, of course, obscure; whether this indicates one of the earliest examples of the beginning of the democratization of the underworld, or whether this indicates a different and new idea behind the use of mythic allusion in Egyptian religious literature is open for debate. The same applies for the inclusion of the 'Cannibal Hymn' in the two earlier pyramids and not the later ones.

The south walls of all of the pyramids, with the exception of Unas and the partial exception of Pepi I, have largely been destroyed and leave no textual evidence. The south wall of Unas contains only ascension Texts, and some of

³³⁵Khem is a city, Letopolis, in the second Lower Egyptian nome, the Letopolite. See Gauthier,

those of the nature of ferryman Texts, discussed above. Portions of these ascension Texts contain reed-float imagery, noted above, but this imagery provides only part of the textual content. The rest of them continue the ascension imagery and do so with little specific mythic allusion. The allusions made, which do include deities and their actions, are aimed toward the goal of the king's rise to the sky. They contain no opaque or seemingly incongruous allusions to 'hidden' mythic events; they are relatively straightforward and comprehensible in their task. The other Texts on this wall of Unas' are the same in their single-mindedness regarding their goal. They provide no 'extraneous' mythic matter and concern themselves with the task at hand.

The south wall of the serdab corridor in Teti provides a textual ritual of cleansing and purification. More than that, however, it provides an area of preparation. The king is clothed in garments and dons a crown in readiness for his entrance into the company of the gods. He is guarded by Taït, the goddess of weaving, who will watch over the king's corpse ensuring the body doesn't fall apart in the interim. The Texts on the north wall are resurrection Texts. Utterance 412, in particular, asks the dead body of the king not to rot or fall apart, but to stand its owner in good stead once he reaches the sky. It also describes the king's position in relation to the deities in the sky, his body being complete and prepared for the celestial entry.

1925, 175, and Gardiner, 1947, 61* and 65*.

FUNERARY CHAMBER TEXTS

The Texts in the funerary chambers of the epigraphic pyramids are the final group to be discussed. Together with the chambers in the kings' pyramids, the Texts in the funerary chamber in Neith's pyramid are also included. The Texts in the pyramid of Neith are by far the most complete, with relatively little missing; the Texts in the two other queens' funerary chambers are considerably less complete and have only recently been put into place on the walls³³⁶. Due to the fact that the queens' pyramids were only equipped with a funerary chamber (and in Neith's case, with an anepigraphic serdab) and it was in that one room that the Texts were placed, it has been noted that this indicates the period in which the Coffin Texts begin to come into the fore³³⁷. This also represents the first time that the Texts were inscribed on the walls of a pyramid belonging to someone other than the king³³⁸.

The funerary chambers in the kings' pyramids have only one door, in the east wall. The funerary chamber in Neith's pyramid, however, has a doorway in the north wall leading into the entrance corridor, the beginning of which is epigraphic, and it has a doorway in the east wall, leading into a small serdab, the

³³⁶ Allen, 1986.

³³⁷ Ibid, 1.

³³⁸ Ibid, 1. It should be kept in mind that this statement is made and proposed according to negative evidence; in other words, nothing has, as yet, been discovered to suggest that the Pyramid Texts were used by anyone but the king, from peasants to the queen, earlier in the Old Kingdom.

walls of which are ill-hewn³³⁹. The pyramids of Apouit³⁴⁰ and Oudjebten³⁴¹ are not so equipped, having only the funerary chamber; thus the only doorways in these pyramids' chambers are in the north wall, leading from the entrance corridors³⁴².

Everyone's (including Neith's) east wall, as well as Neith's north wall, the walls with doors, differ in their textual make-up. Neith's east wall, with the serdab door, is inscribed in six separate panels, three on top and three on the bottom with the door being in the centre of the bottom three. This bottom middle section is filled with only two, albeit large Texts – Utt. 665B and 665C, both resurrection. In fact, most of the Texts in the bottom panels are resurrection Texts, with a sprinkling of ascension Texts³⁴³. The top north [left] panel contains twelve short spells of protection³⁴⁴, along with one spell of food offering and one concerning Sopdet³⁴⁵. This represents a small but significant change in the pattern from the east wall Texts in the antechambers of the king, which likewise had doorways into anepigraphic serdabs. Beginning with Unas and Teti, the walls present powerful aids for the king against natural and supernatural terrors. The east antechamber walls of Pepi I, Merenre, and Pepi II are less stringently protective (i.e. they do not contain the 'Cannibal Hymn'). Neith's east wall, in

³³⁹ Jéquier, 1933, 14 and plate 1.

³⁴⁰ Ibid, plate 1.

³⁴¹ Jéquier, 1928, plate 1.

³⁴² Given the sorry state of the texts of queens Apouit and Oudjebten, their texts will not be included in this study; Neith's, however, in their state of near-perfection, will be.

³⁴³ The texts in the south bottom panel are Utts. 245-246 and 665. Those in the north bottom panel are Utts. 666B, 667 and 667A.

³⁴⁴ Utts. 233, 240, 277, 283-287, 289-291, 295-296, and 298.

³⁴⁵ Utts. 493 and 502A respectively.

the funerary chamber but with the serdab doorway, now has the protection Texts clustered in the top left corner, with mainly and comparatively positive Texts, Texts meant to aid her rise from the dead and to the sky with only one spell of protection³⁴⁶. The impetus behind the Texts on this wall has changed from one of fear and danger in Unas and Teti to one of pushing toward the Texts' primary goal, rebirth and ascension in Pepi I, Merenre, Pepi II, and Neith.

The east walls of the kings' funerary chambers are somewhat individualistic. While the content of Unas' Texts is primarily concerned with food³⁴⁷, either eating or offering, the Texts on Teti's east wall contain food Texts³⁴⁸, nearly the entire corpus of the offering formula³⁴⁹, one protection text³⁵⁰, and other Texts³⁵¹. The food Texts are located in the north and south portion of the gables. The offering formula completely fills the north panel beside the antechamber doorway. The rest of the Texts are found in the middle panel over the door, in a narrow horizontal band above the door, and in the south panel beside the doorway. Only a small portion of Pepi I's east wall remains near the ceiling in the north half of the gable. The Texts found on this small section are resurrection Texts³⁵² and those regarding the king's presence in the sky³⁵³. Merenre's Texts provide a mixture of all three previously mentioned groups,

³⁴⁶ Utt. 759.

³⁴⁷ Utts. 204-212, 223. The others, ascension and kingship, are 219-225.

³⁴⁸ Utts. 208, 210-212, 338-339, 341, 343-345, 347-349, and 354.

³⁴⁹ Utts. 142-168, 172-173, and 224 § 218a.

³⁵⁰ Utt. 224 § 221.

³⁵¹ Utts. 350-352, 224 § 218c-220c, and 355-358.

³⁵² Utts. 355-356, 407, and 457-460.

³⁵³ Utts. 357, 407, 456, and 461.

with food³⁵⁴, resurrection³⁵⁵, and other Texts³⁵⁶. Pepi II's are similar in content to Merenre's³⁵⁷. The Texts on both Merenre's and Pepi II's east walls do not seem to have been placed with any particular regard to their content.

The Texts on the south wall of the funerary chambers, with the exceptions of Unas and Neith, have largely been destroyed. Teti's south wall contains only the last line of Utt. 246. Pepi I's and Merenre's south walls are too destroyed for any kind of reconstruction, and Pepi II's wall contains only a few Texts in the lower east corner³⁵⁸. Leclant notes that those Texts found on Pepi I's south wall are the same as those in the later pyramids³⁵⁹. The Texts found on Pepi II's south wall are concerned with resurrection in its several forms, such as the resurrection of the king as a falcon³⁶⁰ or as a star³⁶¹, or the release of the king from his mummy wrappings³⁶².

Neith's south wall is nearly complete, with only one large lacuna in the upper west half of the wall; Unas' wall is complete. Texts on this wall, reading from the west [right] to the east [left] in both, in Unas' funerary chamber number from Utt. 213 to 219. Neith's corpus contains those Texts plus an additional

³⁵⁴ Utt. 206, 208, 212, 338-339, 341, 343-345, 349, and 400.

³⁵⁵ Utt. 210-211, 355, 407, 459-460, 593, 596, and 603-604.

³⁵⁶ Utt. 199, 224, 244, 340, 342, 346, 348, 350-351, 353, 356-357, 401-404, 407, 436, 594-595, 597, and 599-602.

³⁵⁷ Utt. 201-203, 206, 208, 210-212, 338-349, 352-353, 355, 357, 400-407, 414, 418, 439, 456, 459, 591, 593-597, 599-602, 604-605, 637, and 659-662.

³⁵⁸ Utt. 267, 302, 309, 358, 537, and 666-672.

³⁵⁹ Leclant, 1985, 301.

³⁶⁰ Utt. 668.

³⁶¹ Utt. 302.

³⁶² Utt. 358.

seventeen (at least)³⁶³. Unas' wall, thus, has approximately 50 lines of text, while Neith's has nearly 200. The Texts of Unas arrange for the king's ascent into heaven, from a declaration that the king has not departed dead but alive³⁶⁴ to the assumption of authority in the afterlife by the king³⁶⁵. The same Texts in Neith, of course, follow the same pattern as Unas' with the addition of a number of similarly constituted spells.

The west wall of the funerary chambers all leave space for the 'palace façade' on the bottom half (approximately) of the wall. This area is uninscribed to allow for the sarcophagus, which is itself inscribed with spells relating to Nut and her assistance in the resurrection of the deceased. The areas at the heads and feet of the sarcophagi on the north and south walls are likewise uninscribed, although in these instances, they are not decorated in any manner at all. The west walls of Teti and Unas are inscribed in the gables only, leaving the lower portions of the wall entirely decorated with a 'palace façade' motif. The west walls of the later kings, and Neith, are fully inscribed down to the level of the lid of the sarcophagus where the 'palace façade' begins. Teti's gables contain ascension Texts for the most part³⁶⁶; Unas' gables are completely filled with protection spells against mundane creatures³⁶⁷, the same type of spells found on the east wall of the antechamber. Leclant notes that Utt. 213, following a sort of

³⁶³ Utts. 32, 213-222, 245, 412 (twice on different places on the wall, one in the much-damaged upper west half and one in the lower east corner), 424, 462, 468 (twice, following Utt. 412), 665 §§ 1903-1912, 665 § 1913, 667, 674-676, and 690.

³⁶⁴ Utt. 213.

³⁶⁵ Utt. 218.

³⁶⁶ Utts. 322-337, and 633.

³⁶⁷ Utts. 226-243.

placement canon, appears just at the height of the sarcophagus in each pyramid³⁶⁸. Utterance 213 begins with an address to the king, stating that he has not departed dead but alive, and not only alive, but in a state of reigning grace (§ 134). Then the spell goes on to equate various of the kings' bodyparts with Atum (§ 135).

The Texts on this wall of the funerary chamber are nearly identical in the four later pyramids³⁶⁹. They include addresses to Nut, the sky goddess but also the goddess of the sarcophagus, so to speak, the goddess depicted on the inner side of the lid. She was understood to protect the deceased and to help him in his ascension³⁷⁰. These are by no means the only Texts on this wall, however. Purification, restoration and resurrection spells also appear in abundant numbers on this wall in all four pyramids' chambers.

The north wall of the funerary chamber in three of the six pyramids – Teti, Merenre, and Pepi I – is too destroyed for reconstruction. The north walls of Unas, Pepi II and Neith, however, are rich with Texts.

³⁶⁸ Leclant, 1985, 301.

³⁶⁹ Pepi I: Utts. 335-336, 356, 365-368, 370-372, 422-424, 425 (twice), 426-427, 428 (twice), 429-449, 450 (twice), 451-455, 483, and 610.

Merenre: Utts. 10, 332, 335-336, 365-368, 370-373, 414, 422, 424-427, 428 (twice), 429-434, 437, 439-444, 446-455, and 588-592.

Pepi II: Utts. 9, 332, 335-336, 356, 365-371, 373, 412, 422-434, 436-438, 440-444, 446-455, 589-590, and 620-623.

Neith: Utts. 356-357, 367-368, 371-372, 423, 425, 430, 433-434, 443-444, 446-447, 450-451, 452-455, 588-590, and 593.

³⁷⁰ See Hart, 1986, 143-147.

Unas' north wall is nearly completely covered with Texts of the offering ritual³⁷¹. Some 'anomalies' appear, such as those Texts that are concerned with protection³⁷², or anointing³⁷³, or travelling in the afterlife³⁷⁴, among others³⁷⁵.

Neith's north wall, with the doorway leading to the entrance corridor, is somewhat textually complicated with numerous panels, although not nearly so complex as that of Pepi II. The complication arises, as with Pepi II, from the many panels, rather than from the textual content of those panels. Neith's north wall is divided into seven sections, according to Jéquier's plan. The first two sections are over two anepigraphic areas, the 'palace façade' and the blank area at one end of the sarcophagus (with a corresponding blank area at the other end)³⁷⁶. The third³⁷⁷, fourth³⁷⁸, and fifth³⁷⁹ sections run from the ceiling down to the line of the top of the doorway. The fifth section is over the doorway completely, the fourth section only partly so to the west, and the third section not at all, even further to the west. These three sections are of interest for the moment; they are subdivided into three sections, one on top of the other. Each of the primary sections contains the offering formula generally, but not always, found on the north walls of the kings' pyramids. The Texts in the sixth panel³⁸⁰ involve the

³⁷¹ Utts. 23-24, 25 (twice), 26-31, 32 (three times), and 40-199.

³⁷² Utts. 634 and 636.

³⁷³ Utt. 637.

³⁷⁴ Utts. 246, and 655/7.

³⁷⁵ Utts. 30-31, 200, 246, 634-639, 640-641 (both twice), and 658.

³⁷⁶ First section: Utts. 268, 474, 476, and 688.

Second section: Utts. 330-331, 585-586, 624, and 704.

³⁷⁷ Utts. 23-25, 32, 34, and 72-80.

³⁷⁸ Utts. 25, 32, 35-43, 81, and 108-171.

³⁷⁹ Utts. 32, 44-57, and 82-96.

³⁸⁰ Utts. 223-225, 454, 592, 641, 643-646, and 649.

presence of the queen, referred to as the king (Neith's Texts generally use the male nouns and pronouns, with rare exceptions) in the afterlife and the sky, and her acceptance therein. The final seventh section, located to the west [left] of the entrance doorway is inscribed with offering Texts³⁸¹.

Pepi II's north wall, as alluded to above, is very complicated. The top of the wall all the way across has been destroyed together with a large portion of the east [right] end. A large number of the Texts on this wall are concerned with the offering formula³⁸²; however, an almost equally large number are concerned with the acceptance of the king into the sky³⁸³ and the protection he derives thereby from the children of Horus³⁸⁴ or from Geb³⁸⁵. Others include resurrection³⁸⁶, ascension³⁸⁷, 'lustration'³⁸⁸, and incense³⁸⁹ Texts, as well as two sarcophagus Texts³⁹⁰, a number of protection spells³⁹¹, and some less readily categorizable³⁹². As with the Texts on the west wall of the funerary chambers of Pepi I, Merenre, Pepi II and Neith, the Texts on the north walls of Pepi II and Neith are near-duplicates of each other, with a good number of the same spells appearing on each³⁹³.

³⁸¹ Utts. 58-71, and 173-199.

³⁸² Utts. 12-24, 25 (twice), 31(three times), 34-102, 106, 108-198, and 327.

³⁸³ Utts. 268, 272, and 626-627.

³⁸⁴ Utts. 644, and 648.

³⁸⁵ Utt. 640 (twice).

³⁸⁶ Utts. 412, 628-633, and 665.

³⁸⁷ Utts. 326, 330-331, and 624-625

³⁸⁸ Utts. 32 (four times) and 33 (three times).

³⁸⁹ Utts. 26-30 (26-29 appear three times; 30 appears twice)

³⁹⁰ Utts. 9 and 11.

³⁹¹ Utts. 636-641.

³⁹² Utts. 223-225, 246, 642-643, 645-6647, 650,

³⁹³ It would be interesting to know whether the other queens' pyramids followed Pepi II in this manner.

Finally, the corridor leading from the funerary chamber to the entrance corridor in Neith is inscribed with spells of ascension on both walls³⁹⁴.

Mythic Elements of the Funerary Chamber

In this chamber, perhaps the most formulaic of all the epigraphic areas in the Vth and VIth Dynasty pyramids, the same text begins the west walls in each of the pyramids: Utt. 213 over the head of the sarcophagus. The addresses to Nut are found on this same wall of the later pyramids and each pyramid that has inscriptions remaining on the north wall, with the exception of Teti which has the offering ritual on the east wall, has at least a generous portion of the ritual, if not the entire offering corpus. The east and south walls of the pyramids, where extant, are slightly more idiosyncratic, but this idiosyncrasy is mild.

The offering formula begins with Utt. 23 and continues to Utt. 200, with Texts concerned with various items of food following thereafter, although the following food Texts are not a part of the offering formula itself. Some of Neith's Texts and some of those of the later VIth Dynasty kings are interspersed with later additions to the offering formula, for example Utts. 742 to 756. The offering formula give not only spells indicating which offerings (and the nature thereof) are to be included, but it also indicates some of the actions that are to accompany

³⁹⁴ West side: Utts. 305, 308, 324, 503, 511, and 625.

the offerings. Utterance 23 § 16 is called, liberally, a 'libation' spell by Faulkner³⁹⁵. It begins with appeals to Osiris and Thoth to remove anything that might cause harm to the king (or queen). It continues with two commands to be repeated four times and it ends with an instruction to pour water, hence Faulkner's designation of 'libation.'

The spells that follow on the heels of Utt. 23 are spells offering incense of different kinds – dry or balled – and Upper Egyptian natron of Nekheb or Upper Egyptian natron of *št-pt*. These 'incense' and 'libation' spells set the scene for the succeeding food offerings, which, when listed separately, form a kind of repast, particularly from Utt. 108 following. From Utt. 109 until the penultimate offering text, Utt. 199, the king is given the Eye of Horus, for which the various offerings stand. This includes thirteen different kinds of bread, various portions of meat and fowl, four different types of cake, seven kinds of beer, five varieties of wine, five types of fruit and vegetables of all kinds. The order of presentation is interesting in itself; once the bread, meat and fowl, cake, beer, wine, fruit and vegetables have been offered, the list begins again with grains and breads, beer, wine, fruit, and vegetables, the second time excluding meat and fowl³⁹⁶. The Eye of Horus, then, kept the king alive. Even Utt. 199, the text of the offering ritual concerned with the reversion of offerings, prays that the Eye of Horus belong to

East side: Utts. 322, 514, 540, and 691.

³⁹⁵ Faulkner, 1969, 4.

³⁹⁶ It is hard to imagine that for the king, the meat and fowl would be too expensive to include in two sections of offering, but they may have been rare enough in such quantity the first time that a second round of offering would have been inconceivable. It is likely that the omission was made with an eye to ritual consequences. See Barta, 1963, 60-63 for a discussion of the king's offering list.

the king before the reversion is instituted in an instructional final sentence; once the ritual has been concluded, the food and drink taken by the deceased become not simply nourishment necessary for continued human existence but also nourishment necessary for the continued existence of various parts of the king's spiritual existence – his *bꜣ*, *kꜣ*, and *ꜣḥ*.

The addresses to Nut found in the later four pyramids on the west wall over the sarcophagus appear in Pepi I in a narrow horizontal band between the gables and main lower panels. The Nut texts in Merenre appear briefly in a narrow vertical band on the far north end of the wall and then re-appear in the broad main panel of the 'palace façade,' again just over the sarcophagus. The same Texts appear in Pepi II in exactly the same positions as in Merenre, in a narrow vertical band in the north end and in the broad main panel over the sarcophagus. The Texts addressed to Nut in Neith's funerary chamber occur in the north panel over the head of the sarcophagus. Nut was asked to protect the king (or queen) in her role of divine mother to the deceased 'Osiris N'; a number of the Texts that are directed toward her ask for her protection by concealment against Seth³⁹⁷. As the sky-goddess in one of her avatars, Nut is accepting the king into herself, much as she takes the sun into her mouth, and swallows it at dusk to give birth to it at dawn. Her quality of being the sky is recognized in the Texts: in Utt. 433 § 783, Nut is made fruitful³⁹⁸ in her name of 'Sky' by means of

³⁹⁷ Utts. 427-428, 443.

³⁹⁸ For this translation, see Faulkner, 1969, 142. Faulkner inserts a first person singular pronoun in this text, translating it as "I have made you fruitful(?) by means of Geb in your name of 'Sky,' for I have joined the entire land to you everywhere."

Geb. Then follows the statement, "The land to its limits has been joined to you (i.e. Nut) in every place." This statement, in itself, implies protection by covering the king, an image echoed in Utt. 428 § 778 which requests of Nut that she "fall over" her son Osiris, an act of covering him with her body. The placement of these Texts is important, being inscribed as they are over the sarcophagus of the royal deceased. The inner lid of the sarcophagus provides the same service through artistic representation, conventionally being equipped with a painting or carving of Nut with arms outstretched and legs extended in a position according the king protection and cover³⁹⁹, "the land being joined to [Nut] in every place" (Utt. 433 § 783). In 'covering' the king with her body, she is joining the edges of all four sides of the sarcophagus as well as all the land ruled by the king on earth.

The inscribed gables on the west wall of Unas provide the only spells of protection for the king of the same mundane kind as the antechamber's east walls. They are intended to eliminate the danger of beastly evils, such as snakes; thus, the opposite walls of the two rooms in Unas' pyramid bound the space with protection of both a magical and an earthly sort. The spells on the west wall of Teti's funerary chamber, however, are almost entirely ascension Texts without hint of protection. Was this felt to be unnecessary by the time Teti came to the throne? Was this perhaps instituted by Teti himself following a personal set of beliefs? There remains a very real distinction between placing Texts aimed at protecting the king's body, a material substance, in a space directly over the

³⁹⁹ See footnote 377.

sarcophagus holding that dead body, and, in the same space in a different pyramid, employing Texts meant to aid the rise of the king to the sky, an abstract notion. The space taken by the gables is perforce near the ceiling, something that might certainly aid in the ascent of the king, but which also might have little use in dispelling snakes and other creatures that creep or crawl closer to the ground.

The east walls of the funerary chambers, with the possible exception of Pepi I (keeping in mind the battered state of his funerary chamber's east wall), have a common mythic denominator: food. These food Texts are not, strictly speaking and only, offering Texts. While food is discussed, and the king (or queen) calls for meat or simply for meals to be provided for him (or her), the thrust of the spells' intent is the introduction of food into the general mythic content – that, and the protestation of eating with one's mouth, walking right side up, and generally conducting one's self as the average human with no abnormal features. The food contributed to the mythic content by preventing the starvation and thirsting to death of the deceased. The fact of the need to eat and drink is addressed by means of the introduction of food – the preparation, serving and identification of different foods – into the mythic world created by the pyramid chambers and the Texts on the walls.

Finally, the sarcophagus was inscribed on the outside with Utts. 1-7 §§ 1-5. With the exception of Utt. 2 § 1, these spells are all to be recited by Nut, whose figure is often found later carved or painted on the inside of the lid of sarcophagi. She represents the sky, the very geography to which the king aspires to ascend.

These Texts, in particular, while being very short, emphasize the divine familial connections of the king. Utt. 2 § 1, recited by Geb and not Nut, is largely missing; however what remains is the assertion by Geb that the king is the son of his body, giving the king a father of primordial origins, and, hence, original and powerful status.

CONCLUSIONS

It was mentioned above that a study of the placement of the Texts within the pyramids' chambers and corridors might prove useful in elucidating the role of myth within the Texts. This has turned out not to be so, except in a very general sense. No overarching conclusions can be made regarding placement, with the exception of the use of Nut on the west walls of the four later pyramids – Pepi I, Merenre, Pepi II, and Neith. The specifics of each of the Texts used in the pyramids were, without doubt, of great importance to the overall goal of the Texts; however, without a more complete set of mythic images preserved in the general literature, it is impossible to know how these mythic images, the invocations of various deities, and the incantations directed toward the dead royal were understood to be effective. From the standpoint of the end of the twentieth century, the Texts seem to have been placed with general content in mind only. It was noted that a few fecundity Texts are found on the entrance

corridor walls of Unas. An analysis of these Texts shows nothing more than fecundity as imagery, however, and in any case, there are not enough of them to lead to a solid conclusion regarding their placement specifically on the entrance corridor walls. Generally, fecundity in the Pyramid Texts should be expected, performing within the mythic elements as images of growth and, in a sense, resurrection. Given the lack of a true canon of placement, the images of fecundity could be included anywhere in the chambers; however, these three 'fecundity' Texts – Utts. 317, 318, and 320 – are found only on the east and west walls of the entrance corridor of Unas' pyramid.

The mythic imagery in the Texts was there for the use of the king; in other words, the imagery was centred on the king, and his resurrection and ascent. The deities in the sky were called upon to resurrect the king, to protect him, to aid in his ascent to the sky and to allow him access to their company. They conferred with each other concerning his presence and they protected him not only from mundane dangers but from each other, most notably Seth. Seth, however, was not the only deity who might prove to be lethal to the king; others included various evil aspects of deities not usually depicted as such. Utterance 534 §§ 1267-1274 guards against the 'evil comings' of Osiris, Horus, *hnt-irty*, Thoth, Isis, and Nephthys, as well as Seth. With the obvious exception of Seth, the other deities named are not known for their bellicose natures. They are known, rather, for their nurturing characteristics, or characteristics of wisdom. The Egyptians preferred to include as many possibilities as they could to prepare themselves –and here, the king – for any contingency. This impulse is long-

standing and can be seen throughout Egypt's history in the way in which the culture and society cast nothing aside. Ideas and images were re-used time and again, a pertinent example of this being the re-use of the Pyramid Texts in tombs from the Saïte period. On a different level, the inclusion of 'evil' aspects of otherwise nurturing gods is evidence of this, as well. Had these aspects not been mentioned, there remained the possibility that they could have come to harm the king⁴⁰⁰.

The conclusion that there seems to be nothing more than general content to aid in textual placement is important. It indicates that the Texts were meant to be used as a complete whole, without the concern of placing each text in a specific (and only that specific) place. Interestingly, it appears that while cycles were indeed used, such as the reed-float cycle mentioned above or repetitive imagery such as that of the Field of Rushes for lustration and bathing, individual Texts were never repeated verbatim, nor were their images. For example, although the reed-float Texts maintained the same basic style from text to text, their use of deities and companion Texts was never *exactly* the same. This may seem a semantic difference on the surface, pointing out a mere difference in choice of word, but it shows a desire to be as comprehensive as possible⁴⁰¹. The deities in the reed-float Texts are always the four most important to the ascension process – Re', Horus, Harakhti, the king – with the rare addition of one or two others who are different forms of Horus (e.g. Shezemty [§ 342 – see Horus of Shezmet, §

⁴⁰⁰ The notion behind this is similar to that behind the mutilation of signs to prevent the possibility of their harming the king. See Chap. 2, p. 20-21.

1085], Horus of the East or even Horizon-Dweller [§ 1085]). Using these four in varying combinations ensures that every contingency is included and that should the king be in a situation in the sky wherein Harakhti is present for the reed-floats and not Horus, the king is prepared.

The Texts, then, operated fundamentally as a whole. While each text in itself is individual, these individualities are not used to create a group of Texts with categorical areas of placement. They provide the corpus as a whole with myriad positions for the royal to use in his or her otherworldly travel, including positions or invocations of protection, resurrection, ascension, and celestial presence. They were not interdependent on one another in a narrative structure; rather, they were more similar to the paint dawbs used in pointillism, formless when viewed individually, dawb by dawb, but eloquent when viewed in their entirety.

⁴⁰¹ See Ch. 3, pp. 58-59 for examples of this phenomenon relating to the king's body.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In the past, Egyptologists have understood myth as story or prose, poetic or oral narrative, using this understanding of myth to limit its use to the Middle or New Kingdoms. The term, 'myth,' however, has come to include a much broader significance -- the interaction between humankind and their various gods. Included in this interaction are attempts at comprehending the workings of the world, and the part the gods played therein. Climate, social institutions, animal life - all these, together with many more, were cause for wonder and apprehension. For the Egyptians, however, it is not only their endeavours toward comprehension that signaled myth. It was, more importantly, the Egyptian correspondence with the divine world that gave myth its substance. The evidence for this, in the Old Kingdom, is negative, but it is quite resoundingly negative. Although the religious literature is relatively limited during this period, absolutely no hint of extended narrative myth has appeared. The instances of narrative in the Pyramid Texts are confined to two brief episodes, one describing the behaviour of Seth during his trial (Utt. 477), the other using the Heliopolitan myth of Atum masturbating to create Shu and Tefnut, the deities who represent the world above our heads and below our feet (Utt. 527). These are not used to tell stories, these fragments of myth. Instead, they are used as links to the mythic world, by means of which the king will

eventually sit with the gods and become one of their number. The fact of storytelling or narrative is irrelevant; the provision of a nexus between the mundane and the celestial worlds is, however, of the utmost importance.

The Texts functioned within the pyramids in a multi-purpose way. They provided the king (or queen) with the means of inserting themselves into the celestial foundational myths that surrounded the ancient Egyptians, of becoming part of - and operating within - those myths. The Texts also worked in a physical, mundane manner by surrounding the dead royal with the intrinsic magic of the hieroglyphs, and thereby creating within the chambers a single area linked by passageways that nearly completely encircled the space. The only places not inscribed, the floor and the serdab, were guarded by protective Utterances, spells against snakes and evil demons that might find their way in, past the anepigraphic areas into the more sensitive, more mythically charged epigraphic chambers. The Texts and the space inside the chambers together created an arena in which the deceased would use the foundational myths, and the overlying allusions, to become part of the myth of the afterlife. As the deceased became part of that myth, he or she became myth themselves in an inescapable syllogistic circle. The Texts ensured the transformation of the deceased from dead human to reborn deity by means of mythic allusions, the alignment of the king or queen with the deities, and the necessary and proper spells to accomplish that alignment.

The entire corpus of the Pyramid Texts becomes a complex, multi-layered myth unto itself, a feat accomplished in a number of different ways: by inserting

the deceased into the myth and subsequently transforming the deceased into deity, and by encircling of the deceased in what is essentially a shroud of protective and enabling magic, the Pyramid Texts themselves.

APPENDIX A

FLOOR PLANS OF THE KINGS' PYRAMIDS

The floor plans of the kings' pyramids have been taken from Sethe, 1922. The queen's pyramid floor plan has not been included.

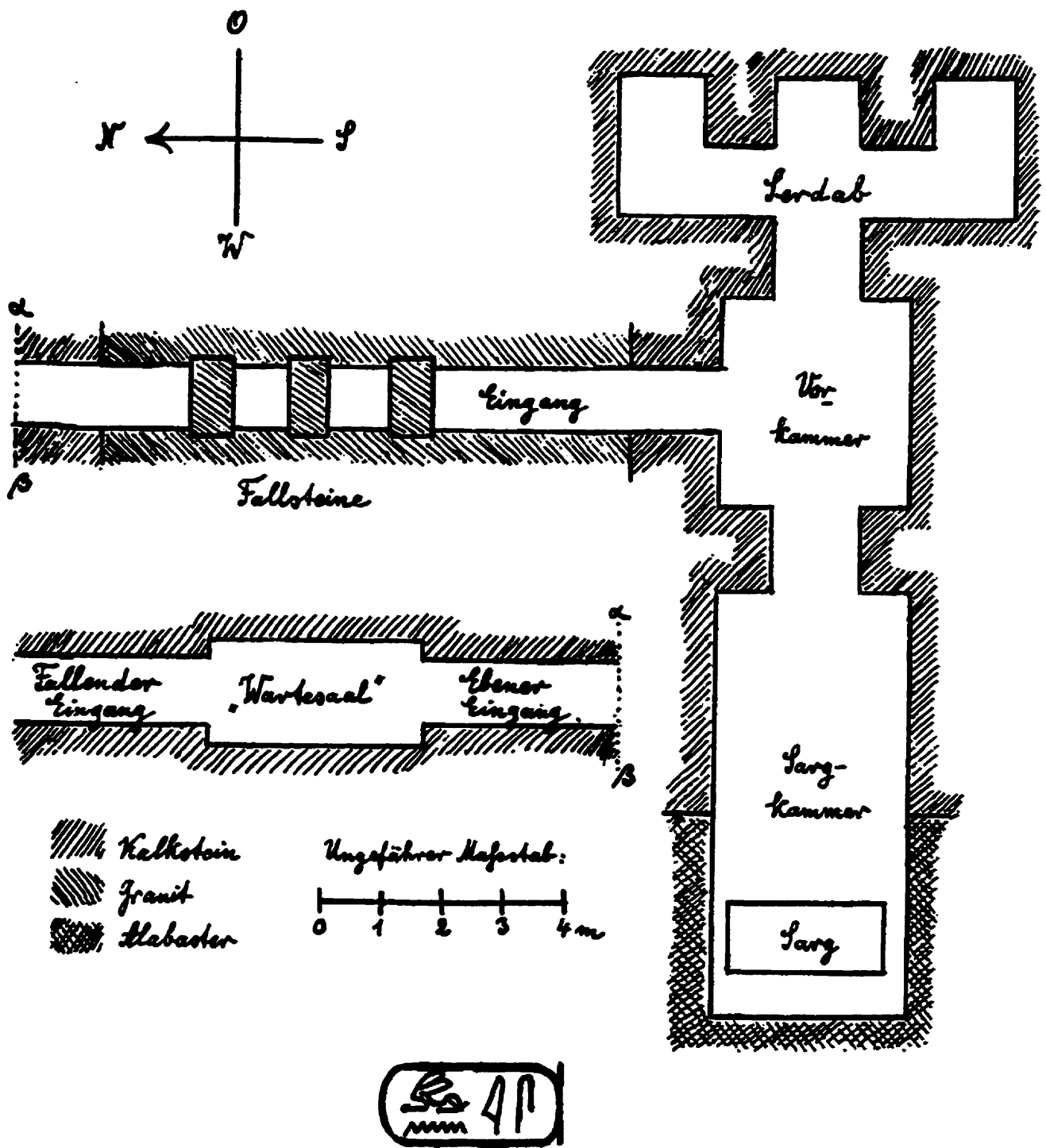


Fig. 1 Unas (Sethe, 1922, 116)

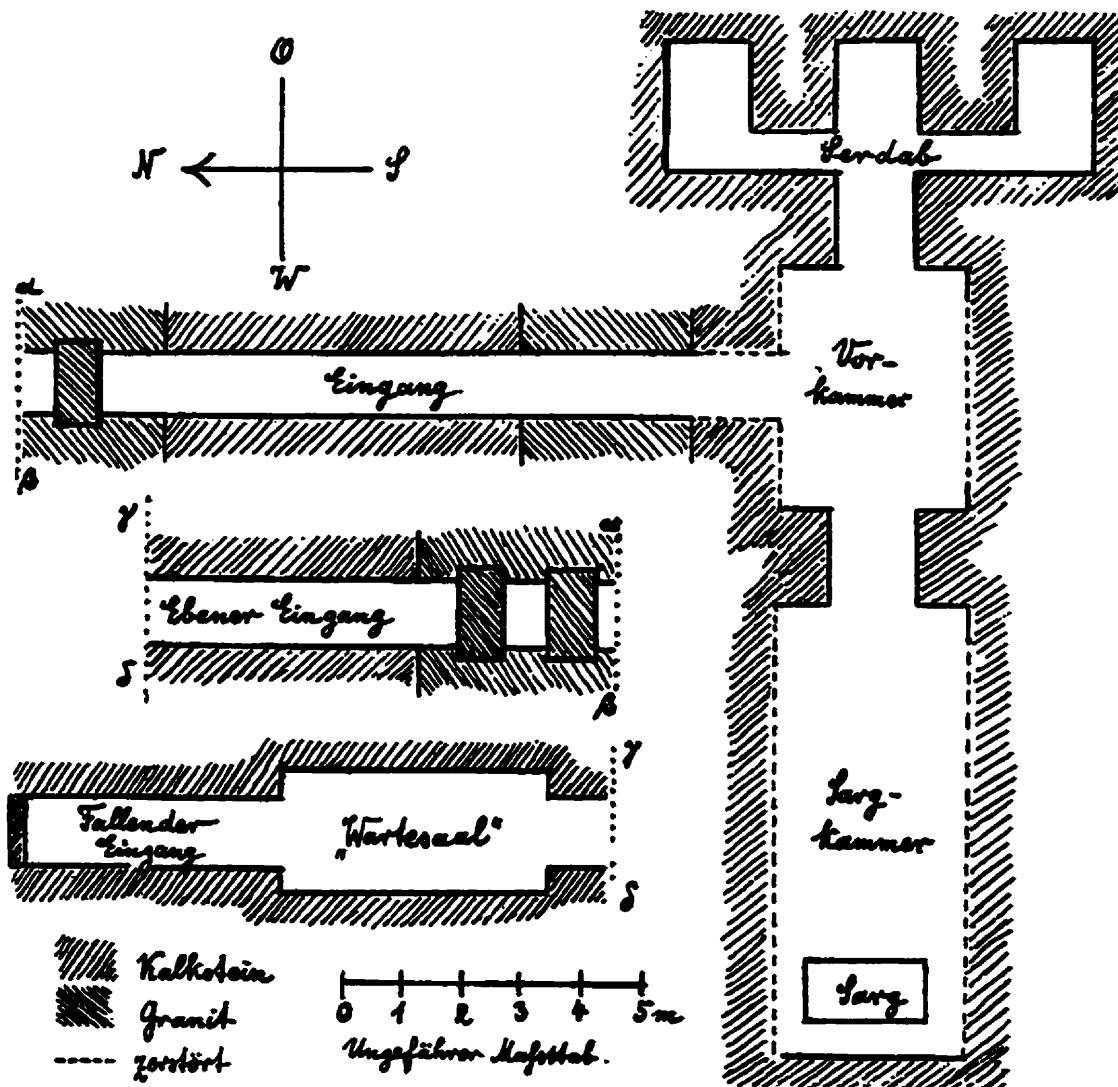
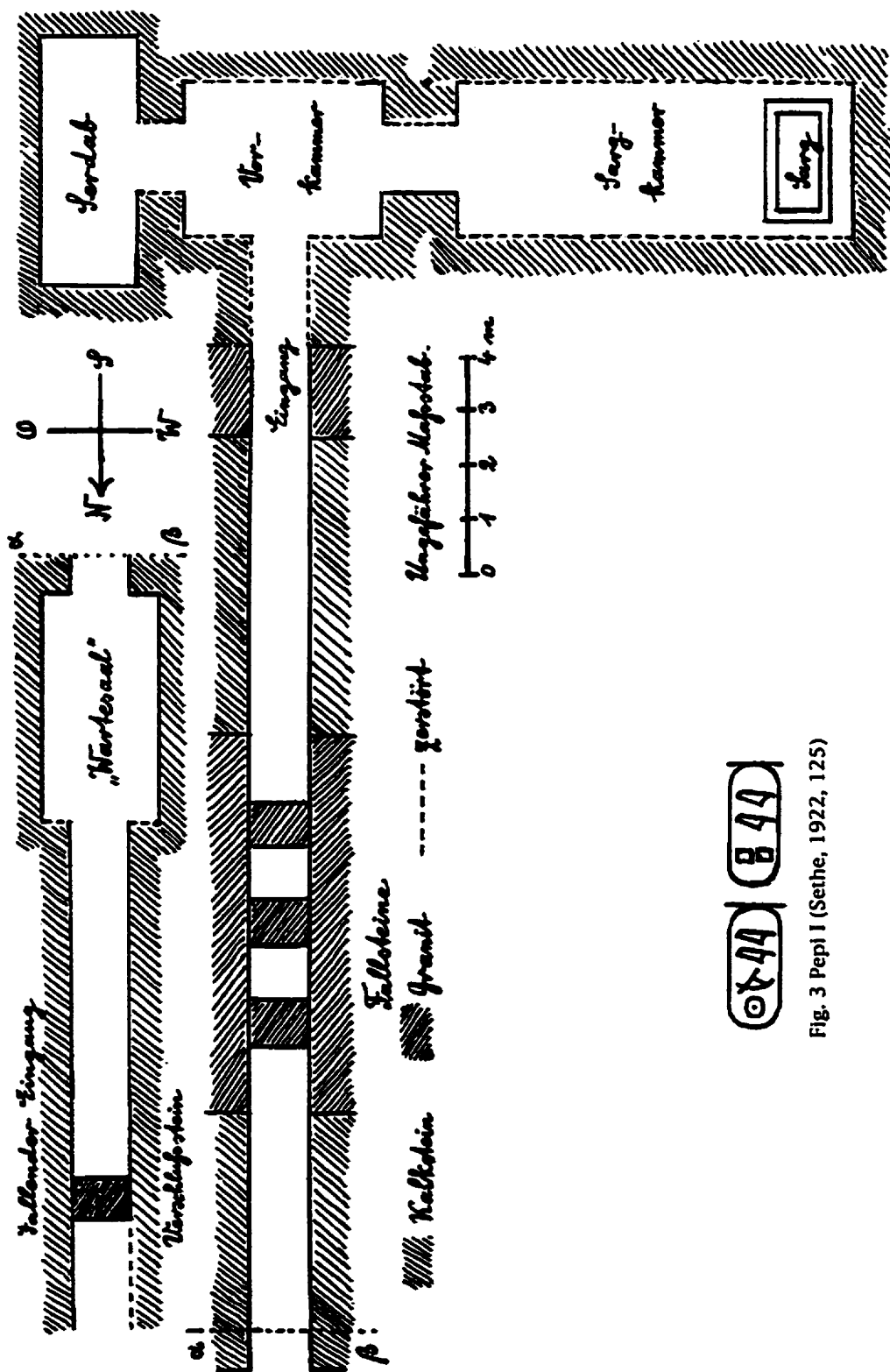


Fig. 2 Teti (Sethe, 1922, 120)



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Fig. 3 Pepi I (Sethe, 1922, 125)

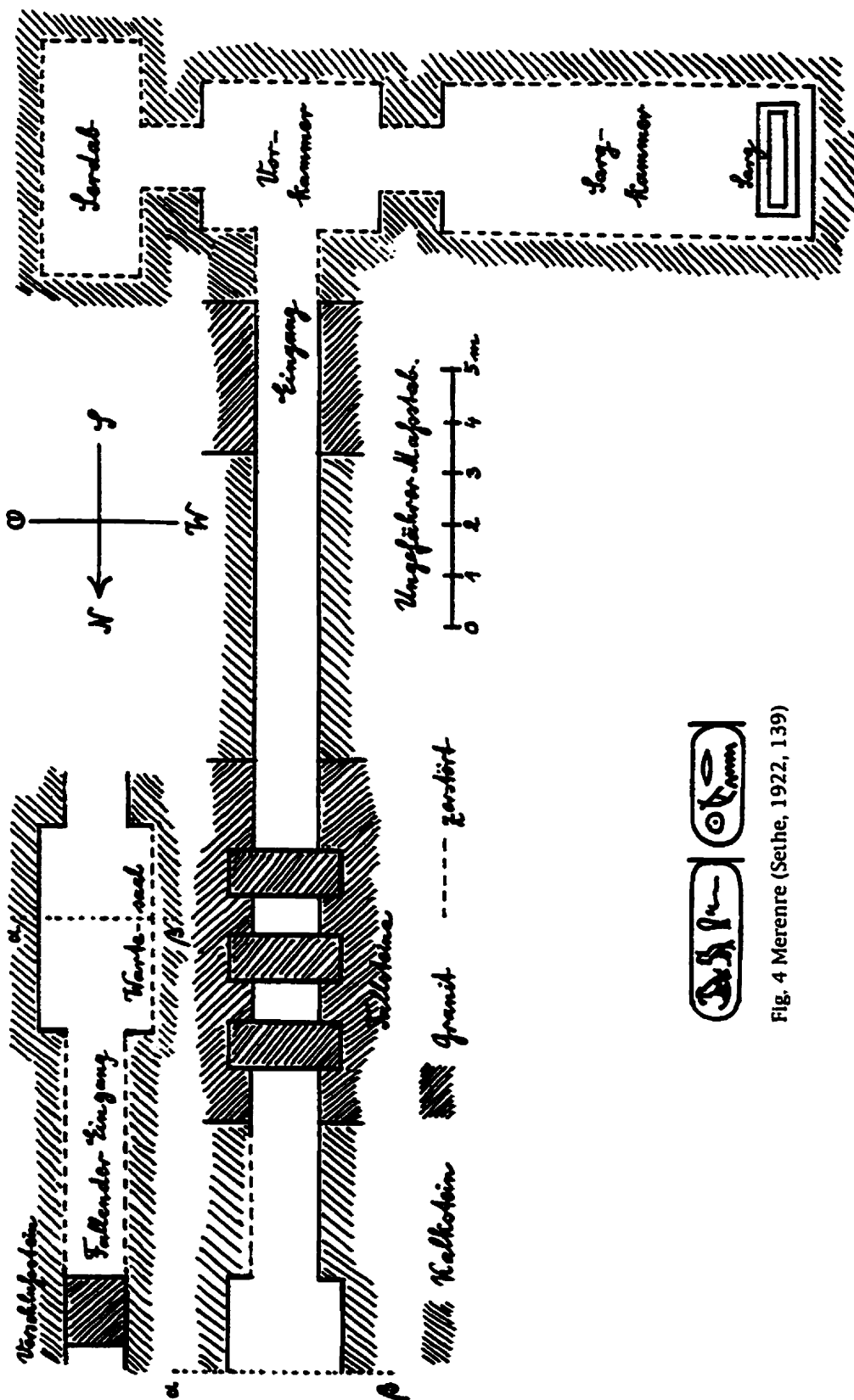


Fig. 4 Merenre (Sethe, 1922, 139)

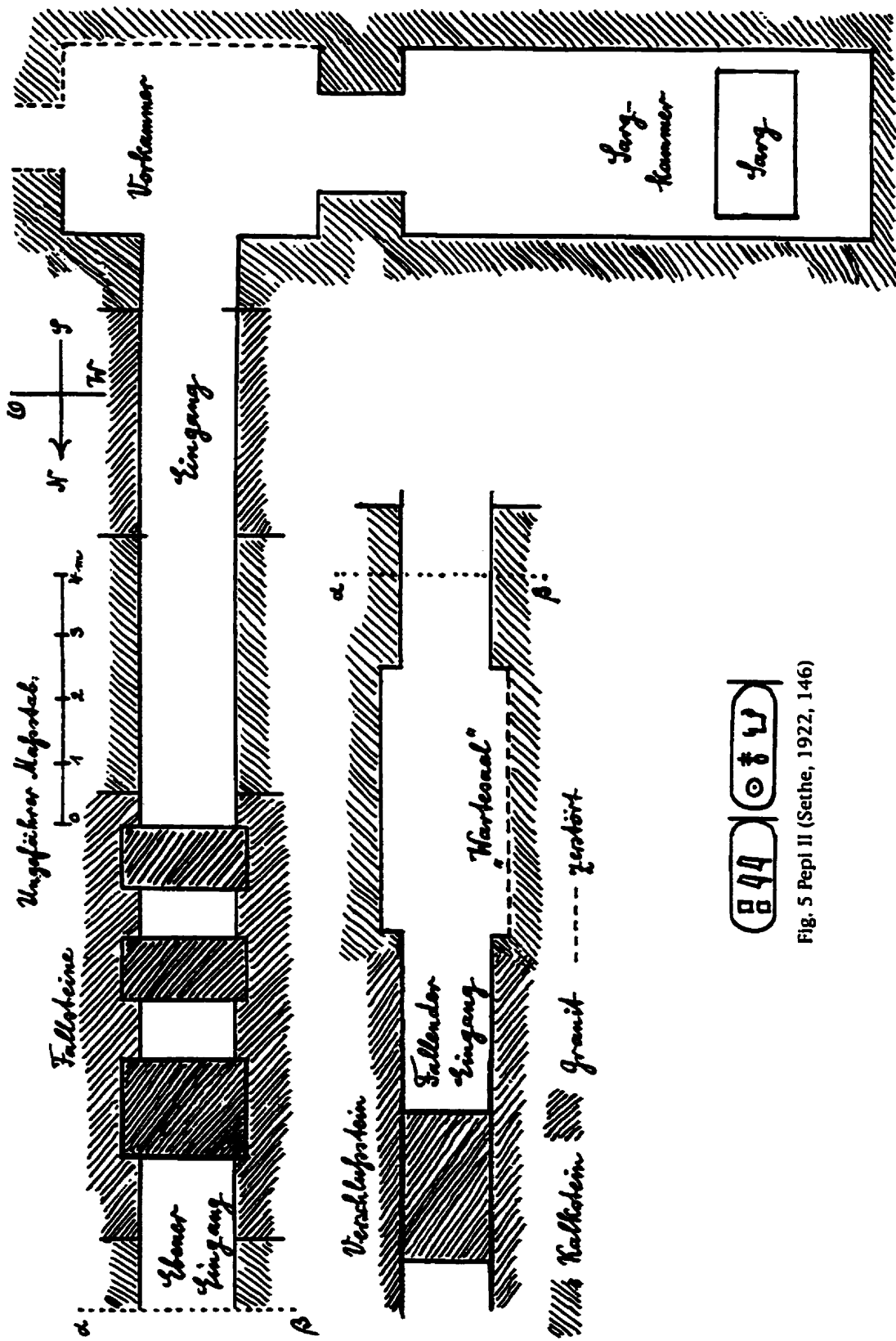


Fig. 5 Pepl II (Sethe, 1922, 146)

APPENDIX B

PLACEMENT OF TEXTS IN INDIVIDUAL PYRAMIDS

This appendix consists of a list of Texts on each wall in each pyramid. An incomplete listing of pyramids for a particular wall indicates that that wall is either too extensively damaged for textual reconstruction or that it was anepigraphic in the first place.

	UNAS	TETI	PEPI I	MERENRE	PEPI II
1ST					
ew			587 §§ 1587-606		
2ND					
ww			325 § 525 474 §§ 939-45 569-70 §§ 1434-65 584-6 §§ 1573-83		
ew			206 § 123 348-51 §§ 565-8 353 § 570 401-5 §§ 697-705		
WR					
nw				306 §§ 476-481 583 §§ 1568-72 617-9 §§ 1744-52	562 §§ 1405-7 564 §§ 1421-2 582 §§ 1558-67 702-3 §§ 2200-5
ew			271 §§ 388-91 553-61 §§ 1353-404	555 §§ 1373-8 569-70 §§ 1434-65 572 §§ 1472-7 613-6 §§ 1736-43	306 §§ 476-81 566-8 §§ 1429-33 610-2 §§ 1710-35 617 §§ 1744-5 619 §§ 1747-52 698-701 §§ 2176-99
sw			539-52 §§ 1303-52 697 §§ 2169-75	610-2 §§ 1710-35	556 §§ 1379-86
ww			269 §§ 376-82 307 §§ 482-6 359 §§ 594-602 562-83 §§ 1405-572		

	UNAS	TETI	PEPI I	MERENRE	PEPI II
3RD ww			266 §§ 358-63 515-34 §§ 1176-279	269 §§ 376-82 558-60 §§ 1390-5 565 §§ 1423-8 609 §§ 1703-9	506 §§ 1094-101 606 §§ 1683-700
ew			357 §§ 583-92 534-8 §§ 1264-302		359 §§ 594-602 532 §§ 1255-62 (x2) 573 §§ 1478-84
4TH ww	313-7 §§ 502-10		322 § 518 510-13 §§ 1128-74	323 § 519 504-7 §§ 1082-106 521-3 §§ 1224-32 525-31 §§ 1244-54 563 §§ 1408-20 607-8 §§ 1701-2	507 §§ 1102-6 512 §§ 1162-7 521-3 §§ 1224-32 525-8 §§ 1244-51 530-1 §§ 1253-4 555 §§ 1373-8 563 §§ 1408-20 608 § 1702 697 §§ 2169-75
ew	318-21 §§ 511-7		323 § 519 503-9 §§ 1078-127	510 §§ 1128-48 515-20 §§ 1176-223 573 §§ 1478-84	486 §§ 1039-45 515-9 §§ 1176-220 565 §§ 1423-8
S-A nw		412-3 §§ 721-36			
sw		414-21 §§ 737-51			
A nw	302-12 §§ 458-501				303-5 §§ 464-75 308 §§ 487-9 310 §§ 492-4 679 §§ 2031-2 681-91 §§ 2034-125
ew	273-301 §§ 393-457	206 § 123 240 §§ 244-5 273-4 §§ 393-414 277 § 418 280-3 §§ 421-4 285-93 §§ 426-35 295-6 §§ 438-9 318 §§ 511-2 375-410 §§ 660-719	233 § 237 280 § 421 284-6 §§ 425-7 289 § 430 292-3 §§ 433-5 384 § 672 408 §§ 714-6 489-502 §§ 1050-73	364 §§ 609-21 418-21 §§ 742-51 456 §§ 852-6	420 § 750 460 §§ 868-70 692-6 §§ 2138-68
sw	260-72 §§ 316-92 399 § 694		488 §§ 1048-9		

	UNAS	TETI	PEPI I	MERENRE	PEPI II
A					
ww	247-60 §§ 257-323 564 §§ 1421-2	253-9 §§ 275-315 364-74 §§ 609-59 588 §§ 1607-8 593 §§ 1627-37	265 §§ 351-7 270 §§ 383-7 310 §§ 492-4 337 §§ 549-50 363 §§ 607-8 407 §§ 710-3 465-87 §§ 879-1047	270 §§ 383-7 310 §§ 492-4 456 §§ 852-6 461 §§ 871-4 467-8 §§ 886-905 472-9 §§ 924-91 481-3 §§ 999-1019 487 §§ 1046-7 670 §§ 1972-86	270-1 §§ 383-91 457 §§ 857-9 461 §§ 871-4 467-8 §§ 886-905 470-83 §§ 910-1019 487 §§ 1046-7 678-80 §§ 2029-33
A-F					
πw	23 § 16 25 §§ 17-8 32 §§ 22-3 199-200 §§ 115-6	359-63 §§ 594-608	462-4 §§ 875-8		462 § 875 674-7 §§ 1994-2028
sw	244-6 §§ 249-56	262 §§ 327-36 264 §§ 342-50 272 § 392			360-1 §§ 603-4 463-4 §§ 876-8 587 §§ 1587-1606 673 §§ 1990-3
F					
πw	23-203 §§ 16-117 246 §§ 252-6 634-41 §§ 1792-816 655-8 §§ 1842-59	142-71 §§ 87-100	355-7 §§ 572-92 407 §§ 710-3 456-61 §§ 852-74		9 § 8 11-199 §§ 8-115 223-5 §§ 214-24 268 §§ 370-5 272 § 392 326-7 §§ 534-6 330-1 §§ 539-40 412 §§ 721-33 598 § 1643 624-50 §§ 1757-837

F	UNAS	TETI	PEPI I	MERENRE	PEPI II
ew	204-19 §§ 118-93	172-3 § 101 208 § 124 210-2 §§ 126-33 224 §§ 218-20 338-58 §§ 551-93	355-7 §§ 572-92 407 §§ 710-3 456-61 §§ 852-74	199 § 115 206 § 123 208 § 124 210-2 §§ 126-33 244 § 249 338-46 §§ 551-62 348-53 §§ 565-70 355-7 §§ 572-92 400-4 §§ 695-702 407 §§ 710-3 436 §§ 788-92 459-60 §§ 864-70 593-604 §§ 1627-80	199 § 115 201-3 § 117 206 § 123 208 § 124 210-2 §§ 126-33 244 § 249 338-4 §§ 551-64 348-53 §§ 565-70 355-7 §§ 571-92 400-7 §§ 695-713 414 § 737 418 § 742 436 §§ 788-92 439 §§ 812-4 456 §§ 852-6 459-60 §§ 864-70 591 §§ 1612-4 593-605 §§ 1627-82 637 §§ 1799-1804 659-62 §§ 1860-81
sw	213-9 §§ 134-93	246 §§ 252-6			218-22 §§ 161-213 245-6 §§ 250-6 267 §§ 364-9 302 §§ 458-63 309 §§ 490-1 358 § 593 537 §§ 1298-301 663 §§ 1882-3 665-72 §§ 1898-1989
ww	226-43 §§ 225-48	322-37 §§ 518-50 633 § 1791	335-6 §§ 546-8 356 §§ 575-82 365-8 §§ 622-39 370-2 §§ 645-53 422-55 §§ 752-851 483 §§ 1011-9 610 §§ 1710-23	332 § 541 335-6 §§ 546-8 365-8 §§ 622-39 370-3 §§ 645-57 414 § 737 422 §§ 752-64 424-5 §§ 768-75 426-34 §§ 776-85 437 §§ 793-808 439-41 §§ 812-8 443-4 §§ 823-4 446-55 §§ 825-51 558 §§ 1390-1 588-92 §§ 1607-26	9 § 8 332 § 541 335-6 §§ 546-8 356 §§ 575-82 365-71 §§ 622-50 373 §§ 654-7 412 §§ 721-33 422-34 §§ 752-85 436-8 §§ 788-811 440-4 §§ 815-24 446-55 §§ 825-51 589-90 §§ 1609-11 620-3 §§ 1753-6

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