THE MUTABILITY OF TRADITION: THE OLD KINGDOM HERITAGE AND MIDDLE KINGDOM SIGNIFICANCE OF COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 343

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‘Utterance of avoiding the Iadet-net and passing by the Inyt-net of (bird1) catching by an Akh in the necropolis’. Thus begins CT 343 on a Middle Kingdom coffin from Thebes. To judge from the title given it there, it might be first supposed that the text belongs among those studied by Dino Bidoli in Die Sprüche der Fangnetze in den altägyptischen Sargtexten, a type first attested in the Middle Kingdom and consisting of CT 473 and its variants, 474 through 480.3 Dealing with the dead Egyptian’s ‘peur du filet de pêche’, a topic under the sub-heading ‘les dangers de l’au-delà et leur esquive’,4 the net spells receive a concise summary of their import in the title given CT 473: ‘utterance of the Iadet-net and the bird-net from which a man escapes’. According to Bidoli,5 their concrete imagery pertains to nets for catching fish and birds, activities of the swampy areas between the civilization of the town and the wasteland of the desert. Projected into the symbolic afterworld community, the motif attains cosmic scope, and, in the hands of divine and demonic fishermen, the net becomes a threatening obstacle for the wandering dead:

In the net spells a double danger confronts the dead: to be trapped (iss) as a migratory bird, or caught as ‘tired’ fish in the net. Only knowledge of the secrets of the appropriate nets gives succor, it alone conferring the means by which one can be legitimated against otherworldly fishermen. As mythological knowledge with glorifying efficacy, it enables the dead to transform himself into the ‘eldest’ (wr), the ‘fisher of the willow’, to hunt as fowler, or at least break free of the net in the form of a rapacious god, should he be unable to escape it.8

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2 See later in the same text, IV 353d.
3 CT 343 IV 348a (TIL): rl n(t) zti bhd.t znn.t tny.t "h ln jh m hrt-nfr
4 Bidoli, Sprüche der Fangnetze, 11 with n. 1.
6 The following paraphrases Bidoli, Sprüche der Fangnetze, 11.
7 Thus two kinds of nets are mentioned in the title in the version of TIL.
CT 343 indeed evokes this danger. Toward the middle of the text there is the following passage:

"May you (sc. the deceased) leave the place of judgment, and pass by the snaring Inyt-net, the ladet-nel of Foremost of the Westerners, and the fish-trap, with its floats in the sky and its weights in the earth, having been made for those Akhs who would go to their Kas: they cannot come while it remains." 9

Here the text's title is well justified, and the overarching significance of the net is revealed: it limits mobility. 10 Here also is further justification for the text's association with the net spells, as they express similar sentiments. For example, in CT 473 the deceased declares:

"O Herehaf, fowler of the *canals, powerful of heart, Geb of the Webatta-net, O fishers, O progeny who trap the dead, capturing birds of passage, for I know its name: the net of the gods is the Inyt-net; for I know the name of its bait:" 11

Beyond offering a semantic connection to CT 343, this passage exhibits the two chief characteristics of a net spell: a set of vocatives to the fishers and fowlers manipulating the nets.

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9 CT 343 IV 353c-356a (B1Pb)

10 Cf. J. Assmann in collaboration with M. Bommas, Altdgyptische Totenliturgien, vol. 1. Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches, Heidelberg 2002, 170. The h.b.t is a place of judgment, according to J. Zandee, Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions, Leiden 1960, 170-171 (followed by R. Grieshamer, Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten, AgAbb 20, Wiesbaden 1970, 67 with n. 369), but its connotative significance more involves restraint than slaughter, as is evident from CT 494 VI 75-76b (B3L): pr slj (jm(l)-hnw k:e l w sdmn-f hwr b1=1 l h r hnmf=f df=f m-" th.w l h.w b1=1 l hnr.w Sw.w l dd.w m h.b.t l hnr.w gph.w l hh.w mnr srf=f 'Let ascend Sia, the one who is in the naos, for he has heard the voice of my Ba as it was saving itself from those of the trap, who seize Bas, restrain Shades, put in the place of judgment, restrain in the naos, and seek to testify when it arrives', and the context of h.b.t at CT 23 I 70d, as discussed at Assmann, Altdgyptische Totenliturgien, vol. 1, 138. The net as restraint is already evident from the association of a nisba derived from Inyt with mummy-bindings in the sacerdotal text PT 556 §§1386a-b (J. Leclant et al., Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy Ier, vol. 2, MIFAO 118/2, Cairo 2001, pl. XXII, ll. 14-15): lwn n=tn lk=l) pw wsir P l wh1'w=f q'f[s]=f sfhh.n=f w[t].w nhm.nw sv m-" lwn.t (for the restoration w[t].w, see CT 662 §1878a: sfhh.w wt.w=tn): 'to you has this my father Osiris Pepi come, having loosened his fetters, having released his mummy bindings, having saved himself from he of the Inyt-net'; in this connection see below, n. 48.

11 Lit. seed grain.

12 CT 473 VI 3c-4ah (B1C)

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and a detailed identification of the net’s parts;¹³ (only the very beginning of such a one is given here). As Bidoli notes,¹⁴ these list-like identifications are parallel to the identification of parts of the ferryboat and matters related to its use in Middle Kingdom ferryman texts.¹⁵ For example,

O ferryman, bring me this!
Who are you?
I am one who loves his father.
As your father loves you, what would you do for him?
I would bind together his bones for him, having collected his limbs for him.¹⁶

In the present instance, the identifications are initiated via a question-and-answer format: as a demonstration of knowledge, the deceased must specify matters related to the ferryboat and his desired crossing so as to show his worthiness to be conveyed in it.¹⁷ Although in the net spells the question-and-answer topos¹⁸ is not employed,¹⁹ the deceased similarly makes identifications in order to achieve his end. ‘Das Wissen gibt den Ausschlag’, in the words of Hermann Kees.²⁰ The question-and-answer topos and the grammatical manner of identification²¹

¹³ Concerning the specifications, Bidoli, Sprüche der Fangnetze, 12, observes that there are usually two sections: first the parts and associated equipment of the bird net, and next a short itemization of the parts of the fish net. As the example shows, strictly speaking these are not really lists, but series of identificatory statements. The series are not always restricted to parts of nets (see for example CT 473 VI 9d-f [BIC]: (n) m(hw) wr n(r) n(l) bw gwtt(w)lm m hlm=s nw ¬tw ¬pw ¬bilyt hms.t ntr nb brm=s ‘for I know the name of the place in which it is drawn up after it has caught (someone): it is “this distant region upon which every god sits”’); to be precise, the series identify things, persons, and places that have to do with hunting by means of nets.

¹⁴ Bidoli, Sprüche der Fangnetze, 11-12.


¹⁶ CT 398 V 12c-123a (M3C)
  l mhn.t ln n(=) nw
  tw ¬m
  lnk ¬rr ¬w ¬s¬f
  ¬w ¬lw ¬k ¬k ¬f ¬i ¬s¬t
  ¬s¬lwi ¬f qs ¬w¬sf
  slc.¬n ¬f ¬w¬sf ’w¬s¬f


¹⁸ Here meaning, ‘a fixed or standard figure of diction’.

¹⁹ As observed at Assmann, ‘Altagyptische Kultkommentare’, 100.

²⁰ Kees, Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen, 76, making this statement in the context of ferryman texts.

²¹ The grammatical structure of the reply is typically the bipartite nominal construction with ¬ pw as subject, and thus a connection could be made to explicatory glosses found in the Ramessenic Dramatic Papyrus, as does Bidoli, Sprüche der Fangnetze, 28. The question as to whether both involve a newer, symbolically meaningful commentary overlaid upon an older textual foundation is speculative. What is clear is that the purpose of the pRam. dram.
are both of interest, but the former more so in the present context, because it is an obvious link between Middle Kingdom ferryman texts and their Old Kingdom predecessors. When encountered in Dynasty 5 and 6 ferryman texts, the question-and-answer topos is yet nascent — neither so extensive as nor aggressive like the interrogations found in the Coffin Texts — but there is nevertheless an unmistakable connection, as the following Pyramid Texts passage illustrates:

Herefemkhenelef-Herefmehaf, bring this to Wenis!
Which ferryboat should be brought to you, Wenis?
Bring to Wenis 'Just as it flies, so does it alight'.

This example exhibits a further genetic link between ferryman texts from the two periods: the ferryman is named in a vocative. The same occurs in texts new to the Middle Kingdom, glosses is to mythologically explicate concrete ritual actions, as observed by J.F. Quack, 'Zur Lesung und Deutung des Dramatischen Ramesseum-papyrus', ZAS 133 (2006) 78-79. In the net spells, there is no connection between the statements and any cultic action, thereby distancing the net spells' presentation of knowledge from the ritual explications: the net specifications simply identify objects; they do not to comment upon cultic activities which run concurrent to them. On a cultic basis, the net spells may also be distinguished from offering ritual texts; contrast Willems, Coffin of Heqata, 165. Although the question-and-answer topos of the ferryman spells (and even the specifications of net spells) would at first glance seem related to that found in CT 335 (> BD 17), U. Rößler-Köhler, 'Text oder Kommentar. Zur Frage von Textkomentaren im vor griechischen Ägypten', in: Assmann and Gladigow, Text und Kommentar, 117-123, distinguishes CT 335 from them along four dimensions: specificity of situation, speaker-object deixis, speaker-answerer deixis, and the assumption that the topos and specifications are not secondary to ferryman and net spells, while they are to CT 335. However, as proposed by P. Jürgens, 'Zum überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang der Sargtextsprache 335 und 397', SAK 29 (2001) 113 with n. 3, CT 335 and the ferryman text CT 397 were integral components of a coffin decoration program, adding support to an association perceived between the two by H. Willems, 'The Embalmer Embalmed. Remarks on the Meaning of the Decoration of Some Middle Kingdom Coffins', in: I. van Dijk (ed.), Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde, Groningen 1997, 362-363. As that may be, in its explicatory function, the question-and-answer topos of CT 335 is akin to the glosses of medical texts, discussed at J.H. Breasted, The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, vol. 1, OIP 3, Chicago 1930, 61-62. Medical glosses are compared to ritual glosses at S. Scholl, Die Deutung der Geheimnisse des Rituals für die Abwehr des Bösen, Wiesbaden 1954, 24, in the course of discussing all the kinds of identificatory statements mentioned above; see the summary of this seminal work at Assmann, 'Altdägyptische Kulturkommunikatoren', 93.

22 On a ferryman text with extensive questions and answers observed to be parallel to CT 397 at Ibi/S/S (Aba 587-596), see now Bickel, 'D'un monde à l'autre', 94-96 with n. 18 for further reference.

23 Bickel, 'D'un monde à l'autre', 93-94.

24 Cf. ibid., 93 with nn. 14-15, and the two ferryman texts PT 470 §914c (N): sn=k tny 'Where will you go?'; and PT 505 §1091b (P): pr.n=k tJt 'From where have you ascended?'. See also two ascension texts with the same topos: PT 473 §930d (M): h(n)-m tr.wk (< tr.w) 'Who are you?'; PT 508 §1116c (P): ln.n=k trJn 'Where have you come?'.

25 On this name, see L. Depuydt, 'Der Fall des "Hinlersichschauers"', GM 126 (1992) 37.

26 As at PT 270 §638a and 383b-c; PT 300 §445a; PT 310 §493b; PT 321 §517a; PT 359 §§597a-b; PT 363 §607c (t as ferryman, as he is to st the king); PT 470 §912c; PT 472 §925c; PT 475 §496a; PT 481 §999a; PT 505 §1091a; PT 516 §1193a; PT 517 §1188a-b; PT 518 §1193a; PT 519 §1201a; PT 522 §1227a; PT 566 §1429a; PT 586D §1585a; PT 616 §1743a, and as at CT 396 V 72a; CT 397 V 72d; CT 398 V 120a; CT 400 V 170g-171a; CT 401 V 174b; CT 402 V 176b; CT 403 V 177a-178a; CT 404 V 177g-188a; CT 405 V 201j-202a.
as with 'O Manhaf, awaken Aqen for me! Bring this to me!' Christian Jacq divides the names attributed to the ferryman into a few groups. First, there is simply mhn.t.t 'ferryman'; second, compounds built from the roots mỉ3 'to see' and hr 'face' and analogous structures; and finally, everything else. The second group is the most distinctive, with mỉ3-hỉ3=f 'looking behind him', and hr=f-hỉ3=f 'his sight behind him'. Vocatives employing names of this kind are found in both Old and Middle Kingdom ferryman texts. And they are also encountered in Bidoli's net spells, as in CT 474, with 'O Mahaf, whose heart is powerful, fisher of the purse-net, fisher of the Wadjet-tawy-net...'.

To summarize things so far, in the Old Kingdom such names are found only in ferryman texts. In the Middle Kingdom, Mahaf and the others continue to man the ferryboat, but they also act as fisher and fowler, wielding the net that threatens to capture the deceased, thus representing an impediment to freedom of movement. Accepting the Middle Kingdom net spells as an innovation of that period, one sees both the maintenance of tradition and its modification in the expansion of function over time. The names of their fishers and fowlers, together with their detailed specifications of component parts, plot a trajectory from the net spells over to contemporary Middle Kingdom ferryman texts, and through them back to Old Kingdom ferryman texts.

But naturally there are points of contrast between net and ferryman spells. Above all, the motif of bringing the ferryboat is typical to ferryman texts from both the Old and Middle Kingdoms, as in a passage cited above, with 'Manhaf, awaken Aqen for me! Bring this (sc. the ferryboat) to me!' Since such demands simply do not occur in Bidoli's net spells, the following passage from CT 343 somewhat complicates the preliminary assessment made of the text's nature: 'Then you are to summon Mahaf, who awakens Aqen for you, that he may bring this ferryboat in which equipped Akhs are brought'. Even though CT 343 has clear connections with the net spells by title and content, here one might well perceive the text as joining the ranks of another type. In fact, CT 343's intertextual associations are even more complex than that. But, with a skein of connections to a variety of texts reaching back to the Old Kingdom, its semantic thrust is clear enough: it is obsessed with themes of nocturnal passage.

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28 CT 396 V 73a-o (B9C): mỉ3-hỉ3=s rṣr n=1 'qn l n n=1 nw 75(-83) 76d 226 30 343. 345. GOF IV. 31. Wiesbaden 1995, 324-336, and see also the more...
A. Call to Resurrection and Escape

O Osiris N.,
arise! Raise yourself; Hurry to every sandbank among those whom Hezat suckled.35
O Ser·noble36 of the great ones whose places endure in the sky,37 one to whom sleep in the earth has been given!
O Osiris N.,
quicken38 Raise yourself,
and seize the tail of the long-horned bull, the companion39 of Anubis!
Learn the Ways of the West,40
of those who traverse the sky,41 who cross the heavens,42 who overturn the Sacred Land,43

35 Cf. sqw hz.t at CT 175 III 618-c: lnk hr bnl nl p.t ghw.t mry yb-nfr l k.t l qwc sqw hz.3 l ink3 qm.t bq.l: l sq.t q.w pw n(f)w wrf 'I am Horus, foremost of the lake of the sky, Thoth (!) Foremost of the God's Booth, the white bull whom Hezat suckled. I am the Great One, whom Heqet created, she who collected the bones of Osiris'.
36 For the deceased himself as Ser·noble, see the ascension texts PT 264 §347b (T): sdm·r m wsr sr ls is 'him having judged as a Ser·noble'; PT 509 §1127b (P): sr pww sr nb 'He is the noble of every noble'; PT 519 §1220a-b (M): wdnk.tk m.nn m sr n(f)l b.w lw l hlm.m-skw m.hw.t p.t 'Ah, may you place Menrene as a Ser·noble of these Akhs, the Impeishmer of the north of the sky'.
37 Cf. PT 407 §710b (T): lmn s.w.t T. nfr.t 'let the beautiful places of Teti endure'; PT 412 §730b (T): lmn s.w.t wkln nfr.w 'may your places among the gods endure'; cf. also CT 216 III 193c (B4Bb): wrf n. In 3t.s s.mt m nfr.w 'the Osiris N., being foremost of places and enduring of places among the gods'.
38 Exhortations to hurried occur in the sacerdotal texts PT 364 §611a: l.mn·k 'May you quicken!'; and PT 365 §622a: wn pw 'Quicken!'; and PT 370 §646c: wn pw 'Quicken!'.
39 For the translation 'companion', see J. Allen, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts, Atlanta 2005, 31 (for PT 215 §141a), 68 (for PT 325 §531b), and 122 (for PT 466 §882b), and Eitel, Äl ß. Gramm. §247, where this word is defined 'Gefährte, Gleichrangiger'. Cf. Wb ii 420.12: "Träger" als Bez. von Gottheiten, welche Sterngötter u. tragen oder stützen", cited by Altenmüller, Synkretismus, 22, in establishing that Anubis "tatsächlich an Anubis als Sterngottheit gedacht sein könne". rnm.w.t does not strictly pertain to stars, however, as may be seen at PT 215 §141a (where celestial Atum is in question); PT 325 §531b (where it is a matter of rnm.w.t!); and especially CT 237 III 311h-312e (G2T): Ldg-hr=kt 3.t. wrf l rnm.wt yr(k) ntr.t snfr.t wt.wt l .hr(f)·w.l mnpw m swt h.w.wrd lh 'Hail to you, mourner of Osiris, companion of the Bull of Nedit, who makes the mummy-bindings breathe... assistant of the embalmer Anubis in curing the flesh of Tired of Heart', where Isis is rnm.w.t of the corpse in the pr-nfr 'embalming house' (III 310a). Note that a variant of the present passage of our text, CT 343 IV 552a-553a (B1A) shows rnm.wt st.hj.l nml.p tl d.g. bl! 'companion of Orion... those who traverse the sky, who cross the heavens', which is directly evocative of PT 466 §§882b-c (P): wmn sbj.pw 'rm.w.t rnm.wt st.hj.l rm.n.t st.hj.l dhk.t lw 'you are this great companion of Orion, who traverses the sky with Orion, who rows the Netherworld with Osiris'.

40 For lrh as the imperative, see PT 311 §495b; PT 424 §722a; and CT 607 VI 220k (TT 39). The w3.t ln.t, as opposed to those of the east, are to be learned, since the former are large and easy, whereas the latter are difficult and small; see CT 129 II 150a (G2T): rh w3.t r p.t 'Knowing the ways to the sky' at 150g-i. For the deceased himself rh w3.t 'knowing ways', see also CT 335 IV 2189a (B9C); CT 484 VI 54c-e (SIC); CT 760 VI 390k-l (B1C); CT 1035 VII 283b (B1C); and CT 1072 VII 340c (B3C) with 339c.

41 nml.p occurs in one ascension text in the pyramids — PT 334 §543a (T): Ldg-hr=kt r.nm.p tl d.g. nw.t 'Hail to you, O Re, who traverses the sky, who crosses Nut' — and in three sacerdotal texts: PT 419 §749c (T): nnn. p.t l hfr hfr.ly 'let him traverse the sky to the Field of Rushes'; PT 466 §882b-c (P) cited above n. 39; and PT 488 §1048c-d (P): r.d gth.wl=k.l m b3k l3 tnh.t hgnw lw m th.m=rf nm m p.t 'your wings growing as a falcon great of breast, like a *Genius-falcon who sees his evening, one who traverses the sky."

42 The phraseology dfl b3l occurs already in the ascension text PT 509 §1121a (P): dfl= sbj.n nb wds 'let me cross the sky, for life and photoe.' E. Graefe, Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie b3l, Cologne 1971, 40, states that the word b3l as 'sky' designates the shell as primeval ice (Schale des Ursus), in which Re emerges out of the primeval water, with b3l thus perhaps meaning 'cosmic shell (Himmelsschale)'.

43 Cf. pn·t's-dy of this passage to pr·n·t of CT 358 V 10b (T1L); and cf. pn·n<·n·t of V 10m and pn·n<·n·t of CT 356 V 8d: zn sbj.w n n.gw.t n hpr (ch·f) m nww pr n(t) pr·t 'the gates of the firmament are spread open to Thoth and H'api in this his name of "one who overturns the land"'; and the obscure CT 942 VII 155k-l
and leave the place of judgment, and pass by the snaring Inyt-net, the Iadet-net of Foremost of the Westerners, and the fish-trap, with its floats in the sky and its weights in the earth, having been made for those Akhs who would go to their Kas: 44 they cannot come while it remains. 45

A priest addresses the deceased by the resurrection formula 'arise! Raise yourself!' 46 and commands him to go among those suckled at the cow goddess Hezat, mother of the dead. 47 It is an image of eventual rebirth. Raised up, he is to be taken in tow of the sun-god 48 through

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44 zieh (see Wb iii 424.13 and 429, as well as the transliteration of e.g. PT 450 §§832-833a at J.P. Allen, The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts. Malibu 1984, §309). hfr/hn' k3 is a formula attested in the Pyramid Texts at the sacerdotal texts PT 25 §§17a-c (W); PT 447 §§826a-b (P); and PT 450 §§832a-b (P); and the ascension text PT 568 §1431a (P). The phraseology zieh n k3 is already attested in the Old Kingdom outside the pyramids in the epitaph zieh n k3-"one who would go to his Ka", at e.g. Uink I 50, 15; 71; 4; 73; 2; prob. 88, 16; prob. 156, 2; 264, 18; and 265, 6.

45 CT 343 IV 349a-356a (B1PB)

46 On this formula, see below at n. 108.

47 Altenmüller, Synkretismus, 158.

48 Concerning rmn.wl lnwp, J. Yoyolte, 'Sur Bata, maître de Sak', Rev 9 (1952) 159 n. 4 asked whether 'CT IV, 351d-352a conserverait-il le plus ancien souvenir d'une légende associant Anubis avec le taureau?', in reference to pLumilhac 3, 10, 20-25, where Anubis places Osiris upon the back of the bull Bata, here a form of Seth. See also in this regard J. Vandier, 'Bata, maître de Sak', RHR 136 (1949) 7, where the pLumilhac passages are connected to pO'Drlbney 14, 5 — 15, 2 (Möller Hier. Lesestücke II), in which Bata is transformed into w n k3 'a great bull' and wn ln wpw plyw sf sn s3 hr hmns hr psd=f r bgl-t3 'then Anubis his elder brother was sitting upon his back until dawn.' While making parenthetical note of pO'Drlbney, P. Kaplony, 'Bata', in: LA 1, 633 with n. 4, identifies the bull of CT IV 351d-352a simply as the 'Himmelstier', based on PT 336 §§547a-c. Although also making note of PT 336 and adding PT 334 §§543a-c, Jürgens, Grundlinien, 329 nn. 11-12, presents evidence from astronomical representations in an attempt to associate the bull in question with the typhonian msh.thw-bull of the circumpolar stars; see specifically the astronomical ceiling of Ramases VI, at Neugebauer-Parker, Astronomical Texts II, pl. 1, rendered in line drawing at Neugebauer-Parker, Astronomical Texts III, Text p. 187 fig. 30, where a hbj-sign over the msh.thw-bull is understood by Jürgens, Grundlinien, 329 n. 12 to represent 'eine Schreibvariante zum Namen hm.k,i-th-nfr, a deity attending the northern stars, with Jürgens further noting that a single Ptolemaic source determines this name with a jackal-headed figure. The association is strained; the hbj-sign must actually be a substitution for the zbl-sign alone (see Neugebauer-Parker, Astronomical Texts III, Text, 198). And in case of the msh.thw—bull itself, not an iconic representation of a zbl-booth, somehow metonymically standing for bhl-zbl-nfr. Moreover, like the typhonian identity of the bull suggested by Yoyolte, the attempted connection rests upon late sources with no phraseological link to the passage in question. On the other hand, the phraseology nfr, sd, and ngw, as well as the context of nml p.t 'crossing the sky', provide an immediate association with PT 334 and PT 336, and thereby with the sun-god. rmn.wl lnwp may also be compared with the deceased as sn-nw lnwp, the object
seizing hold of his taurine tail (ndr sd n1 ng3w). Precisely the same phraseology is found already in ascension texts in the pyramids, in PT 334 and PT 336:

Hail to you, Re, who traverses the sky, who crosses Nut:
you have traversed the Shifting Waterway,
with Teti having grasped (ndr) for himself your tail (sd),
for Teti is a god, the son of a god.49

And:

Hail to you, long-horned bull of Ka-bulls (ng3 n1 k3.w; sc. Re50)
as you make the ascent!
Let Teti grasp (ndr) you by your tail (sd)!51

The more ancient texts help clarify the circumstances of CT 343: the deceased is to join the sun-god in traversing the sky and crossing the heavens, in navigating the mr-nhil, the Shifting Waterway. This is a celestial area conceived of as a body of water52 and amply associated with the ferryman.53 As one Old Kingdom ferryman text puts it, ‘Let him (sc. Mahaf) ferry Teti to that side of the Shifting Waterway, to the eastern side of the sky’.54 The direction of travel is clear: the ferryman is to convey the deceased from west to east across the water. In terms of the solar cycle, that means a nocturnal passage: as the dead sun enters the west, he goes to the east where he will be reborn and ascend in the sky.

B. Cyclical and Reciprocal Motion

O Osiris N.,
you will be cool in the firmament,
O son of Re;55
you will be a star more than the stars of the horizon of the sky,

of mummification, at CT 240 III 323e (T3C): lnk sn-nw n(1) lnwp m-hnw stt±w n(1) wr. yr 'for I am the companion of Anubis within the mysteries of the purification tent'. On the association of the wr.yr with the lw.b 'purification tent', see J. Settgast, Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen, ADAIK 3, Gluckstadt 1963, 80. For the sun-god bound, easily a reference to mummification, see PT 254 §§285c-d (W) (cf. also PT 264 §349b), where the deceased is told to enter into the earth ms=k r'n n lw.t.wf dw=kr s'd m pr.w=f n z3 wr lw.lns.wf = 'and see Re in his fetters, and hymn Re in his bindings, with the protection of the Great One, he who is in his red linen'. In this connection, see also above, n. 10. My many thanks to Terence DuQuesne for personally discussing the identity of this deity with me, even should his views differ from mine.

49 PT 334 §§543a-c (T)
1. nd=hr=k r'n n m.t d3 nw.t
2. mn=nw.k mr-nhil
3. ndr.n n=wf T. lwdk
4. n T. Is lw s'g z3 ntr
50 See PT 334, cited above, and PT 394 §470a: l.(s)nd=hr=k ng3 r' hr(l). f'd 'b 'Hail to you, O long-horned bull, O Re who has four horns!'
51 PT 336 §§547a-b (T)
1. l.(n)nd=hr=k ng3 n(1) k3.w
2. lrwk prl.w
3. ndr tw T. hr sd=k
52 On this term, see Krauss, Astronomische Konzepte, 14-17 and 49-63.
53 As at the ferryman texts PT 266 §359b; PT 359 §594b; and PT 522 §1228b-c.
54 PT 359 §§600a-b (T): d=fi=T. l lr pf gs n(1) mr-nhil(l) lr gs lh. b(l). n(1) pr.l.
55 Cf. the ascension texts PT 573 §1479c (P): ln(n) T. P. r' s'd n=k P. pn lw'=k n' nhr hr mw.t=k nw.t 'O father of Pepi, O Re, take Pepi out with you to the Living One, to your mother Nut'; and PT 271 §390a (W): pr W. hr mql.t
in lr.t.m n=wf lwµ 'let Wenis ascend upon this ladder which his father Re made for him'. See also the ascension texts PT 467 §§893a and 893b, PT 476 §952c, PT 539 §1316c, PT 575 §§1492b, 1493b, 1494b, and 1495b.
O sole star of the great West of the sky and the great East of the earth,\textsuperscript{56} and [your] mouth filled with this thicket of papyrus,
O Horus Foremost of His Body when his bows\textsuperscript{57} are drawn.

The text's second section situates the deceased in both the west and the east, earth and sky, thereby indicating the cyclical motion he is to carry out. Moreover, at the end of the passage, he appears to be identified as Horus. This is of paramount importance, as Harco Willems has argued that it is precisely as this god that the deceased, in ferryman texts, is conveyed. According to him, the destination is not just the eastern horizon, but also the place of embalming: the purpose of going there is for the deceased to embalm his dead father Osiris.\textsuperscript{59} The journey of the dead is therefore in parallel to the nocturnal journey of the sun-god to join with Osiris, best documented in the New Kingdom underworld books, themes of which are traceable back to the Coffin Texts,\textsuperscript{60} and is in parallel to the nocturnal union of the Ba with the corpse, perceivable already in the Pyramid Texts.\textsuperscript{61}

However, an identification of the deceased as the god Horus in ferryman texts is not universal: that very deity is himself attested as the ferryman.\textsuperscript{62} Moreover, some ferryman texts convey the deceased not toward Osiris, but to the sun-god, as with "'Where will you go?"
"To the sky does Neferkare go, that Neferkare may see his father, that Neferkare may see Re".\textsuperscript{63} The same filial relationship occurs at the beginning of this section of CT 343: as interpreted here, the deceased both fills the role of Horus (thus going to Osiris) and is said to be a son of Re (thus going to Re). Since in a mortuary context that filiation may indicate both

\textsuperscript{56} Cf. the sacerdotal texts PT 468 §877c-d (P): \{wtr\ sb\ p\ w\ w\ 'tl\ prr\ m\ gs\ Ilh\ tl\ n(f)\ p\ l\ w\ dl\ n=\ f\ m\ hr\ dJ\ tl\ 'you are this sole star which ascends from the east of the sky, one who does not give (i.e. show) himself to Netherworld Horus'
\textsuperscript{57} and PT 556 §1384a (Leclant et al., Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy IV, vol. 2, pl XXII, l. 14): \{jst\ jn\ (=)\ wslr\ P\ m\ sb\ w\ tl\ m\ gs\ jpb\ (tl)\ n(f)\ p\ l\ jn\ jn\ 'and my father Osiris Pepi is this sole Star in that eastern side of the sky'.
\textsuperscript{58} For dwn hr pd\ wt, see the apotropaic text PT 385 §673b (T): dwn hr psdj=f pd\ wt r jh pn pr m tl 'may Horus spread his Nine Bows against this Akh which rose from the earth!'
\textsuperscript{59} CT 343 IV 356c-358ab (B1Pb)
\textsuperscript{61} For the votive to the ferryman and demand to bring the boat.
an obvious celestial aspiration and a terrestrial or chthonic association with Osiris, the nocturnal passage is displayed from different perspectives, resulting in differing meanings: as Horus, he approaches Osiris; as progeny of the sun-god, he goes to meet his maker. The result may seem a paradox, but it is paradox that motivates religion.

C. Crossing the Night

O Osiris N.,
take both of the two pools,
and arise upon this great region which is before the Yezken.
Let him awaken Agen for you,
that he may bring this ferryboat in which equipped Akhs are brought.
As you command, so do they commend you,
to this Great Lake,
and equipped you as those who are equipped.

Whereas the first two sections of CT 343 deal with both aspects of the solar cycle — east and west, day and night — the third focuses on the night. Here the deceased is in front of the Yezken, which according to James P. Allen is located in the west of the sky — thus where the sun sets, the place of death. According to one version of our text, at that point ‘this god will make summons to you’, with nfr pw being a circumlocution for the sun-god himself, as

64 See TPPI 15, 2-4 (Stele of Wahankh Initef): s自己的 tr l t(=t) r' n w.d.t=k w(l) ... l nk t=f=k lr.n=k w(l) m nb 'nh lw(l) md=rnf'. Would you depart, O my father Re, before you have commended me? ... I am your successor; you made me into the Lord of Life, one who cannot die'. For Osiris as the ‘Servant verteater (sj)’ of Re, see W. Barta, ‘Re’, in: LA V, 169.
66 See the ferryman texts PT 270 §384a-b (W): l w. Hmr=k l djk sw (m) mnh.t lw 333.nk nfr w lwms ‘Wenis has come to you, even that you ferry him in this ferryboat in which you ferry the gods’; PT 359 §§599a-c (T): r' lw.gt.T n m-nx=r-f in mnh.t lw (m) mr-nh3(l) ln ref mnh.t lf n(l) mr-nh3(l) s.T. l dji.ref nfr w lwms l pr pf gs n(l) mr-nh3(l) lw 333.nk lw l(w) lw (l) p.t 'O Re, commend Teti to Mahaf, ferryman of the Shifting Waterway, that he might bring that ferryboat of the Shifting Waterway to Testi, that in which he ferries the gods, to that side of the Shifting Waterway, to the eastern side of the sky’; and PT 519 §1201a (M): l hr=r-f ref in(l) 'l wtr l dd n wtr ln(l) ln.(l=1) n Mr.n. w3k pw l dji.3w w'lb w wsk lnref'f I(l) zp n=k qibw hr w'm.T lw n(l) lw 333.nk lw '(O Herefah, gatekeeper of Osiris, say to Osiris, “Cause that I bring to Merenre this bark of yours in which your pure ones are ferried, in order to receive of you a libation upon this the region of Imperishable Stars.’
67 See the definition of Allen, Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts, 434.

68 See TIPPI 15, 2-4 (Stele of Wahankh Initef): s自己的 tr l t(=t) r' n w.d.t=k w(l) ... l nk t=f=k lr.n=k w(l) m nb 'nh lw(l) md=rnf'.
evidenced from parallels in the Pyramid Texts. It is presumably this god, as ferryman, who is to awaken Aqen, who will then take him across the Great Lake — in other words, across the Shifting Waterway, in other words, through the primeval god Nu. This is the god who is not the creator himself, but who provokes creation.

The final section of CT 343 focuses on the goal of the voyage: the deceased ascends the q31 q3 the 'high Height', or primeval mound.

D. Arrival at the East

O Osiris N.,
may you land at land, at the landing place73 of Tawer.74
O Osiris N.,
May you ascend to the top of the high Height
and hear the voice of the great still one75 at the eastern gate,76
with those of the celestial expenses serving you,77
the gray-haired ones serving you.
O Osiris N.,
those of the necropolis78 will serve you.79

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70 PT 437 §804b (P): nis n m lzk n(l) p.t 'Re has summoned you from the Yezken of the sky'; PT 483 §1016c (N): nis r lr=k m lzk n(l) p.t 'let Re summon you from the Yezken of the sky'; PT 610 §179c (M): nis r lr=k m lzk n(l) p.t 'as Re summoned you from the Yezken of the sky'.
72 See S. Bickel, La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire, OBO 134, Freiburg 1994.
73 Cf. ti zmJ 'landing place', in the ferryman text PT 516 §1187a-b (P): zi sw lr sn l br ti zmJ n(l) sgt tw n(l) lr.t ntr.w 'ferry him quickly to the landing place of this field of which the gods made'. R.O. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts, vol. I. Warminster 1973, 279 n. 29 suggests 'ramp(?); cf. also R. Hannig, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II. Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit, Mainz am Rhein 2006, 2203, citing CT 316 II 136c (SIC).
74 CT 343's variant CT 344 IV 368a (B9C) has the Akhs zmJ=zn lnsml=zt zmJ ix kr q3i.w tsw.(l)w 'joining me to the land, a landing on the Height of those of the air'. Cf. PT 463 §§877b-c (P): pr wwr.t m ti wr l pet sbl pw w'll pr m gs Hbzl n(l) p.t 'You are he of the Wereret-crown in Tawer; you are this sole star which ascends from the east of the sky', in view of its association with our text, observed above al n. 56.
75 Cf. CT 347 IV 379b (B9C): srm hwr pf n(l) hik n(l) lhm.w wrd.w 'for that voice has been heard, of the inert one of the Unwearying (Stars)'. Abdel Fatah and Bickel, 'Trois cercueils de Sedment', 8, render 'la voix plaintive', citing AnLex II, 130.
76 Cf. the sacerdotal text PT 483 §§1014a-1015a (N): wn r(l)l kr l lzn n=k rz-l' zhh tp rizi(ri)l=kt(l) pr mdw=k lft lnp s'=hk pr m n(l) lyp 'the gate of Aker is opened, and the door of Geb is spread open over you, as word of you goes forth before Ambis, your title gone forth from the mouth of Ambis'. The significance of the eastern gates is obvious; see e.g. CT 1065 VII 324a-b (B2Bo): zn szb.w lhth lw n r 'pr=f m lhy.t Spread open, eastern gates for, Re, that he may ascend in the horizon'.
77 Cf. CT 274 §406a (W): lw pfh lmb lw pr n N. 'those who are in the sky serve Weris' and its Middle Kingdom variant CT 573 VI 1781 (SIC); lw pfh n=lmb pd,w 'those who are in the celestial expenses serve me'.
78 Cf. the sacerdotal text PT 483 §§1014a-1015a (N): wn r(l)l kr l lzn n=k rz-l' zhh tp rizi(ri)l=kt(l) pr mdw=k lft lnp s'=hk pr m n(l) lyp 'the gate of Aker is opened, and the door of Geb is spread open over you, as word of you goes forth before Ambis, your title gone forth from the mouth of Ambis'. The significance of the eastern gates is obvious; see e.g. CT 1065 VII 324a-b (B2Bo): zn szb.w lhth lw n r 'pr=f m lhy.t Spread open, eastern gates for, Re, that he may ascend in the horizon'.
79 So R. van der Molen, A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts, Leiden 2000, 57, evidently seeing a nisba from l.gr.t, 'the silent land', i.e. necropolis; see Wb l 141.2-3 (since the New Kingdom) and M. Heeran van Voss, De oudste versie van Dodenboek 17a. Coffin Texts Spreuk 333a, Leiden 1963, 64 n. 182, citing CT 460 V 335h and CT 1005 VII 221a. Cf. the sacerdotal text PT 721 §2242a (N): pfh n=lmb llrt-nr 'those who are in the necropolis serving you' and its Middle Kingdom twin CT 516 VI 104d (B1OC): pfh n=lmb llrt-nr.
80 CT 543 IV 362c-364c (B1Pb)
ki wrl N. pn
zmJ=zn t r tl zmJ n(l) tI wr
k3 wtrl N. pn
pr=k r t s q3i q3
srm=k hwr h3g.w 'l m rz-1 lhth.
The associations of the height with the creator god occur already in the Pyramid Texts, as with 'may you (sc. Atum) be on high, in this your name of "Height,"'\textsuperscript{80} and continue in the Coffin Texts, 'for Osiris N. is appeared as Re, on high [as Re-Atum].'\textsuperscript{81} Having passed through the night, and thus through the primeval waters of Nu, the deceased reaches the east, where he repeats the act of creation as the sun-god. "Tout le passage annonce ici la renaissance du défunt en se servant d'images relatives à la création''.\textsuperscript{82}

In summary, CT 343 draws upon themes of nocturnal passage: the summoning of a ferryman, escaping the dangers symbolized by the net, crossing the netherworld lake, and the goal of arrival at the east and re-creation. In view of the intertextual connections, it is now time to ask: is it a net spell, or is it a ferryman spell? The answer is, 'Neither'. While list-like identifications of net parts dominate the content and discursive form of net spells, CT 343 has nothing of the kind. And for all of its impression of motifs found in ferryman texts, actually it lacks direct vocatives to the ferryman, and it lacks direct demands that a ferryboat be brought.

The last two points stem from a single critical difference. Net and ferryman spells both regularly situate the deceased in the first person 'I' in their original forms,\textsuperscript{83} whereas CT 343 situates him in the second 'you'. The difference is critical because the person of the beneficiary is a relatively reliable indicator of how a text was actually used, before being impressed to serve as talismanic decoration in a tomb.\textsuperscript{84} First person texts like the ferryman and net spells are to be performed by the deceased himself: he is the one who directly calls to the ferryman, and he directly commands him to bring the ferryboat; he is the one who directly addresses the fishers and fowlers, calling to them by name, and defiantly informing them that he will avoid their nets. In CT 343, however, it is ostensibly a priest who addresses the deceased. In reciting the text, the priest prompts him to summon the ferryman, but one never hears that summons in the spell itself, and it is the priest who informs the deceased that he will evade the net, but the fishers and fowlers themselves are not directly informed of this fact. In short, the performance setting for the net spells and ferryman spells is with the dead, in the inaccessible crypt, while the setting of CT 343 is among living priests performing rites for the dead in a tomb's accessible cultic area. By this distinction, the text is to be situated among the Middle

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\textsuperscript{80} PT 587 § 1587c (N): qtl=qk m r=qk pw n(i) qtl; and see PT 606 § 1652a (N): qtl=qk m qlt3 'you (Atum-Kheperre) have come to be on high as the Height'. In the context of these two passages, A. de Buck, \textit{De Egyptische voorstellingen betreffende den oerheuvel}, Leiden 1922, 25, already saw indicated 'een nauw verband van den oerheuvel en Atum: het is de plaats, die Atum bekomen heeft om er de heerschappij te aanvaarden'.

\textsuperscript{81} CT 45 1 191g-192a-b (B12C): \textit{wslr N. pn h\textsuperscript{m} r\textsuperscript{1} l qtl [m r\textsuperscript{r} tl\textsuperscript{m}].} On the primeval mound in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, see further Bickel, \textit{La cosmogonie égyptienne}, 67-70.

\textsuperscript{82} Abdel Fatah and Bickel, \textit{'Trois cercueils de Sedment'}, 8.

\textsuperscript{83} Exceptionally, CT 474 is in the third person throughout, except for vacillation to the presumably original first person at CT 474 VI 25k (B1Bo): \textit{wsl=sw m s.t=qf '1 commanding him to his place'}, noted at R.O. Faulkner, \textit{The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts}, vol. II, Warminster 1977, 114 n. 1; additionally, one of five sources (Sq5Sq) for CT 403 places the beneficiary in the third.

\textsuperscript{84} For references to person deixis as an indicator of setting in life, see H.M. Hays and W. Schoeck, 'Intersection of Ritual Space and Ritual Representation: Pyramid Texts in Eighteenth Dynasty Theban Tombs', in: P.F. Dorman and B. Bryan (eds.), \textit{Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes}, SAOC 61, Chicago 2007, 97 n. 3.
Kingdom liturgical texts meticulously studied by Jan Assmann in the first volume of *Altägyptischen Totenliturgien*. It is a category of text that likewise reaches back to the Old Kingdom. CT 343's ties to separate groups of spells — net spells, ferryman spells, and mortuary liturgies — show in microcosm how Egyptian scribes could take traditions and merge them, a sign of the vitality of religious discourse: though related to one another, net spells and ferryman spells constitute types distinguishable from one another, and together they fall into a category of texts different from mortuary liturgies. CT 343 draws together elements from diverse types and categories.

Its relationship with mortuary liturgies is underscored through consideration of its transmitted context. It occurs on several Middle Kingdom coffins and one unpublished papyrus, the coffins ranging in date from Dynasty 11 through Dynasty 12. As the sources originate from both Upper and Lower Egypt, its significance is not local. In addition — and, as it will turn out, very importantly — the spell has a variant in the form of CT 344. Figure 1 depicts the texts alongside which CT 343 is found among the various coffins bearing it, with the shifting connections between texts showing the maddening combination of structure and anti-structure that permeates manifestations of Egyptian culture. As Peter Jürgens observes, CT 343 is usually found juxtaposed to CT 345, which as a rule situates the deceased in the second person. The same mode of address is typical to CT 225. And according to Jürgens, CT 30-379 are mortuary liturgies in cultic function, if not in literary form. In view of the associations of these texts to one another, Ahmed Galal Abdel Fatah and Susanne Bickel argue that the texts CT 30-32, 225 (+ 226) and 343 are not found together by chance; rather, they constitute the principal elements of a coherent 'book', a set of texts used in a ritual which would guarantee to the deceased his liberation from the terrestrial condition and his

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85 See Assmann, *Altägyptischen Totenliturgien*, vol. 1, 29-33, and see the observation of Jürgens, *Grundlinien*, 189 with n. 2.
87 pLouvre E.15594, noted at Jürgens, *Grundlinien*, 217 with n. 43.
88 Coffins dated to Dynasty 11 feature CT 343 on the interior back: S1C, S2C, and TIL. Coffins from the end of Dynasty 11 through the beginning of Dynasty 12 feature it on the interior bottom: B2Bo, B4Bo, and B6C, except for Sid2Sid, where it occurs on the foot and back. Coffins from later Dynasty 12 show no pattern of display: B15C/L, B1C/L, B1Pa/H, B1Pa/B, B2L/L, and CT 344 on B1Y/B and B9C/B.
89 For the locations of the texts, see L. H. Lesko, *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents*, Berkeley 1979, except for Sid2Sid, for which see Abdel Fatah and Bickel, 'Trois cercueils de Sedment', 22-23, Figs. 1-2.
90 Jürgens, *Grundlinien*, 217; specifically, when CT 343 is not in abridged form, it is followed by that text, except in TIL, the version of which is held to contain an interpolation from CT 345 (cf. CT 345 IV 376d-e to CT 343 IV 359c-d). Note, however, that the CT 343 passage in question is much more like CT 347 IV 379a-c.
91 See for example CT 345 IV 370a-b (B1P): *hi wār N. pn l ḫw. n n-k lw.w n ḫr 'O Osiris N., let come to you those who would come to Horus, resident in the house of him, of Osiris'. A notable exception among de Buck's twelve exemplars is B9C, which places the deceased in the first person.
92 For translation and detailed commentary on these spells, see H. Willems, 'The Social and Ritual Context of a Mortuary Liturgy of the Middle Kingdom (CT Spells 30-41)', in: H. Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms*, OLA 103, Leuven 2001, 258-324.
93 See for example CT 225 III 214a-b (TIL): *ḥi N. pn l wn n-mk p.t 'O N., the sky is opened to you'. Exceptional among the very many exemplars of de Buck are those showing the deceasde in the first person, in conversions from the second that are obvious through their awkwardness, e.g. III 214a-b (TIL): *ḥn ḫw. n ẖwy.person 'O me, the doors of the sky and earth are opened'.
transfiguration into another form of being. That the texts were deemed a logical and fixed ensemble by the Egyptians is indicated by their disposition and by their internal content — their homogeneity.\(^5\) To add to the flexibly fixed associations already identified by these scholars, there is another quite unmistakable connection: there is an association with Coffin Texts Spell 1. This important text is the first element of a mortuary liturgy consisting of about twenty-seven texts,\(^6\) studied elsewhere by Jürgens as well as by Assmann in the work noted above.\(^7\) In short, except for CT 152, 153, and 342, all of the texts in Figure 1 are of the sacerdotal kind: they are recited by priests to the deceased.

CT 343’s connections with its neighbors go beyond structure of performance. The texts also share content, beginning with matches in titles. As mentioned at the start of this essay, ‘utterance of avoiding the Iadet-net and passing by the Inyt-net of catching by an Akh in the necropolis’ is the title given to the spell on one source. The titles of two other sources maintain the notion of avoiding the net but add the notion of \(m\textit{3}^\text{th}-hrw\) ‘being true of voice before Osiris, Bull of the West’.\(^8\) This notion appears also in CT 345 (being true of voice before Thoth, and preventing the taking of shroud or coffin\(^9\)), CT 225 (making a man true of voice over his enemy\(^10\)), and CT 1 (making a man true of voice in the necropolis\(^11\)). The phraseology \(m\textit{3}^\text{th}-hrw\), ‘true of voice’, is a legalistic term\(^12\) employed in religious contexts since the Old Kingdom.\(^13\) A linkage between being found legitimate and escaping the net may not seem immediately obvious,\(^14\) but both themes deal with overcoming opposition in the netherworld, and even one of the forty-two assessors in Book of the Dead Spell 125 is given a traditional ferryman/fisher-fowler name.\(^15\)

There is one other title given to CT 343 — \(\text{gis}=f\ hr\ gs=f\ wnm\ r\ gs=f\ lb\) ‘raising himself from upon(!) his right side to(!) his left side’.\(^16\) The verb employed is \(\text{zz1}\) ‘to raise’; this is


\(^{6}\) Depending upon how one counts. For reference, one may consider the series CT 1-26 CT 228, found on B1/P/H-B and B6/C/L.


\(^{8}\) CT 343 IV 348a-b (B1C): \(r\ml(1)\\text{tm}\ h\text{w}\r\ld(1)\text{hm}(1)\text{m}\text{ls}\text{m}\text{hrw}\text{mb-bh}\text{wlr}\text{k3-lmn}(1)\) ‘Utterance of not going down to the fishing Iadet-net...’; IV 348a-b (B2L): \(r\ml(1)\\text{tm}\ h\text{w}\r\ld(1)\text{hm}(1)\text{m}\text{ls}\text{m}\text{hrw}\text{mb-bh}\text{wlr}k3-lmn(1)\).\(^{9}\)

\(^{9}\) CT 345 IV 369a-c (B2L and B1C): \(r\ml(1)\text{ms}\ text{m-bb}\text{hlw}\text{t}\text{btl-p}\text{t}\text{nfr}\text{w}\text{ln}\text{zm}\text{m}\text{wkh}\w\text{w}\text{nm}\text{w}\text{sw}\text{h}\text{w}\text{n}(1)\text{z}\text{m}\text{m}\text{f}\text{w}\text{hr}\text{nfr}\text{t}...\text{heir of the gods by a man in Heliotpolis}; not taking the shroud of a man from him or the coffin of a man from him in the necropolis’.

\(^{10}\) CT 225 III 212a (B1Y, sim. S2C, pBerl., YIC, M2NY): \(r\ml(1)\text{hrw}\text{z}(1)\r\text{hftf}(1)\text{yf}\text{m}\text{hrn}-\text{nfr}\text{t}.

\(^{11}\) CT 111 111 (Y1C): \(\text{h1}\text{t}\text{m}\text{ml(1)}\text{ms}\text{n}(1)\text{m}\text{hrw}\text{z}(1)\text{m}\text{hrn}-\text{nfr}\text{t}\text{t}...\text{heir of the gods by a man in Heliotpolis}; not taking the shroud of a man from him or the coffin of a man from him in the necropolis’.

\(^{12}\) CT 225 III 212a (B1Y, sim. S2C, pBerl., Y1C, M2NY): \(r\ml(1)\text{hrw}\text{z}(1)\r\text{hftf}(1)\text{yf}\text{m}\text{hrn}-\text{nfr}\text{t}.

\(^{13}\) CT 111 111 (Y1C): \(\text{h1}\text{t}\text{m}\text{ml(1)}\text{ms}\text{n}(1)\text{m}\text{hrw}\text{z}(1)\text{m}\text{hrn}-\text{nfr}\text{t}

\(^{14}\) See the threat formula at Urk I 116, 4-5 (restored by E. Edel, \textit{Hieroglyphische Inschriften des Alten Reiches}, Opladen 1981, fig. 4).

\(^{15}\) In the pyramids in the ascension texts PT 260 §316d; PT 265 §§354a, 356c, 357c; PT 266 §361c; PT 473 §§929a, 935a; PT 486 §1042d; PT 539 §1237c; PT 689 §2089a. See also BM Stefan 1 (revised), pl. 29.1; J. Capart, \textit{Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqara}, Brussels 1907, pl. 11; ASAE 40 (1941) 691, fig. 77.1; and Urk I 46, 10.

\(^{16}\) Assmann, ‘


\(^{17}\) Namely \(hrw=\text{f}-\text{h3w}\), as noted by Depuydt, ‘Der Fall des “Hintersichschauers”’, 33.

\(^{18}\) CT 343 IV 348a (B2B0).
the same word used in the very first sentence of our spell, when the deceased is told: 'ḥt ʿetz ʿp ʾw 'Arise! Raise yourself!' It is quite literally a resurrection formula, since it involves the deceased getting up. That is the motion indicated in this particular title: raising the self from upon the side. The title to CT 30 is similar — 'causing that an Akh raise himself from upon his left side to his right side'. And the same phraseology occurs also within CT 225, at the end of which the deceased is commanded 'raise yourself from upon your left side and put yourself upon your right side'. As observed by Bernard Mathieu, ʿetz ʿp ʾw, together with the imperative 'ḥt' 'stand up', constitute a formula characteristic of a distinguishable type of text already in the Old Kingdom, in fact, all such texts bearing it at that time are sacerdotal in performance structure: the priest speaks directly to the deceased and commands him to do something, complete with second person direct object. Among the forty-odd Old Kingdom texts bearing this formula ʿetz ʿp ʾw 'raise yourself', none was converted by the ancient editors into the first person. That is to say, their sacerdotal performance structure was not tampered with then; the deceased is consistently commanded to raise himself. In contrast and as is well known, there are dozens of Old Kingdom mortuary texts originally composed in the first person that were edited to the third person, once it came time to put the texts in the tomb. In effect, texts of a personal format were regularly reconfigured so as to appear not spoken and performed by the deceased himself. As a result they ended up looking like texts in which a priest speaks about him.

The situation is quite a bit different in the Middle Kingdom. At that time, there is little aversion to texts written in a format to be performed by the deceased; such personal texts are much more frequently left in the original first person. Meanwhile, a phenomenon opposite to the Old Kingdom editing practices may be discerned: the transformation of texts originally recited by priests, into texts now to be recited by the deceased. It turns out that CT 344, the variant of CT 343, is just such a text:

I am raised.

I am hastened, as that Ba of the Great One, one whom Hezat suckled,

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107 CT 30 I 83i (BIL): rd l. ʿetz ʿp ʾw ḫr ʿgrsf bkk ʾwnm ʾt ṣ `grs ʿwtnm ṣ `t
108 See B. Mathieu, 'La distinction entre Textes des Pyramides et Textes des Sarcophages est-elle légitime?', in: Bickel and Mathieu, D'un monde à l'autre, 255, where he holds for a genre of resurrection texts beginning ʿetz ʿp ʾw.
110 See K. Sethe, Die Totenliteratur der alten Ägypter: Die Geschichte einer Sitte, Sitzungsberichten der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil-Hist Klasse 1931 XVIII, Berlin 1931, 525. As observed by B. Mathieu, 'Modifications de texte dans la pyramide d'Ounas', BIFAO 96 (1996) 290-292, the wholesale modification of the grammatical person of the beneficiary away from the first occasionally led to the mistaken modification away from the first of the person of a priest officiating on behalf of the beneficiary.
111 Similarly E. Doret, 'Cleft-sentence, substitutions et contraintes sémantiques en égyptien de la première phase (V-XVIII Dynastie)', LingAeg 1 (1991) 64 and 91.
112 As E. Doret, 'Phrase nominale, identité et substitution dans les Textes des Sarcophages', RdE 43 (1992) 51 n. 6, has observed, where not only an original first person pronoun could be replaced by the name of the beneficiary, but also the name of the beneficiary could be replaced by the first person pronoun.
113 For the perfective passive participle in a nfr ʿw construction, see G. Lefebvre, Grammaire de l'égyptien classique, 2nd ed., BéDE 12, Cairo 1955, §632. Alternatively, one may understand the passive ʿgrsf; cf. the similar phrase from PT 247 §260a as transformed in BD 174 (Pb and Af) 4, rendered as ʿetz ʿw= ḫr ʿgs=ʾt, at Hays and Schenck, 'Intersection of Ritual Space', 105 with n. 88.
that Ser—noble of those who remain in the sky,
and I have been given sleep.  

Viewed charitably, the result is clumsy; viewed negatively, it is gibberish: the difficulty comes in the conversion of the imperatives. With the original tz tw, the priest commands the deceased to raise himself. But after the conversion of the beneficiary to the first person, how do I command myself '(I—you) raise me'?

As odd as the conversion is, it is remarkable that a formula traditional already in the Old Kingdom has been tampered with. Nevertheless, that modification is in keeping with the other mutated traditions encountered: the role of the Old Kingdom ferryman expands in the Middle Kingdom to include fishing and fowling for the dead; the question-and-answer topos found in Old Kingdom ferryman texts develops into detailed identifications of aspects of ferryboats in ferryman texts of the Middle Kingdom; similar list-like identifications are brought into the net spells; and although themes found in ferryman and net spells are normally restricted to spells of a personal performance structure, in CT 343 they are wedded into a text written as if performed by a priest. Finally, that text goes full circle, being modified in a rather awkward way to make it conformable to personal performance. In its incorporation of traditional motifs and structures, CT 343 embeds itself within the wider discursive field that generated mortuary literature, and in modifying these traditions, it shows in microcosm how tradition itself was kept alive.

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114 CT 344 IV 366a-c (B9C)


116 So Jürgens, Grundlinien, 254.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<td>343b 345 30</td>
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<td>B6C/Bottom (within Book of Two Ways)</td>
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Figure 1. Coffins Bearing CT 343

Notes:
1) From left to right, the numerals indicate Coffin Texts Spell numbers in the sequential order in which they occur on their respective sources.
2) Boxes surround the sequentially fixed combinations evident in these sources.
3) CT 30 is split into two parts on S2C and T1L.
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