

OLD KINGDOM SACERDOTAL TEXTS¹

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Part I. Discussion

In 1972 Hartwig Altenmüller inaugurated an avenue of investigation into the Pyramid Texts: the comparison of series of texts as they appear on different sources,² a procedure which allows one to isolate groups of texts transmitted together. It is in view of its group association that a text should be approached, rather than as an individual entity,³ for group identifications provide context.⁴ Context is desirable since what the Pyramid Texts keenly lack are paratextual indications of their settings in life; they are thus bereft of overt marks of their functional significance within Old Kingdom society. As examination of the groups to which texts belong delivers contextual meaning, their identification through comparison of sources is a critical first step toward that end.

Altenmüller devoted most of his attention to the pyramid of Wenis and to sequences of Pyramid Texts on Middle Kingdom sources,⁵ and a number of scholars have since then pursued both veins of research in earnest.⁶ And yet, until now there has not been a comparative, global identification of group membership in the pyramids after Wenis.⁷ There are two good reasons for this. First, the comparatively small number of texts of Wenis are singular in

¹ My thanks to Leiden University's Center for Nonwestern Studies, the Leids Universiteits Fonds, and R. van Walsem for making possible the delivery of this paper at the Xth International Congress of Egyptologists at Rhodes on 22 May 2008, and to M. Conde and R.J. Demarée for useful suggestions.

² The seminal nature of his work is noted at J. Osing, 'Zur Disposition der Pyramidentexte des Unas', MDAIK 42 (1986) 132 n. 9.

³ Cf. H. Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, ÄA 24, Wiesbaden 1972, 46.

⁴ Cf. H.M. Hays, 'Transformation of Context: The Field of Rushes in Old and Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature', in: S. Bickel and B. Mathieu (eds.), *D'un monde à l'autre. Textes des Pyramides et Textes des Sarcophages*, BdE 139, Cairo 2004, 185.

⁵ A notable exception is Spruchfolge C at Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 26-32, where its transmission in the Old Kingdom is substantially considered; on this sequence's transmission in the Old Kingdom, see also N. Billing, *Nut the Goddess of Life in Text and Iconography*, USE 5, Uppsala 2002, 111-112.

⁶ On Spruchfolge A of Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 46-47, see É. Bène and N. Guilhou, 'Le «Grand Départ» et la «Suite A»', in: Bickel and Mathieu (eds.), *D'un monde à l'autre*, 57-83. On Spruchfolge B of Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 47, cf. J. Assmann, 'Verklärung', in: LÄ VI, 999 with n. 10, J. Assmann, 'Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies', in: S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, vol. 1, Jerusalem 1990, 21-22 and fig. 11, and J. Assmann in collaboration with M. Bommas, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 1. Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches*, Heidelberg 2002, 63-65 and 333-468. On Spruchfolge C of Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 26-32 and 47-49, see S.E. Thompson, 'The Origin of the Pyramid Texts Found on Middle Kingdom Saqqâra Coffins', JEA 76 (1990) 20-24, and Billing, *Nut the Goddess of Life*, 111-116. On Spruchfolge D of Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 49-50, see J. Kahl, *Steh auf, gib Horus deine Hand*, GOF IV.32, Wiesbaden 1996. On Spruchfolgen D-F of Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 49-51, see Assmann, 'Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies', 9-12 (sšw II and III), and J. Assmann in collaboration with M. Bommas and A. Kucharek, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 3. Osirisliturgien in Papyri der Spätzeit*, Heidelberg 2008, 227-234 (Liturgie SZ.2 + SZ.3; with anachronistic consideration of the distribution of texts in pyramids) and 434-435 (Liturgie SZ.3).

⁷ The most detailed comparative discussion of the texts in the later royal pyramids occurs on the thematic level, at Billing, *Nut the Goddess of Life*, 68-77.

being matched very nearly exactly in composition and order by those from the Middle Kingdom mastaba of Senwosretankh⁸ — a fact capitalized upon originally by Altenmüller⁹ and later by Jürgen Osing and James P. Allen in ascertaining the groupings of that pyramid¹⁰ — while the texts of later pyramids are much more diffuse and numerous, and therefore much more difficult to comprehend. Second, the later pyramids are less well preserved, and consequently their decoration plans have been less well known. The *Mission archéologique française de Saqqâra* (MafS) has gradually changed things in this regard, especially with a recent account of a reconstructed wall in Teti¹¹ and the full publication of Pepi I.¹² The

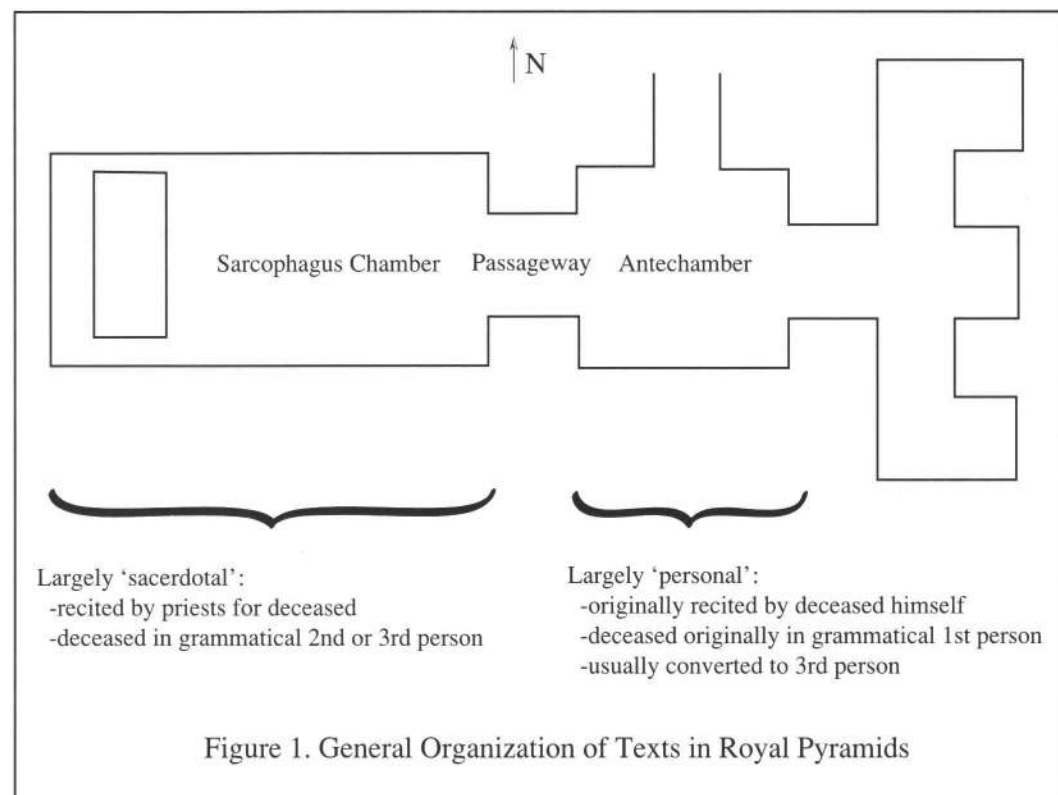


Figure 1. General Organization of Texts in Royal Pyramids

⁸ Noted at W.C. Hayes, *The Texts in the Mastaba of Se'n-Wosret-Ankh at Lisht*, PMMA 12, New York 1937, 2.

⁹ See Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 32-39.

¹⁰ Osing, 'Zur Disposition der Pyramidentexte des Unas', and J.P. Allen, 'Reading a Pyramid', in: C. Berger et al. (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant, BdE 106/1*, Cairo 1994, 5-12.

¹¹ É. Bène, 'Les textes de la paroi nord de la chambre funéraire de la pyramide de Têti', in: J.-C. Goyon and C. Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, vol. 1, OLA 150, Leuven 2007, 167-182.

¹² See J. Leclant et al., *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, 2 vols., MIFAO 118/1-2, Cairo 2001, 27-199, which concretely revises T. G. Allen, *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts with Cross Indexes of These and Other Egyptian Mortuary Texts*, SAOC 27, Chicago 1950, 48-99. The listings of texts by J.P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Atlanta 2005, 375-417, are not employed since there are discrepancies between that work and accounts of surfaces recently published by members of MafS; cf. e.g. PT 25, 32, 33, 42, 57, and 80 and their environments on T/S/N as reported at *ibid.*, 377-378, to Bène, 'Les textes de la paroi nord', 175-177. While there is a very high likelihood that many differences will be resolved in favor of the former, in the meantime the authority of the archaeological expedition should take precedence.

latter work gives not only the definitive treatment of that pyramid's inscriptions, but concomitantly provides extensive information on hitherto unknown areas of Teti and Merenre. The expansion of knowledge of the contents of three pyramids is an invitation for a more comprehensive examination.

The present article identifies groups of texts in the sarcophagus chambers of royal pyramids,¹³ focusing on texts meant to be performed by priests for the deceased, since they are the majority in that area. As indicated in Figure 1 above, these sacerdotal texts are in contrast to most of the texts of the antechamber, which were intended in their original forms to be performed by the deceased himself.¹⁴

The distinction between the two categories is an important one, since it contributes to our appreciation of a text's setting of performance: a different setting of performance means a fundamentally different manner of use. For this reason, the division has enjoyed a long history of employment in Egyptological studies,¹⁵ most recently in numerous works by Jan Assmann as a criterion for isolating so-called 'mortuary liturgies' from 'mortuary literature' proper. Although Assmann's conclusions introduce a pair of untenable suppositions¹⁶ concerning the extent and nature of the two categories, the principle of division is sound. As a rule, the distinction is based on the original grammatical person of a text's beneficiary. Texts recited by priests, which may be called *sacerdotal* or *collective ritual texts*,¹⁷ refer to him in the second or third person, thus 'you' or 'him'. They are identical in performance structure to (for example) daily temple service, New Kingdom Opening of the Mouth, and Greco-Roman Hour Vigil rites, which were also performed by priests for an inert beneficiary, himself unable to play a vocal role in the rites. In contrast, most antechamber texts originally situated the deceased in the first person, 'I', and therefore were composed to be performed by their beneficiary himself. This simple indicator categorically removes such texts from settings where priests minister to mute mummy or image: instead, the one who is to principally benefit from a performance is at the same time its ostensible officiant. In view of their original performer, these may be called *personal texts*.

¹³ Cf. S. Schott, *Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Pyramidenkult*, in: *BeiträgeBf 5*, 1950, 207-208 with Abb. 55. The organization of texts in the pyramids of queens and that of King Ibi are not considered here, as their burial apartments are not divided into two rooms.

¹⁴ The contrast being observed at Assmann, 'Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies', 14, Allen, 'Reading a Pyramid', 18, and J. Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits im alten Ägypten*, Munich 2001, 324.

¹⁵ See the references at H.M. Hays and W. Schenck, 'Intersection of Ritual Space and Ritual Representation: Pyramid Texts in Eighteenth Dynasty Theban Tombs', in: P.F. Dorman and B.M. Bryan (eds.), *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, SAOC 61, Chicago 2007, 97 n. 3, and add H.O. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata* (Cairo JdE 36418), OLA 70, Leuven 1996, 374-379 and C.H. Reintges, 'The Older Egyptian Stative Revisited', *LingAeg 14* (2006) 118. In linguistic anthropology, the importance of person deixis in conditioning a text's discourse genre is accepted at, e.g., S.C. Levinson, 'Putting Linguistics on a Proper Footing: Explorations in Goffman's Concepts of Participation', in: P. Drew and A. Wootton (eds.), *Erving Goffman: Exploring the Interaction Order*, Oxford 1988, 163-164, and W.F. Hanks, 'Exorcism and the Description of Participant Roles', in: M. Silverstein and G. Urban (eds.), *Natural Histories of Discourse*, Chicago 1996, 163, though seen in both places as insufficient to fully capture a text's participation framework. Similarly, the dichotomy between collective and private settings of religious practice is maintained in history of religions at J.Z. Smith, 'Here, There, and Anywhere', in: S. Noegel et al. (eds.), *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, University Park 2003, 23, though an interstitial space between them is there embraced.

¹⁶ One of which is addressed below, while the other will be discussed in this essay's sequel.

¹⁷ The former term implies that the text is administered by a priest for the benefit of someone else; the latter term indicates that more than one person is involved in the performance: the audience-beneficiary and at least one reciter-priest.

Now the fact is, most personal texts were edited once they were brought into the pyramids, resulting in texts which normally situate the beneficiary in the third person. Still, there are several indications of the editing process, and such may occur in one or more exemplars of a given text. Editing is evident above all in physical recarving on the wall, vacillation in a text from the third to the first person, doubling up of pronouns with the proper name of the beneficiary, residual *-i* or *-y* with third weak verbs, disagreement of person between exemplars, and the agrammatical advancement of a noun, especially with the dative.¹⁸ A ramification of the practice of editing is that, from the point of view of grammatical person alone, personal texts superficially appear identical to sacerdotal texts in the third person, in cases where the editing was executed completely. While the criterion can thus seem ambiguous when considering a given third-person text in isolation, matters are quite different when groups of texts are examined. One of the things that the present paper will be in a position to show is that sacerdotal groups possess many texts in the second person, and few or none with an original first or signs of editing.

A convenient ingress to a more detailed examination of the sarcophagus chambers is that of Wenis, since its groups of texts have been worked over repeatedly.¹⁹ According to the analysis of J.P. Allen, there are a total of four groups there.²⁰ Their disposition is depicted below in Plans 1 and 2 of Part II below, which the reader may find it helpful to consult at this point. Two of the groups are personal, and two are sacerdotal. The two personal groups will here be called H and K. Group H consists of texts aimed at securing a continuous supply of offerings for the deceased (provisioning texts²¹). Group K consists of texts intended to ward off noxious creatures (apotropaic texts²²). The two sacerdotal groups are A and B. Group A, called the offering ritual,²³ begins on the north wall, continues on the east, and finishes in the passageway. Group B, here called 'Departure', begins on the south wall, also continues on the east, and also finishes in the passageway.

With only two sacerdotal groups in the sarcophagus chamber, Wenis is much simpler than the later pyramids. There are a total of six major groups of sacerdotal texts among them, as listed below in Figure 2. The broad scope of difference between Wenis and the later pyramids is the most dramatic sign of change to decoration plans as the Sixth Dynasty unfolded.

¹⁸ See H.M. Hays, *The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts and Its Continuities with Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature*, University of Chicago Ph.D. dissertation 2006, 40-56. In identifying texts which were edited away from the first person, the notes to the charts of Parts III and IV make observation of Pyramid Text section numbers which exhibit one or more of these six signs.

¹⁹ The subterranean decoration of this tomb is most recently considered at A. De Trafford, 'The Palace Façade Motif and the Pyramid Texts as Cosmic Boundaries in Unis's Pyramid Chambers', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17.3 (2007) 271-283.

²⁰ See Allen, 'Reading a Pyramid', 13: 'Protective Spells' (Sequence H), 'King's Response' (Sequence D), 'Offering Ritual' (Sequences A and C1), and 'Resurrection Ritual', (Sequence E1).

²¹ On these texts, see most recently Hays, 'Transformation of Context', 191-196, and Hays and Schenck, 'Intersection of Ritual Space', 100 with nn. 39-40, where a seeming ambiguity of performance setting is pointed out.

²² On these texts, see most recently G. Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs in den Pyramidentexten*, OBO 189, Freiburg 2002, 269-315.

²³ Though it may be more appropriately called 'the Old Kingdom Opening of the Mouth Ritual', since it includes several rites found in the later New Kingdom Opening of the Mouth Ritual whereas the Type A Offering List does not. See Chart A.1 of Part III below.

Group	Pyramid
A. Offering Ritual 264 short texts	Wenis Teti Pepi I Merenre Pepi II
B. Departure 52 texts	Wenis Teti Pepi I Merenre Pepi II
C. Perpetuation of Cult 32 texts	Teti Pepi I Merenre Pepi II
D. Horus Resurrects 31 texts	Teti Pepi I Merenre Pepi II
E. Nut Protects 30 texts	Pepi I Merenre Pepi II
F. Isis & Nephthys Lament 34 texts	Pepi I Merenre Pepi II

Figure 2. Major Groups of Sacerdotal Texts in Royal Pyramids

Each of the six major sacerdotal groups will be identified in turn. In conjunction with the discussion of each group below, the reader is referred both to the corresponding plans of Part II of this essay, which graphically map the groups on the appropriate walls of the royal pyramids,²⁴ and to the charts of Part III, which list the numerical designations of each sacerdotal group's member texts in detail. Part IV gives charts enumerating all the members of the personal groups positioned in the plans, though the discussion of them and the remaining personal groups is reserved for a future essay. Finally, an Appendix offers an index of texts specified in Parts III and IV according to the group or groups to which they belong.

Group A. Old Kingdom Offering Ritual

Group A, the offering ritual, occurs above all on the north wall of sarcophagus chambers, but it often spills over to the east, as in Wenis, where it uniquely finishes on the north and south walls of the passageway. There are several different kinds of rites in the offering

²⁴ The spatial disposition of the surfaces shown in the plans of Part II is based upon K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptische Pyramidentexte*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1922, 117-155, G. Jequier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II, Tome I*, Cairo 1936, pls. I-X, A. Piankoff, *The Pyramid of Unas*, Princeton 1968, pls. 37-67, Leclant et al., *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 2, Bène, 'Les textes de la paroi nord', 168-177, and see H.G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs. Part I. Reversals*, New York 1977, 37-38 with fig. 40. Note that the sarcophagus chamber south wall of Teti and the sarcophagus chamber north and south walls of Merenre are not represented in Part II, since the spatial disposition thereof has not yet been published. But information on the composition and order of some of their texts has been, and this accordingly appears in the charts of Parts III and IV.

ritual,²⁵ and rites of the same kind tend to occur together. The subdivisions shown in Charts A.1 through A.6 of Part III are meant to give an indication of the contents and functions of the spells.²⁶ There are a total of 264 Group A texts among the pyramids. Wenis has less than half of the group's rites; later pyramids add the others.

It is instructive to give detailed consideration to the texts of the first section, A.1. In the corresponding Chart of Part III, the letters at the far left indicate the sources and locations. For instance, in the second line, *W* is the siglum for Wenis, while *S* means sarcophagus chamber, *N* means north wall, and *I* indicates the first register of this surface.²⁷ To the right are the texts of the section, listed from left to right in the order in which they actually occur.

In comparing the composition and order of texts of W/S/N I to those of the corresponding surface in Teti (T), one notices that the two sources evidently shared exactly the same texts. The sharing of texts between contiguous series of texts in two or more sources is what allows a group to be isolated,²⁸ often in conjunction with common or similar architectural location between sources.²⁹ It is helpful to display shared texts in italic font so as to graphically indicate the basis of the grouping.

As may be seen in Chart A.1, with the corresponding texts of Pepi I (P) one encounters the first deviation: Pepi I has expanded this section of the group by inserting several new texts. The insertion illustrates a principle evident throughout the groups: the addition and omission of rites.³⁰ In A.1, it is a question of Pepi I's addition of PT 24, 26-30, and 33 — or, conversely, of Wenis and Teti's omission of the same, depending on one's perspective. Similarly with Pepi II (N), which further adds PT 12-22 and 31. The use of italic font for texts which occur in more than one source of the group communicates at a glance that the outlying texts PT 12-22 are uniquely found in Pepi II, but that otherwise all the texts are shared by the same group in some way — an immediate mark of the group's coherence. Moreover, the gaps in the chart's listings for Wenis and Teti graphically indicate their omission of texts found in other versions of the section. On the wall, the texts are naturally contiguous and without interruption. Thus the chart visually conveys the exact identity between Wenis and Teti in this section, while Pepi I and Pepi II increase its size. The gaps are thus a visual indicator of differences between sources. Despite the variations, the group is yet recognizable from pyramid to pyramid.

²⁵ As labelled in brief in Charts A.1 through A.6, they are Purifications, Opening of the Mouth Rites, Food Presentations, Robing Rites, Consecration Rites, Rites of Closing the Shrine, Reversion of Offerings, Presentation of Sacra, and Recitations.

²⁶ The division of the Old Kingdom Offering Ritual into six sections, most of which consist of more than one subdivision, is based on comparison of the Pyramid Texts offering rituals to the Type A offering list, the New Kingdom Opening of the Mouth ritual, and Daily Temple Service, as discussed by me in the paper 'Composition and Syntax: Structure in Ancient Egyptian Ritual', presented at the seminar 'Egyptology and Anthropology', held in March 2008 at Leiden University. The methodology employed was derived from the syntactic analysis of rituals inaugurated by F. Staal; see *idem*, *Rules without Meaning. Ritual, Mantras and the Human Sciences*, New York 1993, 85-114. While the articulation of Group A into parts is not critical to the present discussion, it is applied here as much for convenience of display as in anticipation of the aforementioned paper's eventual publication.

²⁷ For the source sigla and codes employed here, see below, Key to Parts III and IV.

²⁸ Exceptionally, the series of six texts called Group G.3 has only one source. Though three of them are found elsewhere, they occur separately in different groups.

²⁹ Cf. Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 31-32, on the determination of Spruchfolgen.

³⁰ The operation by which this occurs has been described for ritual in a universal way by Staal, *Rules without Meaning*, 91-94 (the rules of general embedding and omitting); cf. Allen, 'Reading a Pyramid', 7, 9, and 14, on omission in respect to Wenis, and Osing, 'Zur Disposition der Pyramidentexte des Unas', 143, on expansion and reduction of the inscriptional content in pyramids after Wenis.

There are further deviations, which can be illustrated by consideration of two more sections. With section A.3 (see Chart A.3), one may compare how PT 224 is deployed in Teti and Pepi II in respect to PT 172 and 173. Both sources have these texts, but their relative positions are different. In Teti, PT 224 precedes the latter two, whereas in Pepi II it comes after them. This illustrates the principle of displacement³¹ — the maintenance of rites in a ritual, but with the alteration of their relative order therein.

Displacement and addition/omission is even more strongly evident in section A.4. The graphic arrangement of the corresponding Chart A.4 communicates the connections and differences at a glance. So for example, Pepi I adds PT 646 and PT 645A, as does Pepi II. But the former positions these texts after the reversion and purifications, while the latter puts them in front: addition and displacement. Merenre, moreover, substitutes a different set of purifications: omission and addition. In a nutshell, the principles of addition/omission and displacement account for the flexibility that will be seen in the groups to follow.

Before turning to them, a few notes on the contents of Group A. Texts of the offering ritual are well known: the overwhelming majority of them are very short, and consist especially of rites involving the presentation of food and regalia conforming to a standard pattern, *im n=k ir.t hr* 'take the Eye of Horus,' followed by an attributive verbal phrase or clause which can make a play of words on a physical item designated afterwards. The texts tell what the priest is supposed to say and name an object to be physically manipulated. Thus the actual rite to which such a text corresponds consists of speech and action.

This is the case with PT 77 and 81, which concern the presentation of oil and strips of cloth respectively. Notably, a Middle Kingdom source³² entitles each of these individually as *s3h.w* 'Sakhu', meaning that the rites were intended to make the deceased into an Akh, an effective spirit. Indeed, based on the deployment of captions in the development of pictorial representations of mortuary service, Günther Lapp concludes that the term applies to the recitation of the spells during the presentation of the numerous items named in offering lists³³ like that first attested with the non-royal personage Debeheni. Such lists correspond point-for-point to ninety of the rites in Group A.³⁴

The facts that offering ritual texts typically involve physical actions, and that they were anciently designated as *s3h.w*, conflict with Assmann's formulation of the characteristics of this Egyptian category, which he directly associates with the modern terms *Verklärungen*, *mortuary liturgies*, *liturgies funéraires*, and *Totenliturgien*. According to him, a member of it constituted 'ein Sprechritus (rite oral), der nicht kultische Handlungen begleitet, sondern

³¹ Cf. the discussions of alterations of order with specific sequences at Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 29-31, and Allen, 'Reading a Pyramid', 10-11. Cf. also the discussion of differences of order in the later Opening of the Mouth ritual at J.F. Quack, 'Fragmente des Mundöffnungsrituals aus Tebtynis', in: K. Ryholt (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 7. Hieratic Texts from the Collection*, CNI Publications 30, Copenhagen 2006, 133-135.

³² Sq18X; see C.M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. 1, Cairo 1926, 287: *s3h.w [r3] n(i) mrh.t* and *s3h.w r3 n(i) hbs* respectively.

³³ See G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches*, Mainz am Rhein 1986, 184 ('Das Verklären [*s3h*] muss sich daher auch auf die Speisung des Verstorbenen beziehen, d.h. auf das Verlesen von Sprüchen während der Übergabe der einzelnen Speisen, die in der Opferliste aufgeführt sind'), and similarly A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir. Part III*, ASE 24, London 1915, 29.

³⁴ See H.M. Hays, 'The Worshipper and the Worshipped in the Pyramid Texts', SAK 30 (2002) 154 with n. 7.

selbst eine kultische Handlung darstellt und in der Rezitation vollzieht',³⁵ and so 'le rituel de la transfiguration *s3hw* est l'affaire de l'écriture et de la récitation magique et liturgique',³⁶ and so 'offering spells'³⁷ and 'Sprüche zum Totenopfer'³⁸ are explicitly excluded from the category.³⁹ But, while it is correct that the word *s3h.w* is often directly associated with the verb *šdl* 'to recite', as Assmann observes,⁴⁰ it is equally true that the word's signification is not purely oral and textual. Thus *s3h.w* are presented (*m3*⁴¹) and done (*ir*⁴²). And thus one finds in the *s3h.w* PT 77 that oil is what makes the deceased into an Akh (*s3h*).⁴³ The last piece of information is decisive: the text is a permanent element of the offering ritual, it is labelled as *s3h.w*, and it employs the word *s3h* in indicating the activity of a physical substance. Therefore, while it is quite right to distinguish texts performed by priests from those originally composed for performance by the deceased himself,⁴⁴ as has been done since the time of Kurt Sethe,⁴⁵ it is not tenable to find the meaning of *s3h.w* exclusively in verbal rites. *Pace* Assmann, the term *mortuary liturgy* is seen to be a modern construct only partially overlapping the ancient category it is purported to encompass.

It is because of this discrepancy that the present essay focuses strictly on the criterion of performance structure and employs *sacerdotal texts* as designation. The term's only assertion is that the texts labelled as such were performed by priests, and accordingly they refer to their object of worship in the second and third person. That is the case with all of the texts of Group A, as is shown in the notes accompanying each of the Charts A.1 through A.6.

Group B.⁴⁶ *Departure*

Whether the Egyptian term *s3h.w* happens to label only sacerdotal texts is still another matter.⁴⁷ But certainly texts besides ones from the offering ritual receive this title in Middle Kingdom sources. Thus for Group B. Except in the pyramid of Wenis, Group B is found

³⁵ See Assmann, 'Verklärungen', 1002, with caveats observed at 1006 n. 58. Reference to this article's definition of the category is still made at Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 3*, 16 n. 16, though the caveats stimulated the cogent objections of H.O. Willems, 'The Social and Ritual Context of a Mortuary Liturgy of the Middle Kingdom (CT Spells 30-41)', in: H.O. Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms*, OLA 103, Leuven 2001, 356.

³⁶ J. Assmann, *Images et rites de la mort dans l'Égypte ancienne: l'apport des liturgies funéraires*, Paris 2000, 40.

³⁷ A category contrasted to that called 'mortuary liturgies' at Assmann, 'Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies', 2.

³⁸ A category separated from that called 'Totenliturgien' at J. Assmann and A. Kucharek, *Ägyptische Religion. Totenliteratur*, Frankfurt am Main 2008, 11-17.

³⁹ See Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 3*, 28-31, where rites 'des Opferrituals' are contrasted to 'Verklärungssprüchen'.

⁴⁰ At Assmann, *Images et rites*, 43. His understanding of *s3h.w* in this and other respects matches that of H.E. Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos*, New York 1921, 50-54.

⁴¹ As at CT 66 I 280a.

⁴² As at MÖR 69A.

⁴³ See PT 77 §52c, where *mrh.t*-oil is addressed and told *s3h=t sw hr=t* 'that you make him (sc. the deceased) an Akh through your influence'.

⁴⁴ As at Assmann, 'Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies', 6.

⁴⁵ See above at n. 15.

⁴⁶ Cf. Spruchfolge A (PT 213-222) of Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*; Gruppe C (PT 213-222, with possibly also 245-246) of Osing, 'Zur Disposition der Pyramidentexte des Unas'; and Sequences E.1-2 (PT 213-222 + 245-246) of Allen, 'Reading a Pyramid'.

⁴⁷ See H.M. Hays, review of Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 1*, JNES 65 (2006) 227 n. 1, and the position of Allen, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 7, in light of Allen, 'Reading a Pyramid', 27 with n. 47.

exclusively on the sarcophagus chamber south wall. It consists of three parts, with a total of fifty-two texts. The second section (B.2) immediately follows the first (B.1) in each pyramid, except in Wenis, where a text from another group epigraphically splits them.⁴⁸ This and three other reasons⁴⁹ let one distinguish the first texts of the group from the rest. On the other hand, where they are fully known from other sources, several texts of the second two sections amplify motifs found in the first. Telling is the title appearing before the first text in one Middle Kingdom source — 'Going out from the gates of the Duat'⁵⁰ — as it evokes a sentiment of PT 220 of the first section, 'the doors of the horizon are opened, its bolts slid back'.⁵¹ This motif occurs in several texts of the second section.⁵²

In Pepi I, Merenre, and Pepi II (see Section B.3 of Chart B), the group ends quite variably. Most strikingly, in Pepi II a block of five personal texts has been intercalated. Their contrastive difference in performance structure is indicated in the chart by highlighting. Most of these are attested in the antechambers of various other pyramids in other groups; that they occur in other groups is indicated in the chart by underlining. And they are different thematically, as they mainly involve transition, above all ascension to the sky as a bird. Moreover, one of them, PT 302, shows signs of editing away from the first person and into the third, with the others presumably edited completely.

On the one hand, the marks of difference are enough to warrant the assignment of at least these five texts to one of the other groups instead.⁵³ On the other, the texts are sandwiched between PT 671-672 and PT 665 through 537, which occur together in Pepi I without interruption. Moreover, PT 302 of this group is found in the same relative position in Merenre, which is then followed by PT 374 and 1002. The latter two happen also to appear in an otherwise unparallelled insertion in Pepi I's rendition of the second section. The overlaps between groups are ruptures to homogeneity which are as important as the consistencies: there is no way to modernly divide the Pyramid Texts into hermetically sealed groups, because some rites could be used in different rituals, an important principle of Egyptian ritual construction.⁵⁴ All texts were subject to this practice, including those of an originally personal

⁴⁸ As noted by Allen, 'Reading a Pyramid', 15.

⁴⁹ First, Osing, 'Zur Disposition der Pyramidentexte des Unas', 138-141, observes the separation between the two units in Middle Kingdom sources and for his part leaves the question open as to whether PT 245-246 belongs with PT 213-222. Second, as noted by Allen, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 76, 378, and 396, a very short text intervenes between PT 222 and 245 in Teti; see J. Sainte Fare Garnot, 'Nouveaux textes de la pyramide de Têti', in: *Mélanges Mariette*, BdÉ 32, Cairo 1961, pl. 3 fig. 15: *dd-mdw hr=f f3 hr=f m III* 'Recitation. His face is lifted up; his face is III'. The phraseology is found again at PT 246 §255c (W): *pr=sn(l) f3=sn(l) hr=sn(i)* 'let them (sc. 2 Horuses) go forth lifting their faces', connecting this short utterance to what follows. Third, BD 177 is derived from PT 245-246, which indicates that these two texts were at least later conceived of as separate from what precedes them in the pyramids.

⁵⁰ PT 213 (S5C): *pr.t m sb3.w dw3.t*.

⁵¹ PT 220 (W): *wn 3.wi 3h.t nhbhb q3n.wt=s*.

⁵² See PT 246 §255a, PT 374 §659a, fPT 665A §1909c, fPT 665C §1915a, fPT 666A §1927b, fPT 667 §1934e, and fPT 667A §1943d. PT 374 also occurs in the third section. Further, PT 593 (of B.2) immediately follows PT 220-222 (of B.1) in the New Kingdom source TT 82 (see also Sq2X, reading bottom after the lid), and the former immediately precedes PT 213-215 (of B.1) on two Middle Kingdom coffins (Ab1Le and Sq9C), reinforcing the associations between B.1 and B.2.

⁵³ Above all, to Group L, to be discussed in the present essay's sequel.

⁵⁴ On the practice of using the same rite in different rituals, see Hays, 'The Worshipper and the Worshipped', 156-159, and J.F. Quack, 'Ein Prätext und seine Realisierungen. Facetten des ägyptischen Mundöffnungsrituals', in: B. Dücker and H. Roeder (eds.), *Text und Ritual. Kulturwissenschaftliche Essays und Analysen von Sesostri bis Dada*, Heidelberg 2005, 168.

performance structure. They could be integrated among texts of an originally sacerdotal kind, and they were edited, in effect, to conform to a new setting (the third person being as acceptable as the second in a sacerdotal setting). This is to adopt the view advanced by Éric Doret in the course of investigating the impact of such alterations on the so-called 'cleft-sentence': grammatically edited texts seem to have been 'adaptés à une situation où les formules devaient être prononcées par le prêtre-ritualiste'.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, the sacerdotal performance structure of the overwhelming majority of texts of Group B,⁵⁶ their later employment alongside pictorial scenes of mortuary service,⁵⁷ and one of the titles attached to the beginning of the group in the Middle Kingdom — 'Utterance of Sakhu after the reversion of offerings'⁵⁸ — all reinforce the *Sitz im Leben* of the group. They were performed by priests for the benefit of the deceased.

Group C. Perpetuation of Cult

The reader will have noticed how the consistency of composition and order of the first part of Group B is in contrast with its ending: parts of the ritual were fixed in tradition, and parts were subject to embroidery. This is similar to what was seen already with Group A. Even so, the larger parts of Groups A and B present a core of texts generally fixed in composition and especially order, as they usually maintain that order even when texts are added around them. But the remaining sacerdotal groups are more flexibly arranged in their totality.⁵⁹

Group C, which deals largely with the perpetuation of cult, is the most amorphous of all the sacerdotal groups. It first appears in the pyramid of Teti on the east wall. While maintaining that position, subsequent pyramids expand and rearrange the group dramatically. Nevertheless, the commonalities are obvious in Chart C; despite variations in composition and order, twenty out of thirty-two texts are found in more than one exemplar of the group, and — but for a segment in Pepi I's descending passage — all are found in the same location. What Joachim F. Quack has observed among different versions of the later Opening of the Mouth ritual is equally applicable to this and the other groups of Pyramid Texts: with each, one is dealing with a conceptual rather than textual unity, something whose specific textual manifestations were constructed out of a more general range of possible components.⁶⁰ All the

⁵⁵ É. Doret, 'Cleft-sentence, substitutions et contraintes sémantiques en égyptien de la première phase (V-XVIII Dynastie)', *LingAeg* 1 (1991) 64, followed in this regard by J.M. Kruchten, 'Deux cas particuliers de phrase coupée sans l'opérateur énonciatif *in*', *JEA* 82 (1996) 57, and H.M. Hays, 'The Mutability of Tradition: The Old Kingdom Heritage and Middle Kingdom Significance of Coffin Texts Spell 343', *JEOL* 40 (2007) 57 with n. 111. Equally, it is the case that such texts are transformed from being subjective to objective presentations; on this difference, see L. Morenz, 'Ein Text zwischen Ritual(ität) und Mythos. Die Inszenierung des Anchtifi von Hefat als Super-Helden', in: Dücker and Roeder (eds.), *Text und Ritual*, 137.

⁵⁶ See the note accompanying Chart B. Allen, 'Reading a Pyramid', 16 with n. 18 holds that 'PT 216 retains original first-person forms', in light of generally consistent Middle Kingdom modification of §150a-c *hw.n(=i)* to *hw.n=f/s*. But, as pointed out by K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 1, Glückstadt n.d., 46, this statement in the first person is not spoken by the deceased but by a priest, as is shown by the *sw* before the name in §150c. The Middle Kingdom alterations of the personal pronoun are simply mistaken. Cf. also Allen, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 32, where the passage is rendered in ambiguous fashion: 'Someone has come'.

⁵⁷ Already in the Middle Kingdom; see Hays and Schenck, 'Intersection of Ritual Space', 102 with n. 61.

⁵⁸ MIC: *rs n(i) sḥ.w m-ht wdb ḥ.t*.

⁵⁹ As may be seen by the Charts H-K and M in Part IV, the personal groups show even greater flexibility.

⁶⁰ See Quack, 'Ein Prätext und seine Realisierungen', 177.

groups exhibit varying degrees of flexibility in composition and order. To explain the differences in degree is a matter of hypothesis, but, among the factors at play, it may be proposed that variability was concomitant to innovation: the newer the ritual, the more variable the group.

Three of the texts of Group C, PT 356, 357, and 593, get drawn into post-Old Kingdom groups.⁶¹ These and other texts from especially the beginning are found in other groups in the pyramids, repeated on completely different wall surfaces — a further manifestation of the practice of employing the same rite in different rituals. For instance, PT 356 in Pepi I: it occurs in Group C on his east wall, and in Group E on his west. One of that text's themes is the relationship between the ritualist and the deceased in enumerating the activities performed by the priest (Horus) for the deceased. Endurance of the deceased, tomb, and cult is a theme occurring in texts around it in Group C, as with PT 599-601, which deal with the longevity of the tomb complex and the transmission of offerings from god to the dead.⁶²

Groups D⁶³ and E.⁶⁴ Horus Resurrects and Nut Protects

A set of sixteen personal texts are positioned on the west wall of the sarcophagus chamber of Teti,⁶⁵ members of Group N (see Plan 3 and Chart N). One will remember that in this place Wenis had apotropaic texts, also originally of a personal structure. But Teti's deal with transition: ascending to the sky on a ladder, as a bird, and so on. Even though Teti's west wall group is more closely associated with texts from the corridors of later pyramids — by virtue of its predominantly personal performance structure and since five of its texts appear in the latter location⁶⁶ — three of them are incorporated in the sacerdotal Group D in the later pyramids (PT 332, 335, and 336). In Teti, this sacerdotal group is first attested as such on the west wall of the *antechamber*, where it is preceded by personal texts (see Plan 4). In the later pyramids, Group D is brought to the west wall of the sarcophagus chamber (see Plans 7, 8, and 11), where it replaces the transition texts of Teti and the apotropaic texts of Wenis.

In the sarcophagus chamber, Group D always appears in concert with Group E, though the physical disposition of the two groups varies from source to source. While the first section of Group D occurs in the gable of Pepi I and Merenre, in Pepi II it occurs in one half of the lower register. And while Pepi I puts part of Group D in the right half of the lower register and Group E in the left, the pyramids of Merenre and Pepi II put Group E on the right and a portion of Group D on the left. Apparent when viewing the groups from the perspective of multiple sources, the interlocking aspect suggests that in these three sources the two groups formed a whole consisting of segments subject to variable arrangement. Although in the Middle Kingdom the groups are normally found separate from one another (thus anachronistically

⁶¹ Cf. the first part of Spruchfolge D of Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, as it begins with PT 593, 356, and 357, with these same texts occurring in SZ.3 of Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 3*, 434-442.

⁶² These texts form the core of the later 'Book for making my name flourish'; see D. Jankuhn, *Das Buch 'Schutz des Hauses' (s3-pr)*, Ph.D. Dissertation Göttingen 1971, 4-5.

⁶³ Cf. Spruchfolge E of Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, and the core of Liturgie SZ.2 of Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 3*.

⁶⁴ Cf. Spruchfolge C of Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*.

⁶⁵ PT 322-337. Of these, six (PT 322, 327, 332, 333, 335 and 336) show signs of editing away from the first person into the third.

⁶⁶ Namely, PT 322-323, 328, 333, and 337.

justifying their division in this essay),⁶⁷ there are sometimes found together then.⁶⁸ At that time one of the first texts of Group D, PT 422, receives the title 'Sakhu'.⁶⁹

Many themes of Group D are also found in Group E. But the former distinctively makes repeated reference to the activities of Horus: for instance, he subjugates the opponents of the deceased, causes the gods to join him, and makes him live. As recently studied by Nils Billing,⁷⁰ the texts of Group E are dominated by references to the sky-goddess Nut, who comes to the deceased, gives him his heart, is spread over him as the sarcophagus, and protects him. The thematic is the reconstitution of the corpse. Elsewhere the same scholar suggests that texts from the south wall of the vestibule of the pyramid of Pepi I might form the substrate of a ritual attested later as the Greco-Roman Hour Vigil.⁷¹ But texts of Groups D and E evince the highest concentration of verbatim phraseological parallels with this ritual,⁷² and two texts of the group contain phraseology associated with it by Martin Bommas.⁷³ While Assmann believes this ritual to have first become manifest in the Middle Kingdom,⁷⁴ the phraseological connections indicate that it is on the west walls of these sarcophagus chambers that inquiries after its origins should begin.

Group F. Isis and Nephthys Lament

The last group of texts discussed in this essay is found on the west end of the sarcophagus chambers of Pepi I and Pepi II, and seemingly also in Merenre. With the latter, the contents and disposition of the west end of the north and south walls are not yet fully published,⁷⁵ but

⁶⁷ See the manifestation of Group D on KH1KH/South. See also the Middle Kingdom forebears of Liturgien SZ.2-3 on B9C/Lid, B10C/Back and Lid, Sq4C, and S (add the latter source to those identified at Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 3*, 228-229) built largely out of texts of Group D, but with many from Groups B, C, F, G.1, and G.2. And see manifestations of Group E above all on Sq3C/Lid, Sq4C/Lid, Sq5C/Lid, Sq6C/Lid (=Spruchfolge C of Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*) and on L3Li/Back, L/MH1A/Lid, M1War/Back, S1C/exterior, Sq7C/exterior, Sq4Sq/Lid, Sq5Sq/Lid, T1C/South, T1Be/Head, (and on the Dashur coffins Da1C, Da2X, Da3X, Da4X according to accounts of them at L. Lesko, *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents*, Berkeley 1979).

⁶⁸ As at Sq5Sq/Bottom, where PT 447, 368 of Group E immediately precede PT 366 of Group D; at Sq13C/Lid, with PT 588, 446, 449, 447-448 of Group E immediately followed by PT 366 of Group D, PT 356-357 of Group C, and then PT 364, 371, 364, 368-369 of Group D; at Sq10C/Bottom, where PT 422 of Group D immediately precedes PT 447-448, 451, 589.

⁶⁹ Again on Sq18X; see Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. 1, 288, as noted by W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, MÄS 3, Berlin 1963, 113 with n. 13.

⁷⁰ See Billing, *Nut the Goddess of Life*, 111-115.

⁷¹ See N. Billing, 'The Corridor Chamber. An Investigation of the Function and Symbolism of an Architectural Element in the Old Kingdom Pyramids', in: Goyon and Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, vol. 1, 192-193, and Billing, *Nut the Goddess of Life*, 76-77.

⁷² See the enumeration of phraseological parallels at H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae*, Vienna 1910, 23. Of these, PT 368 occurs in Groups D and E; PT 369 and 422 in Group D; and PT 356, 444, 450, 454, and 455 in Group E, and occur in the 1st, 2nd, and 5th day hours, and the 1st and 5th night hours.

⁷³ Namely PT 364 and 368; see M. Bommas, 'Das Motiv der Sonnenstrahlen auf der Brust des Toten. Zur Frage der Stundenwachen im Alten Reich', SAK 36 (2007) 16-19. fPT 664B also contains the phraseology in question and occurs in Group F, as does PT 357 (a member of Group G.3), discussed at Billing, 'The Corridor Chamber', 187-190.

⁷⁴ Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 3*, 230.

⁷⁵ For M/S/Sw A-C, see Leclant et al., *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 40 and 48, and I. Pierre-Croisau, 'Nouvelles identifications de Textes des Sarcophages parmi les «nouveaux» Textes des Pyramides de Pépy I^{er} et de Mérenrê', in: Bickel and Mathieu (eds.), *D'un monde à l'autre*, 267 and 277 Fig. 14. For M/S/NwA-C, see Leclant et al., *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 40-41, 147, 150, and 194.

the last text of that tomb's west wall, PT 592, occurs alternately on the west end of the north and south walls of Pepi I and Pepi II. The latter two sources split apart Group F on these surfaces. The sequential relationship between the two parts, if any, is unclear, since the two sections get reversed between the two pyramids. Thus section F.1 appears in Pepi I, sarcophagus chamber north wall, while this same section appears on the opposite wall in Pepi II. Similarly for the second part.

As may be seen in Plans 7 and 11, Group F is epigraphically related to Groups D and E by virtue of the orientation of text columns. A further indication of their relationship is the fact that the previously mentioned set of transition texts on the west wall of Teti's sarcophagus chamber contains members both of Group D and F.2.⁷⁶ Even so, an *ad hoc* nature of the present group is suggested by the fact that a comparatively high proportion of its texts appear in other groups, including several which were originally personal in performance structure. Most notable is Group F's close connection with Group M, as it not only shares at least three texts with it (PT 268, 327, and 625A⁷⁷), but is found alongside it on the north wall of Pepi II, west end. It would appear that this location is totally filled by texts of Group M in Merenre (see Chart M). Otherwise, Group M is attested in Pepi I's antechamber on the north wall and again in that tomb's descending passage — thus well outside the sarcophagus chamber.

Despite the apparent *ad hoc* nature of Group F, there are enough texts unique to it to give the whole a distinctive feel. Most prominent are repeated references to the activities of Isis and Nephthys in nine texts distributed throughout the two sections: they come to the deceased,⁷⁸ summon and mourn him,⁷⁹ grasp hold of him,⁸⁰ and bring him his heart.⁸¹

Conclusion

In the process of identifying the major groups of sacerdotal texts appearing in Old Kingdom royal pyramids, this paper has also managed to draw out how the pyramid of Wenis is unique in several respects: it is the only pyramid with apotropaic texts in the sarcophagus chamber; it is the only pyramid where Groups A and B extend into the passageway; and it is the only pyramid lacking Groups C and D. Teti introduces the latter two groups and Pepi I introduces the two remaining major sacerdotal groups E and F. This tomb's complement of sacerdotal groups is largely followed by Merenre and Pepi II.⁸²

The successive addition of groups is in concert with another statistic, which is that there is a tendency for each pyramid to increase the size of the corpus. In total number of texts including repetitions, Pepi I has the most with more than 725 texts, while the next most populated tomb is Pepi II's with more than 702. But in terms of diversity, Wenis has 229 different ones,

⁷⁶ The latter, specifically PT 326, 327, 330, and 331. As observed above at n. 65, six of these sixteen personal texts show signs of editing away from the first person, one of them being PT 327.

⁷⁷ And probably also PT 412.

⁷⁸ PT 628 §1786b, PT 629 §1787, fPT 664 §1885, fPT 664A §1886a-b.

⁷⁹ PT 412 §726a, PT 458 §863b-c, PT 535 §1281a, PT 633 §1791, fPT 718 §2232d-2233a.

⁸⁰ PT 628 §1786b, fPT 664 §1885, 1886b.

⁸¹ PT 628 §1786b, fPT 664 §1885.

⁸² The importance of Pepi I's pyramid in establishing precedent is observed at Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 45 and Allen, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 97. But there are important deviations, noted below.

Teti had more than 298, Pepi I more than 625, Merenre many more than 304, and Pepi II more than 633. On a broad scale, this point mirrors one of the major principles at play in the construction of the groups: addition.

As part of the process of addition, it was observed that some sacerdotal groups incorporated texts of an originally personal performance structure: altered from the first to the third person, they were in effect made to conform to the structure of recitations performed by priests. This point goes also for groups of texts consisting mostly of personal texts, as they, too, were subject to this practice. But, as documented in the notes accompanying the charts of Parts III and IV, it is the case that personal groups show a higher proportion of texts exhibiting signs of editing or maintaining an original first person — as high as thirty-six percent with Group J and forty-five percent with Group N. In comparison, Groups A and E show no signs of editing; B two percent, C thirteen, D fourteen, and F eighteen. In common with generally shared original setting of performance, it is the case that the texts of a given group share thematic content, as has been observed for some motifs and themes in the sacerdotal groups, and as can be shown for the personal ones as well. The organization of texts between the two major areas of the pyramids largely conforms to a division between the two original settings of performance, and general thematic differences between these areas may be understood as a function of differences between the settings.

Concerning displacement, one sees how especially the members of Groups C through F show dramatic differences in order. Together with additions (or omissions, depending on one's perspective) this fact shows how the rituals represented by the groups were not constrained by sequentiality, as with a narrative or a technological process. Imagine removing liquid from a recipe for soup, or displacing the act of heating before assembling any of the ingredients. And only experimental novels can get away with omitting chapters or moving them about. While the groups may be understood broadly as larger compositional units, with the companions alongside which a text appears conditioning its authentic meaning, their identity as such was not dependent upon fixed composition nor even absolutely fixed sequentiality. These two factors distinguish the groups from the discursive genres with which we are most comfortable, as they are supposed to cohere around a fixed beginning, middle, and end.

On a wider scale, the principle of displacement is perceivable in the removal of apotropaic texts (Group K) from the sarcophagus chamber, west wall, to be restricted in later pyramids to the antechamber, and the removal of transition texts (Group N) from sarcophagus chamber, west wall, also to the antechamber. In reverse, a set of sacerdotal texts (Group D) gets moved from the antechamber, west wall, to the sarcophagus chamber. Similarly with the sections of Group F, which alternate between the north and south walls of the sarcophagus chambers of Pepi I and Pepi II, and the removal of provisioning texts from the sarcophagus chamber of Pepi I to his antechamber and descending passage, only to return in later pyramids (see Chart H). In view of these dramatic changes to the overall distribution of texts, there are grounds to propose that the arrangement of groups on the wider scale matches what is evident on the smaller: the texts are not organized like chapters in a book, to be read with a definitive beginning, middle, and end.

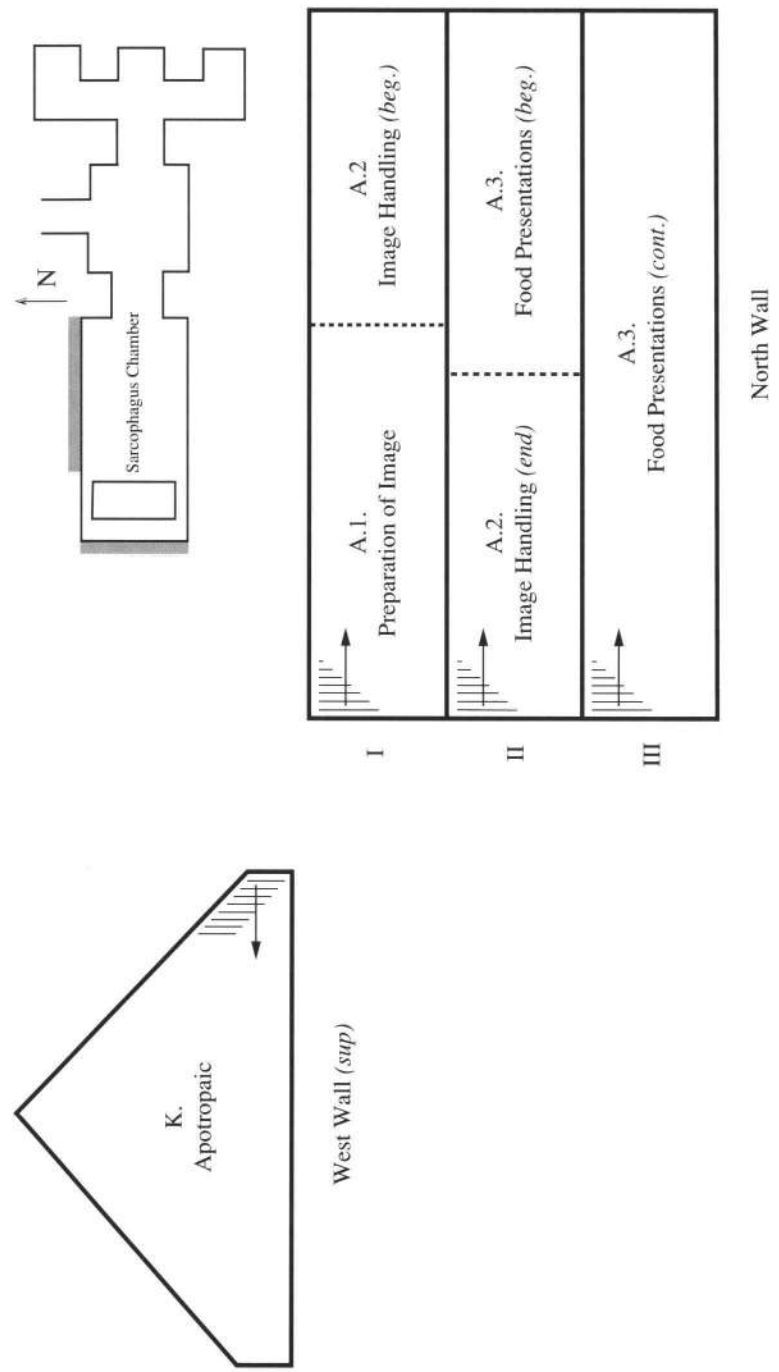
The flexibility of arrangement of groups, like the flexible arrangement of texts within groups, is in tension with fixed organization. While some groups are moved, others maintain position: where attested, Group A always dominates the sarcophagus chamber, north wall, and B is always on the south. Group C, once it appears in Teti, remains on the east wall in

succeeding pyramids. And Groups D, E, and F eventually settle at the west end beginning with Pepi I. While the ruptures in the positioning of groups between pyramids make it impossible to determine a unicursal, non-ergodic⁸³ reading strategy that holds from pyramid to pyramid, such consistency as may be perceived is suggestive of appreciation of precedent and the choices made by the ancient editors' forebears.

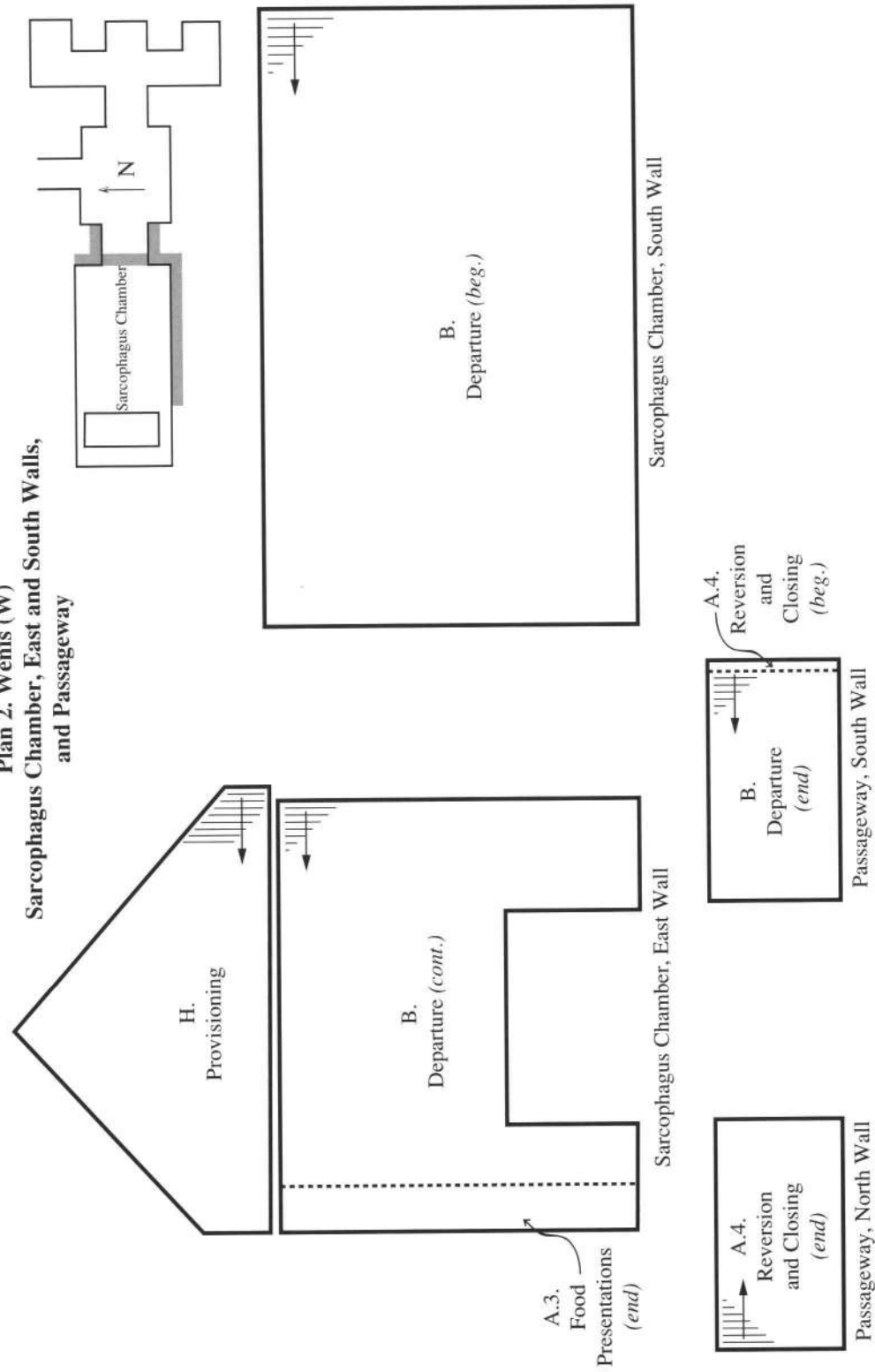
⁸³ E.J. Aarseth, *Cybertext: Perspectives on Ergodic Literature*, Baltimore 1997, 1-10, identifies a culturally independent type of literature labelled by him as *ergodic*, the navigation through exemplars of which requires a greater degree of effort on the part of their audiences. Such a text is governed by multicursality; that is to say, a reader interactively chooses his routes through it, therefore individualizing his experience of it. According to him, texts of this category include Egyptian temple inscriptions, inasmuch as they can be laid out in a non-linear way in 2- and 3-dimensional space.

Part II. Plans of Sarcophagus Chamber Groups

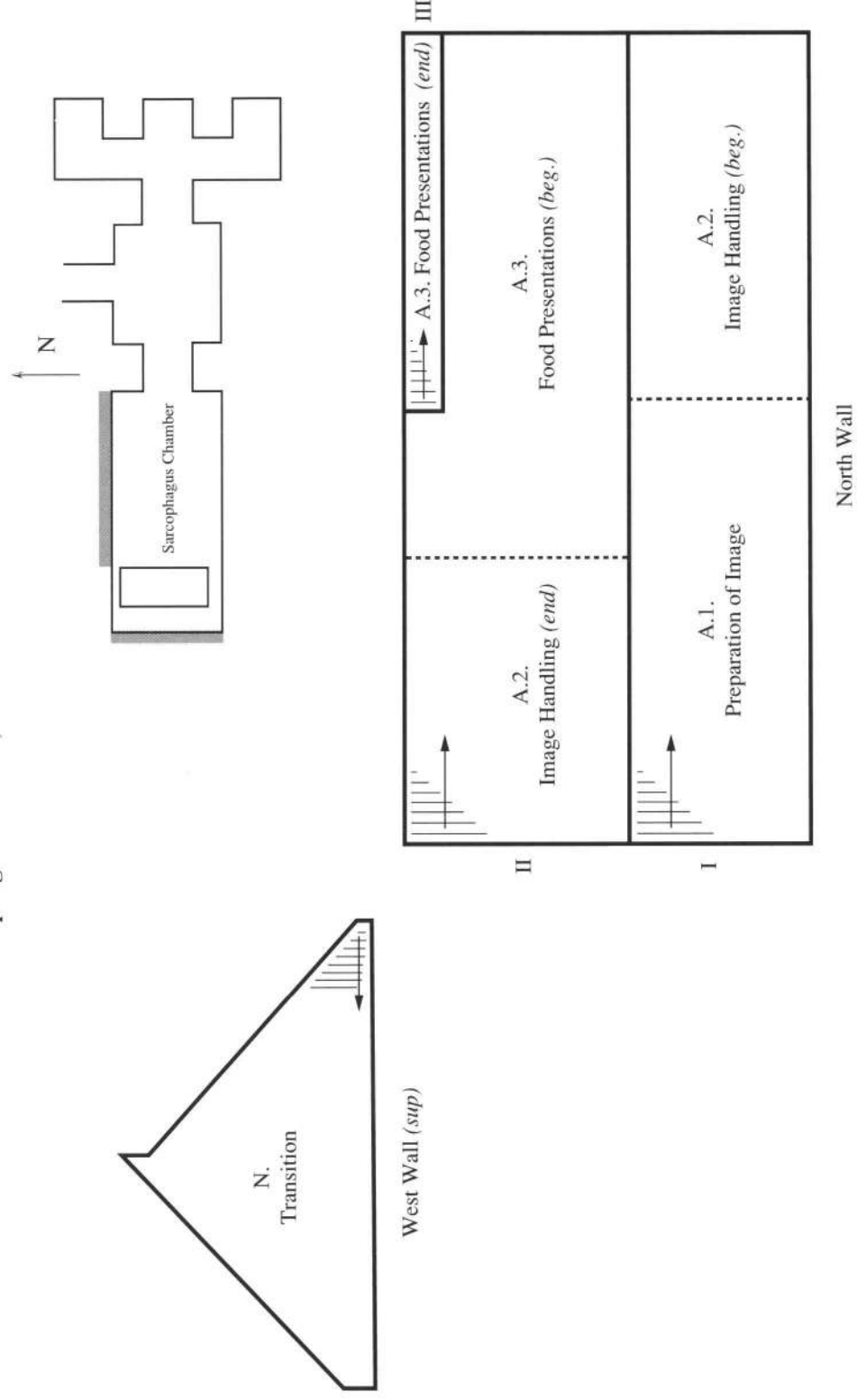
Plan 1. Wenis (W)
Sarcophagus Chamber, West and North Walls



Plan 2. Wenis (W)
Sarcophagus Chamber, East and South Walls,
and Passageway

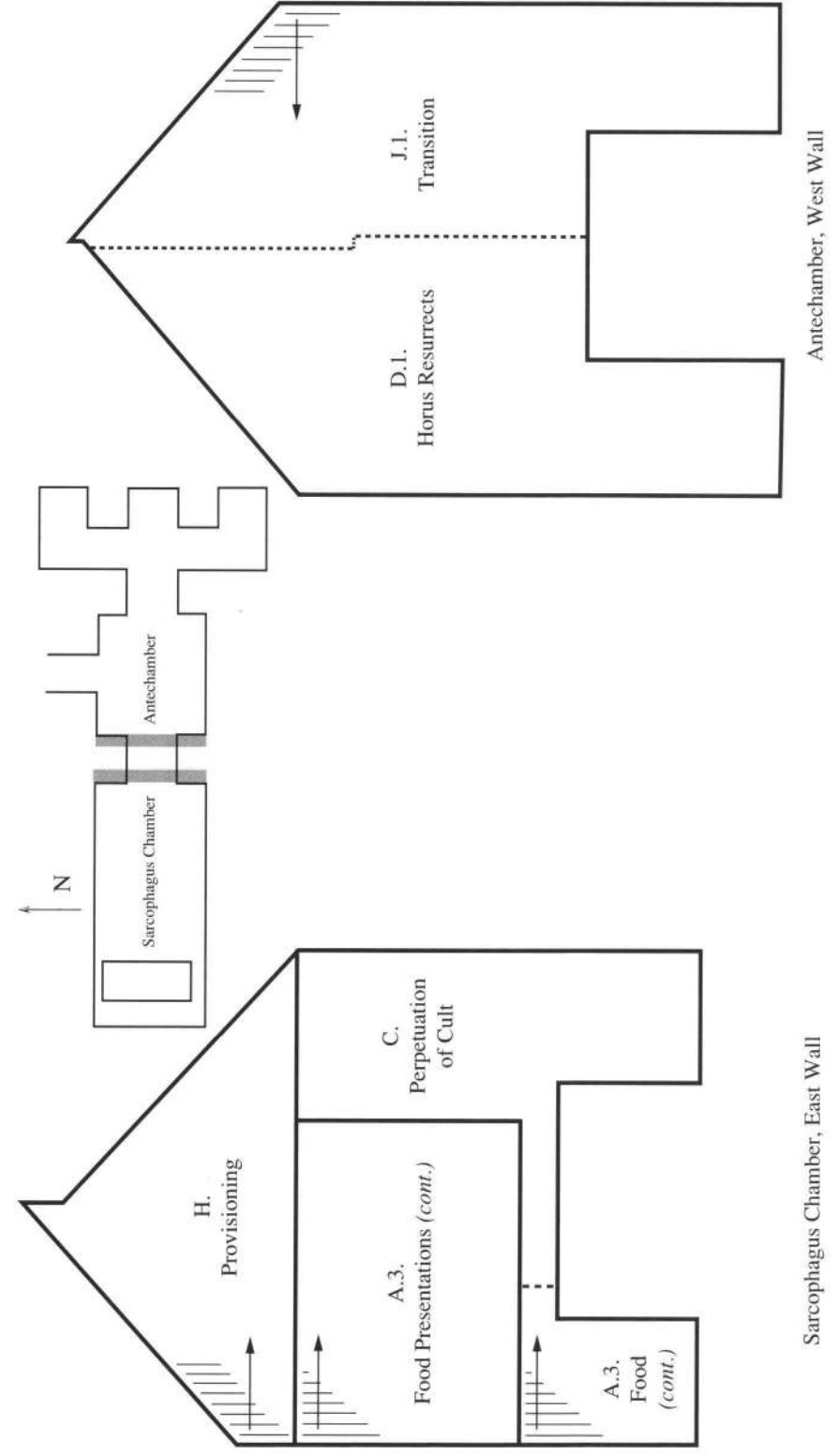


Plan 3. Teti (T)
Sarcophagus Chamber, West and North Walls



North Wall

Plan 4. Teti (T)
Sarcophagus Chamber, East Wall, and Antechamber, West Wall



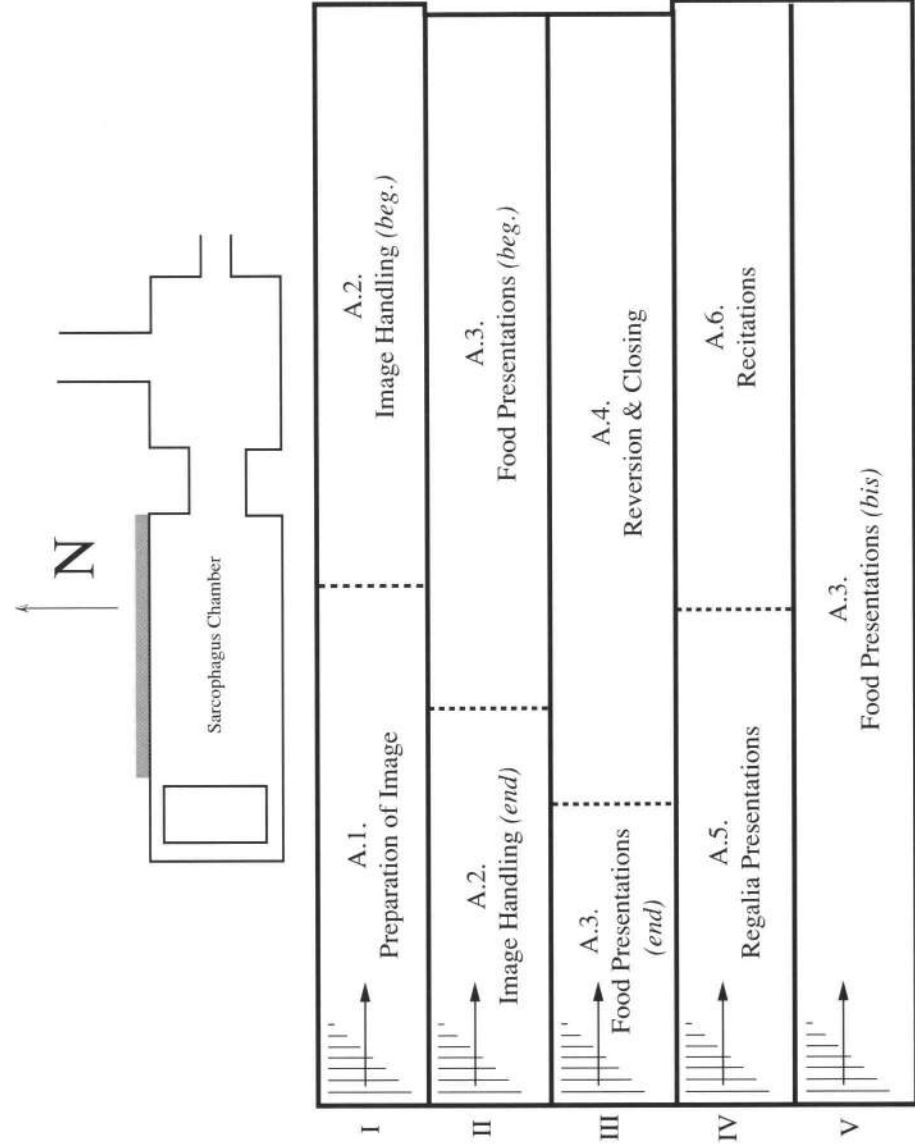
Sarcophagus Chamber, East Wall

Antechamber, West Wall

D.1. Horus Resurrects

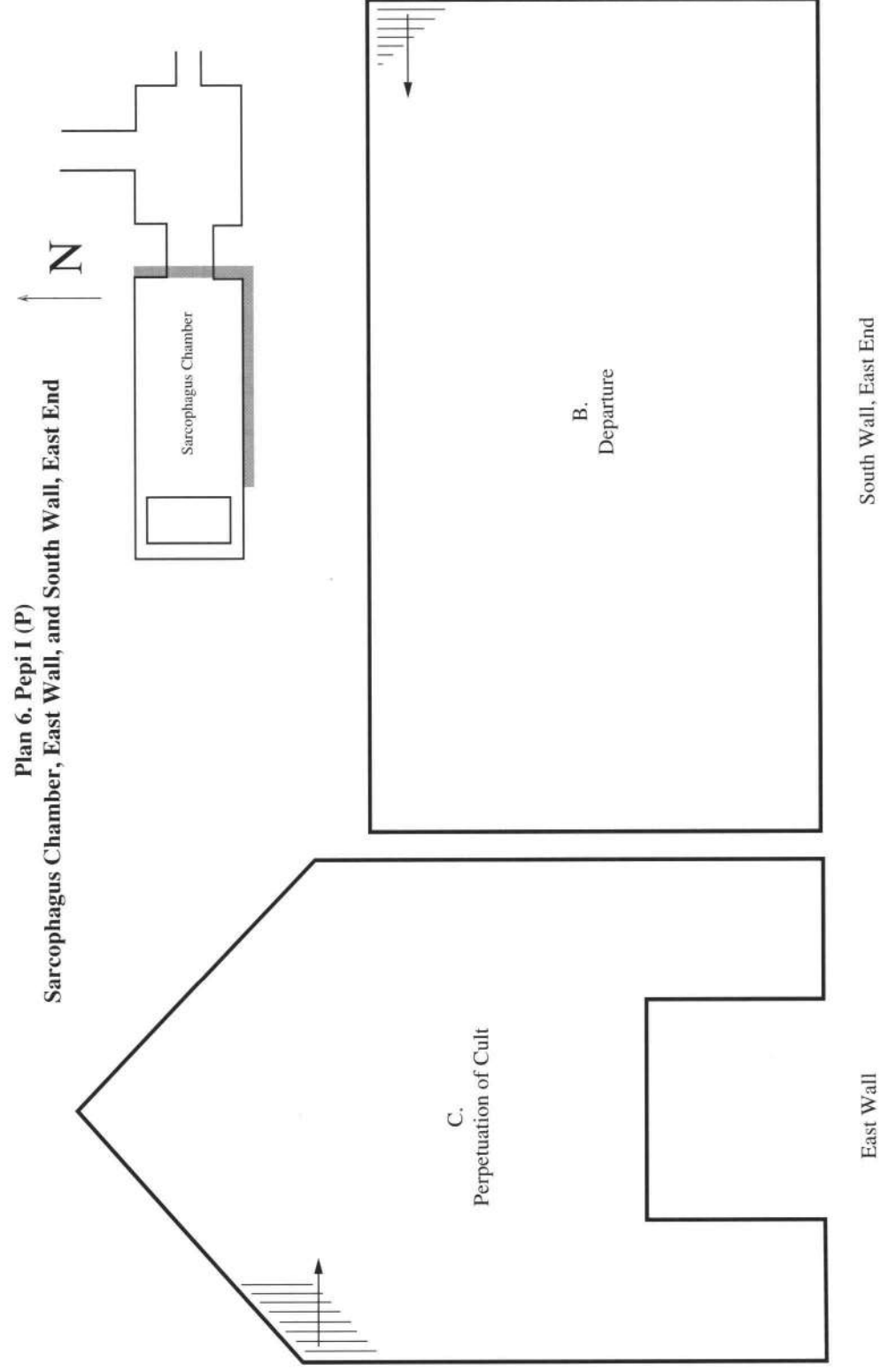
J.1. Transition

Plan 5. Pepi I (P)
Sarcophagus Chamber, North Wall, East End



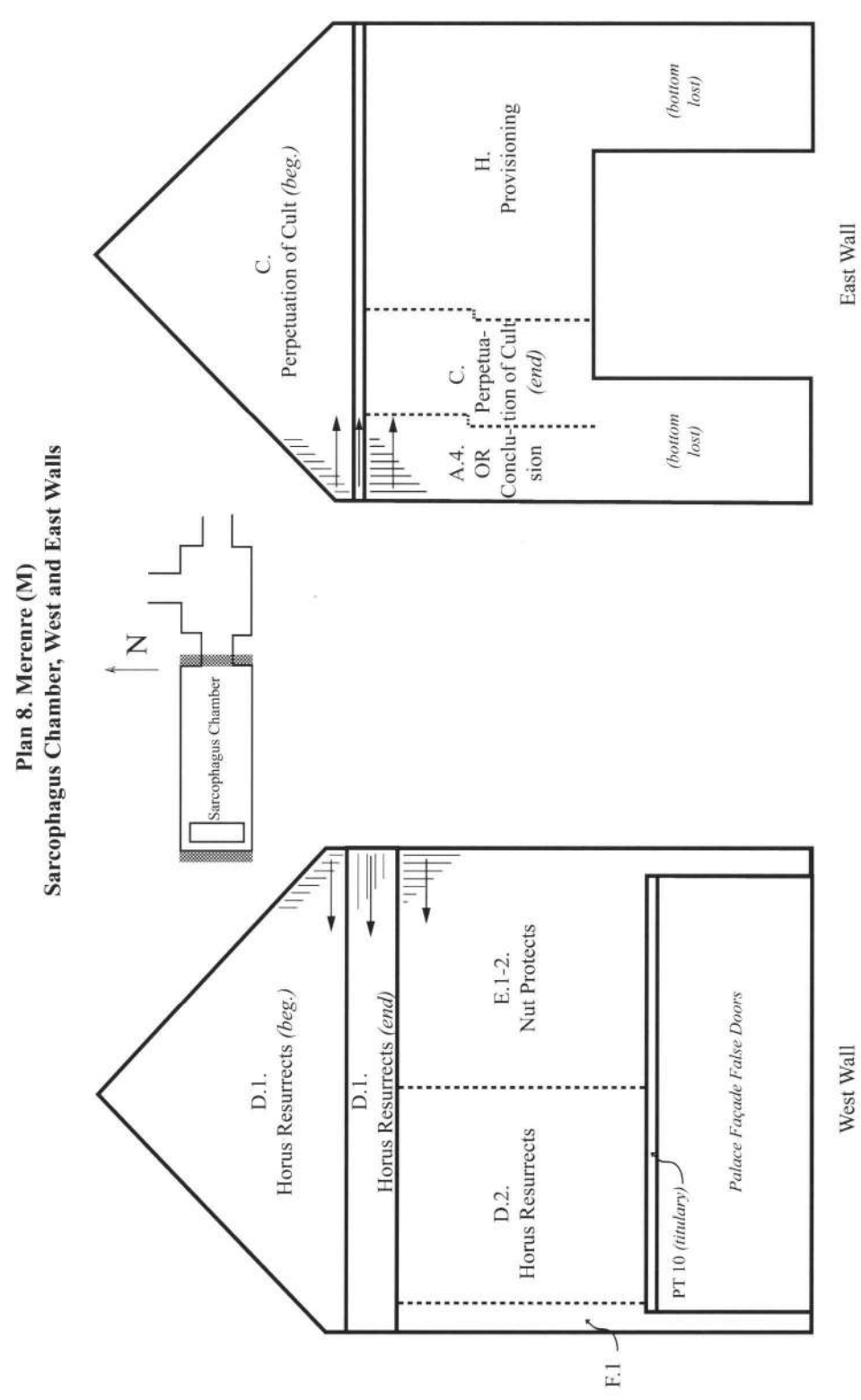
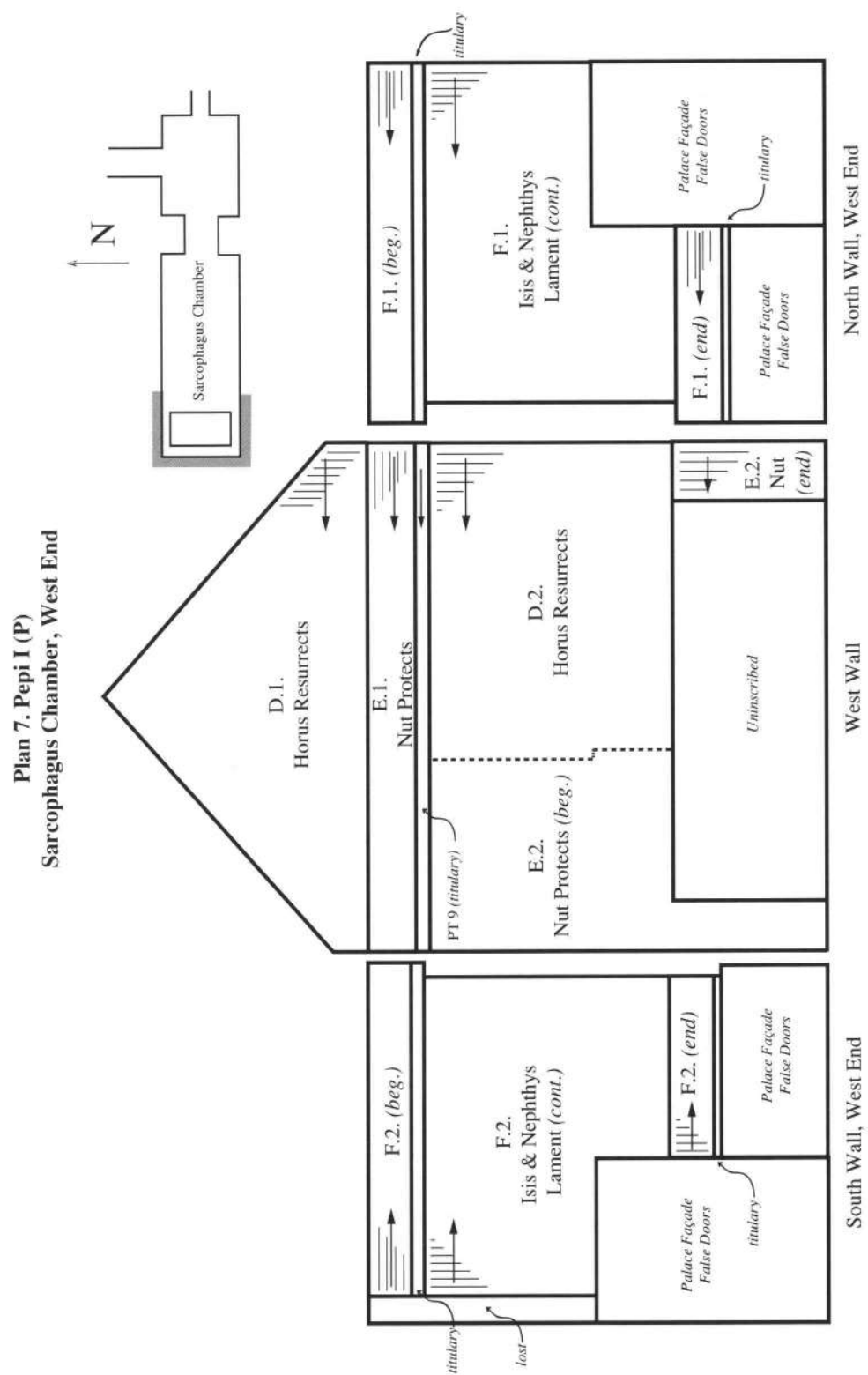
North Wall, East End

Plan 6. Pepi I (P)
Sarcophagus Chamber, East Wall, and South Wall, East End

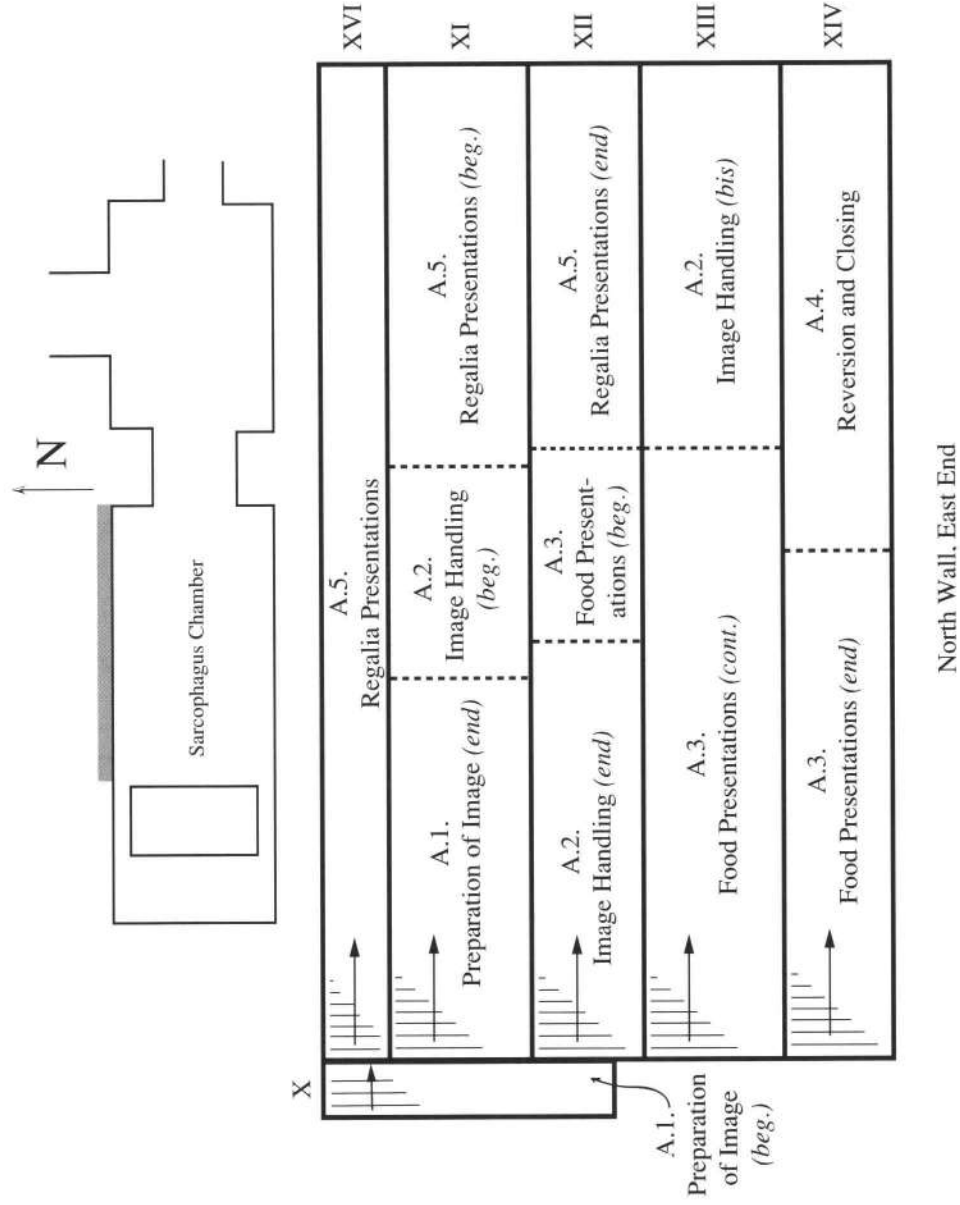


East Wall

South Wall, East End

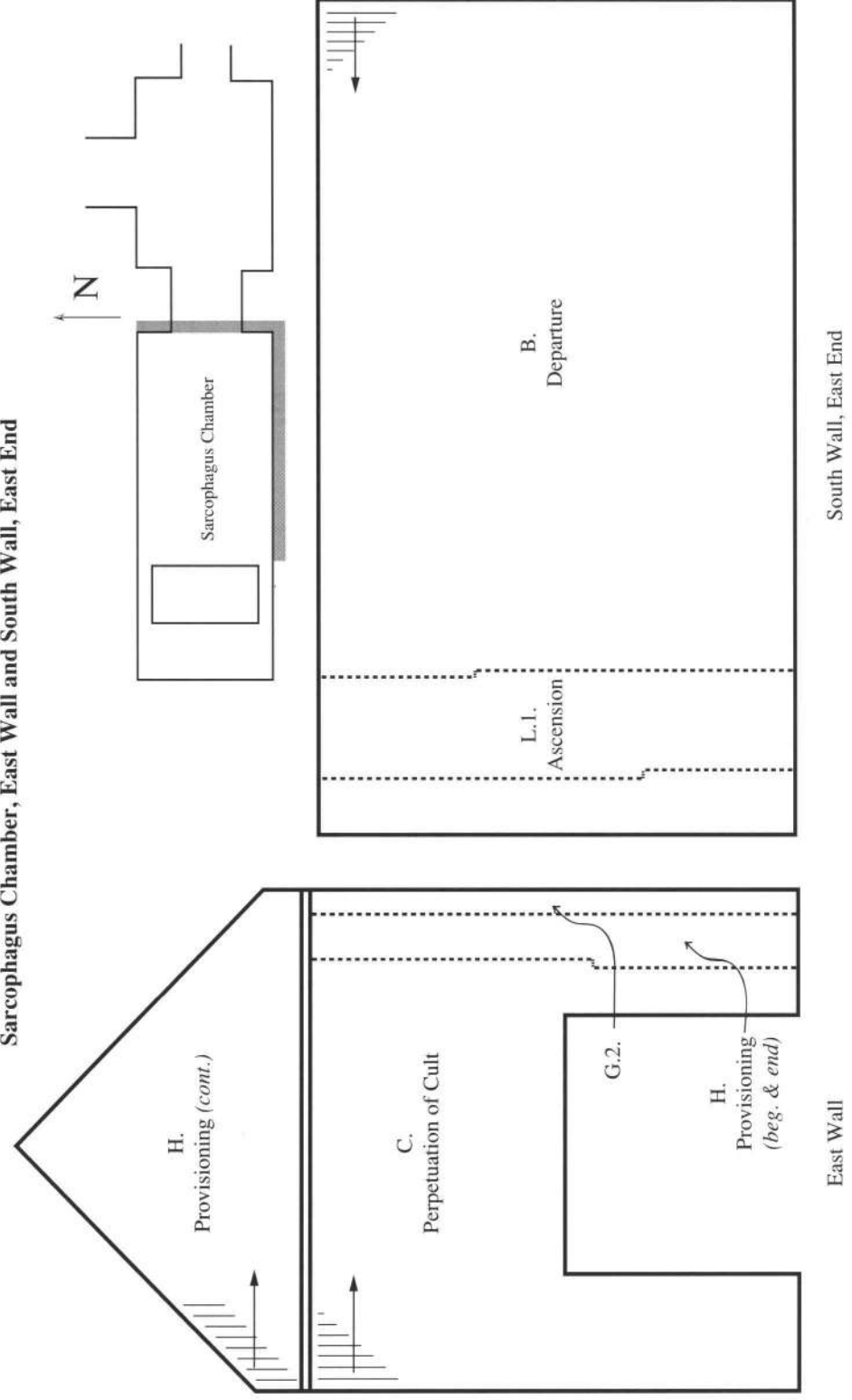


Plan 9. Pepi II (N)
Sarcophagus Chamber, North Wall, East End



North Wall, East End

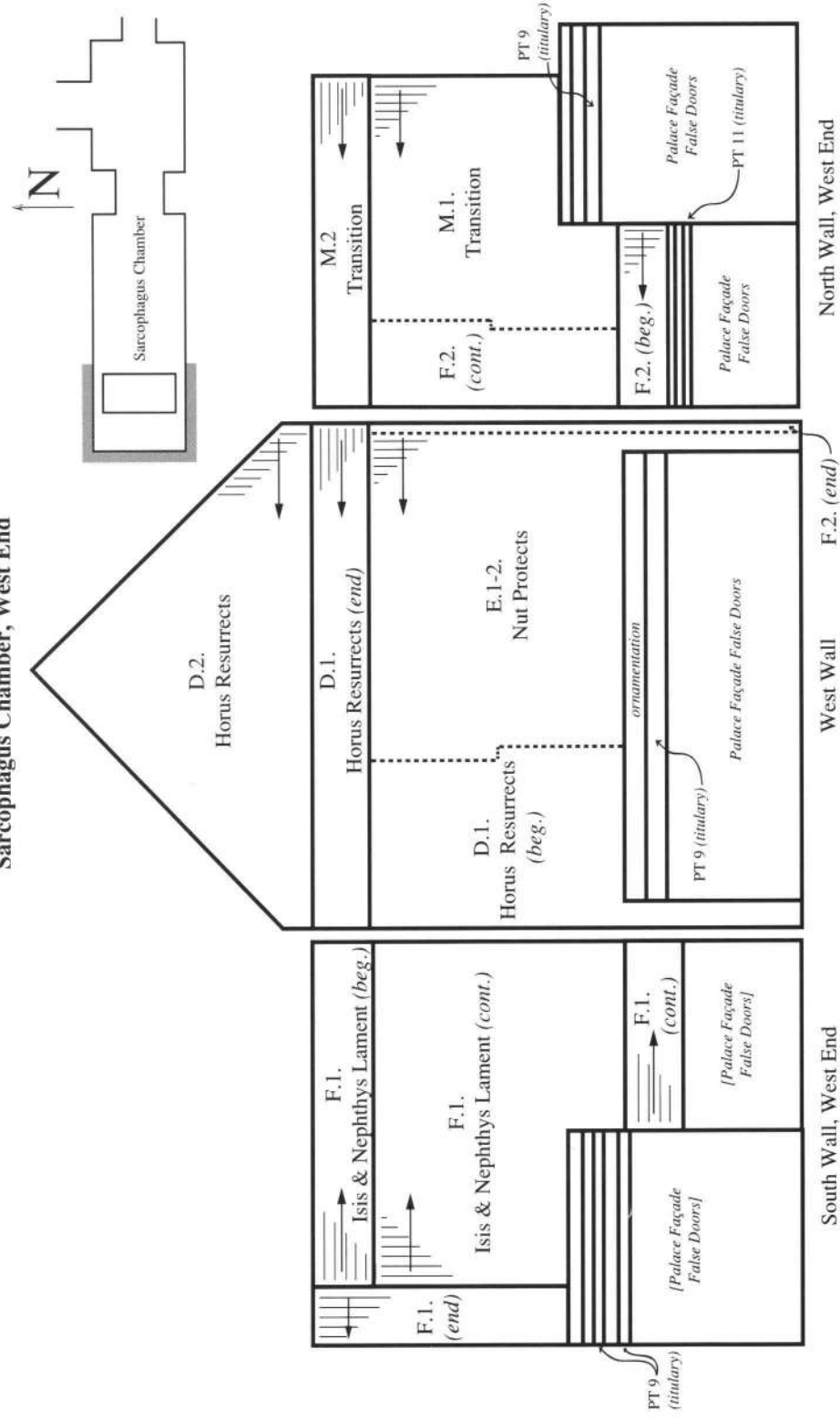
Plan 10. Pepi II (N)
Sarcophagus Chamber, East Wall and South Wall, East End



East Wall

South Wall, East End

Plan 11. Pepi II (N)
Sarcophagus Chamber, West End



Key to Parts III and IV

Notes on All Groups

- 1) The organization of the following charts is explained above, in Part I, under the headings 'Group A' and 'Group B'.
- 2) *Italic font* indicates that the text appears in another pyramid's manifestation of the same group.
- 3) Underline indicates that the text also appears in a different group.
- 4) Highlight indicates a personal text; other texts are sacerdotal in performance structure.
- 5) f<number> and fPT<number> (e.g. f634 and fPT634) indicate a spell designated with that number by R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts. Supplement of Hieroglyphic Texts*, Oxford 1969.
- 6) s<number> (e.g. s715B and sPT715B) indicates a spell designated with that number by Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1. ('s' stands for 'Saqqâra' of 'Mission archéologique française de Saqqâra').
- 7) x indicates a lacuna or extremely fragmentary text.
- 8) | indicates an epigraphic division, such as the end of a wall surface or the beginning of a register.
- 9) Titulary texts are not represented in the charts.
- 10) The notes specify the person of the beneficiary for the texts of each group; in the case of texts deemed to have certainly been originally in the first person, a passage is indicated which exhibits one or more signs of editing in one or more exemplars.

Source Sigla and Locational Codes

Debeheni = items from the Type A offering list in that personage's Dynasty 5 tomb.

W = Wenis	/S = sarcophagus chamber	/W = west wall
T = Teti	/A = antechamber	/N = north wall
P = Pepi I	/P = passageway between S and A	/S = south wall
M = Merenne	/Ser = passageway to serdab from A	/E = east wall
N = Pepi II (Neferkare)	/C = corridor leading north from A	
	/Cpost = corridor, southern section	
	/Cmed = corridor, middle section	
	/Cant = corridor, northern section	
	/V = vestibule	
	/Dpost = descending passage, south section	

Suffixes: *sup*, *med*, and *inf* for upper, middle, and lower registers respectively; or *w*, *n*, *s*, *e*, *m*, for west, north, south, east end or middle respectively

References

For the composition and order of texts listed in the following charts, see above nn. 11-12.

Part III. Major Groups of Sacerdotal Texts in Royal Pyramids

Group A. Old Kingdom Offering Ritual

Section A.1. Preparation of the Image		a.	b.	c.
	OM	purifications	OM	food
Debeheni		A1 A2		
W/S/N I		1 23 25	32	34-36 37-38 39-42
T/S/N I ⁸⁴		1 23 25	32	34-36 37-38 39-42
P/S/Ne I ⁸⁵		1 23 24 25 26[-]30 32 33	34-36 37-38 39-42	
N/S/Ne X-XI ⁸⁶	1 12-22	1 23 24 25 26 - 30 31 32 33 34-36 37-38 39-42		

OM means 'rites concerning the opening of the mouth'.

Chart A.1

Notes on Section A.1

- 1) Person of the beneficiary: PT 12, 16, 19, not preserved/mentioned; PT 21 in second and third; PT 13, 15, 20, 22, 25-42 in second; PT 14, 17, 18, 23, 24 in third.
- 2) Several texts of this section have parallels with New Kingdom Opening of the Mouth (MÖR) rites: cf. PT 13 (phraseology) and PT 16 (for *nms.t* jar) to MÖR 2. PT 20-21 = MÖR 25-26, PT 22 = MÖR 31. PT 23 = MÖR 69B. PT 34-36 = MÖR 4-6. Cf. PT 37 to MÖR 37. Further parallels occur in Section A.2 and elsewhere in the Pyramid Texts.

⁸⁴ The registers of T/S/N are arranged from bottom to top; for such arrangements on other Egyptian sources, see M. Heerma van Voss, 'Von unten nach oben lesen', JEOL 40 (2007) 41-42.

⁸⁵ PT 27 and 28 are assumed to have been present by Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 67.

⁸⁶ PT 31 appears again in Section A.2.

Section A.2. Image Handling

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
	purifications	food	robing	robing summary	purifications
Debeheni			A3 -	A11	A14
W/S/N I-II	32	43-57 1	72-76 <u>77</u> 78 79	81	32
T/S/N I-II	32	43-57 x 1	72-76 <u>77</u> 78 79	81	32
P/S/Ne I-II ⁸⁷	32 33[-]36] x	43-57 1	[72-76 <u>77</u> 78 79	81]	[32]
N/S/Ne XI-XII ⁸⁸	32	43-57... 1	72-76 <u>77</u> 78 79 80 81	622 414, 634 s635A 449 s715B	32
<i>also: N/S/Ne XIII⁸⁹</i>			s715A-B 414, 634 s635A-B 636 637 638 639 x 640-641 1		25 31 26-30 32 33

Chart A.2

Notes on Section A.2

- 1) Title: PT 77 and 81 are each entitled *s3tj.w* at Sq18X, and also appear in Groups G.2 and F.2 respectively.
- 2) Person of the beneficiary: PT 46, s715A in second and third; PT 25-34, 43-45, 47-49, 51-57, 72-76, 78-80, 414, 449, 622, 634, s635A-B, 636-639, 641, s715B in second; PT 50, 77, 81, 640 in third.
- 3) The term *robing* indicates spells dealing especially with applying cloth, unguent, and eyepaint, and therefore evocative of the process of mummification. Section A.2.d is concerned with the robing implied by the presentation of cloth in PT 81.
- 4) PT 77 = MÖR 55 II (end).
- 5) Section A.2.d is not arranged in comparative order.

⁸⁷ PT 35-40, 45, 80 are assumed to have been present by Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 70-71 and 209-210, but a second iteration of PT 37-38 is unprecedented, and PT 81 is expected rather than PT 80.

⁸⁸ PT 31 is found again in A.1.

⁸⁹ sPT 715A is found again in A.6.

Section A.3. Food Presentations

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
	cnsr	food	cnsr	food	cnsr
Debeheni	A15-19	A20-26	A27-90		
W/S/N II-III + En ⁹⁰	82-86	87-96	108-116 117-141	142-150	151 -171 1... 223 224
T/S/N II + Emed + Einf + N III ⁹¹	82-86	87-96	108-116	117-141 142-150	151 -171 ...1 223
P/S/Ne II-III ⁹²	82-86	87-96	108-116	117-141	142-150 151 -171
<i>also</i> : P/S/Ne V ⁹³	1 x		[108-116	117]-141	142-150
N/S/N XII-XIV	82-86	87-96...1	108-116	117 - 141	142-150
				x	173 174-198
				172	173 174-198
					223 224 225

cnsr stands for 'consecration rites'.

Chart A.3

Notes on Section A.3

1) Person of the beneficiary: PT 82, not mentioned; PT 172, 223-225 in second and third; PT 84-96, 108-171, 173-198 in second; PT 83 in third.

⁹⁰ On W/S/N, PT 223 is immediately preceded by PT 222 of Group B.

⁹¹ On T/S/Einf, PT 224, 172, 173 are immediately followed by PT 355-358 of Group C.

⁹² PT 151-159 are assumed to have been present by Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 91-92 and 212.

⁹³ PT 108-124 are assumed to have been present by Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 105-106 and 214.

Section A.4. Reversion of Offerings and Closing the Shrine

	a.	b.	c.	d.
	closing shrine	rvrsn purifications	cnsr	closing shrine
W/P/N + Sw ⁹⁴	1	199	224 225	s1012 658 s1013 646 s645A s1014
P/S/Ne III		199	244	32 23 25 200 244
M/S/Einf ⁹⁵		199	244	32 23 25
N/S/N XIV ⁹⁶	642-644 s645A 646-650	199	244	436 24 598 x 224
				33

cnsr stands for 'consecration rites'.

rvrsn stands for 'reversion of offerings'.

Chart A.4

Notes on Section A.4

1) Title: PT 224 (TT 100): 'Entering in to the reversion of offerings'.

2) Person of the beneficiary: PT 224-225, 436, 642 in second and third; PT 25, 32-33, 199, 244, 643, sPT 645A-B, 646-649, 658, sPT 1012-1014 in second; PT 23-24, 200, 598, 644, and 650 in third.

3) PT 644, 646, and 645A-B share phraseology which shows them to be recitations at lifting the sarcophagus. They are parallel to MÖR 73, which involves the interment of the corpse, expressed as the closing of the shrine.

4) sPT 1013, PT646, together with sPT 645A constitute the beginning of CT 42, as observed by Pierre-Croisau, 'Nouvelles identifications de Textes des Sarcophages', 265. The purpose of this text is to embue the statue with titles.

⁹⁴ PT 199 on W/P/N is directly opposite PT 244 on W/P/Sw; thus the latter may instead immediately follow the former.

⁹⁵ PT 24 is found again in Section A.1. PT 598 is found in Section A.5.

⁹⁶ PT 33 is found again in Sections A.1. and A.2.

Section A.5. Presentation of Sacra

A.5.a
N/S/N XVI | f746-749 x f752-756 x s635B 651-653 x IA.5.b
P/S/Ne IV | x 66-70 f71 f71A-I x f57A-I 106 [107]
N/S/N XI-XII⁹⁷ 58-59 60-63 64-65 66-70 f71 f71A-I N306+11-14 f57A-I l... 97-105 30 26-29 598 106 107 I

Chart A.5

Notes on Section A.5

- 1) Person of the beneficiary: fPT 57A, 57D, 57F, 57G, PT 60, f71F-G, 105, f754, not mentioned/preserved; fPT 71H, PT 106 in second and third; PT 26-30, f57B-C, f57E, f57H-I, 58-59, 61-70, f71, f71A-E, 97-104, 107, s635B, 651-653, f746-749, 752-753, 755-756 in second; f71I, N 306+11-14, 598 in third.

Section A.6. Recitations

P/S/Ne IV⁹⁸ x 660 s715A x 426 s1015-1016 x s1017-1022 I

Chart A.6

Notes on Section A.6

- 1) sPT 1022 has the notation *st.t tk3* 'lighting a lamp'.
2) Person of the beneficiary: PT 660, s715A, s1021 in second and third; PT 426, s1016, s1018, s1020, s1022 in second; sPT 1015, s1017, s1019 in third.

⁹⁷ PT 30 and 26-29 are found again in Sections A.1. and A.2. PT 598 is found again in Section A.4.

⁹⁸ sPT 715A is found again in Section A.2.

Group B. Departure

Section B.1
W/S/S + S/Es⁹⁹ | 213-219 | 220-222... I
T/S/S¹⁰⁰ | 213-219 | 220-222
P/S/Se | 213-219 | 220-222
M/S/Se¹⁰¹ | 213-219 | 220-222
N/S/Se | 213-219 | 220-222

Section B.2
W/P/Se¹⁰² | ... | 245-246
T/S/S | 245-246
P/S/Se | 245-246 693 s1001 593 f723 374 s1002 703 s701A s1003-1004 f665 f665A f665B-C f666 f759 f666A-B f667 f667A-D 53Z
M/S/Se | 245-246 f665B-C f666 f759 f666A-B f667 f667A-D 53Z
N/S/Se | 245-246 f665 f665A f665B-C f666 f759 f666A-B f667 f667A-D 53Z

Section B.3
P/S/Se | 690 1005-1009 | 671 672 |
M/S/Se | 302 | 374 s1002 369 |
N/S/Se | 267 309 668 302 669 | 670 671 672 358 |

Chart B

Notes on Group B

- 1) Titles: PT 213 (M1C) 'Utterance of Sakhui after the reversion of offerings'; PT 213 (S5C) 'Going forth from the gates of the Duat'; cf. BD 177 (Aa) (< PT 245f.) 'Raising an Akh and nourishing a Ba in the necropolis'.
2) Person of the beneficiary: PT 302 (see §461a) originally in first; PT 267, 309, 668-669 in third but probably originally in first; PT 215, 217, 221-222, 245, f665B, f666A, f667A, 670, 672, 690, s1005-1006 in second and third; PT 213-214, 246, 358, 369, 374, 537, 593, f665, f665A, f665C, f666, f666B, f667, f667B-D, 671, 693, s701A, 703, f723, f759, s1001-1004, s1008-1009 in second; PT 216, 218-220, s1007 in third. 2% of texts show signs of editing.
3) Thirty-seven out of fifty-two texts are exclusive to Group B.

⁹⁹ PT 219 spans W/S/S and W/S/Es. PT 222 is immediately followed by PT 223 of Group A, Section A.3.

¹⁰⁰ For the Group B texts in T, see Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 44-47, and above at n. 49.

¹⁰¹ For the Group B texts in M, see Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 44-49, 61, and 147. (One may anticipate that the relative order of the last four texts will be adjusted.)

¹⁰² PT 244 of Group A, Section A.4 immediately precedes PT 245 on W/P/S.

Group C. Perpetuation of Cult

Section C.1	
T/S/Einf	355 <u>356 357 358</u>
P/S/E	<u>356 357</u>
M/S/Esup-med	<u>456 407 457 458-460 355 461</u> 596 <u>264 595 603 673</u> 659 <u>604 594 s1010 s1011</u>
N/S/Emed-inf	<u>593 356 357</u> <u>407</u> <u>407</u> 594 595 596 <u>456 659 604</u>
	<u>591</u> <u>593</u> <u>357</u>
Section C.2	
P/Dant/Es	599 601 <u>439</u>
M/S/Einf	599 600 601 602
N/S/Einf	600 601 599 602 596 355 595 459 414 597 <u>660 637 439</u>

Chart C

Notes on Group C

- 1) Person of the beneficiary: PT 407 (see §710a-b), 439 (see §812c), 456 (see §856b), 594 (see §1638a) originally in first; PT 264 and 604 in third but probably originally in first; PT 357, 457-458, 460, 659-660 in second and third; PT 355-356, 358, 414, 459, 461, 591, 593, 595-597, 603-604, 637, 673, s1010-1011 in second; PT 599-602 in third. 13% of texts show signs of editing.
- 2) Thirteen out of thirty-two texts are exclusive to Group C.
- 3) PT 439 also occurs on T/A/N (Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 31) and in that place may belong to Group M.1.

Group D. Horus Resurrects

Section D.1	
T/A/Ws	<u>364</u> 365 366 <u>367 368 369</u> 370 371 372 373 <u>374</u>
P/S/Wsup	<u>422 365</u> 366 423 371 372 424 <u>370 425</u>
M/S/Wsup-med	422 <u>367 368</u> 370 365 366 371 372 <u>335</u> 336 424 373 442
N/S/Winf-med	... 422 365 373 <u>369 332 622 623</u> 370 371 <u>366 336</u> 621
Section D.2	
P/S/WinfA	<u>436 437</u> 438 336 <u>335 439 440</u> 441 442
M/S/Winf	437 <u>441</u> <u>332 440 439</u> 591 <u>414</u>
N/S/Wsup	437 424 <u>436</u> <u>335</u> 423 441 438 442 440 620

Chart D

Notes on Group D

- 1) Title: PT 422 (Sq18X) receives the title *s3h.w*.
- 2) Person of the beneficiary: PT 332 (see § 541c), 335 (see § 546a), 336 (see § 548a), 439 (see § 812c) originally in first; PT 440 in third but probably originally in first; PT 436, 442 in second and third; PT 364-374, 422-425, 437-438, 441, 620-623 in second. 14% of texts show signs of editing.
- 3) Fourteen out of twenty-nine texts are exclusive to Group D.
- 4) PT 440 occurs also on T/A/N (Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 32) and in that place may belong to Group M.1.

Group E. Nut Protects

Section E.1			<u>429-434</u>	435
P/S/Wmed		<u>367</u> <u>368</u> <u>426-428</u>		
M/S/Winf		<u>428</u> <u>588</u> <u>446</u> <u>449</u> <u>447</u> <u>448</u> <u>450</u> <u>451</u>	<u>589</u> <u>590</u> <u>426-428</u>	<u>429-434</u>
N/S/Winf		<u>449</u> <u>446</u> <u>447</u> <u>448</u> <u>450</u> <u>451</u> <u>367</u> <u>368</u> <u>589</u> <u>590</u>	<u>426-428</u> <u>429-434</u>	
Section E.2				
P/S/WinfA-B		<u>443</u> <u>444</u> <u>445</u> <u>446</u> <u>428</u> <u>447</u> <u>448</u> <u>449-451</u> <u>452</u> <u>453</u> <u>356</u> <u>454</u> <u>425</u>	<u>455</u>	
M/S/Winf		<u>443</u> <u>444</u>	<u>454</u> <u>425</u> <u>455</u> <u>452</u> <u>453</u>	
N/S/Winf		<u>443</u> <u>444</u>	<u>454</u> <u>425</u> <u>455</u> <u>452</u> <u>453</u> <u>356</u>	

Chart E

Notes on Group E

- 1) Person of the beneficiary: PT 430, 433 not mentioned; PT 435, 450, 455 in second and third; PT 356, 367-368, 414, 425-426, 447, 449, 451-454, 588-591 in second; PT 427-429, 431-432, 434, 443-446, 448 in third.
- 2) Fifteen out of thirty-two texts are exclusive to Group E.

Group F. Isis and Nephthys Lament

Section F.1				
P/S/NwA-C		<u>369</u> <u>535</u>	<u>s716A-B</u> <u>f717-718</u> <u>663</u> x <u>f719</u> x	<u>592</u>
M/S/Winf				<u>592</u>
N/S/SwA-D		<u>658</u> <u>s716A-B</u> <u>f717-718</u> x <u>663</u> <u>f719</u> <u>262</u> <u>458</u> <u>603</u> <u>f664</u> <u>f664A-C</u>		<u>592</u>
Section F.2				
P/S/SwA-D		x <u>429</u> <u>535</u> <u>326</u> <u>327</u> <u>670</u> <u>628-631</u> <u>81</u> <u>268</u> <u>412</u> <u>s625A</u> <u>364</u>		x
N/S/NwC-B+S/Winf ¹⁰³			<u>628-631</u>	<u>632</u> <u>633</u> <u>327</u> <u>330</u> <u>331</u> <u>326</u> ... <u>412</u>

Chart F

Notes on Group F

- 1) Person of the beneficiary: PT 262 (see §329c), 268 (see §370a in NI), 327 (see §536b), s625A (see §1762b) originally in first; PT 326, 330-331 in third but probably originally in first; PT 632 not mentioned; PT 458, 535, 670 in second and third; PT 364, 369, 412, 603, 628-630, 658, 663-664, f664A-C, s716A-B, f717-719 in second; PT 81, 429, 592, 631, 633 in third. 18% of texts show signs of editing.
- 2) Seventeen out of thirty-four texts are exclusive to Group F.

¹⁰³ PT 412 spans the north and west walls.

G. Other Sacerdotal Groups

Group G.1 (cf. Group C)	
P/P/N + S	674 462 463 464 x 675 s1023
M/P/S + N	674 462 675 587 463 464 673
N/P/N + S	674 462 675 676 677 587 463 464 673

Chart G.1

Notes on Group G.1

- 1) Person of the beneficiary: PT 677 in second and third; PT 462-464, 673-676, s1023 in second; PT 587 in third.
- 2) Eight out of ten texts are exclusive to Group G.1.

Group G.2. (cf. A.2 and C)	
T/Ser/N + S	412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 s1052 415 s1053 77 s1054 s1055 s1056 x
P/Ser/S + N	416 456 461 420 419 301 421 418 605 466 364 693 363 723 690 x
M/A/Esup	301 301 421 418 466 364 693 724 725 363
M/A/Einf s	418 418 418 418 460 s694A x 695 696 x
N/A/Einf s	418 418 418 418 418 201-203
N/A/Esup	605 605 605 605 605
N/S/Einf	662B 662B 662B 662B 662B

Chart G.2

Notes on Group G.2

- 1) The last texts of the group are not arranged in comparative order.
- 2) Person of the beneficiary: PT 301 (see §448b), 456 (see §856b) originally in first; PT 363, 696, f724-725, s1054 probably originally in first; PT 416, not mentioned; PT 417, 419, 460, 466, 605, 690, f722 in second and third; PT 201-203, 364, 412-414, 420-421, 461, 662B, 693, s694A, s721B, f723, s1052, s1055 in second; PT 77, 415, 418, 695, s1053, s1056 in third person. 5% of texts show signs of editing.
- 3) Twenty-one out of thirty-eight texts are exclusive to Group G.2.

Group G.3 (cf. Group C)	
P/Cant/E	534 357 535 536 537 538

Chart G.3

Notes on Group G.3

- 1) Person of the beneficiary: PT 538 (an apotropaic text), not mentioned; PT 357, 534-536 in second and third; PT 537 in second.
- 2) On this group, see Billing, 'The Corridor Chamber', 187-190.

Part IV. Groups of Personal Texts Shown in Plans

Group H. Provisioning Texts

Section H.1		204 205 207 209 210-212		
W/S/Esup		338 339	208	
T/S/Esup			210-212 340-346	208
P/A/En	489		212	s490B 408
M/S/Einf s		338 339	210-212 340-346	208
N/S/Einf-sup ¹⁰⁴		661 352...1 338 339	210-212 340-346 400 208	
Section H.2				
T/S/Esup		347 348 349	350 351	353
T/A/Es			400	401-403 206
P/A/En				404 405 406 407
P/Dpost/E		348 349 206 404 350 351 405 353	401-403 x	
M/S/Einf s		348 349	350 351	353 400 206 401-403
N/S/Esup-inf ¹⁰⁵		406 347 348 349 206 404	401-403	603 604 404
				401-403
				408 409 410
				408 497 498
				s491A-B 492 493-496 408
				s1079 x 698 s1080
				661
				662A

Chart H

Notes on Group H

- The last texts of section H.2 are not arranged in comparative order.
- Titles: At PT 204 (SIBas, sim. C 20520): 'Making a man's altar flourish in the necropolis and making him have power over mortuary offerings'; cf. BD 178 (Aa) (< PT 204ff). 'Resurrecting the corpse, [opening] the eyes, setting up the ears, and making the head firm, with it set upon its proper place'.
- Person of the beneficiary: PT 492, s1079, not preserved/mentioned; PT 207, 354 in first; PT 344 (see §559c), 345 (see §560c), 346 (see §561d), 349 (see §566c), 407 (see §710a), 408 (see §714a), s491A (see P/A/E 7), s491B (see P/A/E 9), 494 (see §1063c), 495 (see §1064c), 496 (see P/A/E 15), 662A (see §1874b and 1876a in Ibi) originally in first; PT 204-206, 208-212, 338-343, 347-348, 350-353, 400-406, 409-410, 489, s490B, 493, 698, s1080 in third, but probably originally in first; PT 497-498, 603-604, 661 in second. 26% of texts mentioning beneficiary maintain first or show signs of editing.
- Forty-seven out of fifty-five texts are exclusive to Group H.

¹⁰⁴ PT 352 finishes within Einf MafS line 55 = Maspero line 701; it is followed in that line by the continuation of PT 405.

¹⁰⁵ PT 405 jumps from Esup to Einf (i.e. MafS lines Esup 61-62 + Einf 55-56 = Maspero lines 644-645+701-702). Note the presence of a completely different text at S/Emed (PT 591 of Group C), physically splitting PT 405 apart.

Group J. Transition Texts

Section J.1		247 248-253 254-258	260 ¹⁰⁶
W/A/W + S		254-258 259 253	
T/A/Wn			
Section J.2			
W/A/S		261 262 263	267 268 269 270 271 272
T/P/S		262	264
T/A/S ¹⁰⁷			272
P/A/Sw		488 421 s1024 309	267 271
			s1025 s1026 301
Section J.3			
T/A/S		456 x	465 466 x 481 301 x 467
P/A/W		337 363 465 466	467 468 469 265 470 471 472
Section J.4			
P/A/W		473 474-476 477 270	478 479 480
M/A/Wsup-med		473 474-476	481 407 482 483 310 484 485 486 487
M/A/Winf		468 467	483 482
M/A/S	x		477 270
N/A/Wsup-med		468	487 479
N/A/Winf			470
			484 485
			328 s1024 465 488 x1
			678 679 680 457
			271 471 461

Chart J

Notes on Group J

- The last texts of Section J.4 are not arranged in comparative order.
- Title PT 247 (TT 87): 'Making an Akh go forth from the gate in the sky'; cf. CT 349 (< PT 247) (B3C, B4C) 'Not letting the magic of a man be taken from him in the necropolis'; cf. BD 174 (Af) (< PT 247-250) 'Causing an Akh to go forth from the great gate of the sky'.
- Person of the beneficiary: PT 254 (see §277b), 262 (see §329c), 268 (see §370a in Nt), 269 (see §378a), 270 (see §386a), 271 (see §390a), 301 (see §448b), 407 (see §710a-b), 456 (see §856b), 467 (see §889c, §890b), 469 (see §906d, §909a, §909c), 470 (see §911b), 471 (see §921c, §922b), 473 (see §930f, §927a, §927d), 474 (see §941b), 475 (see §947b), 476 (see §954a), 477 (see §966d, §967d, §968c), 478 (see §975a), 480 (see §993a), 481 (see §1000b), 484 (see §1023b), 485 (see §1036b), s1025 (see P/A/S 7) originally in first; PT 248-253, 255-261, 263-265, 267, 272, 309-310, 328, 337, 363, 472, 479, 486, 678, s1024, s1026 in third but probably originally in first; PT 247, 457, 466, 468, 679 in second and third; PT 421, 461, 482-483, 487-488, 680 in second; PT 465 in third. 36% of texts show signs of editing.
- Thirty-seven out of sixty-seven texts are exclusive to Group J.
- PT 480 also occurs on T/A/N (Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 128) and in that place may belong to Group M.1.

¹⁰⁶ PT 260 spans W/A/W and W/A/S.

¹⁰⁷ Possibly preceded by the sacerdotal sPT 1002 (> CT 517) as the first text of this surface; see Allen, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 84 and 379. If so, the text constitutes the conclusion of Group D on T/A/W.

Group K. Apotropaic Texts

Section K.1		
W/S/W	226 227 228-232 233 234-239 240 241-243	
Section K.2.a		
W/A/Einf s	277-280	281-283
T/A/En	375-377 281-283	
P/A/Emid 1		499 289 x 500 384 233 284
M/A/Einf m 1		290 f727 499 289 500 297 233 284
N/A/Einf m 1		406 f726 493 CT208 x 298 295 290 f727 281 499 289 500 297 233 284
Section K.2.b		
W/A/Einf n	285-287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294	295 296 297 298 299 300 301
W/A/Esup		273 274 275 276
T/A/Em	285-287 288 289 277 290 291 280 292 293	240 378 299 295 296
P/A/Emid 2	285-287	280 292 293
M/A/Einf m 2	285-287	280 292
N/A/Einf m 2	285-287	280 292
Section K.2.c		
M/A/Einf n	s729B 240 227 f730 s502B s502D f731 s502E-F f732	s502G x s502C x 493 CT208 498 469
N/A/Einf n	s729A s729B 240 227 f730 s502B s502D f731 s502E-F f732 s502H s502G	s502C x 282 f733 299 469 f734 x
Section K.2.d		
P/A/Es	s1035 501 s1036 240 s1037 227 s502A s1038 s502B s502D s729B s1039 s502G f731 s502E-F f732 s502H s1040 s502I s1041-1043	

Chart K

Notes on Group K

- 1) Title PT 226 (L-MH1A, L1NY; Sq1C; Sq2C; T1Be; T3Be): 'Utterance of stopping the Rerek-serpent in the necropolis'.
- 2) Person of the beneficiary: PT 226, 228-229, 231, 233-239, 242-243, 276-277, 280, 285, 289-290, 292, 376-377, 379-381, 393-396, 399, 500-501, s502A-C, s502F-G, s502I, f727, s729A-B, f730-733, s1035-1043, CT 208, not mentioned/preserved; PT 227, 232, 241, 281-282, 284, 286-287, 499, s502E in first; PT 283 (see §424a), 296 (see §439a), 299 (see §444c), 301 (see §448b), 469 (see §906d), s502H (see §1076) originally in first; PT 273, 230, 240, 274-275, 278-279, 288, 291, 293-295, 297-298, 300, 318, 375, 378, 382-392, 397-398, 406, 493, s502D, f726 in third but probably originally in first; PT 498, f734 in second. 22% of texts mentioning the beneficiary maintain the first person or show signs of editing.
- 3) Ninety-nine out of 108 texts are exclusive to Group K.

Group M. Transition Texts

Section M.1 ¹⁰⁸		
P/A/Nw	626 s627A	s627B 302 x
M/S/NwA-B ¹⁰⁹	626 s627A 624 268 s625A	327 x ¹¹⁰
N/S/NwB	624 268 s625A s625B s586D 272 626 s627A s627B	
Section M.2		
P/A/Nw	f704 s655B-C f736-737 s738A s738B-C s739A-B f740 s586A-B s586C	
P/Dant/W	f736-737 s738A s738B-C s739A-B f740 s586A-B s586C s586D 474 s1074 587 s1049 s1075-1077 624 s1078	
M/S/NwC ¹¹¹	s738B-C s739A-B f740 s586A	
N/S/NwA	654 f704 s655B-C f736-737 s738A s738B-C s739A-B f740	

Chart M

Notes on Group M

- 1) Person of the beneficiary: sPT 739B not preserved; PT 268 (see §370a), 302 (see §461a), 327 (see §536b), 474 (see §941b), s625A (see §1762b), s625B (see §1765c in lbi), 626 (see §1770c) originally in first; PT 272, s586A-D, 624, s627A-B, s655B-C, f704, f736-737, s738A-C, s739A, f740, s1049, s1074-1078 in third, but probably originally in first; PT 654 in second and third; PT 587 in third; PT 412 in second. 21% of texts mentioning beneficiary show signs of editing.
- 2) Closely related to, or an extension of, Group L, since it is juxtaposed to it on P/A/N (and possibly T/A/N).
- 3) Twenty-six out of thirty-five texts are exclusive to Group M.

¹⁰⁸ In addition to the later sources, at least a portion of M.1 (with sPT 627A-B) is attested on T/A/N; see Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 147, and Allen, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 379 and 396.

¹⁰⁹ For these texts, see Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 40-41, 147, and 194.

¹¹⁰ Probably including PT 412; see Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 41.

¹¹¹ For these texts, see Leclant *et al.*, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er}*, vol. 1, 150.

Group N. Transition Texts

Section N.1	
T/S/W	322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337
P/A/Se	706 328 707 262 s1028 s710A s710B s1029 s1030 s1031 s1032 508 s1033 s1034 x
N/A/S	x 509 s1030 x s710B x 419 x 508 x 465 488 565 x 333
Section N.2	
P/Cpost/W-E	606 s1058
P/Cmed/W	510 511 322 512
P/Cmed/E	513 333 514
M/Cpost/W	323 503 504 505 506
M/Cmed/W's	504 506 505
N/Cpost/W	504
N/Cant/W	506 606 513
N/Cpost/E	x 322
Section N.3	
P/Cant/W	515-519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527-531 532
M/Cmed/E	515-519 510 520
M/Cmed/Wn	563 323
M/Cpost/E	525 507 526 527-531 532
N/Cmed/E	515-519
N/Cmed/W	563
N/Cant/E	573

Chart N

Notes on Group N

- 1) Section N.1 is not arranged in comparative order, nor are the last texts of Section N.3.
- 2) Person of the beneficiary: PT 529, s1028, not mentioned/preserved; PT 262 (see §329c), 266 (see §358h, §360b-d), 322 (see §518c), 327 (see §536b), 332 (see §541c), 333 (see §542c), 335 (see §546a), 336 (see §548a), 359 (see §596a-b, §601b), 503 (see §1079a-b), 504 (see §1083a, §1086a, §1087a), 505 (see §1093d, §1090e-f), 506 (see §1094a), 507 (see §1107a, §1113c, §1116d), 509 (see §1120c, §1123a), 510 (see §1133a-b, §1135b, §1140c, §1143b), 511 (see §1149b, §1150c, §1151a, §1152b, §1159c), 513 (see §1174b, §1168a), 515 (see §1176b, §1181a, §1181a), 517 (see §1189e-f), 518 (see §1193b), 519 (see §1204a, §1208a-b), 520 (see §1222a), 521 (see §1225c-d, §1225b), 525 (see §1245a, §1245a, §1246b), 527, 528 (see §1250f, §1251a), 531 (see §1254c), 555 (see §1374a, §1376a), 563 (see §1416b), 565 (see §1423a), 573 (see §1482a) originally in first; PT 323 in second and third but probably originally in first; PT 324-326, 328-331, 334, 337, 486, 514, 516, 522, 524, 526, 530, 607, 706-707, s710A, s1027, s1029-1034 in third but probably originally in first; PT 419, 512, 535, 606, 697 in second and third; PT 465, 523, 533 in third; PT 488, 532, 608, s710B, s1058 in second. 45% of texts mentioning the beneficiary show signs of editing.
- 3) Fifty-two out of seventy-six texts are exclusive to Group N.

Appendix
Index of Group Membership of the Pyramid Texts in Parts III and IV

PT 12-22	A.1	PT 265	J.3
PT 23-24	A.1/A.4		
PT 25	A.1/A.2/A.4	PT 266	N.3
PT 26-30	A.1/A.2/A.5		
PT 31	A.1/A.2	PT 267	B.3/J.2
PT 32-33	A.1/A.2/A.4	PT 268	F.2/J.2/M.1
PT 34	A.1/A.2	PT 269	J.2/O
PT 35-42	A.1	PT 270	J.2/J.4
PT 43-57	A.2	PT 271	J.2/J.4/O
fPT 57A	-I A.5	PT 272	J.2/M.1
PT 58-70	A.5		
fPT 71	A.5	PT 273-300	K.2
fPT 71A-I	A.5	PT 301	G.2/J.2/J.3/K.2
PT 72-76	A.2		
PT 77	A.2/G.2	PT 302	B.3/L/M.1
PT 78-80	A.2	PT 309	B.3/J.2/L
PT 81	A.2/F.2	PT 310	J.4/L
PT 82-96	A.3	PT 318	K.2/L
PT 97-107	A.5		
PT 108-198	A.3	PT 322	N.1/N.2/N.4
PT 199-200	A.4	PT 323	N.1/N.2/N.3
		PT 324	L/N.1
PT 201-203	G.2	PT 325	N.1/O
		PT 326	F.2/N.1
PT 204-205	H.1	PT 327	F.2/M.1/N.1
PT 206	H.1/H.2	PT 328	J.4/N.1
PT 207-212	H.1	PT 329	N.1
		PT 330	F.2/N.1
PT 213-222	B.1	PT 331	F.2/N.1/O
		PT 332	D.1/D.2/N.1
PT 223	A.3	PT 333	N.1/N.2
PT 224	A.3/A.4	PT 334	N.1
PT 225	A.3/A.4	PT 335-336	D.1/D.2/N.1
		PT 337	J.3/N.1/N.3
PT 226	K.1		
PT 227	K.1/K.2	PT 338-346	H.1
PT 228-232	K.1	PT 347-351	H.2
PT 233	K.1/K.2	PT 352	H.1
PT 234-239	K.1	PT 353-354	H.2
PT 240	K.1/K.2		
PT 241-243	K.1	PT 355	C
		PT 356	C/E.2
PT 244	A.4	PT 357	C/G.3
		PT 358	B.3/C
PT 245-246	B.1		
		PT 359	I/N/O
PT 247-260	J.1	PT 363	G.2/I/J.3
PT 261	J.2/L		
PT 262	F.1/J.2/N.1	PT 364	D.1/F.2/G.2
PT 263	J.2	PT 365-366	D.1
PT 264	C/J.2	PT 367-368	D.1/E.1

PT 369	B.2/D.1/F.1	PT 467	J.3/J.4
PT 370-373	D.1	PT 468	J.4
PT 374	B.2/D.1	PT 469	J.3/K.2
		PT 470	J.4
PT 375-377	K.2/O	PT 471	J.3/L
PT 378-399	K.2	PT 472-473	J.4
		PT 474	J.4/M.2
PT 400	H.1/H.2	PT 475-485	J.4
PT 401-405	H.2	PT 486	J.4/N.3
PT 406	H.2/K.2	PT 487	J.4
PT 407	C/J.4/H.2	PT 488	J.2/J.4/N.1
PT 408	H.1/H.2		
PT 409-410	H.2	PT 489	H.1
PT 412	F.2/G.2/M.1	sPT 490B	H.1
PT 413	G.2	sPT 491A	H.2
PT 414	A.2/C/D.2/G.2	PT 492	H.2
PT 415-418	G.2	PT 493	H.2/K.2
PT 419	G.2/N.1	PT 494-497	H.2
PT 420	G.2	PT 498	H.2/K.2
PT 421	G.2/J.2	PT 499-501	K.2
		sPT 502A-I	K.2
PT 422	D.1		
PT 423-424	D.1/D.2	PT 503-506	N.2
PT 425	D.1/E.2	PT 507	N.2/N.3
		PT 508	N.1/N.2
PT 426	A.6/E.1	PT 509	N.1/N.2/N.3
PT 427	E.1	PT 510	N.2/N.3
PT 428	E.1/E.2	PT 511	N.2
PT 429	E.1/F.2	PT 512	N.2/N.3
PT 430-435	E.1	PT 513-514	N.2
		PT 515-533	N.3
PT 436	A.4/D.2		
PT 437-438	D.2	PT 534	G.3
PT 439	C/D.2	PT 535	F.1/F.2/G.3/N.3
PT 440-441	D.2	PT 536	G.3
PT 442	D.1/D.2	PT 537	B.2/G.3
		PT 538	G.3
PT 443-445	E.2		
PT 446-448	E.1/E.2	PT 555	N.3/O
PT 449	A.2/E.1/E.2	PT 563	N.3/O
PT 450-451	E.1/E.2	PT 565	N.1/N.3/O
PT 452-453	E.2/O	PT 573	N.3/O
PT 454-455	E.2		
		sPT 586A-C	M.2
PT 456	C/G.2/J.3	sPT 586D	M.1/M.2
PT 457	C/J.4	PT 587	G.1/M.2/O
PT 458	C/F.1		
PT 459	C	PT 588-590	E.1
PT 460	C/G.2		
PT 461	C/G.2/J.4	PT 591	C/D.2
PT 462-464	G.1		
		PT 592	F.1
PT 465	J.3/J.4/N.1		
PT 466	G.2/J.3	PT 593	B.2/C

PT 594-597	C	fPT 665	B.2
		fPT 665A-C	B.2
PT 598	A.4/A.5	fPT 666	B.2
		fPT 666A-B	B.2
PT 599-602	C	fPT 667	B.2
PT 603	C/F.1/H.2	fPT 667A-D	B.2
PT 604	C/H.2	PT 668	B.3
		PT 669	B.3/L
PT 605	G.2	PT 670	B.3/F.2
		PT 671	B.3
PT 606	N.2	PT 672	B.3
PT 607-608	N.3		
		PT 673	C/G.1
PT 620	D.2	PT 674-677	G.1
PT 621	D.1		
PT 622	A.2/D.1	PT 678	J.4
PT 623	D.1	PT 679	J.4/L
		PT 680	J.4
PT 624	M.1/M.2		
sPT 625A	F.2/M.1	PT 690	B.3/G.2/L
sPT 625B	M.1	PT 693	B.2/G.2
PT 626	M.1	sPT 694A	G.2/O
sPT 627A-B	M.1	PT 695	G.2
		PT 696	G.2/L
PT 628-633	F.2		
		PT 697	N.3/O
fPT 634	A.2	PT 698	H.2/O
sPT 635A	A.2	sPT 701A	B.2/O
sPT 635B	A.2/A.5	PT 703	B.2/O
PT 636	A.2		
PT 637	A.2/C	fPT 704	M.2
PT 638-641	A.2		
PT 642-644	A.4	PT 706-707	N.1
sPT 645A-B	A.4	sPT 710A-B	N.1
PT 646-650	A.4		
PT 651-653	A.5	sPT 715A	A.2/A.6
		sPT 715B	A.2
PT 654	M.2		
sPT 655B-C	M.2	sPT 716A-B	F.1
		fPT 717-719	F.1
PT 658	A.4/F.1		
		sPT 721B	G.2
PT 659	C	fPT 722	G.2
PT 660	A.6/C	fPT 723	B.2/G.2
		fPT 724-725	G.2
PT 661	H.1/H.2/L		
PT 662A	H.2	fPT 726-727	K.2
		sPT 729A-B	K.2
PT 662B	G.2	fPT 730-734	K.2
PT 663	F.1	fPT 736-737	M.2
fPT 664	F.1	sPT 738A-C	M.2
fPT 664A-C	F.1	sPT 739A-B	M.2
		fPT 740	M.2

fPT 746-749	A.5	sPT 1027-1034	N.1
fPT 752-756	A.5		
		sPT 1035-1043	K.2
fPT 759	B.2		
sPT 1001-1004	B.2	sPT 1049	L/M.2
sPT 1005-1009	B.3		
		sPT 1052-1056	G.2
sPT 1010-1011	C		
		sPT 1058	N.2/O
sPT 1012-1014	A.4		
sPT 1015-1022	A.6	sPT 1074-1078	M.2
sPT 1023	G.1	sPT 1079-1080	H.2
sPT 1024	J.2/J.4	N306+11-14	A.5
sPT 1025	J.2		
sPT 1026	J.2	CT 208	K.2

STELA EDINBURGH UC 52 AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR
DEIR EL MEDINA GENEALOGY¹

SONJA VAN DEN BROEK

Numerous two-dimensional representations from Deir el Medina, pre-eminently on tomb walls and stelae, testify to the posthumous veneration of pharaoh Amenophis I and/or his mother Ahmose Nefertari.² One of the stelae which depicts the adoration of this deified royal couple is known as stela Edinburgh UC 52 (cf. plate I).

Two Egyptological publications³ allude to the existence of this stela, but it has never been properly published. Therefore, the first aim of this paper is to provide a meticulous description of the iconography and texts of that stela. Secondly, I will list close parallels and briefly touch upon the cultural-religious *Sitz im Leben* of the stela. To conclude, I will disclose how the stela contributes to our understanding of Deir el Medina prosopography and genealogy. As regards the Egyptian personal names, I have adopted the spelling used by Davies in his 1999 monograph.⁴ Unfortunately, I was not able to scrutinize the stela itself. Nevertheless, I did have an exquisite black and white photograph (about 28 x 19 cm) at my disposal.⁵

The stela was once part of the collection of the University of Edinburgh. At present, however, the stela is kept in the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh (accession number: UC 52). When, how and by whom the stela was obtained is unfortunately unknown. Although there is no record of its original provenance, close examination of the stela inevitably leads to the conclusion that it originates from Deir el Medina (cf. below).

The stela is made of limestone and measures approximately 38 cm in height and 26 cm in width. It is a classical round-topped votive stela divided into two registers. Its condition is

¹ This paper results from a Master's thesis submitted to Leiden University in August 2006 entitled: *Amenophis I & Ahmose Nefertari. A Study of New Kingdom Stelae from Deir el Medina pertaining to the Royal Couple's Deification*. I am thankful to Dr. R.J. Demarée (Leiden University) for encouraging me in writing this article and for his numerous suggestions. Furthermore I owe thanks to Dr. Bill Manley, Senior Curator (Egyptian Scripts), for providing basic data and some starting points concerning the stela's dedicator and his family.

² Cf. Jaroslav Černý, "Le culte d'Amenophis I^{er} chez les ouvriers de la nécropole Thébaine", in: *BIFAO* 27, 1927, p. 159-203, pl. I-IX; Michel Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertari. Documents sur sa vie et son culte posthume*, Paris, 1975, *Annales littéraires de l'université de Besançon* 172. Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 15, p. 43 ff.; B.J.J. Haring, *Kult und Gedächtnis Amenophis' I. auf thebanischen Grabwänden und Stelen*, Leiden, 1990 [unpublished essay]; G. Hollender, *Amenophis I. und Ahmes Nefertari. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung ihres posthumen Kultus anhand Privatgräber der thebanischen Nekropole*, Köln, 1991 [unpublished Master's thesis, not seen].

³ Bertha Porter & Rosalind L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. I The Theban Necropolis. Part 2 Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*, Oxford, 1964 (second edition, revised and augmented), p. 728; Gitton, *L'épouse*, 1975, p. 47: no. 41.

⁴ Benedict G. Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina? A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community*, Leiden, 1999, *Egyptologische Uitgaven* 13.

⁵ This black and white print was provided by the Picture Library of the National Museums of Scotland (image no. 31063).