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

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

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

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1 See also the cryptographic texts in the courtyard of TT 11 (Northampton 1908, pl. 16, and Sethe 1908, 4th, Spruch 2:10–21, parallel to PT 450 Pyr 850b–c; Sethe 1908, 4th [see also his n. c], Spruch 2:22–27; parallel to PT 451 Pyr 839a–b; and Sethe 1908, 5th, Spruch 3:45–80, parallel to PT 593 Pyr 1628c–1630c). The text in question is evidently a hymn to Osiris since it is juxtaposed to a hacked-out image of presumably the tomb owner with his arms raised in the adoration gesture, as observed to us in a personal communication by José Galan of the Spanish expedition working at the tomb. The TT 11 text, moreover, is addressed to that god and not the deceased, in contrast to the Old Kingdom antecedents. For another Pyramid Text later adapted into a hymn to a god, see the Middle Kingdom Parma Stele 178 (see Franke 2003, 108; Assmann 1999, 475–76 no. 212; and Baroq and Daumas, 373–74 no. 107). PT 450–451 are found juxtaposed in that order on M, N, Nt, Ibi, SgC, Sq4C, Sq5Sg, T1C, Sg6C, and Sq5C, with some of these sources presenting Altenmüller’s Spruchfolge C, in which PT 450–451 appears; see Altenmüller 1972, 47–49. PT 593 is a member of a recurring sequence of texts constituting the first part of Altenmüller’s Spruchfolge D, discussed below in connection with TT 82; see below footnote 68. The Middle Kingdom sources bearing these texts in that order are B9C, B10C, S, and Sq4C. The sequence is incorporated into a later liturgy associated by Assmann with the nocturnal portion of the Hour Vigil: on the concept of “mortuary liturgies (Totenliturgien),” see Assmann 1986; Assmann 1990, 12 and 38; Assmann 2001, 392; and Assmann 2002. (Source sigla for Pyramid Texts are those of T. Allen 1950, slightly revised by Lesko 1979, and augmented by Willems 1988; for Book of the Dead spells, Naville 1971, augmented by T. Allen 1974.)

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

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

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

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

6 Helck 1956, 14, fig. A: hí Wair N. í’b n s k n w l n l s.

7 PT 108 Pyr 72a (W): Wair W. í’b n s k n w l n l s.

8 Helck 1956, 14, fig. A: n w l n l s 2 = Pyr 72b (W): n w l n l t 2.
offering lists, this specification stands alone as an emblematic designation for a whole rite. In sum, the texts of TT 107 are of a collective ritual character, as indicated by the images that accompany them and the grammatical person of the beneficiary. With little in the way of exception, a collective ritual character is the common denominator of the Pyramid Texts as inscribed on Eighteenth Dynasty tombs.

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

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

In TT 93 and 119, Pyramid Texts are located at the ends of accessible areas, where one expects mortuary service to have been performed. A similar arrangement can be seen in TT 57, where each of three niches with Pyramid Texts was organized in the same fashion; seated statues of the deceased and a wife are flanked on either side by walls that bear a tabular series of offering ritual texts. The best-preserved niche is recreated in figure 7.1. Figure 7.2 shows the offering series on the right-hand wall in tracing without register and column lines. This text contains recitations corresponding to all the elements of the type C list, but in an altered order and with a substantial number of further rites added; a total of twenty-nine offering rites from the Pyramid Texts appear among the sixty-three entries. The statues being a natural cultic focus, the relationship between these texts and mortuary service could not be more obvious.

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

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

11 The relatively unusual location of the Pyramid Text here is matched by the scene’s relatively unusual structure noted by Engelmann-von Carnap (1996, 11). Since the deceased is at the far right (i.e., toward the entry to the long passage) rather than at the far left (i.e., toward the end of the front hall), one may see the scene following the typical orientation of scenes in the long passage, and thus, in effect, as a kind of counterpart of it.

12 Davies and Davies 1933, pl. 27: dd mdw b3 it-npr tp (i) n (f) imn Mn-hpr-rsnb m Nfr-tm m zšr-t r3 w b ntr w n m n sf r sf nh, parallel to PT 249 Pyr 266a + b (W): b3 W. m Nfr-tm m zšr-t r3 r ... 1 w b (ntr w n m n sf).

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

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

15 PT 25, 32, and 223 are found with offering ritual texts in the recurring sequences a) PT 72–79, 81, 25, 32, 82–96, 108–71, 223 in the sources W and TT 33; b) PT 25, 32, 82–96, 108–71, 223 in P and B2Be; c) PT 223, 199, 224, 32, 23, 25 in P and S.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TT 39 is another tomb with both Book of the Dead spells and Pyramid Texts, specifically in the north chapel (Louant 2000, 88–93). To the right of the false door are fragments of BD 148 (Saleh 1984, 82; Davies 1923, pl. 48). On the false door itself, the natural focus of worship during the performance of mortuary service, one again
encounters excerpts from PT 249, this time along with excerpts from several other Pyramid Texts, all of a collective ritual character. A further connection to the Book of the Dead is exhibited by the texts on the south wall of the same chapel, a scene repeated and augmented in the southern hall of offerings at the contemporaneous Deir el-Bahari. In this chapel, Coffin Texts spell 607 and a series of Pyramid Texts beginning with PT 204 are conjoined with an offering list of the sort designated type A-B by Barta (Barta 1963, 72–79), a list which in full form corresponds to ninety Pyramid Texts in the offering ritual of Wenis. Indeed, the positioning of PT 204 after the A-B list in TT 39 corresponds to its location right after just such a list in the Middle Kingdom source Q1Q, and right after Pyramid Texts from the offering ritual in three other sources from the Old and Middle Kingdoms. In short, this series of texts is traditionally deployed in conjunction with representations of the necessarily collective offering ritual. This deployment is suggestive of a collective ritual character for the texts of this series, too, as is the fact that one text includes the specification of ritual objects to be manipulated, just as in the offering ritual texts. Taken together, these two points permit PT 204ff., in their New Kingdom context, to be understood as belonging to the collective ritual category — to mortuary service, to be precise.

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

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

32 Davies 1923, pl. 48: PT 677 Pyr 2023; PT 422 Pyr 752-53b; PT 249 Pyr 266a-b; PT 677 Pyr 2028; and PT 252 Pyr 272a-c. These texts are not elsewhere configured together, suggesting that elements of different rites are represented, part for the whole.
33 See Naville and Clarke 1901, pls. 110 + 109 (south wall) and 113 + 112 (north wall). Other but later exemplars of the scene are at Abydos (Winlock 1921, pls. 9-10; and Winlock 1937, pl. 5) and Thebes (Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983, pls. 51–57, esp. 54–56 for texts). Due to the frequency of its repetition, the scene and its texts have often been commented upon, most intensely in regards to the interpretation of CT 607; see Kees 1922; Altenmüller 1967; Altenmüller 1968; Barta 1973; Schenkel 1977; Goedeke 1992; and Hays 2004, pp. 191–98.
34 In TT 39, it appears in place of items B11-29 of the type A B offering list.
36 See the table in Junker 1934, 885–96.
37 See J. Allen 1994, 8, for W and S. Another source with the sequence PT 204–05, 207, 209–12 immediately following offering ritual texts is M18a.
38 As Kees (1922, 120) has observed in connection with PT 209 Pyr 124d (dšt f n.t [m] nsw “four handfuls of water”); the same observation may be made for hbd m·b ssr·t a “shank and roast meat” of PT 209 Pyr 124c; compare PT 208 Pyr 124g; PT 212 Pyr 133f; and CT 179 III 76b.
39 Then the deceased is referred to in these texts in the third person, and all first-person pronouns will accordingly refer to the officiating priest. However, it is not perfectly clear that these texts were originally collective or personal, for the first person may be interpreted as indicating the deceased beneficiary, as J. Allen does (1994, 17 with n. 19).
40 In source Sa. The later source CG also incorporates a passage from PT 588.
41 BD 178 (Aa) 35–36: qd-mdw lg N I m sn i [...] Nfr-wt zm r b[r] (r) R’ [pr] sf [m jh] w·b.w ntr.w m-htb ntr.w m(n)] sf R’ n d[s “Recitation: (Let) N appear in the following of Nefertem, as the louter at the nostrils of Ra, when he [ascends in the horizon], pure and divine in the presence of the gods, with him seeing Ra for ever,” parallel to PT 249 Pyr 266a–b, I W. N m sn i [...] R’ b[r] sf [m jh] r  nh w·b.w ntr.w m(n) sf “Let Wenis appear as Nefertem, as the louter at the nostrils of Ra, as he ascends in the horizon every day, the gods purified through seeing him.” BD 178 (Aa) 34–35: dš-mdw l b[0] w·b.w ntr.w m(n) sf “Recitation: One who is over the hours, who is be-br> Ra, make a way for N, that he pass within the circuit of Osiris lord of Akhthawy, living for ever,” parallel to PT 251 Pyr 269a–b, I b[r] w·b.w ntr.w m(n) sf “Recitation: O masters of the hours, ones before Ra, make a way for Wenis, that Wenis pass within the circuit of those warlike of aspect.”
42 See the preceding note for citations with the beneficiary in the third person. For the beneficiary in the second person, see BD 178 (Aa) 2: dš-mdw ln N qd=sf n m ntr I b[r] dbb.t I dbb.t b. pr w “Recitation by N, who says: Take to yourself the Eye of Horus which you sought, the mortuary offerings.” (Naturally, the exhortation to take the eye of Horus, the bbb.t b.p.w, is simply an encapsulation of the offering ritual so closely associated with PT 204ff.)
example of a representation of the funeral procession in association with a pair of Pyramid Texts as seen above in TT 57 (Davies 1943, pl. 89). The representation in TT 100 is from the scene called “the journey to the god’s booth of Anubis” (Settgast 1963, pl. 11). The setting is obviously a collective rite, with officiants shown bearing up the deceased “after the beautiful encoffining.” To the left, a lector stands in the recitation gesture and before him are his words, PT 644 (J. Allen 1976, 23). The text, like the image, is of a collective ritual character, referring to the deceased in the third person, as with “O Children of Horus, set out bearing your father, the Osiris N.” It is significant that the Twelfth Dynasty representation of the funeral procession in TT 60 (Davies, Gardiner, and Davies 1920, pl. 21) also integrates an excerpt from a Pyramid Text into its body. It is well known that the majority of the scenes of Eighteenth Dynasty funeral processions are based on prototypes of the Middle and Old Kingdoms (Settgast 1963, 112); the incorporation of a Pyramid Text in the funeral procession scenes of both tombs underscores the impression of tradition in representation.

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

At the end of the long passage in TT 100, beyond the representations of the funeral procession and Opening of the Mouth, is a set of texts including some deemed by Assmann to constitute excerpts from a mortuary liturgy (Assmann 1986, 999; Assmann 1990, 23–24; Assmann 2002, 19). The setting for this liturgy is mortuary service. On the walls to the left and right of the long passage in TT 100, images of the deceased and officiating priests are accompanied by blocks of texts (Davies 1943, pls. 78, 86, 96, 104, and 126) which consist of a combination of Coffin Texts, Pyramid Texts, and utterances that are parallel to some texts of the papyrus
BM 10819; a repetition of PT 25 is located beside the top false door (Davies 1943, pl. 113) (fig. 7.3). As Assmann has pointed out, many of the Pyramid and Coffin Texts in TT 100 have counterparts in papyrus BM 10819, a contemporary document which he describes as the sort of scroll from which priests recited mortuary service. Further parallels to this papyrus are found integrated with the images of the lowest south wall registers of TT 100 (Davies 1943, pl. 108); the text appears above representations of priests performing rites for the beneficiary and immediately next to a type C offering list. The block of text continues with excerpts from PT 223 and 222.

Together with the instances of PT 25 and 32 in this tomb, these are the same texts as those found on pillars, their repeated occurrence together suggestive of a more or less defined decorative palette. More significantly still, there is a representation of mortuary service of similar components from the Middle Kingdom tomb Meir B2; the far right side of the scene shows the deceased seated at an offering table, the far left shows ritualists, and an offering list occupies the space between them; finally, as in TT 100, an excerpt from PT 223 is integrated into the composition (Blackman 1915, 16–17, pls. 7–8). Recalling the Pyramid Texts integrated into the funeral procession scene of the Middle Kingdom tomb TT 60, the impression of the continuation or adoption of tradition is enhanced.

In summary, the Pyramid Texts in the accessible areas of Eighteenth Dynasty tombs tend to be associated with images of the performance of various collective rituals, or they bear a direct connection to collective ritual through immediate proximity to a cultic focus. In concert with this, the texts themselves are of a collective ritual format, in that they cast the deceased in the grammatical second or third person. Observing that Pyramid Texts cluster around what are presumably cultic emplacements, one perceives a correlation between place, image, text, and ritual performance, a relationship whose significance is accentuated by the connections Assmann has identified between texts in tombs and texts in the pBM liturgical scroll. We have described how, in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, Pyramid Texts are typically integrated with the funeral procession on the left side of the long passage; the Opening of the Mouth typically on the right side (Manniche 1988, 42); and scenes of mortuary service often depicted at the end. Citing a famous text from TT 110 (Davies 1932), Barthelmess noted the correlation between textual accounts of the events on the day of burial and their pictorial representations in tombs, pointing specifically to the funeral procession and the Opening of the Mouth (Barthelmess 1992, 174). The funeral procession in that text:

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

The Opening of the Mouth:
Your children's children are assembled as one;
with loving hearts do they cry,
for your mouth has been opened by the lector,
for you have been purified by the sem-priest,
Mortuary service is neatly situated at the end of the TT 110 text sequence, just as Pyramid Texts occur in association with images of ritual action at the end of the long passage in TT 100, after representations of the funerary procession and after the Opening of the Mouth. The sequential correspondence underscores the fact that, in TT 100 and in the other accessible areas of Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs, Pyramid Texts are connected to each of the three salient elements of the funeral as a whole.

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

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

These texts consist of two series,66 PT 220–22 — part of one of the most frequently attested recurring sequences of texts in the Old and Middle Kingdoms — followed by a recurring sequence constituting a part of what Altenmüller has labeled Spruchfolge D: PT 593, 356–57, 364, and 677,68 attested in that order on several sources (Kahl 1996, 16–21). The majority of references to the figures come from this second series.69 Isis and Nephthys

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63 Text: Hermann 1940, 32*, 1–9; qr.s r nfr.t l y ? s m htp 70 hrw sk km m w’t s k dl.t tl hr. [?r]d.w ? m pr hqp st.t tl hr. k:i wbr.d w ... r phus k v r l z sk m s.w ms.w sk twt m q d w’ r mns sn l m lb w r w vp r s k in he-rc-ib.t w’b sk in sm nfr.t n s k hr r s k z n sn s f n s k rt s r k(l) ‘nh.w l s.k(l) ...] ... sdw n s k l t.w stb w[ ]r n s k hgp dl-n lw t l db s k m s k n w.m? s k i t y s k t p 8 t iy t m l q t s w s k l mi h s t m hrw ms t lw lw l m.
64 Exceptions include TT 353: PT 677 Pryr 2028a–c; PT 364 Pryr 609b–10b; PT 532 Pryr 1259–61c; PT 424 Pryr 769c–77d; and PT 771 Pryr 213–19.
65 Besides the exception observed below, see Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 46.
66 See footnote 1. For its part, Spruchfolge D proper consists of PT 593, 356–57, 364, 677, and 373, and CT 516 (= PT 721); see Altenmüller 1972, 49. The transmission history of this sequence is the subject of Kahl 1996. The sequence is a part of Assmann’s later Liturgie III (Assmann 1990, 12, 38 fig. 8). Spruchfolge D is attested as such, without appendix, on BlOC (lid), S, and Sq4C, but Spruchfolge D comes to form a portion of a longer sequence attested on BlOC (back) and B9C, namely PT 593, 356–57, 364, 677, 365, 373 CT 516 PT 422, 374 CT 517 PT 424, 366–69, 423, 370–72, 332, 729 CT 518 PT 468, 412 CT 519 PT 690, 674, the latter portion consisting of subsequences attested on yet other sources. Compare this sequence to a liturgy Assmann refers to as Liturgie PT.B, consisting of PT 593, 356–57, 363, 677, 365, 373, etc., while PT 220–22 constitutes part of a liturgy Assmann refers to as Liturgie PT.A, consisting of PT 213–19, 220–24 (Assmann 2001, 355, 387–93).
67 Compare the juxtaposition of these two series here to Sq2X, which has the sequence PT 220–22 PT 593.
are named in all but one of the texts, as with "Your two sisters come to you, (that is,) Isis and Nephthys, even after having turned back to (any) place where you might be"; the reference to the Children of Horus would have appeared where there is now a chunk of damage: "Horus has given you his children, that they may lift you up." 

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

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

In contrast to TT 82, where the images of gods do not seem to depict collective ritual action, TT 96B has a scene like many of those encountered above ground (Eggebrecht 1988, 43; MMA Photo T 2522; Virey 1900, 86–87, figs. 20–21). The left half shows the deceased and his wife, the right half a ritualist simultaneously censing and libating; above is the text to PT 32, which was repeatedly encountered in the accessible areas. Another detail links TT 96B to tombs both above and below ground: proximity of a Pyramid Text to Book of the Dead spells.

The scene with PT 32 appears on one half of the south wall, and situated at a right angle to it is a representation from the Opening of the Mouth (Eggebrecht 1988, 60; Virey 1900, 84, fig. 19), and next to that is BD 151 (Eggebrecht 1988, 49; Myśliwiec 1985, pl. 25; Virey 1899, 146, fig. 18).

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

In light of the performance setting implied by the relationship of the beneficiary to the recitation of the text, and considering that no visitors would regularly enter TT 353 after burial (Dorman 1991, 99), it is significant to find an appeal to the living just inside the chamber, asking that scribes and lectors "recite the sakhu for N." The appeal makes it clear that the texts are presented on the wall as if they were indeed scripts for rites to be performed by someone else for the deceased. That is, the appeal maintains the texts' identity as collective ritual recitations.
The circumstances of performance are markedly different in the last tomb discussed here, TT 87. Its texts are predominantly Coffin Texts, but most of these have direct parallels in the Book of the Dead, and one of them is so like its Book of the Dead counterpart that a definitive label is difficult. To compound matters is the situation of its Pyramid Texts. While three of them, PT 251–53, are not otherwise attested in Coffin Texts or Book of the Dead variants, two other spells, PT 247 and 248, form the first half of the nearly contemporaneous BD 174.

On the one hand, three things serve to distinguish these exemplars of PT 247–48 from BD 174: the absence of the second half of the later version in TT 87; the fact that PT 247–48 are elsewhere attested in series with PT 251–53 as here; and finally the maintenance of the collective ritual format in TT 87, casting the beneficiary in the second person, as with “raise yourself from upon your side.” In comparison, BD 174 recasts much of the text as a personal recitation through a conversion of pronouns, as with “let me be raised from upon my side.”

One observes that this Book of the Dead conversion of person is precisely the reverse of what pertained in the Old Kingdom pyramids and is directly in line with what was seen with BD 178.

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

A further point of interest is that, while a case was seen in TT 353 where collective ritual texts were verbally framed so as to maintain their identity as such, in TT 87 the situation is the opposite; PT 248 is framed as a personal recitation, no matter that the text itself is of a collective character. With that in mind, one may consider the far as to imagine physical actions concurrent with the recitation’s performance. The notion that it is indeed a collective ritual text is reinforced by its accompanying an image of a priest in the recitation gesture before the beneficiary on the Middle Kingdom stela of Amente-amenjet, see Boese 1909, pl. 23:24.

PT 247 Pyr 260a (TT 87, Guksch 1995, pl. 16, 35): rztw br g3 sk.

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

BD 174 (Pb and Af) 4: tzw i br g3 sk.

Guksch 1995, pl. 15, 28–29: ri n(i) rd1(c) pr s h m s(r) m p.t, conforming to BD 174 (Af) 1: ri n(i) rd1 pr s h m s(r) m p.t in all but the adjective “s.” On the basis of this caption, Altenmüller 1972, 176, associates PT 247 with sibw-texts, figuring it as a “Rezitationstext an Ende des Opfers.”

Compare BD 50 (As) 1–2: ri n(i) tm 4 q r nm.t ntr dd-mdw in (with no name): “Utterance of not entering into the god’s slaughterhouse; said by (N)” and BD 39 (Ca) 1: ri n(i) rrrk ss m hri i. ntr in N “Utterance of warding off [his] rrrk-serpent in the necropolis; (said) by N.”

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

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78 See Guksch 1995, 75. Because of the numerous parallels, Hornung (1997, 22) is right to describe the tomb’s texts as constituting an early Book of the Dead exemplar.
79 The text at Guksch 1995, pl. 16, 42–46, being either CT 353 or BD 60, Guksch 1995, 75, identifies the first part of it as CT 353 (of which BD 60 is a variant) and the tail end of it as BD 60.
80 In the narrow sense (i.e., those Middle Kingdom mortuary texts not falling directly within the corpus of Pyramid Texts, following the definition of Schenkel 1978, 36). However, the Pyramid Texts in question are attested on Middle Kingdom coffins and other sources, with PT 251–53 on DaIX, Siese, and S; PT 252 also on Siese, M57C, and T13C; and PT 253 also on T13C.
81 Guksch (1995, 75) suggests CT 349 or PT 247 for the first spell, and BD 174, 7–10, or PT 248 for the second. Note that CT 349 is not followed by PT 248 on any source, while PT 247 and 248 are attested together in that order on several sources, for the identification of which see n. 84. (Recurring sequences including CT 349 are CT 349–50 on B6Bo.) There is no CT correlate for PT 248.
82 Pb (pNfr-wbnw), bearing the earliest exemplar, dated to Thutmose IV by Mauro 1987, 282 (#31).
83 The latter half of it consisting of PT 249 and 250, not present in TT 87.
84 In the sequence PT 247–58, 260–63, 267–301 on W and S, with subsequences of this being PT 247–58, 260–63, 267–73 on Siese; and PT 247–58 on DaIX.
85 Even without considering the person of the beneficiary, Saint Fare Gamot (1949, 102) identifies PT 247 as a ritual recitation, going so far as to imagine physical actions concurrent with the recitation’s performance. The notion that it is indeed a collective ritual text is reinforced by its accompanying an image of a priest in the recitation gesture before the beneficiary on the Middle Kingdom stela of Amente-amenjet; see Boese 1909, pl. 23:24.
86 PT 247 Pyr 260a (TT 87, Guksch 1995, pl. 16, 35): rztw br g3 sk.
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89 Guksch 1995, pl. 15, 28–29: ri n(i) rd1(c) pr s h m s(r) m p.t, conforming to BD 174 (Af) 1: ri n(i) rd1 pr s h m s(r) m p.t in all but the adjective “s.” On the basis of this caption, Altenmüller 1972, 176, associates PT 247 with sibw-texts, figuring it as a “Rezitationstext an Ende des Opfers.”
90 Compare BD 50 (As) 1–2: ri n(i) tm 4 q r nm.t ntr dd-mdw in (with no name): “Utterance of not entering into the god’s slaughterhouse; said by (N)” and BD 39 (Ca) 1: ri n(i) rrrk ss m hri i. ntr in N “Utterance of warding off [his] rrrk-serpent in the necropolis; (said) by N.”
91 The significance of another transitional source (SSX) bearing both “Coffin Texts” and “Book of the Dead spells” is explored at Lapp 1986b, 144–45. For the continuity between the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts and the New Kingdom Book of the Dead, see Lapp 1997, 56. On the transition between these two stages, see further Parkinson and Quirke 1992, 47–48.
fact that Book of the Dead papyri and shrouds are dominated by personal recitations, inasmuch as their spells regularly situate the deceased as the reciter. Within the context of a Book of the Dead source, then, the beneficiary himself is put in charge of his own post-mortem destiny; this is also the situation with PT 248 in TT 87. The reverse is the case with the actual performance of collective ritual, for during it the deceased is the passive benefactor of rites performed by others on his behalf. His attainment of a beatified state is not, in such a setting, the result of his own effort, but rather is the result of the works and statements of priests. The ramifications of these two observations concerning the deceased’s relationship to the performance of a text is that tombs bearing both kinds of texts — collective ritual and personal recitations — represent both means of attainment: the deceased does it himself, and it is done for him.

To end with a note on tradition. Tombs of the first part of Eighteenth Dynasty were carrying forward a tradition detectable in the Middle Kingdom, not only in displaying Pyramid Texts in the inaccessible areas of a tomb but also in presenting Pyramid Texts in association with images in the accessible spaces. This tradition, however, began disintegrating with the close of Amenhotep III’s reign, from which come the last of the tombs discussed here. Later monuments would provide a mere echo of what the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty saw — some Pyramid Texts on the offering table of Sarenenutit, a repetition of the scene from TT 39 in the Abydos temple of Ramesses I, and the texts for the type C offering list in KV 17. This reduction in frequency of text transmission coincides with a reduction in pictorial depictions of mortuary service in general, which, as Guirs (1995, 238) observes, coincides with the well-known modifications to the decorative program in the Ramesside period. So ended a tradition, but a tradition that would resurface in attenuated form in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Hays 2003).

92 TT 57, 107, and Cl. Outside of Thebes but of the same date is the tomb of Sobekmose, with PT 32; see Hayes 1939, pl. 5.
93 Dated to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty or early Nineteenth Dynasty by Chire 1981, 213 with n. 1; see pl. 27, 1–2, for PT 25, 32, 268–69, 275–76, 307, and 595.
94 See footnote 34.
95 Augmented, although not as extensively as TT 57; see Hornung 1999, 107–09, 152, and 165; Lefebvre 1886, pls. 6–8, 12–13.
96 The adjustment in the decorative program was felt even in respect to how the Opening of the Mouth was presented, usually with only two or three rites displayed, with them condensed into a single scene (Barthelmes 1992, 93). These changes, moreover, were paralleled by modifications in the architecture of the tomb, as outlined at Assmann 1984, 282, 284; see also Assmann 1990, 17.
Figure 7.1. Perspective Drawing of Niche in TT 57
Figure 7.2. Tabular Series of Offering Ritual Texts in TT 57
Figure 7.3. Perspective Drawing of End of Long Passage in TT 100
ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>Book of the Dead</td>
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<tr>
<td>BM</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
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<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Coffin Text</td>
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<tr>
<td>MMA</td>
<td>Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>MÖR</td>
<td>Opening of the Mouth scene</td>
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<tr>
<td>pBerlin</td>
<td>Papyrus Berlin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pyr</td>
<td>Pyramid Texts spell number</td>
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Davies, Norman de Garis

Davies, Norman de Garis; A. H. Gardiner; and Nina de Garis Davies

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Hermann, Alfred

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Naville, Edouard, and Somers Clarke

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