

The Organization of the Pyramid Texts

Probleme der Ägyptologie

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und
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The Organization of the Pyramid Texts

Typology and Disposition

(Volume One)

By

Harold M. Hays



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And now the mythless man stands eternally hungry, surrounded by all past ages, and digs and grubs for roots, even if he has to dig for them among the remotest antiquities.

Friedrich Nietzsche

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The object of this study is to outline the salient contours of organization of the oldest manifestation of ancient Egyptian mortuary literature, the Pyramid Texts, as they are attested in the pyramids of the last kings of the Old Kingdom. It deals with the genre relations between texts and with their physical arrangement in tombs. Through this, the characteristics of their genesis can be apprehended.

At its core, this book is an extension of my doctoral thesis, *The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts and Its Continuities with Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature*, which was defended in February 2006 at the University of Chicago. Its inspiration was the form-critical analysis of the Psalter devised by Hermann Gunkel a century ago. The aims of form criticism are to classify texts and to link them to their original settings of use. In this way, an understanding of their history can be developed. No such technique had been applied to the Egyptian Pyramid Texts. In this work I have fused the concept to certain lines of research in linguistic anthropology, recontextualizing them to suit the peculiarities of the source material and to address its most central historical problems. This methodology is something I dub ‘entextual criticism.’

The present work adheres to the dissertation’s results, but it shifts its emphasis, adds a further level of analysis, modifies its manner of presenting evidence, and expands the scope of significance.

Here, most attention is paid to the formal division of Pyramid Texts into categories, whereas the dissertation devoted most of its effort to their subdivision into types. It took the categorical division to be essentially self-evident. But subsequent discussions with colleagues, especially Harco Willems, led me to think that it was important to establish this division as rigorously as possible. The subdivisions, the types, are in any event more amorphous, and they are displaced to the end of the present volume.

The level of analysis added to the dissertation and receiving prominent discussion here is the identification of groups of texts among the kingly pyramids, following a methodology inaugurated by Hartwig Altenmüller in 1972.

A further change is the manner of presenting evidence. Whereas the dissertation embedded the connections justifying typological differentiations within the body of the presentation, they are now deferred to a set of cross-referenced listings in a second volume. The intent is to put all of the argumentation in one place, with the supporting facts consolidated in another. The reader is encouraged to verify the statements made in the first volume by consultation of the correlating data in the second volume, to which reference is continually meant.

One expansion of scope of significance concerns the material of that second volume. In the context of a genuine book, as opposed to an area-studies doctoral dissertation, utility is here deemed to be of prime importance. An aim of this publication is the delimitation of the material so as to provide a foundation and framework for future studies. There are three dimensions in particular, and they are reflected in the organization of the second volume: the empirical, critical attributes of the texts, the ancient associations between texts in respect to their transmission, and the genetic links of content between texts. The concept of delimitation implies the establishment of boundaries, in this case around the material facts pertaining to these dimensions. The bounded information, cross-referenced, constitutes the listings and charts of the second volume. It is presented so that it may serve as a starting point for further investigations of the Pyramid Texts and their descendants.

Another expansion of significance between the dissertation and the present book has to do with meaning. Egyptology is an area study, inasmuch as it is focused on the details relevant to a particular society defined geographically, temporally, and culturally. Due to its focus, area studies rightly hold the catalog and language skills in high regard: the accumulation of facts and access to them are of central importance in their own rights. Most extremely, the area-studies scholar would declare that “Theory like mist on eyeglasses—obscures facts” (*Charlie Chan in Egypt*, Fox Film Corporation, 1935). But this notion is itself a theory and therefore paradoxically must, by its own assertion, also be engaged in obscuring the facts. Still, though all researches require an external intervention to yield meaning, there are some which are less interpretive than others. In seeking to display pure relations alone in an intended spirit of positivism, the dissertation’s results were accordingly limited. The present work, in contrast, is meant to be more interpretive. It has to do with the establishment of crucial facts, but also with their meaning.

A final note may be made about the direction this work takes in the discourse on ancient Egyptian religion, especially concerning the character of the meaning pursued. The present work’s factual task is the identification of salient features of the Pyramid Texts bearing upon their historical significance. Reading the texts, one finds that they coalesce around a single interest, that of their beneficiary, who is nearly always the text owner himself. The position of this personage, conceived of as a generic individual within society, is at the center of this work’s interpretation: it is that personage’s situation in human society, as patient or agent of the event. Thus this book prioritizes the human world of action, as opposed to reconstructing a system of belief.

The steps which follow are conditioned by this point of departure. Instead of focusing on speculative questions at which the discourse of the Pyramid Texts was not aimed, one seeks to approach the texts along the path which they themselves took. It emerges that they represent a body of material meant to do something: they were composed for more operative purposes: they were done things. This becomes the central question: then what did they do?

As this book’s foundation is the research for my University of Chicago doctoral dissertation, I must first of all express my thanks to those who helped it reach completion. Above all, I have benefited from the knowledge and aid of the members of my dissertation committee, who were also the principal teachers of my graduate education, Peter F. Dorman, Janet H. Johnson, and Robert K. Ritner—of whom the first must be singled out for special gratitude. Another Chicagoan, W. Raymond Johnson, director of the university’s Epigraphic Survey, offered constant encouragement, knowledge, and advice from beginning to end, as well as access to the photographic archive at Chicago House in Luxor. In the Chicago context, Thomas Dousa, J. Brett McClain, and William Schenck discussed with me many of the points dealt with here, and Aaron Burke greatly aided in providing a Word template for the preparation of the original manuscript. I owe a great deal to Edward F. Wente, since it was partly on account of his article “Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?” that I determined to come to the University of Chicago, and since I was afterwards privileged to benefit from his intimate knowledge of all phases of ancient Egyptian mortuary literature. This included useful comments on the final version of my dissertation as well as access to his unpublished research on the performance of Book of the Dead rites and Coffin Texts by the living. Special gratitude must be expressed to James P. Allen of Brown University, who generously provided me with unpublished research data, a manuscript copy of his *The Egyptian Coffin Texts, Vol. 8: Middle Kingdom Copies of Pyramid Texts*, a copy of his translation volume *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, and his profound knowledge of grammar and the topic of this work. I am also indebted to then-Director of Giza and Saqqara Dr. Zahi Hawass, for granting access to the

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Leiden
December 2011

H.M.H.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations are based on those used by Helck and Otto 1975–1989, with the following augmentations:

1cs	first person, common gender, singular
<i>AA</i>	<i>American Anthropologist</i> , Arlington
<i>ÄAT</i>	<i>Ägypten und Altes Testament</i> , Wiesbaden
<i>AES</i>	<i>Archives européennes de sociologie</i> , Paris
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> , Berlin
<i>ARA</i>	<i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i> , Palo Alto
<i>Are</i>	<i>Arethusa</i> , Baltimore
<i>AS</i>	<i>L'Année sociologique</i>
BCE	before common era
beg.	beginning
Benef	Beneficiary
<i>BSAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte</i> , Hamburg
<i>BSEG</i>	<i>Bulletin. Société d'Égyptologie Genève</i> , Geneva
<i>CA</i>	<i>Current Anthropology</i> , Chicago
CE	common era
<i>CI</i>	<i>Critical Inquiry</i> , Chicago
<i>CS</i>	<i>Cultural Studies</i> , Oxford
col(s).	column(s)
cont.	continued
<i>DAIK</i>	<i>Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo</i> , Cairo
<i>DE</i>	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i> , Oxford
<i>Dia</i>	<i>Diacritics</i> , Baltimore
<i>DS</i>	<i>Discourse Studies</i> , Thousand Oaks
Dyn	Dynasty
ed.	editor
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
esp.	especially
f.c.	forthcoming
fem.	feminine
ff.	<i>folio</i> , and the following pages
fig(s).	figure(s)
FIP	First Intermediate Period
<i>GOF</i>	<i>Göttinger Orientforschung, IV. Reihe: Ägypten</i> , Wiesbaden
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i> , Chicago
<i>HT</i>	<i>History and Theory</i> , Middletown
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
<i>IFAO</i>	<i>L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire</i> , Cairo
Interp. Voc.	Interpolated Vocative
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i> , Oxford
<i>JLA</i>	<i>Journal of Linguistic Anthropology</i> , Long Beach
<i>JP</i>	<i>Journal of Pragmatics</i> , Amsterdam

<i>JR</i>	<i>The Journal of Religion</i> , Chicago
<i>JRAI</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute</i> , London
<i>KRI</i>	K. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> . 8 vols. Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1975–1990
Late	Late Period
<i>LingAeg</i>	<i>Lingua Aegyptia. Journal of Egyptian Language Studies</i> , Göttingen
masc.	masculine
<i>MCA</i>	<i>Mind, Culture, and Activity</i> , San Diego
MK	Middle Kingdom
<i>MTSR</i>	<i>Method and Theory in the Study of Religion</i> , Leiden
<i>NLH</i>	<i>New Literary History</i> , Baltimore
n(n).	note(s)
no(s).	number(s)
<i>OBO</i>	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i> , Freiburg and Göttingen
OK	Old Kingdom
<i>OLP</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i> , Leuven
OR	Offering Ritual
pass	passageway
Pers. Serv.	Personal Service
<i>PF</i>	<i>Philosophical Forum</i> , Hoboken
p(p).	page(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)
(pl.)	plural (when in parentheses)
<i>Rel</i>	<i>Religion</i> , Oxford
ro.	<i>recto</i>
sc.	<i>scilicet</i> , namely
sim.	similarly
<i>SJA</i>	<i>Southwestern Journal of Anthropology</i> , Albuquerque
SIP	Second Intermediate Period
<i>SR</i>	<i>Sociology of Religion</i> (formerly <i>Sociological Analysis</i>), Oxford
<i>SRes</i>	<i>Social Research</i> , New York
<i>SSI</i>	<i>Social Science Information</i> , Paris
<i>ST</i>	<i>Sociological Theory</i> , Washington
TIP	Third Intermediate Period
<i>USE</i>	<i>Uppsala Studies in Egyptology</i> , Uppsala
vo.	<i>verso</i>
vol(s).	volume(s)

SOURCE SIGLA AND CITATION CONVENTIONS

A. *Source Sigla*

The following list tells the type of document and owner for sources of mortuary literature mentioned in Volume One. Except where noted, the source *sigla* employed are those of T. Allen 1950, augmented by *idem* 1974, Lesko 1979, Willems 1988, and J. Allen 2006, with further details and bibliography noted in these places. Additional source *sigla* encountered in Volume Two are also to be found in these studies.

Old Kingdom (all sources from Saqqara)

AI	Pyramid of Queen Ankhesenpepi II (Mathieu 2005; <i>idem</i> 2008)
Ibi	Pyramid of King Ibi
M	Pyramid of King Merenre
N	Pyramid of King Pepi II
Nt	Pyramid of Queen Neith
Oudj	Pyramid of Oudjebeteni
P	Pyramid of King Pepi I
T	Pyramid of King Teti
W	Pyramid of King Unas

Middle Kingdom

From Abusir

Ab1Le Coffin of Heryshefhetep

From Bersheh

B2Bo	Inner coffin of Djehutynakht
B1C	Coffin of Sepi
B3C	Inner coffin of Sathedjhetep
B4C	Outer coffin of Sathedjhetep
B9C	Middle coffin of Amenemhat
B10C	Outer coffin of Amenemhat
B12C	Coffin of Iha
B2L	Coffin of Gua
B3L	Coffin of Sen
B1Y	Coffin of Djehutynakht
BH5C	Coffin of Chnumnakht

From Abydos

C 20520 Limestone stele of Nehi

From Dahshur

Da1C	Coffin of Sathuthermer
Da2X	Coffin of It
Da3X	Coffin of Chenemet
Da4X	Coffin of Itweret

From Kom el-Hisn

KH1KH Burial chamber of Khesu

From Lisht

L-A1 Coffin of 'Ankhet

L-MH1A Sarcophagus of Montuhotep

L1NY Coffin of Chety

L3Li Coffin of Nakht

From Meir

M1C Coffin of Rerut

M1War Coffin of Shemsuwekh

From Qattah

Q1Q Burial chamber of Neha

From Lisht

S Burial chamber of Senwosretankh

From Assiut

S1Bas Coffin of Ameny; elsewhere called S8X

S1C Inner coffin of Mesehti

S2C Outer coffin of Mesehti

S10C Coffin of Iri (usurped by Ankhef)

S2P Inner coffin of Nekhti

S5C Coffin of Tjauau

From Sedment

Sed1Cop Coffin of Kanakht

From Saqqara

Sq2Be Coffin lid of Ipiankhu

Sq1C Coffin of Satbastit

Sq2C Coffin of Kheperkare

Sq3C Coffin of Nefersemdet

Sq4C Coffin of Khenu

Sq5C Inner coffin of Kareneni

Sq6C Outer coffin of Kareneni

Sq7C Coffin of Hor

Sq10C Coffin of Inepemhat

Sq13C Coffin of Heryshefhetep

Sq1Sq Burial chamber and coffin of Sekwesekhet

Sq2Sq Burial chamber and coffin of Sathutheripi

Sq4Sq Coffin of Ipihersedenebef

Sq5Sq Coffin of Ipiankhu

Sq18X Burial chamber of Ihy

From Thebes

T1Be Coffin of Montuhotep

T3Be Coffin of Sobeka'a

T1C Burial chamber (TT 314) and coffin of Harhotep

T9C Coffin of Buau

TT 60 Cultic space of tomb of Intefiqer

New Kingdom

Ab Book of the Dead with no named text owner; pBM 9913

Af Book of the Dead of Muthetepi; pBM 10010

Ag	Book of the Dead of Herunefer; pBM 9901
Ba	Book of the Dead of Amennakht; pBerlin 3002
Butehamun	Hieratic texts on the coffin of Butehamun (source *4 of Otto 1960)
Ea	Book of the Dead of Nu; pBM 10477
Eb	Book of the Dead of Any; pBM 10470
Cb	Linen shroud of King Thutmose III
Cg	Book of the Dead of Gatseshen
KV 14	Tomb of Queen Tawosret (source *3 of Otto 1960)
Pb	Book of the Dead of Turi; pLouvre 3092
pBM 10819	Papyrus script for mortuary service
TT 87	Burial chamber of Nakht-Min
TT 100	Cultic space of tomb of Rekhmire
TT 112	Burial chamber of Menkheperreseneb
TT 353	Burial chamber of Senenmut
Late Period	
Amenirdis	Chapel of Amenirdis
pBerlin 3055	Papyrus Berlin 3055; a script for temple service
Pedineit	Tomb of Pedineit
Pediniese	Tomb of Pediniese
Ps	Tomb of Psamtik (<i>wr zwnw</i>)
Psamtiknebpehti	Tomb of Psamtiknebpehti
SqB	Tomb of Amenetafnekhet
Tchannehibu	Tomb of Tchannehibu
TT 33	Tomb of Padimenopet
TT 36	Tomb of Ibi

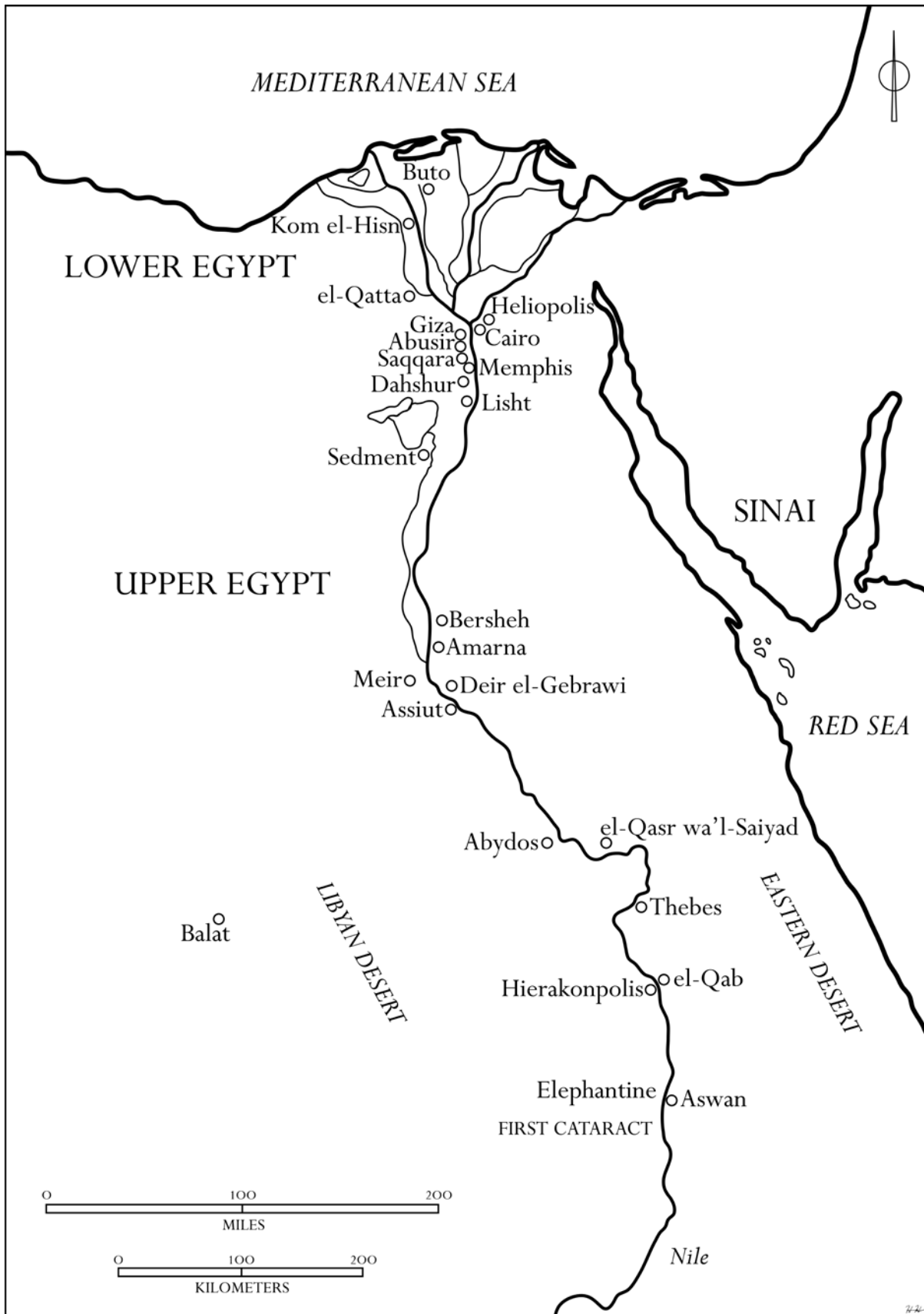
B. Citation Conventions

Over the course of a century of research in Pyramid Texts, several modern nomenclatures for some of the same texts have been devised. Rather than to argue how a text should be called, the pragmatic route is followed of generally referring to texts according to the designation given them at the moment of their publication as such.

*	indicates an uncertain or hypothetical reading or translation
{ }	indicates a superfluous element of a text
< >	indicates an omitted but necessary element of a text
()	indicates an element of a text that is commonly omitted but may be understood
/A/	Antechamber (of a pyramid)
aPT	Pyramid Texts (utterance), as numbered by J. Allen 1976. [Citations given as follows: aPT text no. § section no. (source <i>siglum</i>); thus “aPT 60A §42a (Nt)” indicates “Allen’s PT text 60A, section 42a, source Nt.”]
/B	Back (surface)
BD	Book of the Dead (utterance) [Citations given as follows: BD text no. (source <i>siglum</i>) l. no.; thus “BD 1 (Ea) 2” indicates “BD text 1, source Ea, line 2.”]
BM	The British Museum, London
/BO	Bottom (surface)
/C/	Corridor (surface)

CT	Coffin Text (utterance), as numbered by de Buck 1935–1961. [Citations typically given as follows: CT text no., vol. no., p. no., l. no. (source <i>siglum</i>); thus “CT 1 I 2a (B3Bo)” indicates “CT text 1, volume 1, page 2, line a, source B3Bo.”]
aCT	Coffin Text ‘mortuary liturgy’ (utterance), as numbered by Assmann 2002
/D/	Descending Passage (of a pyramid)
e	east end (of a surface)
/E	East Wall (surface)
/F	Foot (surface)
fPT	Pyramid Text (utterance), as numbered by Faulkner 1998. [Citations typically given as follows: fPT text no. § section no. (source <i>siglum</i>); thus “fPT 664A §1886a (N)” indicates “Faulkner’s PT text 664A, section 1886a, source N.”]
FR	Front (surface)
frag	fragment
g	gable (of a surface)
/H	Head (surface)
hPT	Pyramid Text (utterance), as numbered by the present author. [Citations typically given as follows: hPT text no. § section no. (source <i>siglum</i>); thus “hPT 662A §1876a (N)” indicates “Hays’s PT text 662A, section 1876a, source N.”]
inf	<i>inférieur</i> , lower register
l(l).	line(s)
/L	Lid (surface)
m	middle (of a surface, from left to right or vice versa)
<i>M.</i>	<i>mry-r</i> (Merire, a name of Pepi I)
med	<i>médium</i> , middle register (from top to bottom or vice versa)
<i>M.n.</i>	<i>nm.ti-m-z3=f mr-n(i)-r</i> (Nemtiemzaf Merenre, translated here as “Merenre”)
MÖR	Otto 1960. [Citations refer to rite no.]
n	north end (of a surface)
/N	North Wall (surface)
<i>Né.</i>	<i>ppy nfr-k3-r</i> , <i>ppy</i> , or <i>nfr-z3-hr</i> (Pepi Neferkare, Pepi, or Neferkahor, names of Pepi II, all of which are conventionally translated here as “Neferkare”)
<i>N/V</i>	the name of a text’s owner
P.	<i>ppy</i> (Pepi I)
/P/	Passage (of a pyramid)
pBerlin	Berlin Museum papyrus
pBM	British Museum papyrus
PT	Pyramid Text (utterance), as numbered by Sethe 1908–1922. [Citations typically given as follows: PT text no. § section no. (source <i>siglum</i>); thus “PT 33 §24d (W)” indicates “PT text 33, section 24d, source W.”]
Pyr.	Pyramid Text (section)
ro.	recto
s	south end (of a surface)
/S	South Wall (surface)
/S/	Sarcophagus Chamber (of a tomb)
Sarc	Sarcophagus (in a pyramid’s sarcophagus chamber)
sec.	section
Seq	Sequence(s) [Citations correspond to the sequences of texts in Listing Two.]
/Ser/	Passage to Serdab (of a pyramid)
sPT	Pyramid Texts (utterance), as numbered by Leclant <i>et al.</i> 2001. [Citations typically given as follows: sPT text no. § section no. (source <i>siglum</i>); thus “sPT 502B §1073a (P)” indicates “Leclant <i>et al.</i> 2001’s PT text 502B, section 1073a, source P.”]

St	stele
Subseq	Subsequence(s) [Citations correspond to the subsequences of texts in Listing Three.]
sup	<i>supérieur</i> , upper register
T.	<i>titi</i> (Teti)
TOR	Temple Offering Ritual, cited by rite with numbering according to Hays 2009c, p. 9
TSR	Temple Sanctuary Ritual, cited by rite with numbering according to <i>ibid.</i> , p. 4
TT	Theban Tomb
/V	Vestibule (of a pyramid)
vo.	verso
w	west end (of a surface)
W.	<i>wntis</i> (Unas)
/W	West Wall (surface)
x	when prefixed to a surface designation: exterior (of a surface) [For example, “xL” indicates “exterior lid.”]
x	when in a series of texts: lacuna or unknown



Map of Egypt

ABRIDGED CHRONOLOGY

The dates of dynasties and reigns mentioned in this work are from Shaw 2000, pp. 479–483.

OLD KINGDOM	ca. 2686–2160 BCE
<i>Third Dynasty</i>	ca. 2686–2613
...	
Djoser	ca. 2667–2648
...	
<i>Fourth Dynasty</i>	ca. 2613–2494
...	
Khufu ('Cheops')	ca. 2532–2503
...	
Menkaure ('Mycerinus')	ca. 2532–2503
...	
<i>Fifth Dynasty</i>	ca. 2494–2345
...	
Sahure	ca. 2487–2475
...	
Djedkare	ca. 2414–2375
Unas	ca. 2375–2345
<i>Sixth Dynasty</i>	ca. 2345–2181
Teti	ca. 2345–2323
Userkare	ca. 2323–2321
Pepi I	ca. 2321–2287
Merenre	ca. 2287–2278
Pepi II	ca. 2278–2184
...	
<i>Eighth Dynasty</i>	ca. 2181–2160
...	
Ibi	<i>uncertain</i>
...	
FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD	ca. 2160–2055
MIDDLE KINGDOM	ca. 2055–1650
...	
<i>Thirteenth Dynasty</i>	ca. 1773–after 1650
SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD	ca. 1650–1550
NEW KINGDOM	ca. 1550–1069
<i>Eighteenth Dynasty</i>	ca. 1550–1295
...	
Amenhotep ('Amenophis') I	ca. 1525–1504
...	

Thutmose III	ca. 1479–1425
Hatshepsut	ca. 1473–1458
Amenhotep II	ca. 1427–1400
...	
Amenhotep III	ca. 1390–1352
...	
<i>Nineteenth Dynasty</i>	ca. 1295–1186
...	
Ramses I	ca. 1295–1294
Seti I	ca. 1294–1279
...	
<i>Twentieth Dynasty</i>	ca. 1186–1069
THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD	ca. 1069–664
<i>Twenty-first Dynasty</i>	ca. 1069–945
<i>Twenty-second Dynasty</i>	ca. 945–715
...	
LATE PERIOD	664–332
<i>Twenty-sixth Dynasty</i>	664–525
...	
PTOLEMAIC PERIOD	332–30
ROMAN PERIOD	30 BCE–395 CE