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

The term *sh.[i]-lw.w,* "Field of Rushes," and its synonym, *s.-lyw.w,* "Lake of Rushes," occur in forty-six texts in the Old Kingdom mortuary literature, all certain examples being Pyramid Texts from Saqqara pyramids. It occurs in forty-three texts in the Middle Kingdom mortuary literature, both in Pyramid Texts and in newly attested Coffin Texts, spread across more than a hundred sources distributed throughout sites from Upper


2 Not dealt with as if distinct from *sh.[i]-lw.w* is *sh.wt.-lw.w* "Fields of Rushes," as it occurs interchangeably with the more typical singular form in a group of variants consisting of PT 263-266 (the "Schilfbündelsprüche"), with the plural *sh.w* at Pyr. 340c (PT 263), Pyr. 343b (PT 264), and Pyr. 352b (PT 265) and the singular *sh.w* at Pyr. 359a (PT 266). One recognizes, however, that at least two parts of the Field of Rushes are attested in the Coffin Texts, as R. Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte und Jenseitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten*, ÄgAbh 59, Wiesbaden, 1997, p. 61, n. 203 observes.

3 Evidently also considered synonymous by J. Leclant, LA 1, col. 1156, s.v. "Earu-Geilide", where in speaking of the inundating of *sh.[i]-lw.w*, it is noted how "de façon plus explicite, on trouve parfois mention du 'lac (l) des Souchets'." The identity of the two terms may be inferred from their interchangeability in a group of variants consisting of PT 253, 564, and 567; cf. Pyr. 275b (PT 253) w.b'n r' m *sh.w* in PT 1430a (PT 564) w.b' r' in *sh.[i]-lw.w* to Pyr. 1421a (PT 564) w.b' r' in *sh.w*.

4 A fragment from Ba1X, no. 925, 4, may possibly contain either CT 1011 or CT 159 (and CT 160). As preserved, the source does not now contain the term *sh.[i]-lw.w*, but both of these texts, as attested elsewhere, do. If CT 1011 or CT 159 were involved, then one must reckon with a *Coffin Text* bearing the term in the Old Kingdom. For the fragment, see M. Vailloggia, *Balat i, le mastaba de Medou Nefer*, FIAO 31/1, Cairo, 1986, p. 76, pl. LXII. A similar situation pertains to Berlin Inschr. 7730, II. 4-5, from a non-royal tomb; as it appears to preserve elements of PT 474, although not now the term *sh.w*. The fragment's provenance...
and Lower Egypt. Occurring in so many texts from both the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the term evidently figured importantly in the religious discourse of each period, and thus in thought, since writing is a representation of thought. And yet there is a discontinuity: only eight of the Pyramid Texts bearing the term are attested on Middle Kingdom sources, while the remaining thirty-five attestations occur in

5 PT 210, 253-254, 263-266, 304, 306, 323, 325, 419, 437, 442, 461, 470-471, 473-474, 477, 479-480, 482, 493, 504-505, 507, 510, 512, 517, 525-526, 548, 563-564, 567, 572, 606, 609; 616, 655, 670-671. Second occurrence of PT 352b (PT 265) is evidently a mistake for PT 363b (cf. the line of PT 352b, PT 265 is a residue as well as a line from a modified version of this stanza in another variant, PrT. 340c (PT 263); mLi (s)[l.w]T; and see G. KJQIER, Le texte de la pyramide de Dépê (?), 2 Facs.

6 With all Old Kingdom pyramids having texts bearing the term, except that of Apous, perhaps owing to the very fragmentary condition of its remains. Some sources which have Pyramid Texts which bear the term have, in the past, been dated to the end of the Old Kingdom, while nowadays they receive Middle Kingdom dates. For example, K. SETHE, Die Totenliteratur des Alten Ägypten, SAW 18, Leipzig, 1931, p. 527, n. 2 attributes QlQ (N.1) to the close of Dynasty 6, while T. G. ALLEN, op. cit., p. 33, dates it to Dynasty 12, and H. WILLEMS, op. cit., p. 246, n. 23, also to the Middle Kingdom (the latter reference gotten thanks to an unpublished index of H. Willems' dates compiled by St. Barker).

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

Previous studies concerning the Field of Rushes, most recently by R. Krauss,\textsuperscript{13} have the common denominators of identifying its cosmographic position\textsuperscript{14} and of determining its identity with or distinction from the Field of Offerings (\textit{sh.t-htp}).\textsuperscript{15} As a contrastive complement, the present essay is less interested in circumscribing its location or in distinguishing or drawing it toward the Field of Offerings,\textsuperscript{16} but is more aimed at proposing simply that its meanings did change and at offering a suggestion as to the mechanism behind the change.

\textsuperscript{12} P. JORGENS, Grundlinien einer Überlieferungsgeschichte der altägyptischen Sargtexte, Wiesbaden, 1995, p. 5-6, gives a summary of past views concerning the period of composition of the Coffin Texts, and at p. 73-84 presents his own sound ones, but it remains to be seen whether the last word has been or can have been said on the matter. Post-1995 statements on the period of production of the Coffin Texts include G. LAPP,  Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum I. The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477), London, 1997, p. 56 (§ 93), according to which Dynasties 11 and 12 saw the "continual generation" of new Coffin Texts; and, in diachronic consideration of the number of texts occurring on coffins, id., "Die Entwicklung der Särge von der 6, bis zur 13. Dynastie" in H. WILLEMS (ed.), The World of the Coffin Texts Proceeding of the Symposium held on the Occasion of the 100th Birthday of Adriaan De Buck, Leiden, December 17-19, 1992, Leiden, 1996, p. 87, gets the impression that "gerade am Beginn der Entwicklung besonders viele solcher Sprüche angebracht wurden." The few Coffin Texts spells which may be dated to the Old Kingdom include those attested in pyramids (e.g. CT 516-519; see J.P. ALLEN, The Infection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts, Malibu, 1984, p. 697-698), some from the Gardiner Papyri (for references to date-attributions, ranging from the Old Kingdom through the First Intermediate Period and to doubts against early datings, see H. WILLEMS, The Coffin of Heqata, OLA 70, Leuven, 1996, p. 257 (toward eastern horizon); R. KRAUSS, op. cit., 59-61 (region of sky south of the ecliptic belt).


\textsuperscript{14} Which is to say that it is not so much a hermeneutical endeavor. On the contrast between hermeneutics and structuralism, see G. GENETTE, \textit{Figures of Literary Discourse}, New York, 1982, p. 11-17. On their synthesis—or rather on attempting transcendence of them in producing diachronic studies, see M. FOUCAULT, op. cit., esp. p. 162. To signpost this essay's methodological perspective, it adheres to neither a hermeneutical nor a structuralist approach, although it, like Foucault's ideal, tends more along the latter's lines.
The manner in which I intend to illustrate this proposition is through mapping some salient contours of continuity and discontinuity in the context of the term from one period to the next. Context is what this essay engages, because it is assumed that the meaning of a term is inseparable from it.\textsuperscript{17} But naturally, context is ultimately boundless,\textsuperscript{16} whereas I have only a few pages. So I will be pursuing just a few levels: the immediate context of the term (the other words in a statement in which it appears), its intertextual\textsuperscript{19} context (other texts with similar statements containing the term), its intratextual context (other statements contained in the same text in which it appears), and a still wider, almost paratextual\textsuperscript{20} context (the content of other texts which, as transmitted, accompany a text bearing the term). Those contexts which are most salient—most frequently occurring—are the ones which will receive the greatest emphasis. In bringing out indications of changes in meanings through identifying changes in context, and through perceiving a dynamic associated with these changes, it is hoped that the specifics will shed a bit of light on more general aspects of the relationship between Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts.

In the Old Kingdom, the term Field of Rushes occurs in a variety of immediate contexts;\textsuperscript{21} it is incorporated in the themes\textsuperscript{22} of purification in the Field of Rushes, the filling of the same, being given it, travelling to it, and being placed in it.\textsuperscript{23} Of these, the most commonly recurring is the first mentioned, purification \textsuperscript{(wb)},\textsuperscript{24} appearing in thirteen Pyramid Texts,\textsuperscript{25} as for example in PT 479:\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{17} As is held for statements, as by, for example, R. RORTY, "Philosophy without Principles" in W.J.T. MITCHELL (ed.), Against Theory, Chicago, 1985, p. 133-134; C. FALCK, Myth, Truth, and Literature Towards a True Post-Modemism, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1994, p. 48; J CULLER, Literary Theory A Very Short Introduction, Oxford, 1997, p. 67. Note also that some, for example, even J. Culler sometimes choose the term frame or framing instead of context, id., Framing the Sign Criticism and Its Institutions, Oxford, 1988, p. ix.


\textsuperscript{20} Paratextual referring to a feature external to a text which conditions the text's identity, but more specifically to features still intrinsically related to a text, such as titles, colophons, and even reviews of a work. On "indices paratextuels," see D. COMBE, Les genres littéraires, Paris, 1992, p. 10 and 132.

\textsuperscript{21} Compare the categorization presented here with that of M. E. THOMAS, An Index of Pyramid Text Cosmology, M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1948, p. 31-32.

\textsuperscript{22} Or topos or motif. If definition is necessary, theme as used here occurs in the sense of "recurring, concretely manifest combination(s) of terms."

\textsuperscript{23} Texts containing all but the last mentioned theme are identified below. The last occurs in PT 437 (Pyr. 805a-b): \textsuperscript{(}hsc tw m nrdw (sh)(sh) hmst (hr) hndw(\textsuperscript{)}) "him (sc. Re) placing you as the Morning God in the midst of the Field of Rushes, you seated upon your throne" and in a variant of this text PT 610 (Pyr. 17190). Compare PT 606 (1690a-b): \textsuperscript{(}hsc tw nrtw (lw) wmlt (lw) sh(t)_{2} (sh) hndw(\textsuperscript{)}) "Let these two great and magnificent gods who are before the Field of Rushes set (i.e. install) you upon the throne of Horus."

\textsuperscript{24} Translating the term in the sense given it by J LECLANT, LA III, col. 1156, s.v. "Earu-Gefilde", and B. ALTMULLER-KESTING, Reinigungsriten im ägyptischen Kult, Hamburg, 1968, p. 78, in connection with PT 510. Note that the latter holds that the connection of the "Reinigungsbad in den Binsengeden" of PT 510 with the ritual purification \textsuperscript{(wb)} with nms-t-jars in the same text is "wohl erst sekundär." Whether primary or secondary, the two themes are indeed associated in this text.

\textsuperscript{25} Besides the texts cited in the following discussion and in its associated notes, PT 470 and 512 also have the theme of purification in the Field of Rushes—PT 470 (Pyr. 918a): \textsuperscript{(}w\textsuperscript{)} N. m sh.t-LT\textsuperscript{w}. "Neterkare is pure in the Field of Rushes," PT 512 (Pyr. 1164d): (sh)_{2} nrtw m sh.t-LT\textsuperscript{w}. "you purified upon your flower in the Field of Rushes."

\textsuperscript{26} Texts related to PT 479 are discussed below.
The doors of the sky are opened;  
the doors of the firmament\textsuperscript{27} spread to Horus of the Gods,  
that he may ascend at dawn,  
having become pure in the Field of Rushes.\textsuperscript{28}

Another example in PT 567:\textsuperscript{29}

Re has become pure in the Field of Rushes:  
Horus has become pure in the Field of Rushes:  
Pepi has become pure in the Field of Rushes.\textsuperscript{30}

And, as a last example, in PT 525:\textsuperscript{31}

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

All contexts condition meaning, but repetition reinforces it:\textsuperscript{33} It controls an audience's evaluation of the details of both the text as such\textsuperscript{34} as well as the larger fabric of literature to which the text belongs.\textsuperscript{35} With it so frequently recurring, one may reckon purification in the Field of Rushes as one of the central contexts conditioning the term's meanings in the Old Kingdom.

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


\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Pyr} 981a-b:

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{w\textquotesingle}m \textit{\'r\textquotesingle} m \textit{sh \textquotesingle t\textquotesingle} \textit{rw}
\textit{pr-f m \textit{tp(l) hrw}
\textit{w\textquotesingle}bn-f m \textit{sh\textquotesingle} \textit{t\textquotesingle} \textit{rw}.
\end{verbatim}

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

\textsuperscript{30} \textit{Pyr} 1430a-c:

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{w\textquotesingle}bn \textit{r\textquotesingle} m \textit{sh\textquotesingle} \textit{t\textquotesingle} \textit{rw}
\textit{w\textquotesingle}bn \textit{hr m sh\textquotesingle} \textit{t\textquotesingle} \textit{lw}
\textit{w\textquotesingle}bn P \textit{pm m sh\textquotesingle} \textit{t\textquotesingle} \textit{lw}.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{31} Related as variant to PT 525 is PT 471.

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Pyr} 1245a-e:

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{h\textquotesingle}w-k m \textit{mr knz\textquotesingle} (i)
\textit{w\textquotesingle}b-k m \textit{sh\textquotesingle} \textit{ti\textquotesingle} \textit{lw}.
\textit{w\textquotesingle} \textit{tw \textit{smith hr}
\textit{irs-n n-k \textit{m\textquotesingle} t\textquotesingle} \textit{n(l) pr\textquotesingle} \textit{lw}
\textit{irs-n n-k \textit{m\textquotesingle} t\textquotesingle} \textit{n(l) hpl\textquotesingle} \textit{lw}.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{33} Or, according to R. BARTHEES, \textit{op cit.}, p. 93, "the exchange value of a seme, its ability to participate in a thematic economy, depends on its repetition". Or, according to M. FISHBANE, \textit{Biblical Text and Texture: A Literary Reading of Selected Texts}, Oxford, 1979, p. 12, the repetition of "theme-words" serves "to highlight major and minor features of content. A reader may thus be guided or provoked towards certain interpretations on the basis of theme-words recurrent in one or several texts which are thereby brought into association," with what applies to theme-words held to be "equally pertinent with respect to larger themes or motifs" For B. MATHIEU, \textit{La poésie amoureuse de l'Égypte ancienne. Recherches sur un genre littéraire au Nouvel Empire. BiEtud 115, 1996}, p 176-177, the repetition of leitmotifs and clichés in love poetry serves as confirmation of their importance.


\textsuperscript{35} Because the audience (and composer) of any given text will bring to it every other text so far encountered, especially those of the same corpus. On this notion, a ramification of \textit{intertextuality}, see for example P.J. GRIFFITHS, \textit{Religious Reading: the Place of Reading in the Practice of Religion}, Oxford, 1999, p. 53 (who mistates "intratextuality" where "intertextuality" should have been used instead.)
examined. But the frequent occurrence of the theme of purification is also indicative of its participation in the religious discourse which produced the Pyramid Texts, because the recurrence of a given theme in multiple texts signals engagement with an idea.

Such concern is abstractly evident in the statistic which was invoked a moment ago. But a related detail is in another circumstance: the texts bearing this theme generally come from groups of variants—texts with more points of contact with each other than differences. Indeed, each of the three citations just now presented come from members of three different groups of variant texts. To summarize the points of contact of the group from which the first citation comes, a group consisting of PT 325, 479, and 563, they all begin with a stanza involving the opening of the doors of the sky in its forms of pt and qbh, an ascent (pri), and purification in the Field of Rushes (w' b m śh.t.l.w.t.w). This stanza is repeated five times, each time substituting four gods and the deceased as principal figure. Two of the three texts add a further stanza, also repeated with substitution, but involving only ascent and purification in the Field of Rushes. The order of subsequent elements in the members of this group varies somewhat: two invoke Re; and two speak of ḫ.drawString(118,397) (perhaps meaning "pressure") in the womb of Nut, the beneficiary being the seed of the god within it. Purity is mentioned again in two of the three texts, now in conjunction with the receipt of a kilt (sw!t). All three close with invocations of obscure gods—hp.Jt and ip.Jti, ḫnn, and zmnnw—and with commands to these gods that they take the beneficiary away (īti). Finally, two append the demand that the beneficiary stay (zmn) with him.

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

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

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


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

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

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


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

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

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

46 PT 479 (Pyr. 991c), perhaps an antitheccon of ḫ停工.

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

48 PT 325 (Pyr. 533d).

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

50 Wb III, 453, 2 "jemanden weilen lassen unter Personen (m)" and Wb III, 453, 3 'sich verweilen (mit reflexiven Pronomen)'

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

52 For example, PT 479 shares a point of contact with PT 325, the invocation of Re, which PT 563 does not have; and yet again PT 479 shares the additional
which quickly dissolves, because there are yet attributes common to them all. Nevertheless, the circular linkages make it impossible to identify any one of these variants as the origin of the other two.

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

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

One may widen the context of this theme and the term Field of Rushes still further in view of an observation of J. Leclant, that the Field of Rushes, in contrast to the Field of Offerings, is a place of passage as opposed to a place of rest, and that the Field of Rushes is specifically the place where the beneficiary is purified prior to his ascent to the sky. That this is so may be seen from PT 479, cited earlier, where the doors of the sky are opened for the gods and the beneficiary "that he may ascend at dawn, having become pure in the noun-substitution stanzas with PT 563, but not with PT 325; and still further PT 325 overlaps with PT 563 in adding a demand that the god stay with the beneficiary, but this is a theme which PT 479 lacks.

53 For the term intertextual, see nn. 19 and 35 above.
54 This conclusion sets aside the problematics of the exact dates of composition of the texts so far mentioned.
55 Bricolage here indicating the construction of a text through the reuse of pre-existing elements. Compare the usage of bricolage at CL. LEVI-Strauss, The Savage Mind, Chicago, 1966, p. 16-33, and see also the characterization of the construction of a myth through the combination of "gross constituent units" present in mythic discourse (or rather, myth as a kind of language), at id., "The Structural Study of Myth", in CL. LEVI-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, New York, 1963, p. 209-211.
56 Compare B. MATHEU, op. cit., p. 179, on the usage of topoi (fixed combinations of several motifs): "à subvertir le donné pour produire du nouveau: plus la matière première est contraignante, plus elle est susceptible de provoquer l'imagination".
57 Besides the group consisting of PT 325, 479, and 563, there are the group of PT 323 and 526 (R.O. FAULKNER, op. cit., p. 198, "a variant of Utterance 323"), the group of PT 253, 564 (ibid., p. 220, "a variant of Utterance 253"), and 567 (ibid., p. 221, "a variant of Utterance 564"), and the group of PT 471 and 525 (since Pyr 920a-922c, the bulk of PT 471, is virtually identical to Pyr 1244c-1246a, the bulk of PT 525). The two texts which contain this theme but which do not belong to a variant group are PT 470 and 512.
58 J. LECLANT, LA I, col. 1156, s.v. "Earu-Gefilde".
59 The sense of pri as "ascend" was first observed by J.H. BREASTED, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, New York, 1959 [1912], p. 276, n. 1.
Field of Rushes". This notion is repeated several times in this text and is one of the points of contact it has with its variants, PT 325 and 563.61

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

Opened is the Nurse Canal;

60 Pyr 985b. prf m tj(l) hsw. w.b jf m sh.tjw.
61 Though these employ the past passive circumstantial sam.f, e.g. w.b jf at Pyr 525c (PT 325) and Pyr. 1408b (PT 563). Interpretation of the form as a past passive circumstantial sam.f is implicit in the translation of the latter example, Pyr 1408b, at J.P. ALLEN, The

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

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

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

mh msw
12w jirw
m rj "bw pr pr nsw
sm irj "p x 10 wr "h 10 wr hsw mjw t wr t
hms
m3-sn w.b pn n(l) it nsw P pn.
Filled are the canals.
inundated are the waterways,
with the purity which went forth from Osiris.
O sem-princes, princes, great ten of the palace, great

ten of Heliopolis, o Great Ennead,
be seated
and witness this purification of the father, of Osiris,
of Pepi !

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

64 Consisting of a group of variants (PT 263-266) and texts incorporating a section found in this group (PT 507, 519, and 609, and probably N 1308+24-26 IG 11, Cairo, 1936. p. 18-19, the Jh.t is situated in the sky. On passage to the sky in the Pyramid Texts in general, see J. ASSMANN, LA II. col. 1206-1211, s.v. "Himmelsaufstieg".

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

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

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

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

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

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

65 For detailed summary of interpretations of this term (read here as mr-nb; but elsewhere sometimes as mr-nb;), see R. Krauss, Astronomische Konzepte und Jenseitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten, AgAbh 59, Wiesbaden, 1997, p.14-17 (§ 15), who, for his part, matches references to mr-nb; to celestial phenomena associated with the ecliptic at ibid., 4963 (§ 31).

66 Pyr. 343a-344b:

67 In two variant groups, one consisting of PT 462 and 670, the other consisting of PT 306, 474, 480, and 572, as well as a text containing a section found in members of the second group, PT 477. PT 306 and 480 may be translated as having the theme of being given the Field of Rushes through comparison to the phraseology of PT 572 (Pyr. 1475a-1476a):

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

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

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**Fig. 1.**

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Numbers indicate Pyramid Text Utterance number (PT). Texts are arranged here from top to bottom in the order they occur. **Bold** indicates a text bearing the term *Field of Rushes*. **Italics** indicates a text recurring in this sequence, but not in fixed order.

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69 On a sw[et]d]w of PT 265 (Pyr. 352x), see above n. 5.
71 H. WILLEMS, "Preface" in H. Willems (ed.), The World of the Coffin Texts (E. De Buck), Leiden, 1996, p. vi, with n. 2. He connects the dispersed character of transmission dealt with by P. Jürgens (see following note) to cases of "offene Überlieferung" in Egyptian literature presented by J.F. QUACK, Die Lehren des Ani: Ein neuer practically Wissenstein in seinem kulturellen Umfeld, OBO 141, Leiden, 1991, p. 18-23. With the latter, the question centers around identifying in secular texts the dynamics behind variations which cannot be explained through the invocation of scribal error, an identification which is to have oral vs. written transmission as its tension. A resolution of this tension is proposed by J.F. Quack through a synthesis of thesis and antithesis—a written imitation of oral compositional techniques (a different approach to the same tension appears in J. ASSMANN, Religion and kulturelle Gedächtnis: Zehn Studien, Munich, 2000, p. 132-134).
73 These being PT 265, 266, 323, 325, 437, 442, 461, 470, 471, 473, 474, 477, 479, 480, 482, 493, 504, 505, 507, 510, 512, 517, 519, 523, 526, 548, 563, 564, 567, and 572, besides fragments cited at n. 5 above.
In this, the series of Figure 1 are representative of a more general phenomenon: texts bearing the term Field of Rushes tend to cluster together, the highest concentrations being in the antechamber, corridor, and vestibule. The most striking series occurs on the corridor, west wall of Merenre, with a series of nine contiguous texts of which only one does not contain the term.

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

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

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

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

Of the fully extant Pyramid Texts bearing the term, 35 occur regularly in the antechamber, corridor, and vestibule. To list the exceptions, since considerably fewer texts which occur sometimes in the sarcophagous chamber and sometimes outside it are PT 268, 323, 325, and 461. Texts which occur regularly in the sarcophagous chamber are only PT 210, 437, and 442. Texts which are attested only once in the Old Kingdom, with that attestation being the sarcophagous chamber, are PT 655, 670, and 671. PT 264 is attested but once, and then in a passage. The preceding statements do not reflect positional information from the sarcophagous chambers of the queen’s pyramids or the pyramid of Ibi, since their plans differ from the others.

With the series PT 606, 504, 506, 505, 563, 323, 523, 507 and 526; PT 506 does not bear the term sh.h’t.w. These texts come from M’s juxtaposition of two series given above in n. 74.

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

Pyr 352a-353c:

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To proceed to the next, Pt 470:

You ascend to the sky even as (do) falcons,
your plumage that of birds.

—says she (sc. the red crown) to Neferkare. 60

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

Pepi has come,
only that he, Pepi, may become pure in the Field of Rushes,
only that Pepi may go down to the Field of Kenzet,
the Followers of Horus purifying Pepi,
bathing Pepi,
drying Pepi.
performing the Utterance of Guidance for Pepi,
performing the Utterance of Ascent for Pepi, for life and dominion,
that Pepi might ascend to the sky, for life and dominion,
[that] Pepi might go down, for [life and dominion], to this bark of Re. 81

One could go on to list other cases of texts in this figure bearing reference to passage to the horizon or the sky, and add to them references to a ferryman, to ascent via ladder, ascent
as a bird, and being conveyed in the bark of Re at the horizon. And as for the nine texts bearing the term Field of Rushes, all but one of them have the theme of passage to the sky.

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

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

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

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

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

As in PT 467 (Pyr 891b-c): (i)gp n P pn ir p.t m 'h'w. sn P pn p.t m bkt. "Pepi has risen to the sky even as a heron, Pepi kissing the sky as a falcon." On iqp as an image of ascent, see Wb 1, 14,1-2, and J. ASSMANN, LA II, col. 1207, with n. 10.

As in PT 407 (Pyr 710a-711d) 3jp f n-f st-f w'bt imit p.t.; 3jp f n-f T st-f w'bt imit h;:t wi r', in km isw-iz ḫmnw r', nsn h-šm T, in ḫm isw-iz pH'.w r' ḫ2 .h,t, nsn pH'.sn T ḫ2 .h,t. "Let him assume his pure place which is in the sky...; let Teti assume his pure place which is in the bow or the Bark of Re. It is indeed the crew which rows Re; it is they who will row Teti; it is indeed the crew which bears Re around the horizon; it is they who will convey Teti about the horizon." The tension between the use of the term i-iz in connection with a celestial voyage in PT 407 and the term's contextually indicated sense of "tomb-maker" in more secular texts, a tension perceived by H.G. FISCHER, "An Old Kingdom Monogram", ZÄS 93, 1966, p. 57 and 69, might be understandable through analogy to the strong connection in the New Kingdom between i-iz p.t ḫr "the gang of the tomb" and i-iz as crew of a ship, on which see J. CERNY, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, BiEtuD 50, Cairo, 1973, p. 99-100.

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The phrase "seize the oar (iff hpt)" is a kind of synecdoche for travel by boat,\textsuperscript{91} with the sense of the clause thus having to do with travel to the Field of Rushes; the same image is employed in one of the other six texts of this kind.\textsuperscript{92} The remaining five Old Kingdom texts are more explicit, speaking of crossing or being ferried (q3) to the Field of Rushes,\textsuperscript{93} traversing (nni) the sky to it,\textsuperscript{94} going (sm) to it,\textsuperscript{95} and reaching (ph) the sky at it.\textsuperscript{96}

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

"Go, and row to the Field of Rushes within the islands of the sky, taking the oar therein to the one who is upon his kadet-plant!"

--so will the gods say to Osiris N.\textsuperscript{98}

To be sure, one could pursue in these newly attested texts a measure of discontinuity, for their ways of expressing motion to the Field of Rushes do not precisely match the several dispersed ways in which it was expressed in the Old Kingdom: besides the rowing (nni) of CT 30, there is descent (h3j) to it,\textsuperscript{99} landing (snw3) at it,\textsuperscript{100} entering ('q) it,\textsuperscript{101} proceeding (wdj) to it,\textsuperscript{102} with only crossing (q3) and going (sm) to it being communicated from the Old Kingdom. One could further go and observe that their combination with other ideas that in new texts places the

\textsuperscript{91} Wb III, 67, 13.

\textsuperscript{92} Pym 1345c-1346c (PT 548): h3j3 m w3i; mn r h3j3d w\textsubscript{r} nh; lhnw P pn m hbnw, iff hpt im h shn i n n i r hnt t st ps n(i) sh1-t.lw, "Let him board the bark like Re at the banks of the Shifting Waterway, Pepi rowing in the Bark of Radiance, taking the oar therein to the Field of the two Lower Skies, to (or: at) the front of this land of Field of Rushes."

\textsuperscript{93} Pym 374b (PT 268): q3 j sh1-t.lw, "that he may cross to the Field of Rushes"; Pym 1091 (PT 505): h3j3.h3j3 P r sh1-t.lw, "O Herecloth, ferry Pepi to the Field of Rushes."

\textsuperscript{94} Pym 749c (PT 419): nni T j1i i sh1-t.lw, "Let Teti traverse the sky to the Field of Rushes."

\textsuperscript{95} Pym 1984b (PT 670): smf j sh1-t.lw, "him going to the Field of Rushes". To complement the array of information being presented in the body of the c-say, PT 670 also contains the theme of being given the Field of Rushes, illustrating the term's polysemic value, or multivalence.

\textsuperscript{96} Pym 1845a-b (PT 655), text R.O. Faulkner, op. cit. (Supplement), p. 19: smf n(i) N j1i, hnh3f j1i m bk1.w n[ I] sh1-t.lw, "The plumage of Neferkare [is] (that of) a bird, him reaching the sky as (do) divine falcons, [at] the Field of Rushes."

\textsuperscript{97} PT 268 (attested on the chamber, east wall, of S). PT 670 is attested several times in the Middle Kingdom, but, as transmitted and preserved, the Middle Kingdom versions do not contain reference to the Field of Rushes; see above, n. 7.

\textsuperscript{98} CT 1 94a-c (B1P, location B).

\textsuperscript{99} CT 243 Ill 329c (B4C, location B): j j sh1-t.lw n(t) m, "Utterance of descending to the Field of Rushes"; and CT 404 V 199b (B10C, location FR): j j sh1-t.lw. "As for the one who knows this utterance, he descends to the Field of Rushes."\textsuperscript{100} CT 279 IV 26e (SqaC, location FR): smf j sh1-t.lw, "Let Osiris N. join the land at the Field of Rushes."\textsuperscript{101} CT 827 VII 27p (T1Bc, location FR): j j q j sh1-t.lw, "Utterance of entering [into] the Field of Rushes!" For the restoration of sh1.t, see the reference to sh1-t.lw at CT 827 VII 281.

\textsuperscript{102} CT 335 IV 220a-b (SqaC, location L): smf j sh1-t.lw, "It is the road upon which my father Atum goes when proceeding to the Field of Rushes."
theme of going to the Field of Rushes within new situations, with the dispersion letting one expect at least subtle shifts of sense. But it nevertheless becomes useful to accept a measure of continuity exhibited by this theme's roughly equivalent frequency in both periods.

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

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

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

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

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

106 A hermeneutical reconciliation of this contrast would be simple, were one to consider the cyclical solar process encoded in the Pyramid Texts (see J.P. Allen, "Reading a Pyramid" in C. Berger et al. (ed.), Hommages à Jean Leclant, BeF Ted 100/1, Cairo, 1994, p. 24, citing W. Barta, Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte für den verstorbene König, MAS 39, Berlin, Munich, 1981, p. 136-150); then one could see the Field of Rushes as both destination and starting point, more precisely as a station in a circuit.

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

108 Similarly, A. Bayoumi, Autour du champ des Soucheus et du champ des Offrandes, Cairo, 1940, p. 73 and 111, noted that, in contrast to the situation in the Pyramid Texts, the Field of Rushes in the Book of the Dead is no longer a place of purification.

109 Besides CT 159, there is CT 161, e.g., II 388d (L1LI, location exterior FR): iw N rHy shH(i)-izw, niyu pw niy r' "N. knows the Field of Rushes; it is the city of Re"; CT 296 V 49p (L1LI, location exterior F): iw N rHy w.w i-w(i) shHw niyu shH-i-zw, "N. knows the mysterious ways and the gates of the Field of Rushes;": CT 397 V 11ha-f (T1C, location exterior B): iw-k i rH(i) niyu lptf bkw iI pw, iw-r H.ki, s(y) tw.pi niyu lptf bkw iI pw, dwa.t pw hw' shH-i-zw. "You know these two towns, o magician? I know them. What are these two towns, o magician? They are the netherworld and the Field of Rushes."
the height of its Lower Egyptian barley is four cubits, its ear one cubit, its stalk three cubits; its emmer is seven cubits, its ear two cubits, its stalk five cubits.\textsuperscript{110}

This is from one of the spells for knowing Bas, a set of texts which typically occur together as a transmitted unit.\textsuperscript{111} To be sure, some of the themes\textsuperscript{112} and figures of diction of these new knowing-Bas texts are discernible already in the pyramids,\textsuperscript{113} but these texts as well as many other Coffin Texts exhibit an intense Middle Kingdom concern with knowledge of arcana—knowing what a god knows,\textsuperscript{114} knowing how to do something,\textsuperscript{115} knowing spells—but especially with the beneficial results secured through knowledge of spells.\textsuperscript{116} In comparison, the Pyramid Texts\textsuperscript{117} show little interest in the same, with only a few utterances

\textsuperscript{110} CT II 368c-370d (S2P, location L): lw(i)-r thkt sh t-rz tw n(m)h $f$
lw inb nttj h-rj m bj
lw qwr nttj it-mhwy m mjh $f$
lw $s$msf m mjh $f$
lw bd-t$r m mjh $f$
lw $s$msf m mh $f$

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

\textsuperscript{112} For example, the theme of not eating excrement, appearing in CT 160 II 373a-374b (S2P, location L): wr kW$z$ tp tz, mw:y nh h$fn$-$mnt$, nh mw:y h$fn$-$wt$, wzd: tp tz; $q$ pr$t$ m srw: $s$zw: $l$zw: nh mnt$w$ p$t$. "Enduring upon earth, not eating excrement in the necropolis, not dying because of a serpent, entering from ill and going out of the eastern gates of the sky", and already in PT 210 and 409, discussed below.

\textsuperscript{113} For example, the question-answer "figure of diction" (for which term, G. Genette, Figures of Literary Discourse, New York, 1982, p. 55), appearing in CT 160 II 383a-c (S2P, location L): ink wr-$hk$zw, h$w$ dln:ni rsk; lw$i$ pw $z$ $sb$, $s$m br h$rwf ph$yr$k(s) n $dw$-k. "I am Great of Magic; I have striven against you (lit. put to you). What is it, this Akh-power? O one who goes upon his belly, let your strength be to your mountain," and already in PT ferryman texts, e.g. PT 505 (Pyr 1093-1099).

\textsuperscript{114} CT 159 might already be attested in the Old Kingdom, though outside the pyramids, on BaLX; see above, n. 4.

\textsuperscript{115} For example, CT 154 II 266b (S3P): rh t$r$tn dhw$t m $sd$:w. "Knowing what Thoth knows of protective utterances" (or "utterances of keeping safe"); on $sd$:w < $sw$:d, see K. Sethe, Die Sprache für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte, Sonderdruck aus ZAS 57-59, Leipzig, 1925, p. 11); for further examples, see CT 443 V 306c-d; CT 827 VII 28d; and CT 1017 VII 2360.

\textsuperscript{116} For example, CT 573 VI 1372: lq$t$ $fr$ h$sq$ $d$q$t$. "The one who knows how to chop up caught fish is skillful"; see also CT 752 VI 381f; CT 1054 VII 304c; CT 1089 VII 370b, CT 1113 VII 444b; CT 1116 VII 447b; and CT 1117 VII 450b.

\textsuperscript{117} For example, CT 238 III 316b (T2L): ink rh z$rf$ "I am one who knows his utterance"; see also CT 281 IV 30g; CT 535 VI 132l; CT 828 VII 29g; CT 1062 VII 320c; CT 1081 VII 354b; and CT 1087 VII 366d.

\textsuperscript{118} For example, CT 83 IV 47b (B1C): $r$ z$n$ h$b$ pm n mw$n$:f mwt wlm, nh sm$n$ h$ft$(i)$w$ f$m$:f, n z zn mw $hk$:zw tp tz dt, pr$t$ pw z$t$ r mw$t$:f h$f$($l$)n$w$; "As for any man who knows this utterance, he does not really die again, his enemies do not have control over him, and magic never restrains him upon earth: it is a going forth by a man according as he desires in the necropolis"; see also CT 225 III 262d; CT 297 IV 501; CT 339 IV 338f; CT 404 V 199b; CT 576 VI 1911; CT 651 VI 273d; CT 712 VI 343d; CT 760 VI 390m; CT 1035 VII 282d; CT 1035 VII 283b; CT 1087 VII 364a; CT 1113 VII 445c; and CT 1130 VII 471c. Statements of this format are called the "knowledge formula" (h$w$enformel) by H. Buchberger, Transformation und Transformatior Sargtextstudien I, AgAbh 52, Wiesbaden, 1993, p. 151-152.

\textsuperscript{119} However, outside of the Pyramid Texts, numerous Old Kingdom monuments bear statements laying claim to efficacious knowledge, e.g. L. Habachi, The Obelisks of Egypt: Skyscrapers of the Past, New York, 1977, p. 40 fig. 16, l. 3 = L. Habachi, Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia, CASAE 23, Cairo, 1981, p. 21 fig. 5: ink $zh$ lq$t$ fr rh $zrf$, lw(i)-r thkt(i) z$z$ nil n n$l$t$ z$n$ $pt$. "I am an effective Akh who knows his utterance; I know the utterance of ascent to the great god, lord of the sky." For further Old Kingdom examples of assertions of
making reference to knowledge of spells, \textsuperscript{120} names of gods, \textsuperscript{121} and gods. In the case of the theme of knowing the Field of Rushes, it is, on the one hand, a matter of combining two things which perhaps had not been joined in writing before, with the result that an idea is newly manifest, and, on the other, a matter of the elevation to new prominence of a basic notion, knowledge itself. With knowledge of the Field of Rushes, one encounters another indication of change in context, another indication of shifting meaning.

Knowledge represents the introduction of a new context in the Middle Kingdom; passage to the sky and purification represent attenuations of old contexts. A final aspect of indications of change is in the amplification of a previously infrequently encountered context.

As an introduction to it, the theme of the booth of the beneficiary being in the Field of Rushes occurs in just one text in the Old Kingdom, PT 210:

What Neferkare detests is excrement, with him refusing urine.

What Neferkare detests, what he detests—what Neferkare detests is excrement.

He does not eat what Neferkare detests nor this, just as Seth refuses the *poison.\textsuperscript{123}

O Two Companions of his who cross the sky—Re and Thoth—take Pepi out with you, that Neferkare may eat of what you eat, that Neferkare may drink of what you drink, that Neferkare may live by that by which you live, that Neferkare may sit where you sit, that Neferkare may be strong by that by which you are strong, that Neferkare may sail by that by which you sail.

The booth of Neferkare is woven in the Field of Rushes,\textsuperscript{124} knowledge of arcana.

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\textsuperscript{121} E. EDEL. "Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches", MDAIK 13, 1944, p. 22-26 (§ 22).

\textsuperscript{122} PYT 449a (PT 301) \textit{hw W nh \textit{sw} mn-f}, "for Wenis knows him (sc. Atum); he knows his name".

\textsuperscript{123} Pyt 262 passim, e.g. Pyt 327a: \textit{m hm T ntr sk sw i\textit{nh} f\textit{w}. "Do not forget Teti, o god, for he knows you."

\textsuperscript{124} So R.O. FAULKNER, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 39.

\textsuperscript{125} W., T., and M. give \textit{zh n(i) N sh\textit{t} m \textit{srw} or \textit{zh N sh\textit{t} m \textit{srw}. Q\textit{I}Q and S also have \textit{zh n(i) N sh\textit{t} m \textit{srw} and \textit{zh N sh\textit{t} m \textit{srw} respectively; 58X has \textit{zh n(i) N sh\textit{t}-\textit{srw}. For Q\textit{I}Q, see É. CHASSINAT et al., \textit{Fouilles de Qattarah}, MIFAQ 14, Cairo, 1906, p. 63, ll. 66-67. For S, see W. C. HAYES, \textit{The Texts in the Mastabeh of Se-n-wosret-Ankh at Lisht}, PMMA 12, New York, 1937, pl. V. I. 307. For 58X, see G. LAPP, "Der Sarg des Jmnf", SAK 13, 1986, Faltafel. I. 137.
the abundance of Neferkare is in the Field of Offerings, and the oblation of Neferkare is with you(rs), o gods.\textsuperscript{125}

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

Not eating excrement.

I am the Ba who is over the Two Lands, Wepwawet in Asyut. I am protected, o excrement,\textsuperscript{127} even with urine being rejected, just as Thoth is protected by those two great and magnificent gods who travel in the sky. Take me, that I may traverse the sky with you; that I may eat of what they eat, that I may drink of what they drink, eating a \textit{ra}-goose, slaughtering a \textit{tjerep}-goose.

My booth is in the Field of Rushes; my abundance is in the Field of Offerings.\textsuperscript{128}

\textsuperscript{125} pyt. 127c-130c:

\begin{verbatim}
bur N pw hs
mwnf w.r.t.
bur N burrs
bur N pw hs
n wmm-f bur t N. nw
m.w sur zis m.r(w)
rs.owy= d\^i pi
r' pw hr d\^huti
\textbf{sd} \textbf{n} P h\^n'\textbf{in}
\textbf{wmm} N m wmm.t-t\textbf{in} im
\textbf{ztw} N m ztw.t-t\textbf{in} im
\textbf{'nh} N m \textbf{'nh}.t-t\textbf{in} im
\textbf{hms} N m hms.t-t\textbf{in} im
\textbf{wsr} N m wsr.t-t\textbf{in} im
\textbf{sqd} N m sqd.t-t\textbf{in} im
\textbf{zh} N \textbf{zh} m \textbf{zh}.t-t\textbf{rw}
\textbf{zgb} N m \textbf{zh}.t h\textbf{tp}
\textbf{zht} N m m-t-t\textbf{in ntrw}.
\end{verbatim}

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

\textsuperscript{127} As an indication of the problematics of this passage, R.O. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts, 3 vols., Warminster, 1973-1978, l, p. 148, 172; III, p. 226, gives two different translations for the clauses mk wi hs, tur wi(\textsuperscript{\textdagger}) wsr t (in some versions tur wi) or, as the case may be, mk.wi hs, tur.w wsr t of CT 173 III 54ef, CT 216 III 190c-d, and CT 1011 VII 227j. The confusion of the old word tur "to reject" (e.g. pyt. 127c, 128b, 577d, and 718a) with tur "to respect," more typical to Middle Egyptian—a confusion evidenced by the addition in some versions of a determinative standard to the latter word—could have contributed to the addition of an \texti{\textdagger} to tur.w or tur wi(\textsuperscript{\textdagger}).

\textsuperscript{128} CT 216 III 190a-193c (B2Bo, location FR): im wmm hs
The modifications are several, including a deliberate or accidental transformation of the old $bw.t$ $N$, $pw$ $hs$\textsuperscript{129} "What Neferkare detests is excrement" into $mk.w$ $i$ $hs$ "I am protected, o excrement," and above all the omission of the first few statements of PT 210,\textsuperscript{130} (not cited above). More significant is the introduction of a thematic title, "Not eating excrement," which makes the point of the whole text clear as it is understood in this Middle Kingdom source.\textsuperscript{131}

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

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

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
S1C & S2C & B2Bo & B9C & B1L \\
\hline
(L) & (B) & (FR) & (F) & (FR) \\
\hline
\hline
\hline
215 & 194 & 194 & 194 & 216 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Fig. 2.

Numbers indicate Coffin Texts Spell number (CT).

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

**Bold** indicates a text bearing the term $sh.t.i.t.w$.

An **underline** indicates a text bearing the theme of not eating excrement or similar

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
B1C & B3C & B2L \\
\hline
(FR) & (FR + F + H) & (B) \\
\hline
173 & 173 & 173 \\
\hline
174 & 174 & 174 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Fig. 3.

pGard II

1011

1012

1013

1014

Fig. 4.

\textsuperscript{129} Specifically, Pyr 126a-127b.

\textsuperscript{130} A title is not properly part of a text, but is a paratextual element. On thematic titles, see G Genette, Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation, Cambridge, 1997, p. 81-85.

\textsuperscript{131} CT 216 III 53g-55f is a modified form of Pyr. 216a-130b; CT 1011 VII 227g-t is a modified form of Pyr. 126a-130d

\textsuperscript{132} CT 173 III 55e (B2L, location B): $lw$ $zh-i$ $m$ $sh.t.i.t.w$; $lw$ $zh-i$ $s$ $sh.t.hip.wt$; CT 1011 VII 227q (pGard. II): $zh-i$ $m$ $sh.t.i.t.w$ $zh-i$ $m$ $s$h.t.hip.

\textsuperscript{133} CT III 47a-b (B2L, location B): $im$ $wnn$ $hs$; $im$ $zwr$ $we$ $m$ $hr(l)nt$.

\textsuperscript{134} CT VII 225a (pGard. II): $r$: $n(l)$ $im$ $wnn$ $hs$ $m$ $hr(l)$ $nt$.

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The texts underlined in the figures are those which make reference to the rejection of excrement (ḥs, ḥtp-kw, and Ḥtp-wr, the latter two translated here as "filth"138) or urine (wȝw.t), with these references appearing in the body of the text,137 in title138 or colophon,139 or in both. Often this reference comes in the form of a statement which has attained nearly formulaic status, as in CT 185 through 188, 190, and 192: "What I detest, what I detest— I will not eat. Excrement is my detestation; I will not eat it; I will not consume filth."140

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

PT 210 naturally does not have a title. But based on the facts that these newly attested Coffin Texts are linked to it, even in large part derivative of it, and that they do indeed have such a title, one might well be inclined to regard PT 210 also as being a text of anti-scatophagous type. But I think it would be mistaken to do so, for two reasons. First, although the theme of not eating excrement is frequently attested in the Middle Kingdom, it is only very rarely attested in the Old Kingdom:142 besides PT 210, it appears elsewhere only in PT 409,143

136 Following the practice of R. O. Faulkner, op. cit.
137 Figure 2: CT 184 III 68a (B9C), CT 185 III 84a (B9C), CT 186 II 85c (B9C), CT 187 III 87f (B9C), CT 188 III 92x (B11), CT 189 III 96c (B9C), CT 190 III 98b (B11), CT 192 e. g. III 103b (S1C), all with breviarius form "What I detest is excrement;" CT 191 III 99a (S1C); I then hold a m in hsk-kn-pn-ntr, "I, Child of excrement, do not bring this your excrement to me;" CT 193 III 190c–190a (S2C): I htrip-kn, n wnm ỉ n ỉn, "If I eat it, I will not smell it; Urine, I will not drink it." CT 216 cited above.

138 Figure 3: CT 173 e. g. III 74g (B1C): htrip-kn qe hsr-pn pn nnt, "filth, it will not enter this my mouth;" CT 174 III 60c–61b (B1C): buhit pa has, n wnm ỉ n ỉn su, n wnm ỉ n ỉn su, wȝw.t n wnm ỉ n ỉn su. CT 175 JJI 98a–98b (B1L), CT 176 JJI 101d–101f (B1L). CT 188 JJI 109b: n wnm ỉ n ỉn ỉnr. CT 191 III 109b: n wnm ỉ n ỉn ỉnr. CT 207 JJI 260c–d (S1C): n wnm ỉ n ỉn ỉnr. CT 208 JJI 268a (E9C): n htrip n hkip-kn, "I will not be satisfied with filth;" CT 209 JJI 268b: n htrip n hkip-kn, "I will not be satisfied with filth;" CT 210 JJI 268b: n htrip n hkip-kn, "I will not be satisfied with filth;" CT 211 JJI 268b: n htrip n hkip-kn, "I will not be satisfied with filth;" CT 212 JJI 268b: n htrip n hkip-kn, "I will not be satisfied with filth;" CT 213 JJI 268b: n htrip n hkip-kn, "I will not be satisfied with filth;" CT 214 JJI 268b: n htrip n hkip-kn, "I will not be satisfied with filth;" CT 215 JJI 268b: n htrip n hkip-kn, "I will not be satisfied with filth;" CT 216 cited above, a source not shown in figure 2, a partial list of texts bearing references to the rejection of excrement and/or urine is given in G. E. KADISH, "The Scatophagous Egyptian View," JSSEA 9, 1979, p. 205 n. 7. On the notion of eating excrement and/or urine in the underworld, see J. ZANDER, Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conception, Leiden, 1960, p. 73–75.
140 As noted by G. E. KADISH, op. cit., p. 204.
Consequently, PT 409 and 210 are not found among texts whose common thematic denominator is the rejection of excrement and urine. Figure 5, below, shows the serial context of PT 210, plus a related series from Pepi I. As in Figure 1, there is considerable variation from one source to the next, including the omission of some texts and the introduction of others. Nevertheless, again considerable overlap is discernible.

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Fig. 5.

Numbers indicate Pyramid Text Utterance number (PT).

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

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

What sort of texts are these then? Concerning the series appearing in the pyramid of Wenis, J.P. Allen characterizes it as "a kind of 'response' on the part of the deceased to the Offering Ritual conducted on his behalf", with the beneficiary establishing himself "as the source of his own food-supply" and demanding "nourishment from the deities".

To add detail, among these texts there is repeated reference to the "butler (wdpw)" of a...
god, a meal \((i.b.t \text{ and } i.s.t)\), bread and beer, and eating and drink. All of these things, combined with the fact that they are transmitted together as shown in the figure, permit the description of these texts as "provisioning texts": they have to do with the provisioning of the beneficiary.

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

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

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

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

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149 PT 205 (Pyr. 120d) and PT 206 (Pyr. 123g) \(\text{wdpw n(l) t 'butler of Re'}\); PT 344 (Pyr. 559b) and PT 348 (Pyr. 565b) \(\text{wdpw n(l) w 'butler of the gods'}\); PT 345 (Pyr. 560b) and PT 349 (Pyr. 566b) \(\text{wdpw n(l) hr 'butler of Horus'}\).

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

151 PT 205 (Pyr. 120d), PT 338 (Pyr. 551d, \(\text{kmhu-bread'}\)), and PT 400 (Pyr. 695c).

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

153 PT 210 (Pyr. 129a).

154 Compare H. ALTENMÜLLER, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 43.44.

155 Pyr. 129a.b.

156 PT 204 (Pyr. 119a): \(n \text{lb W n hqr t} '\text{Wenis will not thirst'; } n \text{lb T m sw', n hqr T. m Ifn.t} '\text{Teti will not thirst as Shu; Teti will not hunger as Tefenet'}\); and PT 211 (Pyr. 131a-b): \(\text{hwr.t W pi hqr, n wmn.nf sw, hwr.t W pi lb.t, n zw.m nf s(l) 'Thirst is what Wenis detests; he does not eat it. Thirst is what Wenis detests; he does not drink it.'}\)

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

158 \(\text{swz wd.w n II) z} \text{m hrr-nfr in S8X. For the text, see G. LAPP, 'Sarg des Imnnj', Faltatfel, l. 112.}\)
In CT 173, the section appears as:

that I may eat of what you eat,
that I may drink of what you drink,
routing the sky,
traversing Nut.
My booth is in the Field of Rushes;
my abundance is in the Field of Offerings.\(^{159}\)

In CT 1011:

that I may eat of what you eat,
that I may drink of what you drink,
that I may consume that which you consume,
eating a na-goose,
slaughtering a hetj-goose.
My booth is in the Field of Rushes;
my abundance is in the Field of Offerings.\(^{160}\)

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

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

A great one, owner of nine meals before the Great Ennead,
three meals being in Busiris,
three in Heliopolis,
and three in the House of the Ibis in the Field of Rushes—
the food of Re is my food.\(^{161}\)
And from CT 174:

my food is in Heliopolis;

three meals are in the Field of Rushes.\textsuperscript{162}

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

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

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

because I sit between the two great gods,

living on bread of white emmer,

my altars

I sit in the Field of Rushes;

my abundance is in the Field of Offerings.\textsuperscript{170}

"Sitting" (hms\textsubscript{t}) can be understood in several ways, but in its balance against "abundance" (b\textsubscript{h}t.t), one thinks of the sitting to a meal, an element integral to the offering ritual.\textsuperscript{171}

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

\textsuperscript{162} CT II 60a-b (B1C, location FR):

't.b.t m 1(w)n.w

b.t 3 m s.h.t.r.t.w.

\textsuperscript{163} Characteristic thematic elements are identified at nn. 137-140 above.

\textsuperscript{164} In T1L, not listed in Figure 2, cited at n. 138 above.

\textsuperscript{165} CT III 8d-f (B9C). 'nh\textsubscript{t} m 1 m s.h.t.h.t, b.h\textsubscript{t}l.h\textsubscript{t}t (t) m s.h.t.r.t.w. Restore b.h\textsubscript{t}l.h\textsubscript{t}t through b.h\textsubscript{t}l.h\textsubscript{t}t of B1L and B3Bo.

\textsuperscript{166} CT VI 14a (B1C): n wmm\textsubscript{t} m n t. fu.

\textsuperscript{167} CT VI 13h-t (B1C): iw t\textsubscript{t} m s.h.t.r.t.w (var. B9C s.h.t.r.t.w and the same in BIY, where 'ct.w is a correction over older l.w), m s.w.l m s.h.t.g.b.

\textsuperscript{168} Pyr 130a-b: 3h N. s.h m s.h.t.r.t.w, g.b N. m s.h t h.t.p.

\textsuperscript{169} Wb i, 22, 10-14 "Überfulle an Speisen," from the basic meaning of "Wasserverflüße," "fut," "Überschwemmung."

\textsuperscript{170} CT VII 225i-m:

\textsuperscript{171} A18 of the Type A offering list of W. BARTA, Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur geschichtlichen Epoche, MAS 3, Berlin, Munich, 1963; see p. 47-50, for the itemization code. G. LAPP, Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches, DAIK Sonder-Ausgabe 21, Mainz, 1986, p. 173 (\$ 289) in conjunction with p. 187 (\$ 312), associates this event with PT 86. This text is attested in at least four Middle Kingdom sources (B2Bo, M1NY, Sg2C, and S), and contains the keyword hms\textsubscript{t}, as at Pyr. 59d: 3h.m n.r k (t) h.t.k; hms .t g.r. "Cause it to turn back to you and be seated".
interwoven with provisioning themes--there are still other texts, not anti-scathophagous, which also explicitly feature provisioning in the Field of Rushes as a theme. For example, CT 179:

O Ferryman of the Field of Rushes,

bring me this for a leg, water, and a mitefwer-bird.¹⁷²

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

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

And CT 405, a variant of the preceding:

The Great Ennead which is in the Field of Rushes is to say:

"Give him a shenes-cake, a beer-jug, and a sufficiency [of meat];

he is to be eating thereof."¹⁷⁵

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

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

¹⁷² CT III 71a- (S10C, location FR):

¹⁷³ CT V 199b (B10C, location FR):

¹⁷⁴ CT V 209a-c (MIC, location BO):

¹⁷⁵ CT V 209a-c (MIC, location BO):

¹⁷⁶ Pyr. 1060ab:

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

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

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

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


178 H. Willems, ibid., p. 248 (similarly P. BARGUET, Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire, LAPO 12, Paris, 1986, p. 18-19), asserts that the Coffin Texts are to be understood as a genre separate from the Pyramid Texts because they tend to appear on different surfaces. But, according to P. JÜRGENS, op. cit., p. 85, "Die überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen machen aber deutlich, daß die Dichotomie 'Sargtexte' vs. 'Pyramidentexte' nicht gerechtfertigt ist": such a phenomenon as H. Willems perceives is held to be due to the tendency for texts to be transmitted as sets rather than individually; as a result, whole sets of texts already in circulation and transmitted in blocks in the Old Kingdom were naturally also transmitted in blocks in the Middle Kingdom. Others holding for a view of the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts as forming a continuous (bruchlos) tradition include J. ALLEN, "Funera]y Texts and Their Meaning", in S. D'AURIA et al. (ed.), Mummies & Magic the Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt, Boston, 1988, p. 40, and J. ASSMANN, Tod und Jenseits im Alten Ägypten, Munich, 2001, p. 334.