

CHAPTER ONE

PERFORMANCE SETTINGS AND STRUCTURES

Culture is not the realm of ubiquitous “hybridity”: it, too, has its barriers, its impassable limits.

Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History*, p. 85

Is the benefit of an action secured by one’s own efforts, or by those of others? This is not a trivial question. As the Pyramid Texts were intended to bring about and maintain a beneficial afterlife, to answer it is to identify the operative agent or agents behind this aim. As the performance of a text is a dimension of its context—inasmuch as a text is performed rather than performs itself—it is necessary to consider situation of use in order to formulate an answer.

A differentiation in settings of performance can be initiated in a general way through consideration of more culturally familiar ground, and coupled to this axiom: The situation in which a text is used conditions its meaning, and therefore context is the conceptual basis for reasonable interpretations of it.⁹⁴ For example, a Pater Noster recited in the context of a mass or at a baptism is different in significance than one said in the middle of the night upon waking from a nightmare. The first two contexts are collectively constructed, performed in a group setting and by a group, and the speech contributed by the participants may accordingly be motivated by social factors including tradition and pressures of identity. In contrast, while the Pater Noster said by oneself outside the group may interface with social structures, beginning with its very use of the socially constructed instrument of language, such an act is nevertheless prompted by individual agency: its putative results are secured by one, not all.

The collective and individual settings are further distinguishable by space. Collective action occurs in a socially constructed area, defined by the group’s presence there and its implicit recognition of it, and that area serves as a platform for display, with all those present witnessing the proceedings in its details. Individual action may appropriate a socially recognized place for its purpose, such as a church pew or a spot before a saint’s stall, or it may occur in a domestic setting as in the hypothetical example, but the context of individual performance in either circumstance is more private; while some of the activity may be incidentally witnessed by others, the participants of an individual rite constitute but a fractional portion of the larger social body.

Finally, the two settings entail different levels of administrative and economic support. Cult—that is, by our definition a system of collective religious worship as manifest in external rites and ceremonies—is carried out by a specialized priesthood which requires training, organization, and material support for its activities. In contrast, individual religious performances are done outside of the context of professional duties and are not supported by large-scale systems.

In sum, the meaning of a rite is conditioned by its setting of performance. The collective rite mediates between members of the social body and its object of worship, has socially determined motivations, and implies larger-scale contingencies. The individual rite is a medium between a fraction of society and its object, it has personal agency as its operative dynamic,

⁹⁴ This phraseology is from Krippendorff 2004, p. 24.

occurs in a more private situation, and involves comparatively few or no external supports. Because these distinctions are basic, to place a religious text in one or the other setting is to be informed about its general position in society in a fundamental way. That position is a foundational element of its meaning.

The reader may take this dichotomy of human action in the religious sphere as obvious, seemingly instinctively understood, and as a result the contextual ramifications of the differences may even be taken for granted. But that is from our modern point of view in reflection upon our own social structures, which we know more or less well due to autochthonous membership. With the Pyramid Texts this basic division is not immediately clear, due to our separation from the culture which produced them. Consequently their positions in society are not immediately perceivable, and therefore we lack an appreciation of their integral meaning. As the Pyramid Texts lack explicit paratextual notations to show their uses in the Egyptian world, it is a matter of argument to identify them.

One of the chief purposes of the present work is to do that, and to do so according to the dichotomy that has just now been described. Some groups of Pyramid Texts consist mostly or entirely of texts drawn from collective services, while other groups were drawn from collections of rites for performance in individual settings. There is no watertight boundary between the two branches of human action. The two settings are not autonomous, as may be seen from the contemporary example deployed above, the dual use of the Pater Noster. Some rites can be used in both, and that makes it clear from the beginning that there are inextricable connections between them.

Notwithstanding transportability and overlap, the polarizations are characteristic of human society in general and are, upon inspection, specifically perceivable in the activities represented by the Pyramid Texts. Because the two branches differently condition the fundamental significance of a text, they are worth pursuing. Indeed, it is a preliminary step which should always be taken with the Pyramid Texts. Without it, the text hangs in a theological, symbolic field, divorced from the mouths and hands which shaped its words.

The distinction between the categories of ‘collective’ and ‘individual’ is older than the discipline of sociology;⁹⁵ such terms are virtually⁹⁶ indispensable to it and other discourses concerned with the functions and attributes of social institutions. The appropriateness of the dichotomy in the division of rituals into two such branches was advanced as early as fifty years ago,⁹⁷ and it continues to be employed. One can conceptualize domestic religious activities on the one hand, and public, civic, and state religious activities on the other, with an interstitial space between them: a here, a there, and an anywhere.⁹⁸ This is to say that

⁹⁵ For classical sociology, see its use by e.g. Durkheim 1997 [1893], e.g. pp. 118–123. The division has a precedent in the work of the Seventeenth Century Thomas Hobbes (as ‘Publique’ versus ‘Private’); see Kippenberg 2002, p. 4. It is worth noting that, as observed by Etzioni 2000, pp. 47 and 51, Durkheim 1995 [1912] construed all rituals as performing a social i.e. collective function, in that they fostered the integration of society through the reinforcement of collective representations; cf. the antipathy toward consideration of individually practiced religion in antiquity at W. Robertson Smith 2002 [1894], pp. 263–264. For reference to further discussions of Durkheim’s position on ritual, see C. Bell 1992, pp. 23–25, and for Egyptology add Frandsen 2010, pp. 153–159. A dichotomy parallel to that of collective vs. individual religion, but not synonymous, is official vs. popular religion. For discussion of the latter pair, see Berlinerblau 1996, pp. 21–29. The ultimately heterogeneous character of all of these artificial dichotomies may be taken as a given.

⁹⁶ All dichotomies are subject to *a priori* critique, but meaning is dependent on them because it is dependent on difference and opposition. For commentary against the poststructuralist tendency to criticize the use of dichotomous categories, see Asad 1997, p. 45 n. 7. The dichotomy of the individual versus the collective has been critiqued in Marxist contexts, as by Williams 1977, pp. 28 and 32, and by Evald Ilyenkov as recounted by Stetsenko 2005, pp. 79–80. But the deconstruction of a dichotomy merely shifts the levels of analysis and therefore the formal emphasis, but not the content, of the results.

⁹⁷ See Downs 1961, pp. 75–80.

⁹⁸ J.Z. Smith 2003, p. 23.

analysis of the Pyramid Texts along this avenue is legitimate from the point of view of religious studies.

As applied specifically to what follows, collective religious activity in the Old Kingdom implies performance at a more public, socially defined space, such as a tomb or temple, and it implies administrative infrastructure and economic supports; it involved professional or semi-professional priesthoods, their equipment and structures, organization of labor, and recompense for services. Probably as a consequence of its wider social base, its performances tended to involve more rather than fewer officiants.

The contrasting idea in this work is individual religious activity, and that concerns domestic practice,⁹⁹ things done not by the community but by one or very few persons. These practices would have been engaged in at home or in an appropriated public space. This domain of action is distinguishable by virtue of its narrower, private scope and by being administratively and economically disconnected from society. It had no regular contingent of priests requiring material support and organization. Consequently the individual setting had but one performer or a limited number of them.

The collective and the individual are the two settings, then. It may be presumed that certain manners of speech are appropriate to one or the other, though also it should be clear by the contemporary example of the Pater Noster that some statements should be perfectly at home in both. But to approach this point more broadly, it may be said that, even in casual talk, statements are shaped according to the settings in which they are made.¹⁰⁰ In other words, certain kinds of statements are more appropriate in a certain situation, resulting in conventions which govern the nature of the discourse which takes place in it.¹⁰¹ To be sure, the structure of social interaction is made evident through many factors besides speech, such as task performance, spatial organization, gestures,¹⁰² and the displayed cultural status of the participants. But of these factors, speech both does structure and is structured by the situations in which it is used.¹⁰³ And it is certainly the most important dimension of interpersonal action for the present study, since the evidence from the pyramids is textual.

In directing a statement at another person, a speaker interpellatively makes him into a listener,¹⁰⁴ while the lexical elements of the statement are shaped according to the situation: 'thee,' 'you,' 'your honor,' 'your majesty,' and so on. Though the attributes of participants in a communication act are more complex than those constructed by the dyad of speaker and addressee,¹⁰⁵ it is still true that natural languages encode these two roles in simple pronominal systems—'I' and 'you.'¹⁰⁶ The first- and second-person pronouns establish a field of participation at the moment of speaking; their use sets up a foundation of social relationships.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, even though grammatical person can and of course must be supplemented

⁹⁹ For an overview of its main manifestations in pharaonic Egypt, see Stevens 2009, pp. 1–31.

¹⁰⁰ Goffman 1975, p. 500.

¹⁰¹ See Hanks 2000, pp. 144–145, or Charaudeau 2002, pp. 308–31, and cf. Tucker 1971, pp. 2–3, and Foucault 1972, pp. 31–32. Linguistically, the raw statement made here could be refined with further conditions; see the rich overview of different rule-based models of text production at Johnstone 2000, pp. 412–413.

¹⁰² Goffman 1967, p. 55.

¹⁰³ Ja.P. Gee 2005, p. 97.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Wortham 1996, p. 332.

¹⁰⁵ For an overview of Erving Goffman's seminal concept of 'footing,' which presents a more subtle analytical apparatus of participation framework than the basic approach employed here, see Georgakopoulou and Goutsos 1997, pp. 48–49. For a review of key critiques of this concept, see Irvine 1996, p. 132. For a general discussion of how participant roles structure religious language, see Keane 1997, pp. 57–58.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Hanks 1996, p. 165, and see Halliday 2004, 551: the first and second persons normally refer to people in the field of perception shared by speaker and listener; "their meaning is defined by the act of speaking."

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Irvine 1996, p. 143, and Wortham 1996, p. 333.

by other information to fully understand the cultural relations involved,¹⁰⁸ it is nevertheless a useful starting point.¹⁰⁹ The voicing of a text, its format of interpersonal deixis, contributes to its centering, the place to which a text is culturally anchored.¹¹⁰ The position of the speaker in respect to grammatical person creates a poetical *lexis*, the situation of enunciating, to which Plato refers in the third book of the *Republic*, and in which the ultimate substrate of classical discussions of genre is to be found.¹¹¹ Does the author of a text speak in his own name, or do his characters speak for themselves?

To find out about the character of interaction through grammatical cues is to find out basic features of a formalized activity or text. For instance a wedding according to most Christian traditions will keep the two initiands in a passive and sometimes even non-speaking role. Priestly officials do most or all of the talking, and they address the beneficiaries of the ceremony in the grammatical second person ‘you’ or speak about them in the third ‘they.’ One observes them being transformed by others. As another example, consider an American commencement. In it virtually none of the graduating student body is *addressed* by name, nor do they speak, though they *are* named as they receive their diplomas. And finally contrast these two kinds of ceremonies to bedtime prayers or the Pater Noster. Now a god is directly addressed as ‘you,’ and the speaker—who is also often himself the beneficiary of such activities—uses the first person ‘us.’ Interpersonal structure is a basic element of understanding the setting in life of a text or an act. This is because the linguistic phenomenon of grammatical person is a fundamental coin of social economics: as interpersonal roles are expressed in relations between speaker and listener, they permeate speech. And because a text’s setting in life directly informs its linguistic structure, grammatical person is normally an indicator of the performative relationship between a text and those who participate in its expression.

The preceding discussion represents the theoretical justification for two important avenues of analysis to be carried out in this work. They will now be made more concrete. To situate groups of Pyramid Texts in either the branch of collective or individual activities, this chapter will establish two corresponding frames of reference from later periods in Egyptian history. These will be consulted because their contexts of performance are relatively clear, whereas the contexts of the Pyramid Texts are obscure. Given their temporal distance, it of course does not immediately follow that what is found with the later material will necessarily be applicable to the earlier. But in fact it will be seen that the structures detected in them are strongly resonated in the Pyramid Texts and do follow obvious, objectively perceivable patterns.

The frames of reference will be representative of *settings of performance*, that is, the human contexts in which the execution of texts was realized. While the term *performance structure* refers to the relationship of the beneficiary to the text’s recitation, performance setting refers to the overarching situation in which the text was done.¹¹² It is a question of contextually situated

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 344–346.

¹⁰⁹ See Levinson 1988, pp. 163–164 and 181–184, in expanding Goffman’s analysis by ‘footing,’ including the specific incorporation of grammatical person in analysis of participation framework. For a critique of Levinson’s additions to Goffman’s apparatus, see Irvine 1996, pp. 133–135. For the appropriateness of examining grammatical person as an indication of interpersonal roles, see further *ibid.*, pp. 142–146; Silverstein and Urban 1996, pp. 6–7; and Wortham 1996, pp. 332–336. On person deixis in general, see Levinson 1984, pp. 68–73.

¹¹⁰ Hanks 1989, pp. 106–107 (= *idem* 2000, p. 175).

¹¹¹ See the discussion and critique thereof at Genette 1992, pp. 8–23, 33–34, and 61, esp. p. 12. To be precise, he shows that the classical division of poetry into three genres is the result of a collective misreading of Plato and Aristotle, and is, in his opinion, a manner of analysis which should be dispensed with. But his bold assertion, made in effect by fiat, does not hold for the Pyramid Texts. This is a point which will receive detailed discussion below.

¹¹² On performance’s situatedness of realization, see seminal Hymes 1975, p. 13. The concept of performance is a matter of approach, with emphasis in it shifted from competence/*langue* to performance/*parole*. For the

modes of social praxis (performance setting) versus the ordered, linguistic vocalization of text (performance structure).¹¹³

The procedure which will be followed is simple. The frames of reference to be set up will consist of the Egyptian temple sanctuary ritual as manifest in the Twenty-second Dynasty Berlin Papyrus 3055 on the one hand and an Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead on the other, British Museum Papyrus 10477, the Papyrus of Nu. The former will be representative of the collective performance setting (in particular, cultic service), while the latter will represent the individual.¹¹⁴

In each case, semantic information about and around the rites of these documents will be considered so as to establish their settings in society. Afterwards, linguistic information internal to their specific texts will be drawn out to establish the structural rules holding for most texts within them, namely concerning the grammatical person in which the beneficiary is cast. The rule and result for the class of discourse particular to the collective setting will be called the sacerdotal structure,¹¹⁵ due to the priestly performance implied or connoted by such texts, while the general rule and result for most texts found in the individual setting will be called the personal structure,¹¹⁶ since they imply or connote performance buried deeply inside the sphere of wider society.

There are, in summary, two levels of analysis to be drawn out in this chapter. Collective and individual performance settings of groups of texts are determined by semantic data revolving around the texts, and sacerdotal and personal performance structure of specific texts within the groups are determined by the internal information of grammatical forms. It will turn out that particular structures are homologous and most appropriate to particular settings.

As the structures of the later texts are held to be generally appropriate to the settings in which they were performed—that is, to be exemplary of a cultural-historical paradigm—in the following chapters the frame of reference will be applied in reverse. Pyramid Texts will be approached on an individual basis so as to identify texts of sacerdotal structure and

correlation of the Chomskyan dichotomy with the structuralist one, I invoke Ricoeur 1971, pp. 530–531; with the latter, the term ‘discourse’ or ‘speech as an event’ replaces ‘performance/*parole*.’

¹¹³ For this articulation, cf. Silverstein 1993, pp. 34–35.

¹¹⁴ One might attempt an *a priori* objection that no individual document, with its specific particularities, can be fully representative of a class of documents. But in scientific assertions there can be no *a priori*s. To have any weight, the would-be critic must begin with the results obtained from a methodology and show how—by evidence—they deviate from what may be found among a broader consultation of documents. In greater detail on how assertions may be scientifically combatted, see Popper 1968, pp. 30–33.

¹¹⁵ Compare the concept of the ‘Du-Text’ as employed by Kees 1952, p. 31, drawing upon the work of S. Schott 1964 [1945], e.g. p. 42, resonant also in the concept of the ‘Du-Bezug’ at Assmann 1969, pp. 359–360, and *idem* 1979, p. 57 n. 15, developing into a terminology for the ‘interpersonelle Form’ of texts, and annotated as ‘0:2:2’ (an unnamed speaker addresses a specific person concerning the same) and that annotated as ‘0:0:3’ (an unnamed speaker addresses an unspecified audience concerning someone else) at *idem* 2001b, pp. 324–325, with the former structure elsewhere called “0:2” (an anonymous speaker not referring to himself addresses an audience) at *idem* 1990, p. 6. Naturally the concept of the ‘you-text’ does not embrace texts where the beneficiary is spoken of in the third person (entailing a ‘he-text’) or is both addressed in the second and spoken of in the third (entailing a ‘you/he-text’) or is not referred to at all (entailing a “null-text”), while the numerical notations are implicative of distinctions that are not relevant to the taxonomy of Pyramid Texts; see also above at n. 92. (To be precise, S. Schott 1964, pp. 30–36, employs the term ‘dramatische Texte’ for the ‘Du-Texte’ of Kees 1952. In my view, this is a term flawed equally for the connotations with which it is freighted and for the fact that the ‘dramatic’ structure definitive of that genre is present also in the genre of ‘Hymnen mit der Namensformel’ of S. Schott 1964, pp. 37–42.)

¹¹⁶ *Personal structure* is adapted from the term ‘personal spells’ of J. Allen 1988, p. 42, and corresponds to the concept of the ‘Ich-Text’ as employed by S. Schott 1964 [1945], p. 47 (followed by Kees 1952, p. 31), and to the ‘interpersonelle Form’ annotated as ‘1:0:1’ (a specific speaker addresses an unspecified audience concerning himself) and that annotated as ‘1:2:1’ (a specific speaker addresses a definite audience concerning himself) at Assmann 2001b, p. 324, and to the structure called “Ich-Du-Bezug” at *idem* 1999, p. 62.

those of personal structure. That is typology. Afterwards, the distribution of texts bearing such structures will be considered so as to create a basis for understanding their settings alternately as collectively or as individually performed. That is disposition. In carrying out this procedure meticulously, the result will be a set of argued and supported identifications of distinguishable settings of performance. In this way the Pyramid Texts will have been anchored to general cultural contexts.

In short, this methodology reasons from the known to the unknown. The alternative—to interpret a text according to its internal details in isolation of its discursive, cultural-historical context¹¹⁷—is rejected. One could begin, for instance, by construing *a priori* that all mortuary texts were scripts for collective rituals. Because mortuary texts do cast the beneficiary in all three persons, this notion would entail, among other things, the assumption that they were not formed according to discursive rules restricting their grammatical forms. None of their distinguishable discourse genres would have been governed by regularities of interpersonal deixis.¹¹⁸ But this would be to begin with an unknown quantity and to go on to interpret it by sheer assumption.

Here, an obscure quantity is the object of inquiry. In order to interpret it, clearer external information is consulted in order to establish two contrasting arenas of speech, showing that there are different discursive rules appropriate to them. These rules are then applied to the unknown in order to clarify it.

A. *Temple Sanctuary Ritual*

It is pertinent to consider Pyramid Texts in relation to texts from temple cult, because several of the former are found as rites in the latter. These obvious connections have been known for nearly as long as the Pyramid Texts have been, thus for over a century.¹¹⁹ But the connections go beyond a handful of shared rites. Other temple rites and Pyramid Texts share the fabrics of phraseology and role structures.¹²⁰ Outside of rites shared verbatim, many statements and sentiments found in one body are found in the other. Furthermore, the roles of the participants—officiant and beneficiary, worshipper and worshipped—have multiple points of contact. In short, the connections between them show that some of the rites particular to temple and tomb cult-place were constructed within similar genres of discourse and action. They approached similar problems, and the participants involved in their resolution shared similar sets of identities, characteristics, and attitudes. The commonalities make it jus-

¹¹⁷ Cf. the approach of Willems 1996b, pp. 197–209, and *idem* 1996a, pp. 273–286. There, alternations of grammatical person within the set of texts CT 75–80 are not balanced against patterns of editorial modification in the Old Kingdom, nor those of the Middle Kingdom, nor those of the New Kingdom; they are evaluated in isolation of their cultural-historical context. Similarly avoiding patterns of editorial modification is Eyre 2002, see esp. pp. 66 and 73–74. This particular point is revisited below in Chapter Three, Section G.

¹¹⁸ Cf. the assumption of Genette 1992, indicated above at n. 111.

¹¹⁹ Due to the connections, an essentially direct line of generation is often claimed in the Egyptological literature; temple ritual as a complex is supposed to have developed out of mortuary cult, of which the Pyramid Texts are deemed representative. Historiographically this is a weak proposition, since we do have temples already from the Old Kingdom but do not possess any temple ritual scripts until the New Kingdom. As a result, the nature of temple rites performed in the Old Kingdom is unknown. In view of the connections between the two complexes of information, it is entirely possible that already at that time rites were shared between temple and tomb, as noted by Moret 1902, p. 227. The disparity of preservation of evidence actually creates a chicken-or-egg quandary and does not of itself show which came first. See further the references at Hays 2009c, pp. 6–7 n. 51. In short, the determination of the chronological interaction of mortuary and temple cult, if this should even be pursued on a global scale, cannot be gauged merely by the chronological disposition of this particular evidence.

¹²⁰ As summarized at Hays 2002, p. 166.

tifiable to consider the one alongside the other, despite the temporal (and cultural) distance between them.

Papyrus Berlin 3055, involving rites performed for the god Amun-Re at ancient Thebes, is an illustrative example of Egyptian temple ritual activities.¹²¹ It consists of sixty-six rites which may be divided into three segments based on the presence of libating, censuring, and other framing rites.¹²² The segments are approaching the sanctuary, entering it, and handling the image therein.¹²³ The papyrus is datable to the Twenty-second Dynasty,¹²⁴ and its rites are virtually identical to those of a contemporaneous papyrus for the cult of the goddess Mut at the same location.¹²⁵ The contents of both find numerous parallels with rites dedicated to the gods Ptah, Re-Harakhti, Amun-Re, Osiris, Isis, and Horus in their individual chapels of the Nineteenth Dynasty temple of Seti I at Abydos.¹²⁶ As many of the activities are effectively identical between the various chapels and the papyrus, and as they stem from two different places and two different times, temple ritual appears to have been essentially ecumenical and to have been organized by tradition.¹²⁷ Papyrus Berlin 3055 is therefore exemplary of rites carried out before a god at his or her sanctuary. What may be said about its service to Amun in particular will hold, in general, for other gods at other places and other times.

It may be further remarked as a matter of assertion that the temple sanctuary ritual of the Berlin papyrus is representative of Egyptian collective ritual performances in general. Although it will not be shown here, its structure of performance may be found also in the extended Type C offering ritual,¹²⁸ the New Kingdom temple offering ritual,¹²⁹ the New Kingdom Opening of the Mouth ritual,¹³⁰ New Kingdom funeral processions,¹³¹ the Ptolemaic and Roman Hour Vigil,¹³² and the embalming ritual attested in the Roman Period.¹³³ Due to both external and internal information bearing on these rituals, it is a matter of demonstrable fact rather than assumption that they are situated in collective practice. As the interpersonal structure of their rites conforms to the rules which will be drawn out for Papyrus Berlin 3055, the assertion is that the ritual manifest in it is structurally representative of a class broadly distributed throughout the cultural landscape of pharaonic history, that the texts appropriate to that class were governed over a long period by particular rules of discourse. The point is of natural relevance in the present case, since it is intended to set up an expectation that the systematic details of the Berlin papyrus may be reflected in some Pyramid Texts as well.

¹²¹ On this document, see (the forthcoming) Braun 2011, Hays 2009c, and Verhoeven 2001, pp. 67–68.

¹²² As observed by Gardiner 1935, p. 87 with n. 11 (similarly for purifications alone by Altenmüller-Kesting 1968, pp. 212 and 214, and for censuring alone by L. Gabolde and M. Gabolde 1989, p. 156 with n. 181), rites of libating and censuring regularly introduce offering rituals, an observation he applies to divide one section of the New Kingdom offering ritual from another. This observation is here more generally extended simply to divide rituals into parts.

¹²³ For this division, see Hays 2009c, pp. 3–4.

¹²⁴ The dating is on paleographic grounds, matching the character of the hand that wrote a dated notation in pBerlin 3048, according to the unpaginated introduction to Möller 1901. On the dating of pBerlin 3048 and papyri associated with it, see Knigge 2006, p. 140 with n. 411.

¹²⁵ For an itemization of the few differences between them, see Osing 1999a, p. 317.

¹²⁶ For the chapel scenes, see Calverley and Broome 1933, and *idem* 1935, pls. 1–28.

¹²⁷ As similarly concluded by Barta 1966, p. 122, and Lorton 1999, p. 132.

¹²⁸ For which see Hays and Schenck 2007a, p. 108, fig. 7.2 (TT 57).

¹²⁹ For sources see Hays 2009c, p. 7 with nn. 55–56.

¹³⁰ Otto 1960.

¹³¹ See Hays 2010, pp. 1–14.

¹³² Junker 1910 and (the forthcoming) Pries 2011.

¹³³ Sauneron 1952 (pBoulaq III).

1. *Collective Setting*

While in principle the king was the one who ministered to the gods and the dead,¹³⁴ in practice the role of officiant was performed by the king's subjects.¹³⁵ In the New Kingdom temple offering ritual, which is a continuation of the sanctuary ritual,¹³⁶ their ranks are indicated in several places in the paratext accompanying its recitations.¹³⁷ Multiple performers were involved in the temple sanctuary ritual also. Although a preliminary notation of the Berlin papyrus—in fact its title—presents it as being performed by just one ritualist, *wꜥb* ʕ3 *imy hrw=f* “the great Wab-priest on duty,”¹³⁸ elsewhere the speaking officiant identifies himself with different sacerdotal titles, including *hm-ntr* “god-servant”¹³⁹ and the simple *wꜥb* “pure one.”¹⁴⁰ This indicates that more than one officiant was involved. The divine roles assumed by the officiants¹⁴¹ of the temple sanctuary ritual included the gods Horus, Thoth, Anubis, and Wepwawet¹⁴² (i.e. Horus again), who are sometimes stated as acting in unison.¹⁴³ In contrast, individual rites were performed by a more limited number of officiants. In the Papyrus of Nu, for example, virtually all of its texts are explicitly marked as being performed by the papyrus's owner himself. There is a complication with some of its rites, however, as will be later discussed.

As to Papyrus Berlin 3055, the material supports for the involvement of the priests, professional and semi-professional, are not expressed in the document itself, but they are well known from external evidence. The temple as an institution was a central administrative and economic structure, interrelated with the affairs of other temples and government organs.¹⁴⁴ Consequently the cultural performances manifest in the temple sanctuary ritual entailed systems of support which permeated Egyptian society. This is different from individual rites, which did not entail such systems, nor is there reason to suppose that they were done on a professional or semi-professional basis.

A crucial analytical step is the determination of a rite's principal beneficiary, because this aspect of setting will momentarily be seen directly to affect the feature of a text's performance structure. In collective ritual, officiants performed rites for a beneficiary who was separate from themselves.

To be sure, the non-royal officiants of collective rituals expected to reap benefits from their performances, both in this world and the next,¹⁴⁵ and it is certainly the case that the king (*ni-sw.t* and *pr-ʕ3*) is occasionally mentioned in the Berlin papyrus as a secondary beneficiary.¹⁴⁶ By extension the community as a whole was to profit from what was done for the god. But

¹³⁴ See Assmann 1986a, cols. 662–663.

¹³⁵ As noted, for example, at Assmann 1976, p. 41. See also A.B. Lloyd 1989, pp. 129–130; Brunner 1989, p. 88; Baines 1991b, pp. 128–129; Assmann 1995b, p. 49, and Quack 2010b, p. 221.

¹³⁶ For discussion of these two rituals and bibliography, see Hays 2009c, pp. 2–3 and 7–8 with nn. 17 and 64; the two main rituals of daily temple service are the temple sanctuary ritual (also referred to as the “ritual du culte divin journalier” and “Kultbildritual”) and the temple offering ritual (also referred to as “das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches” and “the Ritual of Amenophis I”). See *ibid.*, pp. 11–12, for the sequential relationship between these two rituals.

¹³⁷ Gardiner 1935, p. 104.

¹³⁸ pBerlin 3055 I, 1.

¹³⁹ As at pBerlin 3055 X, 3.

¹⁴⁰ pBerlin 3055 XXVI, 6.

¹⁴¹ On the priestly assumption of divine roles in cult, see Hays 2009a, pp. 26–30.

¹⁴² As at pBerlin 3055 II, 6; XX, 3; XXVI, 5; IX, 2 respectively.

¹⁴³ Horus and Thoth at pBerlin 3055 X, 8; Horus, Thoth, and Anubis at pBerlin 3055 XXVI, 5.

¹⁴⁴ Haring 1997, p. 389, concerning New Kingdom temple estates.

¹⁴⁵ See Hays 2009a, pp. 20–24, for benefits explicitly and implicitly accrued by non-royal officiants.

¹⁴⁶ As at pBerlin 3055 XV, 8–XVI, 1. What is remarkable is how the reciprocity of ritual action is acknowledged, since one might have expected this underlying principle to be sublimated; cf. Bourdieu 1977b, pp. 4–6, and the summary of his views on gift exchange at C. Bell 1992, pp. 82–83.

these benefits were accrued secondarily according to an Egyptian doctrine of ritual reciprocity.¹⁴⁷ In modern research, the concept of exchange—*do ut des*—as a theoretical basis for religious practice goes back to the late Nineteenth Century (and even earlier, as it is implicit in Plato),¹⁴⁸ and, despite criticisms against it,¹⁴⁹ and thanks to the work of Marcel Mauss,¹⁵⁰ it is still seen as a general principle motivating ritual acts.¹⁵¹ In the Egyptian temple sanctuary ritual the concept of reciprocity is sometimes made explicit, but that does not mean that the ritual presents itself as being conducted primarily on the king's behalf.¹⁵² To determine the primary beneficiary of a rite, it is necessary to look at its wider context—the place in which it was performed and the content of the rites done there.

As to Karnak temple at ancient Thebes, where the temple sanctuary ritual was performed, it was devoted to and was literally the home of Amun-Re. Within the texts represented on the Berlin papyrus, the individual who is at the center of attention is without question this god. “Its concern is with the well-being and satisfaction of the deity and thus with the requirements of the possibility of his earthly residence and local presence,” as Assmann has stated.¹⁵³ While a comparison of the rites of the Berlin papyrus to the Abydos versions shows that the recitations made by the priests were effectively the same between them, the name of the deity being propitiated differs in each instance to tailor the rite specifically to him. After the tailoring, the name *imn-r* “Amun-Re” is easily the most frequently attested word in the Berlin papyrus, and that frequency makes him its central figure and therefore recognizably the prime beneficiary of its rites. The unsealing and opening of the sanctuary and the ritual's prostrations, hymns, purifications, robing, and anointing were all done in his name and on his behalf.

And they were done by others for him. This detail contrasts collective rituals from most rites done in an Egyptian individual setting. Inasmuch as the god was operated on by a team of priests, the effects of collective ritual were supposed to be achieved not by the beneficiary himself but by the deeds of others. In comparison, the results of individual rites were generally secured by the beneficiary for himself, since he was not only their performer but also their beneficiary.

¹⁴⁷ For the principle of reciprocal benefit between king and god in ritual, see Gardiner 1935, p. 104; Barta 1980, cols. 839–840; Assmann 2001a, p. 172; and for further references Gulyás 2007, p. 37 n. 69.

¹⁴⁸ Plato, *Laws* 10.885c–d, in reference to the god's absolution of human guilt in exchange for gifts.

¹⁴⁹ For a first critique, see Harrison 1927 [1912], pp. 134–137, where the phrase *do ut des* is used. See also Tambiah 1990, p. 48; and C. Bell 1997, pp. 26 and 108. All three of these scholars cite Edward Tylor as the origin of the principle in classical scholarship, but, to be precise, Tylor does not fully develop a concept of reciprocity; see Tylor 2010 [1871], vol. ii, p. 341, where the item proffered to a deity according to the “gift-theory” is said to be motivated “with as yet no definite thought how the receiver can take and use it,” and *ibid.* p. 357, where it is deemed hopeless “to guess whether the worshipper means to benefit or merely to gratify the deity”: according to Tylor's gift-theory, the offering is not given with the expectation that the recipient will reciprocate; rather, Tylor's focus is on ignorance of how the receiver might make use of an offering. The element of reciprocity is introduced at W. Robertson Smith 2002 [1894], p. 392, and is propagated at Durkheim 1995 [1912], p. 345. As far as I know, the phraseology *do ut des* first appears at Harrison *loc. cit.*, and *idem* 1991 [1903], pp. 3, 82, and 161–162. The psychological-philosophical basis of the religious offering and the reciprocity associated with it may be perceived to be a human act of reflexive projection: that “which has been renounced is unconsciously restored”; see Feuerbach 1989 [1854], pp. 26–27.

¹⁵⁰ See Hubert and Mauss 1964 [1898], p. 100, and Mauss 1990 [1950], esp. pp. 15–17. For a modification of the idea that there are no pure gifts divorced from an expectation of reciprocity, see Laidlaw 2000, pp. 619–629.

¹⁵¹ As at Burkert 1985, p. 66. Compare *idem* 1983, however, where the idea of the gift and exchange plays no significant role in his analysis of sacrifice.

¹⁵² As is sometimes mistakenly thought; cf. L. Bell 1985a, p. 41, and *idem* 1985b, p. 285, where the roles of officiant and beneficiary are confused.

¹⁵³ Assmann 2001a, pp. 49–50.

The performance of the temple sanctuary ritual, as opposed to the processional ceremonies in which the god issued forth from his temple, was surely not a public affair.¹⁵⁴ To open ‘the doors of the sky,’ the naos doors behind which stood the sacred image of the god, was a matter of *bz* “induction” or “initiation” in the New Kingdom,¹⁵⁵ and it was an event worthy of special note in the life of a priest on its first occasion in later times.¹⁵⁶ Access to the innermost recesses of a temple was doubtless governed by matters of ritual purity in the first place, as is abundantly clear from monumental inscriptions,¹⁵⁷ the numerous asseverations concerning this status by priests during the temple sanctuary ritual itself,¹⁵⁸ and as is crystallized in pictorial scenes of the so-called ‘Baptism of the Pharaoh.’¹⁵⁹ These scenes actually indicate the preliminary purifications marking the transition of the officiant into a space of activity differentiated from the mundane world by this very deed.¹⁶⁰ In the second place, authorization to enter into the sanctuary to see the god was in principle regulated by royal command.¹⁶¹ In sum, purity and official authorization constrained access to the sanctuary itself. In this respect, the temple sanctuary ritual was not public in the sense of being accessible to everyone at all times.

On the other hand, the monumental presence of the temple dominated the city in which it stood,¹⁶² and the events which took place in the sanctuary were profusely displayed in image outside of the sanctuary on the temple’s interior walls and, beginning in earnest in Ramesside times, on its exterior walls as well.¹⁶³ It is especially noteworthy that the pictorial nature of such representations did not rely upon literacy to transmit their meaning. By image, such depictions directly communicated the essence of the temple ritual’s exemplary rites to all but the blind. Further, the temple offering ritual, which is the continuation of the rites performed in the sanctuary, included rites in which the general public congregated in the outer halls of the temple seems to have participated.¹⁶⁴ Finally, it has been argued that, because the ‘*rekhyt* rebus,’ an emblem indicating the ‘common people,’ was inscribed in some temple sanctuaries, the common people were accordingly understood to be “metaphysically” present there.¹⁶⁵ They were at least represented there. There was a tension, then, between the seclusion of the actual performance of rites within a god’s innermost sanctuary and their high-profile exposure through prominent representation and extended participation, all of which revolved around a monumental edifice which absolutely dominated the cityscape. Thus, on the one hand the rites within the sanctuary were concealed and witnessed only by its few officiants, but on the other the wider community indeed participated in their performance vicariously and in an indirect manner. While the temple sanctuary ritual was not a

¹⁵⁴ As observed also at Quack 2010a, p. 5 with nn. 42–43.

¹⁵⁵ See the reliefs of Thutmose III showing him being inducted into the presence of the god at the Small Temple of Medinet Habu at Epigraphic Survey 2009, pl. 11, where the term *bz* is applied. On such scenes, see Helck 1968, pp. 4–14. On the term’s nuance of initiation, see Kruchten 1989, pp. 175–186.

¹⁵⁶ On the structure of these texts, see *ibid.*, pp. 12–23.

¹⁵⁷ See for instance the exhortations of purity often found on the jambs of temple sanctuaries, as at that of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, e.g. Epigraphic Survey 1964, pls. 508B and 509B: *ꜥq nb r hꜣw.t-nꜣr wꜥb zp snw* “As for all who enter into this temple, be pure (twice)!”

¹⁵⁸ For instance at TSR 1 (pBerlin 3055 I, 5): *hꜣp-di-ni-sw.t iw=i wꜥb.kw* “The offering given of the king: I am pure.”

¹⁵⁹ For a discussion of this scene and references, see Corcoran 1995, p. 59.

¹⁶⁰ For the functional value of purification in this regard, see Hays 2009a, pp. 27–28.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁶² Assmann 2001a, p. 27.

¹⁶³ As observed by Brand 2007, p. 57.

¹⁶⁴ See Gardiner 1935, p. 105; the daily rite in question is TOR 41, for which see *ibid.*, pp. 91–92. TOR 45–46 are similarly interpreted by *ibid.*, pp. 95–97, to have been performed by “the general public,” but they appear to be related to the Festival of Amun rather than daily service since they are deployed in that context.

¹⁶⁵ Griffin 2007, p. 81.

public event, the public surrounding the temple was made fully aware of it. In this respect it differed from individual rites. As may be gathered from notations in the Papyrus of Nu and from the anthropological dynamics of performance which it presupposes, they were matters to be done separately from communal activities and more or less strictly in private.

The temple sanctuary ritual's setting of performance consequently involved interaction between officiants who operated for a beneficiary. It was collective, therefore, in the sense of involvement by multiple persons who acted for another, from the point of view of the administrative and economic systems supporting the activities, and through the stature and profile of its events in community awareness and extended involvement.

A final note may be made about the focused and uniform composition of Papyrus Berlin 3055. With the Egyptians, cult was divided into daily and calendrical rituals, with the latter consisting of ceremonies which occurred more than once a year ("ceremonies of the sky") and ceremonies which occurred only once a year ("seasonal ceremonies").¹⁶⁶ This statement specifically applies to temple activities, but a similar distinction should be made for mortuary cult¹⁶⁷ and may be presumed also for royal cultic activities, those done for a living king, though comparatively little is known of the latter. To all of these may be added occasional rituals, namely, rituals prompted not by diurnal and calendrical cycles but by singular events. An example of an occasional ritual in temple cult is the temple foundation ritual; an example of an occasional ritual in mortuary cult may be found in the complexes of activities carried out from the moment of a person's death up to the deposition of his or her corpse in the tomb. With royal cult, an occasional ritual is the coronation; a calendrically determined ritual is the Sed ceremony; daily cultic activities would have included the formal ceremonials of court.

Within this framework, the temple sanctuary ritual was a daily performance according to the title attributed to it in the Berlin papyrus,¹⁶⁸ and as a rule the rites of the papyrus pertain to that unitary event.¹⁶⁹ In fact, their performance one after another constituted the event. As with other Egyptian cultic services, the temple sanctuary ritual consisted of multiple rites concatenated together. In the sense that its rites were all constitutive components of a larger event and therefore had a common affiliation, the papyrus displays a focused composition; its rites uniformly involved a singular though extended activity.

Other temple ritual documents, such as pBM 10689 and pCairo 58030 + pTurin 54041, are more variegated. Their beginning portions represent the temple offering ritual, which consisted of a set of rites to be performed daily (about forty-one rites). Their ends represent rites to be performed on specific ceremony days (eleven rites).¹⁷⁰ pBM 10689 includes several

¹⁶⁶ Compare the division of cult into daily and processional activity by Meyer 1998, p. 135. The distinction between two sorts of calendrical rituals is observed by Spalinger 1998, p. 242 with n. 11, *idem* 1996, pp. 1–31, and *idem* 1992, p. 4, and see *idem* 1998, p. 1 n. 2 for an overview of previous studies of the two terms. The basis for making this distinction is in a declaration in the ceremony calendar of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. For that calendar's distinction between daily ritual, ceremonies of the sky, and seasonal ceremonies, see *KRI* V 116, 15–117, 6: *w3h=i n=k htp-ntr n hr(i)t-hrw smn=i hb.w nw p.t r s(w).w=sn... ir.w=i n=k tp-tr.w n hb ip.t hb in.t mit(i) t nm h3^c im=sn* "I will set down for you the divine daily offerings and establish the ceremonies of the sky on their dates.... I will perform for you the seasonal ceremonies at the ceremonie(s) of Opet and the Valley likewise, without stint from them."

¹⁶⁷ For the association of ceremonies named in *pr.t-hrw* "mortuary service" specifications with the calendar, see Parker 1950, pp. 34–36.

¹⁶⁸ pBerlin 3055 I, 1: *h3.t^c m r3.w nw h.wt ntr irr.wt n (< m) pr imm-r^c ni-sw.t ntr.w m hr(it)-hrw nt r^c nb in w^cb 3 imy hrw=f* "Beginning of the utterances of the god's rites which are done in the house of Amun-Re, king of the gods, in the course of the day, every day by the great w^cb-priest on duty (lit. who is in his day)."

¹⁶⁹ For argumentation against the idea that TSR 20–42 are particular to ceremony days, see Hays 2009c, p. 4 n. 23. Exceptional is TSR 54, as kindly pointed out to me by J. Quack, since its concluding notation indicates (pBerlin 3055 XXXII, 8–XXXIII, 1): *ir.tw n tpy sn(i).t 15.nt n h3.w r p3* "Done on the first day, the sixth day, and the fifteenth day (sc. of the lunar month), in addition to this (sc. TSR 55)."

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

other religious texts, including one that is the cultic acknowledgment of subordinate ‘Ennead’ gods housed in a temple,¹⁷¹ and another for the purification (of a priest) on the sixth-day ceremony.¹⁷² Consequently, a single document can focus upon a specific event, such as the temple sanctuary ritual, or it may contain a set of rites pertinent to multiple rituals. The variegated documents are not unified by a single event, but rather in their affiliation with a general human activity—here, the performance of cult for a god. But in respect to their concern with activities done in a collective setting, such papyri are nevertheless homogeneous; they do not present rites to be done in an individual situation.

2. *Sacerdotal Performance Structure*

The preceding discussion has drawn out very general aspects of the temple sanctuary ritual as a representative of collective performances: multiple performers, broad-based social systems of support, and extended involvement. These features distinguish the collective from individual settings, and they are details which contextualize the meaning of the particular texts of Papyrus Berlin 3055—precisely the sort of contextual information which the Pyramid Texts lack. The object now is to draw out facts about the structure of texts in the Berlin papyrus which can provide a basis, ultimately, for associating some Pyramid Texts with the collective setting and its general aspects—though naturally for the Pyramid Texts a cultic service would have involved the dead rather than a god.

As indicated at several turns already, the structural detail which will be focused on has to do with grammatical person.

The beneficiary of the temple sanctuary ritual, the god supposed to be immanent in an image,¹⁷³ did not actively participate in the execution of any of the rites. There is a pragmatic reason for his lack of speaking role: from a material point of view, the divine image before which such rites were performed was inert and inanimate.¹⁷⁴ Anthropologically speaking, one could construe that the god played the role of passive initiand, as do the chief participants at a commencement ceremony, a couple at a wedding, the corpse at the funeral, or a child at baptism. In these initiatic cases, it is normally the hierophantic cast around the beneficiary who does the talking, while the person whose status is about to change remains silent. Similarly with Egyptian temple ritual: its performance was dependent upon priests.

Among the sixty-six rites of Papyrus Berlin 3055, there is not a single case where the god himself plays an active speaking role.¹⁷⁵ He is always situated in the second person,¹⁷⁶ the third,¹⁷⁷ both,¹⁷⁸ or no mention is made of him at all.¹⁷⁹ In his stead, priests talk to the god or about him. The frequency of occurrence may be resumed in the following table:

¹⁷¹ For this text (pBM 10689 vo. B 1, 6–11, 3), see Gardiner 1935, pp. 106–109.

¹⁷² For this text (pBM 10689, vo. B 12, 1–17, 1), see *ibid.*, pp. 110–113.

¹⁷³ Or, more precisely, identical to it; see already Derchain 1965, p. 9.

¹⁷⁴ As similarly observed by Leprohon 2007, p. 272, concerning the role of Osiris during the Khoiak ceremonies.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. similarly Jasnow and Zauzich 2005, p. 55, and cf. Gardiner 1935, p. 104.

¹⁷⁶ TSR 7, 13–19, 21, 23, 26, 30–41, 44, 46–49, and 56–65. This enumeration treats the statement in TSR 58, pBerlin 3055 XXXIV, 1: *wš3 n=k ir.t hr <š> m-c=k h3s n=f hr=s* “spread the eye of Horus, <the sand>, from your hand, that its aspect be bright for him,” as a paratextual remark. Else through its *n=f* the text should be counted among texts which cast the beneficiary in both the second and third person.

¹⁷⁷ TSR 1, 3–4, 6, 9, 12, 24, 28–29, 43, 53, and 55.

¹⁷⁸ TSR 8, 10–11, 20, 22, 25, 27, 42, 50–52, 54, and 66.

¹⁷⁹ TSR 2, 5, and 45.

Table 1. Person of the Beneficiary in pBerlin 3055

| Person of Amun-Re | Number of texts |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| 2nd person only | 38 |
| 2nd and 3rd person | 13 |
| 3rd person only | 12 |
| Not mentioned | 3 |
| 1st person | 0 |

This is not to say that the ritual lacks first-person pronouns. Many texts use the “I,” but it always refers to one of the officiants and never to the beneficiary. So, while it is the case that other factors are at play in the construction of participant roles, it is also a conspicuous fact that the beneficiary in the temple sanctuary ritual is not cast in the first person. No priest spoke in proxy for him. This is a pivotal structural difference between rites performed in a collective context versus rites performed in an individual one.¹⁸⁰ It hinges upon the relationship between a text’s beneficiary and its performance.

In order to illustrate this point, four examples from the temple sanctuary ritual will be presented. In the first example, the god is cast only in the second person:

TSR 13, pBerlin 3055 IV, 9—V, 2 (Moret 1902)

r3 n(i) rdi.t hr h.t
dd-mdw
i.nd-hr=k imn-r^c nb ns(wt) B.wy
mn.tw (i.e. mn.ti) hr s.t=k wr.t
rti.n=i (i.e. rdi.n=i) hr h.t=i n snd=k
snd.kw n ššf=k
hpt n=i gbb hwe.t-hr
di=s wr=i
nn hr=i n s^c.wt n(i)t hrw pn

Utterance of prostration.

Recitation:

Hail to you, Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands,
 enduring upon your great throne.

I have placed (myself) upon my belly because of fear of you,
 being afraid because of awe of you:

Geb embraces Hathor for me,
 and she causes me to be great.

I will not succumb to the terror of this day.

¹⁸⁰ I know of no case to indicate that a beneficiary was configured in the first person in an actual collective ritual script. Any seeming instance exhibits complications pointing away from such an interpretation. For instance, a monumental version of the collective MÖR 14c (KV 14) appears to place the beneficiary in the first: *mdd.n=i n=i r3=k ink z3=t mry=t* “I (sc. the priest, m.s.) have struck your (m.s.) mouth for me (sc. the beneficiary’s, f.s.), for I am your (sc. the beneficiary’s, f.s.) son beloved of you”; cf. similarly MÖR 14a (KV 14) and the translation thereof at Otto 1960, vol. ii, p. 65. As the orthography of the *n=i* “for me” employs the seated-queen sign in reference to the text owner Tawoset, while maintaining the masculine seated-man for *mdd.n=i*, it would seem to be an impossible statement. But in the second half of the sentence, the second-person feminine singular form is determined by the same seated-queen sign. For that reason, it makes more sense to simply interpret the seated queen everywhere in this text as indicating the second-person pronoun =t “you.” Another exemplar of MÖR 14c (TT 100), properly configures the beneficiary in the second person: *mdd.n(=i) n=k r3=k ink z3=k mr=k* “I (sc. the priest) have struck your mouth for you (sc. the beneficiary), for I am your son beloved of you.”

Here one sees that the text is recited by someone other than the god, especially since the officiant refers to himself in the first person. But even if that reference were absent, the performance of the text would still be dependent upon someone else, because the god is being addressed: ‘Hail to you, Amun-Re’ is a vocative, and it is followed by ‘your great throne,’ ‘fear of you,’ and ‘awe of you.’ He does not speak for himself; someone speaks to him.

In the next example, the god appears only in the third person, but it is clear that he is still the object of the rite:

TSR 53, pBerlin 3055 XXX, 3–8 (Moret 1902)

r3 n(i) db3 mnḥ.t idmi
ḏd-mdw
šzḫ imm-r nb ns(.wt) t3.wy šd=f
hr ʕ.wy t3y.t r iwḏ=f dmi ntr r ntr
t3 ntr r ntr m m=s pwy idmi.t
iʕ ntt=s in hʕpy šḥd hr=s in t3ḥ.w
mnḥ.t sšn.(t)n t3s.t msn.(t)n nb.t-ḥw.t
ir=sn šzḫ mnḥ.t n imm-r nb ns(.wt) t3.wy
m3ʕ hrw imm-r nb ns(.wt) t3.wy r ḥftw=f
zḫ 4

Utterance of clothing with Idemy-cloth.

Recitation:

Let Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, receive his cloth from the hands of Tayt to his flesh, a god touching a god, a god donning a god, in this her name of ‘Idemyt,’ for its bindings¹⁸¹ have been washed by the Nile, its aspect made bright by the Akhs. As to the cloth spun by Isis, woven by Nephthys, they make the linen bright for Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, that the voice of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, be true against his enemies. Four times.

In this rite, the speaker discusses the presentation of a kind of cloth to the beneficiary of the rite, Amun-Re. While the god is mentioned as the subject of the verb *šzḫ* “to receive,” he is not the performer of the text itself. Later the script mentions the god again in the third person: “for Amun-Re,” “the voice of Amun-Re,” and “his enemies.” In terms of performance, the god is neither the speaker of texts like this nor is he the addressee.

A point of detail: Because this text is in the third person, if taken in isolation of its context, it cannot be immediately known that it is performed in the beneficiary’s vicinity. This is due to the deictic character of the third person; it can refer either to an entity in the vicinity of the speaker (as in the example) or to one outside it. This is normally¹⁸² true for nouns, and so also for third-person pronouns.¹⁸³ It is in view of the text’s transmitted and cultural context that one understands it to be a rite performed by priests for Amun-Re and in his presence. That is partly because the entire ritual took place at the sanctuary, and it is partly

¹⁸¹ For *ntt/ntt*, see PT 254 §285c; PT 264 §349b; CT 15 I 45c; CT 105 II 112b–c; CT 1094 VII 377a.

¹⁸² Aside from vocatives, of course.

¹⁸³ Cf. the classification of pronouns by Halliday 2004, pp. 551–552, as having either exophoric reference (pointing to a reference item “recoverable from the environment of the text,” as is the case with the first- and second-person forms and sometimes the third person) or endophoric reference (pointing to a reference item “recoverable from within the text itself,” either before or after the deployment of the pronoun, as is more often the case with third-person forms). The distinction being drawn in my discussion is a subdivision of Halliday’s first category.

because other texts around the present one actually do refer to the god in the second person, and that establishes a distinction between speaker and audience. In sum, the god's situation in the third person, strictly speaking, merely suggests but does not show that he is not an active participant in the rite. It is through its context of deployment that it is understood to be recited in his presence and on his behalf.

An extension of this possibility may be observed in rites from the temple ritual which make no reference to the god at all, as in the following example:

TSR 5, pBerlin 3055 II, 4–7 (Moret 1902)

r3 n(i) nmt [r] bw dsr
dd-mdw
b3.w iwmw
wḏ3=tn wḏ3=i tz phr
wḏ3 k3=tn
iw k3=i wḏ3 hnti k3.w nḥ.w nb.w
nḥ n3.w nb.w nḥ=i
mnz3.wy n(iw) i.tm m z3 n(i) hḥ.w=i
di n=i shm.t ʿ3(.t) mr(.t) pth nḥ dd w3s
h3 iwḥ.w=i tm n(i) nḥ dhw.ty
ink hr hr(i) w3d=f nb mṯw ʿ3 šfj ʿ3-šw(.t) ʿ3 m 3bdw
hṯp-di-ni-sw.t
iw=i wḥb.kw

Utterance of advancing [to] the sacred place.

Recitation four (times):

O Bas of Heliopolis,

if you are healthy, I am healthy, and vice versa.

May your Ka be healthy,

and my Ka be sound before the Kas of all the living

Just as all these live, so do I live.

The two jugs of Atum are the protection of my body,

with Sekhmet the great one, beloved of Ptah, placing for me life, stability, and dominion around my flesh (in) the fullness of the life of Thoth.¹⁸⁴

I am Horus who is upon his papyrus, beautiful of awe, possessor of fear, one great of awe, raised of plumes, the great one in Abydos.

The¹⁸⁵ offering given of the king:

I am pure.

It is clear that the first person of the text is a priest performing the rite. As Amun-Re is neither the speaker of the text nor its addressee, it is similar to the third-person text TSR 53 in its neutrality. As with that rite, it is not immediately obvious that the performance of the text is related to the god's benefit. The difference is in that it actually makes no reference to Amun-Re at all; it is instead addressed to the 'Bas of Heliopolis.' It is due to TSR 5's position within a longer series of rites dedicated to the beneficiary that it ultimately concerns him.

Since the central concern of the temple sanctuary ritual is the god Amun-Re, rites like TSR 5 are in the minority. Generally the texts alternate in situating the god in the second and third person, and so from the perspective of the overall ritual he is normally situated

¹⁸⁴ On the phrase *tm n(i) nḥ dhw.ty*, see Guglielmi and Buroh 1997, pp. 114–115.

¹⁸⁵ As observed by Satzinger 1997, 180–82, *hṯp* in the context of the *hṯp-di-ni-sw.t* formula should be treated as definite rather than indefinite, since it is modified by a relative form (or, as interpreted here, a passive participle with genitival agent).

either as an addressee or as a topic of discussion. That circumstance is matched in microcosm where texts situate the beneficiary in both the second and third grammatical persons, as in the final example:

TSR 10, pBerlin 3055 IV, 3–6 (Moret 1902)

r3 n(i) wn hr ntr
dd-mdw
wn 3.wi p.t zn 3.wi t3
nd-hr n(i) gbb m dd n(i) ntr.w
mn.tw (i.e. mn.ti) hr s.t=s<n>
wn 3.wi p.t psd psd.t
q3 imm-r^c nb ns(.wt) t3.wy hr s.t=f wr.t
q3 psd.t 3.t hr s.t=sn
nfr.w=k n=k imm-r^c nb ns(.wt) t3.wy
h3.w hbs tw
r^cq r^cq tw

Utterance of revealing the god.

Recitation:

The doors of the sky are opened: the doors of the earth are opened.

Geb is greeted with the speech of the gods,
 being established upon the<ir> throne(s).

The doors of the sky are opened that the Ennead shine.

As Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, is exalted upon his great throne,
 so is the great Ennead exalted upon their thrones.

You have your beauty, O Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands!

O naked one, be clothed!

O you who would be dressed, be dressed!

Because this text alternately casts the beneficiary in the third person (“Amun-Re . . . is exalted upon his great throne”) and addresses him in the second (“You have your beauty, O Amun-Re”), it contains within itself the modes of the first two examples.¹⁸⁶ It *switches* between the two main possibilities.

In summary, texts of the temple sanctuary ritual can refer to the beneficiary in the second person, the third person, switch between them, or make no reference to him at all. The strictly second-person format and that with switching between the second and third are together most characteristic of it. They are found in nearly 80% of the temple sanctuary ritual’s texts, whereas they occur in very few of the texts in the Book of the Dead to be examined. The way these two formats configure the beneficiary indicates the relationship between him and the texts’ performance: they present themselves as being done for others on his behalf. Due to their transparency in indicating the beneficiary’s relationship to performance, texts strictly in the second person or switching between the second and third may be said to have a sacerdotal performance structure, and texts exhibiting them can be called sacerdotal texts. The term *sacerdotal* is meant in the sense of ‘appropriate to a priest’ or ‘officiant.’ The terminology has to do, then, with the way a text represents its manner of performance. The terminology makes an assertion about separation between the one who executes the text and the one who benefits from it.

Texts placing the beneficiary in the third person or making no mention of him appear less frequently in the temple sanctuary ritual, and it will be found that they also occur in Nu’s

¹⁸⁶ The same sort of switching occurs in Egyptian hymns as well as Greek classical hymns, Hellenistic hymns, hymns of the Hebrew Bible, and Vedic poetry, as observed by Assmann 1969, pp. 3 with n. 19 and 359–360; Barucq and Daumas 1980, pp. 31–32 with n. 25; and Žabkar 1988, pp. 52 and 59.

Book of the Dead, and similarly infrequently. Because they are neutral in indicating manner of performance, the relationship of such texts to the beneficiary must be determined by their contexts of presentation. When found among texts strictly in the second person or switching between the second and third, texts with the third-person format may be understood, like them, as to have been done on his behalf, and therefore as sacerdotal texts.

3. *Oracular Interventions versus Cultic Services*

In the temple sanctuary ritual the god is a passive, inactive participant. But outside of it, and beginning in the New Kingdom,¹⁸⁷ deities could intervene via oracles in matters of state and personal property. Because oracles became a traditional element of religious practice and required the involvement of the priesthood, it is necessary to situate them in temple cult, thus a collective setting. The mechanics of the oracle are known in detail thanks to Jaroslav Černý.¹⁸⁸ A representative example is a pictorial scene from the Twentieth Dynasty, which shows how the inert image of the deified Amenhotep I, borne on the shoulders of striding priests in procession, passed judgment between two litigants. According to the hieroglyphic caption, *dd p3 ir p3 ntr m3c sdm-cš r-c-mss-nht cdb hq3-nht wn.in p3 ntr (hr) hm(n) wr(.t) zp 2* “The god said, ‘The servant Ramessenakhte is right and Heqanakhte is wrong.’ Then the god nodded a great deal.”¹⁸⁹ The god’s intervention was manifest as a decision, a binary result, one of two options. The decision was doubtless selected unconsciously by the priests as they carried the god’s image on their shoulders. According to this practice, written alternatives were placed in the path of the procession.¹⁹⁰ The feet and shoulders of the priests did the talking, with result that the god manifested his attitude by walking forwards or backwards, shaking violently, or, as here, bending down—*hnn* “to give assent,” literally “bow” as in “bow the head,” i.e. to nod.¹⁹¹

Two things are important to observe about the activity. First, while the official account makes the god ‘speak’ for himself, it is actually the physical, non-verbal activity of a group of priests which produced his declaration from among yes-no alternatives, as if operating a giant Ouija board.¹⁹² The possible articulations of the god’s speech were known beforehand, and his utterance was non-verbally performed by physical selection. Second, and more importantly, the beneficiary was less the god and more the community as a whole. The social body required the resolution of a contention between two or more of its members in a material affair through access to true knowledge of hidden things. Thus the god intervened in specific matters—settling a property dispute, selecting the next ruler of Egypt, or other matters involving named persons in the community.¹⁹³ Thus in its specificity the cultic divination

¹⁸⁷ Assmann 2001a, p. 194. See also Baines 1987, pp. 88–90, where First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom cases of divine influence on human action are considered. For an uncertain Old Kingdom example of an oracle, see Baines and Parkinson 1997, pp. 9–27.

¹⁸⁸ Černý 1962. See also the summary at Assmann 2001a, p. 35, and the bibliography at Baines and Parkinson 1997, p. 9 nn. 1–2, to which add von Lieven 1999, pp. 77–126.

¹⁸⁹ Foucart 1935, pl. 31.

¹⁹⁰ Černý 1962, pp. 42 and 45.

¹⁹¹ See esp. Wb ii 494.11: “den Kopf neigen (als Zeichen der Zustimmung).”

¹⁹² For the comparison of the Egyptian oracle to a Ouija board, see Luck 1985, p. 50–51; it is a type of motor or muscular automatism.

¹⁹³ A strictly specific, material concern is similarly at hand with so-called oracular amuletic decrees (see Edwards 1960, pp. xix–xxiii). Note that these texts do not appear to have been performed as such but were thought to secure their effects through the writing itself as a talismanic object. On these documents, see most recently Baines 2011, pp. 73–84, and Lucarelli 2009, with bibliography at p. 231 nn. 2 and 3, and note also an overlooked text on the verso of pCairo CG 58042, discussed at Quack 1994, p. 8. The oracular amuletic decrees are similar to oracular property decrees, on which see Muhs 2009, pp. 265–275.

moves into the domain of occasional practices, with its extraordinary manner of performance determined by the requirement that the god intervene.

To be sure, both oracular activities and services occur within the collective, cultic domain. But they are distinguishable from rites like those of the temple sanctuary ritual, temple offering ritual, and others in their formal features: beneficiary, manner of execution, and specificity of result. Whereas the temple sanctuary ritual was a service in the literal sense, the oracle was an interaction, a conversation between the god and the community. As with the sanctuary ritual so also with other cultic services. The oracle's distinctive features are not at hand in the New Kingdom temple offering ritual, the New Kingdom Opening of the Mouth, the Ptolemaic and Roman Hour Vigil, or the Roman embalming ritual either.

Certainly the oracle required the involvement of priests, but the present work reserves the term *sacerdotal structure* to indicate services for the god by priests, rather than manifestations of his will through them.

4. *Summary*

The format effectively absent from both the oracle and cultic service is the beneficiary in the first person. In a moment it will be seen that it is characteristic of the individual setting. The presence or absence of the beneficiary in the first person versus the predominant use of the strictly second-person format or switching is the chief distinguishing feature between the discourses appropriate to the two contexts. This distinction has been promoted by Assmann to divide mortuary texts into two categories, 'mortuary liturgies' on the one hand and proper 'mortuary literature' on the other, an observation expressed in different terms already by Sethe.¹⁹⁴ It now emerges that the differences in 'interpersonal form' are not actually confined to the mortuary context, but rather constitute a structural difference between collective services and individual rites in general.

As certain kinds of statements are appropriate in a certain situation, it may be said that there are rules which govern the nature of discourse which takes place in it. Through the manifest form of the statements made in a particular context, the rules governing their creation may be induced. It may be said that a genre of discourse is defined by the rules which shape it;¹⁹⁵ therefore, to identify its rules is to identify its structural properties.

In the case of the temple sanctuary ritual, the context is cultic, collective service, which includes the priestly performance of scripts for an inert beneficiary. One of the resulting rules which may be perceived in the statements made in them is that they must cast the beneficiary in the second and third person or make no reference to him, and, further, the beneficiary is not to speak for himself. That is a rule for the temple sanctuary ritual. As the temple sanctuary ritual is deemed representative of other collective services, this rule is claimed to be applicable for the class of discourse which takes place in this kind of setting. To be clear, it is not the case that the sacerdotal structure is only to be found in collective services. That is not the assertion. The assertion is that this structure is pervasive in them. This exposition may be distilled in the following figure:

¹⁹⁴ See the literature cited above at n. 90.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Todorov 1972, pp. 14–15, and Foucault 1972, pp. 38 and 47.

| | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|--|
| domain | collective service | performed by multiple officiants for a beneficiary entails social supports involves public awareness and extended participation |
| <i>produces</i> | | |
| discourse | sacerdotal structure | beneficiary is not in the first person is principally in the second or second and third with some third-person texts & ones not mentioning beneficiary |

Figure 1. Collective Service vs. Sacerdotal Structure

The preceding has been formulated so as to construct an analytical tool which may be applied to and tested against other texts besides those in the temple sanctuary ritual. The ascription of such a label to a text is in the first place a categorical description of its actual empirical structure and, in the case of texts placing the beneficiary in the third person or not mentioning him, of its environment of transmission. In the second place, the label implies that the text was composed to be performed by others on behalf of the beneficiary.

Since it will be seen that sacerdotal texts do occur in individual settings, the structure of itself does not indicate the setting. To make a decision about that requires examination of a text's full context of transmission, namely the sorts of texts alongside which it appears and whatever other contextual information is available.

Having observed a rule governing a class of discourse in the later material, the Pyramid Texts may be consulted to see whether it holds for any of its members and, if so, to examine their contexts to see if there is consistency like what is found with the sixty-six texts of the Berlin papyrus. Should it be seen that the sacerdotal structure is pervasive among the texts of some groups and largely absent in others, we will have found ourselves in a position where we are required to understand the difference, and we will have a related Egyptian frame of reference by which to do so.

B. *The Book of the Dead*

The New Kingdom Book of the Dead is relevant to consider in comparison to the Pyramid Texts because it is a descendant of that body of literature through the intermediary of the Middle Kingdom mortuary literature.¹⁹⁶ It is of particular value for the purpose of the determination of settings and structures because, unlike the Pyramid Texts, it includes paratextual notations which help situate the texts in Egyptian culture.¹⁹⁷

As a representative of the tradition, the Eighteenth Dynasty Papyrus of Nu (pBM EA 10477) is chosen as prime example due to its extensiveness (136 texts),¹⁹⁸ the exceptional care with which it was copied, and the high regard in which it is viewed.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ See above at n. 6.

¹⁹⁷ See above at n. 14.

¹⁹⁸ The introductory adoration of Osiris scene is not counted as a text. The two pairs BD 141/142 and 96/97 are treated as two unified texts in this count. Note that a few other texts appear in separate parts (BD 151 parts 1 and 2) or in more than one version (BD 64, 122, and 136A) and are consequently counted separately. On the numbering of their positions, see below at n. 236.

¹⁹⁹ Lapp 1997, p. 15.

As indicated by Günther Lapp, who published the papyrus, only two scholars give details to support a date for this particular document. According to Irmtraut Munro, it stems from the reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III to Amenhotep II; according to Henk Milde, it comes from the (early) Eighteenth Dynasty.²⁰⁰ Thus the document is situated toward the beginning of the Book of the Dead tradition as it became mature and manifest on the medium of papyrus scrolls.²⁰¹ Coupled with its length and care, the Papyrus of Nu is taken as exemplifying this early phase of the so-called ‘Theban recension’ of the Book of the Dead.

1. *Individual Setting*

The setting in which the rites of a Book of the Dead were performed concerned the individual. The essence of this statement may be found already in the first scientific treatment of the Book of the Dead, when Lepsius concluded that it was to serve as a kind of written pass or guide “der ihnen eine günstige Aufnahme an den vielen Pforten in den himmlischen Gegenden und Wohnungen verbürgen sollte.”²⁰² This view has been maintained, more or less, by most scholars until now.²⁰³ Inasmuch as a guidebook is used by someone, this interpretation already presupposes a distinction between the collective and individual settings. While funeral rites are collectively performed by the living community for the dead, Lepsius’s guidebook must have been of service to the individual in his particular afterworld existence. Still, the concept of Book of the Dead as guidebook or pass requires revision, and one of the objectives of the following discussion is to accomplish that.

Since the performance of texts such as BD 1 was to take place on the day of burial, it is noteworthy that contemporary, Eighteenth Dynasty pictorial representations of funeral rites do not incorporate extracts from it, while they do contain numerous extracts from texts first attested in the Pyramid Texts.²⁰⁴ The fact that texts of the Book of the Dead were not drawn upon for use in representations of the funeral suggests that its contents applied to a different context or set of contexts. The ancient differentiation is noteworthy, as it is a first indication that Books of the Dead belonged to a different branch of activity than the collective mortuary performances carried out at the same time. On a wider level, a similar differentiation has been astutely observed by Assmann.²⁰⁵

According to paratextual notations accompanying the texts of the papyrus of Nu, their performance setting concerned the individual rather than collective. Whereas the Egyptian collective ritual setting involved multiple persons acting on behalf of a separate beneficiary, entails administrative and economic supports, and implies extended public involvement, the setting in which Nu’s texts were performed generally concerned one person who was both beneficiary and officiant, did not require administrative and economic supports, and was private rather than public.

Just as the status of Amun-Re as beneficiary of the temple sanctuary ritual is signaled by the ubiquity of his name among the rites, so is Nu’s status as beneficiary of his papyrus

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.

²⁰¹ For the earliest manifestations of what are today called Books of the Dead, appearing more commonly on shrouds and sarcophagi, see Gestermann 2006, pp. 102–103.

²⁰² Lepsius 1842, p. 3, and see further the quotation given above at n. 51.

²⁰³ See for example at Hornung 1997, pp. 26–27; and *idem* 1999, p. 17.

²⁰⁴ See Hays 2010, p. 2. It was such connections that led H. Altenmüller 1972 very perceptively to associate the Pyramid Texts with the events of the funeral. However, he did not take fully account of the fact that most of the extracts found in the representations are not found in the pyramid of Unas, though it was from that king’s texts that he made his reconstruction of the funeral. Further, he did not pursue the possibility that some Pyramid Texts may not come from funeral rites at all.

²⁰⁵ See Assmann 1990, pp. 3, 18, and 22–23; similarly Gestermann 2006, p. 112 with n. 39.

marked by his omnipresence within the texts themselves. But whereas Amun-Re is the inactive object of rites performed by him by priests, Nu himself is explicitly identified as the reciter of virtually all of his texts, as is the general case with texts in Books of the Dead.²⁰⁶ In Nu's papyrus, this is accomplished by paratextual notations introducing and framing each text, with the notations being variations on a theme. Titles including infinitives are followed by an agential *in* + his name "by NN"; titles with infinitives are followed by his name and *dd=f* "who says"; titles with infinitives plus agential *in* and name are followed by *dd=f* "who says"; titles are followed by *dd-mdw in* and his name "recitation by NN"; titles are followed by *dd-mdw in*, his name, and *dd=f*; or there is no title but the text is simply preceded by *dd-mdw in* and his name only. So, as the texts present themselves, their setting of performance does not include interaction among multiple persons. Rather, it is a matter of the activity of just one party who operates and speaks on his own behalf.

a. *Iconic Representations*

In fact, there are only two texts out of the 136 in the papyrus which are not specifically framed as recitations by Nu himself: BD 150, which consists of only images of the afterworld and captions, and BD 151, which appears in two separate parts. BD 150, which is the very last text of the papyrus, may be understood as a text to be studied or admired rather than recited, similarly to the iconic scene showing the text owner adoring Osiris at the very beginning of the document. BD 151 is an interesting case. According to Barbara Lüscher, it probably reflects by derivation ritual activities during the embalming and burial procedures, but not so as to reproduce such actions directly, but to represent them in a general way and thereby guarantee their effects by imagery.²⁰⁷ And indeed in its later manifestations this text's graphic organization is one of its most distinctive attributes.²⁰⁸ This interpretation coincides with Isabelle Régen's observation of discontinuities between what the text says and the actual practices with which it is archaeologically connected.²⁰⁹ In short, as presented in a Book of the Dead papyrus, the text was intended to be an iconic picture of acts rather than an operative ritual script,²¹⁰ and in this respect it is akin to BD 150. In contradistinction to the other texts in the papyrus, they are not presented as things to be done: BD 150 is a diagrammatic map—a 'guidebook' in that term's proper sense—and BD 151 evokes rather than directly supports ritual activities.

The term *iconic* is used specifically for its pictorial overtones in English,²¹¹ and with the sense that its manner of denotation is pictorial or quasi-pictorial. The term is particularly appropriate in the present case, since BD 150 is principally a visual composition, and BD 151 develops into one.

²⁰⁶ As observed by Assmann 1986b, cols. 1001 with 1006 n. 48; *idem* 1990, p. 6; *idem* 2002, p. 32; Barguet 1967, p. 16; Hornung 1999, p. 19; Lapp 1997, p. 34; Naville 1971 [1886] *Einleitung*, p. 20; and Sethe 1931, pp. 533–534. Cf. Quack 2000, p. 58.

²⁰⁷ See Lüscher 1998, pp. 75–77, with an overview there of previous perspectives on the nature of the text.

²⁰⁸ See the version of Eb at Wasserman 1994, pl. 33.

²⁰⁹ See Régen 2010, pp. 267–278.

²¹⁰ To be sure, BD 151 part 2 contains numerous notations of performance, including specifications of ritual purity by an officiant. However, the critical difference is that, in the Papyrus of Nu, the text is unmarked as being performed specifically by the papyrus owner. Very rarely, BD 151 is indeed presented as operative through the explicit inclusion of one of the formulaic introductions enumerated above. This does not occur in the Papyrus of Nu, where Lüscher's assessment must hold, but it does sporadically occur with elements of this text in other documents: once in the Papyrus of Nebsemi (Aa) and twice in the Papyrus of Any (Eb); see the synoptic text at Lüscher 1998, pp. 136, 163, and 171. With these other two papyri, the text may be regarded as reframed like those discussed directly. On analogy with them, in the Papyrus of Nu BD 151 may be understood more precisely to have been reframed from an operative text into an iconic representation of the rites they concerned.

²¹¹ Cf. V. Turner 1975, p. 152.

b. *Rites Reframed for Personal Performance*

BD 151's distinctive status in Nu's papyrus is especially noteworthy, since it accompanies texts which were actually *reframed* so as to be personally recited by *him*—that is, they are texts which, in their prior forms, were intended to be performed by *others* for the benefit of the text owner, but recontextualized in the papyrus so as to represent themselves as being done by him. There are a total of twelve texts in the papyrus where such reframing has been done. Eleven of them are clustered together in two separate sets, in which they share affinities with one another in title and paratextual notations of use, and a twelfth lies in the space between them. In fact, it is precisely these texts which consistently receive the most extensive notations among all of Nu's, perhaps due to their exceptional status. From the notations it is clear that they had been, in their prior forms, prepared to be performed by someone else for a separate beneficiary. In other words, the manner of performance they presuppose corresponds to what has been found with the temple sanctuary ritual, where officiants performed rites for an inert image. But when brought into the Papyrus of Nu, the texts in question were re-configured so as to be performed by the papyrus owner for his own benefit. This recontextualization was achieved by the simple means of introducing the recitation itself with one of the formulae noted above. A paradoxical complication results: the paratext presupposes performance by a separate party for the beneficiary, who is the text owner Nu, but the recontextualization achieved by the recitation formulae makes Nu himself to be that performer.

Due to their connection in prior manner of performance to the category of rites dominating the collective setting, the reframed texts will be examined in considerable detail before turning to the great majority of texts in the papyrus, which do not exhibit this interesting complication.

The two sets of reframed texts are found toward the end of the papyrus. In their order of appearance, the first set contiguously consists of the texts BD 141/142, 133, 136A (first version), 134, and 130.²¹² All of the texts are entitled *sigr 3h* “making an Akh skillful,” and all but one of them are stated to be performed on specific ceremony days: *h3b.w n(i)w imn.t* and *hrw psdn.tiw* “the ceremonies of the west”²¹³ and “the day of the new moon”²¹⁴ (BD 141/142), *hrw 3bd* “the first day of the month” (BD 133), *hrw 6-n.t* “the sixth-day ceremony,” (BD 136A), and *hrw ms.wt wsir* “the birthday of Osiris” (BD 130). They are the only texts in the papyrus with ceremony-day stipulations, and they are concentrated together in a single, contiguous set.

The second set contains both parts of the iconic BD 151, and this set comes twenty-nine texts after the first. In their order of appearance, the second contiguously consists of the texts BD 144, 137A, 151 (part 2), 101, 156, 155, 151 (part 1), and 100.²¹⁵ Three of these texts specify performance *hrw n(i) zm3 t3* “on the day of the funeral”²¹⁶ (BD 101, 156, and 155), and another states that it is to be done *iw i' b 3h pn sigr twi wp r3=f m bi3* “when this Akh is put together, having been perfected and cleaned, and his mouth has been opened with metal” (BD 137A),

²¹² Called ‘Sub-sequence 5a’ by Lapp 1997, p. 40.

²¹³ The notations further stipulate these as *hrw 3bd 6-n.t w3g h4w.tyt ms.wt wsir zkr grh n(i) h3kr s3b.w n(i) sb3.t bz 3b.w n(i) hrit-ntr sdr h3.w wb3 in.t* “the monthly ceremony, the sixth-day ceremony, the Wag ceremony, Thoth, the birth of Osiris, the ceremony of Sokar, the night of Haker, the mysteries of the gate, the mysteries of the necropolis, repelling the fighting, and opening the valley.”

²¹⁴ Technically *psdn.tiw* refers to the disappearance of the old moon, rather than the first visibility of the new moon, but the old translation is here maintained. On the term's astronomical meaning and possible etymologies, see Depuydt 1998, pp. 73–74.

²¹⁵ Cf. ‘Sub-sequence 7c’ of Lapp 1997, p. 41, which omits BD 100.

²¹⁶ In the Eighteenth Dynasty TT 100, *zm3 t3* refers specifically to the first segment of the mortuary rituals, in which the corpse is brought to the necropolis; see Hays 2010, p. 2. Elsewhere it can also indicate the procession to the tomb, as at Sinuhe B 192–193.

thus on the day of interment. An important, common detail is that most texts of the second set involve placing an amulet or other item at the throat or breast of the beneficiary (BD 101, 156, 155, and 100). Since the iconic BD 151 part 2 is similarly concerned with amulets and bricks to be deposited in the tomb, and since BD 151 part 1 deals with the mummy mask, an object upon which the text is once found,²¹⁷ the whole text obviously falls into the same general category of activity—notwithstanding BD 151’s iconic mode. In short, they all deal with the deposition of objects on the day of burial, as does BD 151, and this connection accounts for the latter’s position among them.²¹⁸ No other such concentration of this kind occurs elsewhere in the papyrus.

There is one other reframed text, BD 30B, and it falls between the two sets. It is similar to the texts of the second set, as it deals with an amulet to be placed *m-hnw ib n(i) z(i)* “within the heart of a man.” Afterwards the officiant is told to *ir n=f wp.t r3* “do²¹⁹ the opening of the mouth for him.” Assuming that the opening of the mouth is to be performed on the *zi* “man” who is mentioned,²²⁰ then the deposition of the amulet is to occur before the opening of the mouth, just as BD 137A is to be done after it. Both of these reframed texts consequently were to be done on the day of burial.

The notations of the twelve reframed texts distinguish between their performers and beneficiaries. The first of them, BD 141/142, makes this clear by a portion of its title, *md3.t ir.t z(i) n it=f z3=f r3-pw* “a book which a man is to do for his father or his son.” BD 133 instructs the officiant to recite it *isk rdi.n=k twt n(i) 3h pn mry=k siqr=f m wi3 pn* “when you (=k) have put an image of this Akh whom you wish to be made skillful in this bark (*sc.* which has been constructed or represented).” BD 136A is *dd-mdw hr twt n(i) 3h pn rdi m wi3 pn* “to be recited over an image of this Akh put in this bark.” BD 134 is to be recited over an image of a falcon *rdi m wi3 pn hn^c twt n(i) 3h pn mry=k siqr=f* “put in this bark with the image of this Akh whom (=f) you (=k) wish to be made skillful.” BD 130 is recited over an image of a bark of the sun god *ist rdi.n=k twt n(i) 3h pn m-h3.t=f* “when you (=k) have put an image of this Akh before it.” In the second set, the officiant of BD 144 is instructed that *ir=k hr twt n(i) 3h pn m-b3h=sn* “you (=k) are to do (it) over the image of this Akh before them (*sc.* images of gods).” BD 137A includes in its titles *s3h.w ir.w n 3h isk ir.n=k s 4 n(i) sin* “Sakhu which are done for an Akh after you (=k) have made four basins of clay” and that *rdi.hr=k ir.tw n=f r3 n(i) tk3.w 4 ipn* “you (=k) are to cause that this speech of these four torches be done for him (=f, *sc.* the Akh).”²²¹ BD 101, 156, and 155 are to be recited over a bandage upon which the text has been written, a knot-amulet, and a Djed-pillar amulet respectively, which are *rdi n 3h iqr r h3=f hrw n(i) zm3 t3* “given to a skillful Akh at his (=f) throat on the day of the funeral.”²²² BD 100 is to be recited over a copy of the text written on a clean, blank papyrus, which is *rdi n 3h hr snb.t=f nn rdi.t tkn=f m h^c.w=f* “given to an Akh at his (=f) breast without letting it touch his flesh.” And BD 30B involves the fabrication of a scarab amulet (bearing the text)

²¹⁷ Lüscher 1998, p. 8.

²¹⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 13.

²¹⁹ An imperative, as correctly translated by T. Allen 1974, p. 40. Note the writing of the passive *sdm=f* from *iri* “to do” in the immediately preceding *ist ir.w hpr n-mh=f sqdw s^cb m nbw*.

²²⁰ It is possible that the *n=f* of the notation actually refers to the amulet itself, although logistically this would be inconvenient, since the instruction names four events in this order: fashioning and decorating the scarab, then putting it in a man’s heart; then opening the mouth; then anointing: it would be difficult to perform an opening of the mouth on an amulet after its deposition. Still, in later periods at least, the opening of the mouth could be performed on amuletic objects; see Moyer and Dieleman 2003, pp. 47–72, and Quack 2009b, p. 352.

²²¹ The *z(i) 4 ir.w m n(i) w3.wt hr hr q^ch=sn* “the four men upon whose elbows the name of ‘Raisers of Horus’ is written” of BD 137A’s notations may be understood to be images of the same, as such are found in the text’s accompanying vignette. So either a small number of persons participated in this activity, or what is meant is that images of such participants (like the vignette itself) are to be at hand.

²²² The citation is from BD 101; the other two give virtually identical notations.

which is *rdi m-hnw ib n(i) z(i)* “placed within the heart of a man,” and then the officiant is instructed via an imperative²²³ to *ir n=f wp.t r3* “do the opening of the mouth for him (=f).”

Thus all of these texts explicitly differentiate between the officiant, who is often referred to in the second person in the paratextual notations, and the beneficiary, who is referred to in the notations in the third person and, in ten of the reframed texts, is called an Akh. Remarkably, paratextual references to the beneficiary as an Akh occur with only four other texts in this papyrus: BD 17, 30A, 148, and 176. These others are sprinkled throughout the papyrus, unlike the high concentration of such references in the two sets under discussion. The added information provided by the reframed texts concerning the construction of images and presentation of items and amulets,²²⁴ particularly in the context of the funeral proceedings, helps let it be seen that, according to the notations, they had actually been prepared to be done by one or a couple²²⁵ persons for another, namely an Akh, a deceased person.

But here is the disjunction. Since Nu is designated by name within nearly all of the reframed texts as *beneficiary*, there is a fissure between the notations’ differentiations and their being framed as recitations to be *done by Nu himself*. As presented in the papyrus, he acts as an officiant (=k) who is separate from the beneficiary (=f, *3h pn*)—and yet he is that beneficiary within the body of the text itself. This is carried to the point where he deposits amulets and items on his own body on the day of the funeral, without touching his own flesh, and he even performs a text to be done for one’s father or son for . . . himself—thereby making him his own father or son within the text’s internal logic. To judge from these stipulations, it is clear that the texts had a context immediately prior to the final forms they exhibit in the papyrus. For the purposes of Nu’s papyrus (as similarly with other versions of these texts on other sources), they were explicitly reframed so as to present themselves as being done by the beneficiary for himself. This modification brought them into conformity with the great majority of the other texts in the document, inasmuch as now Nu performs them all.

It may be observed that this morphogenesis was evidently envisioned at the time of their copying and even before that, since one of the texts—BD 137A, which deals with the manipulation of four torches—includes the notation that *h3 tw wr.t im(i)=k ir sw hr hr nb wp-hr h.c.w=k ds=k m it=k m z3=k* “take great care that you do not do it on behalf of anyone except your own self, together with your father or your son.”²²⁶ And therefore it accounts for both self-performance and performance for kinsmen. Further, one other text in the Papyrus of Nu, BD 89, though cast here strictly as a rite for an individual, in another document receives a notation like that found with BD 100: there also it is used in conjunction with the depositing of an amulet.²²⁷ These two points together make it plain that a single text could be transferred from one context to another.

The present discussion is prompted by the superimposition of two contexts in a single textual source. The transfer is evident from the disjunction of performance as presented within the text itself: the texts each contain both a prior form and a final form. By differentiating

²²³ See above at n. 219.

²²⁴ This purpose is underscored by the presence of BD 100 and 155 among a series of amuletic texts on a late papyrus; see Munro 2003, pp. 46–51. Single-text, amuletic papyri like those mentioned in Nu’s notation for BD 100 are attested from especially the Late, Ptolemaic, and Roman Periods; see Illés 2006, pp. 123–124, for BD 100, 101, and 130.

²²⁵ See below concerning BD 137A and 141/142.

²²⁶ BD 137A has no immediate parallel in the Middle Kingdom mortuary literature, but a similar notation is found in the contemporary BD 133 (Eb) 25–26, which is in part parallel to CT 1029. The translation of these passages at T. Allen 1974, pp. 109 and 114, as “except thine own self—even thy father, or thy son” problematizes the differentiation between officiant and beneficiary evident in the notations.

²²⁷ See Munro 2003, pp. 46 and 49, and de Cenival 1992, p. 34. For BD 89 attested on a single-text, amuletic papyrus, see Illés 2006, pp. 123–124.

between officiant and beneficiary in the notations, the prior form was to be done by one person for another. By applying introductory recitation formulae to the texts, the papyrus owner became both officiant and beneficiary. It is important to stress the specificity of this point of discussion. Here, the concept ‘prior’ refers specifically to what is perceivable from a textual layer actually present in a single document. It does not refer to a hypothetical source or situation induced from comparison of multiple exemplars of a text. It is important to make this stipulation, because some texts from the Papyrus of Nu—and several others in the Book of the Dead—do indeed have parallel exemplars found in other contexts. These will receive discussion in short order. For the moment, the discussion of reframing concerns the strata actually maintained within a single exemplar. The genetic relationship between them is perceivable through the application of logic.

Despite the distinction the reframed texts make between officiant and beneficiary, their presumed prior setting of performance was not collective. This may be surmised from express stipulations in four of them concerning secret performance and limitations on participants. BD 141/142 is the first text of the first reframed set, and it states that *ir=k nn rdi.t m33 rmt(.t) nb.t wp-hr imy-ib=k m3^c hn^c hri-h3b.t nn rdi.t m33 ky hr nn hm i m rw.ty* “you are to do (it) without letting anyone see except the one truly in your heart (sc. the beneficiary) and a lector priest, but without letting anyone else see, not even a servant come to the door.” The second reframed set has more texts with statements of secrecy. A notation of BD 144 instructs that *ir=k md3.t tn (i.e. tn) nn rdi.t m33 ir.t nb.t* “you are to do this book without letting anyone see.” BD 101 aims to present a bandage inscribed with the text, which is *rdi n 3h r hhy=f n pr r h3 n rh h3.w-mr n m33 ir.t n sdm msdr* “given to an Akh at his throat, not going out, people not knowing, an eye not seeing, and an ear not hearing.” And the officiant of BD 156 is told that *im(i)=k rdi.t m33 sw rmt(.t) nb.t* “you should not let anyone see it.”

Notably the last three of these stipulations of secrecy occur in the second set, which concentrates upon activities on or around the funeral, and to them may be added a statement from the iconic BD 151 part 2, which is one of their companions: *ir.wt m imn.t m dw3.t sst3 n(i) dw3.t bz sb n(i) hrit-ntr* “done as a hidden thing in the netherworld (*dw3.t*), a secret of the netherworld, a secret mystery of the necropolis.” The funeral processions and interment were collective rituals *par excellence*, because they required the involvement of multiple persons to move the deceased and his belongings to his new situation. It is noteworthy, then, that so many expressions of secret performance are made here in this set. Just as it contains the highest concentration of specifications of performance on or around the day of the (collective) funeral, so does it contain the highest concentration of specifications in Nu’s papyrus of secrecy in action. They are marked as such in order to make it clear that they were not to be done as part of the community activities. This indicates that the prior forms of the rites, though prepared to be done by someone acting as officiant for another, were nevertheless to be done in a private setting, separate from the wider community.

It was probably due to their individual, non-collective setting that the reframed texts were brought into the Book of the Dead. It is a collection of rites done outside of cultic activity—albeit in some cases alongside it, as here. They were not rites done as part of the collective, communally performed funeral. They were done privately on the day of the funeral.

But because the reframed texts differentiate between beneficiary and performer, one may expect that their structure in respect to grammatical person will correspond to what is normally found in the collective setting. This will prove to be partially true.

c. *Strictly Self-performed Texts*

Eleven other texts in the papyrus include notations which, apart from the introductory formulae designating Nu as reciter, show that they were intended to be done by him for his

own benefit. Three make explicit reference to performance on one's own behalf. Eight others specify the benefits accruing to the one who knows a text, and in this way they implicitly indicate an encounter with it for oneself. BD 148 contains the injunction [*i*]m(*i*)=*k ir hr m*l**(*t*) *nb.t wp-hr h*ʕ*.w=k d*s*=k* “may you not do (it) on behalf of anyone except yourself.” BD 18 avers that *ir grt šdd sw nb [hr=f] r*ʕ* nb w*d*3=f tp B* “and as for the one who recites it [on behalf of himself] every day, (it means) being prosperous on earth.” BD 125 notes that *ir ir m*d*3.t t*n* hr=f wnn=f w*3*d ms.w=f w*3*d* “as for the one who performs²²⁸ this book on behalf of himself, he is well and his children are well.”

The eight texts making declarations about knowledge benefits are, in their order of appearance on the papyrus, BD 68, 72, 86, 64 (short version), 112, 64 (long version), 99, and 176. Most adhere to the following format:

BD 68 (Ea) 16–17

*ir r*h* m*d*3.t t*n*
iw=f pr=f m hrw
wnn=f hr šm.t tp B m-m ʕn*h*.w
n sk=f // r n*h*h
š*r* m*3*ʕ h*h* n(*i*) z*p**

As for the one who knows this book,
he goes forth by day
and he goes on earth among the living
without having ever perished.
A matter a million times true.

An exception is BD 72, which notes that it is efficacious if the text be either known *ir.tw=f m z*š* hr qsr=f r*3*-p*w** “or it is put in writing on his coffin.”²²⁹ While material possession of a text requires no involvement on the part of the beneficiary, the act of learning means that it must be personally read. Since each of the texts in question actually includes an introductory notation of recitation by Nu, the objects of knowledge were evidently recitations, which therefore required action. The precedent for this may be found in a text from the Middle Kingdom, which includes among its paratextual notations *dd-mdw in r*h* m*d*3.t t*n** “recited by one who knows this book,”²³⁰ thus fusing the phraseology *dd-mdw in* “recited by” together with the act of *r*h** “to know.”

All of these texts are formulaic in the sense that they are repeated on other documents. That indicates that the activities they entail were done by individuals throughout society, and probably also repeatedly by the ones who performed them. This and other qualities make them ritual events. *Ritual*, as understood here in the context of Egyptian religious practice, involves a fusion of human action and belief,²³¹ and it is characterized by formalization,

²²⁸ The form *ir* without ending should be an active participle, because elsewhere in the papyrus's notations the passive participle from *iri* “to do” uniformly receives the *-w* ending; see BD 148 (Ea) 18 *ir ir.w n=f nn*; BD 141 (Ea) 112–113: *ir 3*h* nb ir.w n=f m*d*3.t t*n**; BD 136A (Ea) 21–22: *ir 3*h* nb ir.w n=f nn*; BD 130 (Ea) 40: *ir ir.w n=f nn*; BD 137A (Ea) 29–30: *ir ir.w n=f r*3* p*n**; BD 151 (part 2) (Ea) 16: *ir 3*h* nb ir.w n=f nn*; BD 156 (Ea) 3: *ir ir.w n=f nn*; BD 100 (Ea) 11: *ir 3*h* nb ir.w n=f nn*.

²²⁹ BD 72 (Ea) 12–13.

²³⁰ CT 503 VI 89i (B3L).

²³¹ To be clear, when speaking of ritual in this work, one is concerned with performances by living human beings. To discuss *performances anciently thought to have been done* in the afterworld is to speak about *ancient beliefs held by the living* concerning the afterworld. That is not ritual. Ritual is an object of sociological and anthropological analysis. Divorced from practice, belief is the domain of theology, dwelling in the realm of the idea, not human action, and not the event.

repetition,²³² special situational constraints, and other strategies of differentiation from quotidian activities, by the reification and objectification of the symbolic and metaphorical, and by a reproductive function in maintaining and transforming collective representations.²³³ By these measures, the self-performed texts may be appropriately called rites or mini-rituals.

There is no reason to construe that a practice with such qualities is not a ritual simply because it is done by oneself for oneself. To be sure, it is often assumed in the field of Egyptology that the category of ritual is specifically limited to collective performances and not applicable to individual ones. It is implicitly at hand, for instance, in inquiries into the ritual character of certain Book of the Dead texts.²³⁴ With it evident to all that the majority of them were done by the text owner for his own benefit, such inquiries presuppose an understanding by the audience that self-performed activities generally do not possess such a character. The academic antipathy between ritual = collective and individual = non-ritual had a place in Nineteenth Century scholarship.²³⁵ But since then, this dichotomy has not held purchase in ritual studies, history of religions, religious studies, anthropology, or sociology. And by the characteristics of ritual specified above, the term comprehends both settings of performance.

The eleven texts with paratextual notations indicating self-performance are scattered randomly throughout the papyrus, occupying the following positions: #2, #24, #29, #54, #62, #80, #101, #112, #118, #120–121.²³⁶ In comparison, the reframed texts are concentrated together in two contiguous sets, with one loose in the space between them; they occupy the following positions: #90–95, #114, and #124–131—where the two parts of the iconic BD 151 take places #126 and 130. The concentrations of texts with notations which indicate reframing contrast nicely with the random scattering of texts with notations showing self-performance. Due to their obvious concentration, the reframed texts may be assumed to be the exception, whereas texts showing no explicit notations of self-performance beyond the introductory recitation formulae are the rule. The random declarations for the latter are incidental. Texts not marked as such were also self-performed.

It is also remarkable that, in fact, notations for secret performance occur only with the reframed texts, especially the ones stated as being performed in association with the collective funeral rites. As observed above, there are four of them.²³⁷ Elsewhere, an indication of secrecy occurs only in the two versions of a single text in the Papyrus of Nu, and its declaration is not quite the same. The short version of BD 64 states that *sšm.w pw šł3.w n m33 n ptr* “it (*sc.* this text) is a secret method, neither seen nor perceived.” The long version of BD 64 in Nu’s papyrus expands this notion in the text’s etiology. Stating that it had been found by the Fourth Dynasty prince Hardjedef, it claims that he acquired it *hft m33=f nt(i)t sšB pw 3 n m33 n ptr* “according as he saw that it was a great secret, unseen and unperceived.” The text is one which shows in both its exemplars that it was self-performed, but the *sšB 3* “great

²³² On repetition (or redundancy) and formality (or conventionality—under which heading may be included stereotypy or rigidity) as characteristics of ritual, see Tambiah 1981, p. 119.

²³³ These elements of ritual, approached from the point of view of ritualized practice, are developed from C. Bell 1992, pp. 74 and 80–92.

²³⁴ As for instance with Luft 2009, pp. 87–90, and Luft 2008, 83–93. For the Pyramid Texts, a similarly defective division is explicitly made between (collectively performed) “ritual” texts on the one hand and (individually performed) “incantations” and “personal spells” on the other at J. Allen 1988, pp. 38–39; for notice of the pejorative dimension of this differentiation, see above at n. 32.

²³⁵ See above at n. 95.

²³⁶ The positional numbering follows that of Lapp 1997, pp. 64–69. In this numbering, position 91 is skipped, as Lapp labels the text of position 90 as BD 141/142, thus as two texts combined and occupying two slots, even though the unified text in question is not divided in the papyrus by a title between them. In contrast, BD 96/97 occupy a single slot in Lapp’s numbering, although an identical case applies.

²³⁷ Five if BD 151 part 2 is included.

secret” mentioned in its notations is supposed to be the text itself, rather than the manner in which it was to be recited.

This is not to say that the non-reframed, self-performed texts should be understood to have been recited in a public venue. By the nature of doing something for oneself, it follows that the activity was to be done on an individual basis. That is what comes from anthropological reflection. And further, engagement with such performances by wider society in an indirect or extended way is neither expressed nor implied in the evidence. To be clear, one is speaking here about Book of the Dead papyri like that of Nu’s, and neither of the manifestation of texts from this corpus in other contexts nor of their manifestations on monumentalized media. These will be considered below in conjunction with exchanges between collective and individual settings.

d. *Interim Summary of Individual Setting*

As another consequence of the individualized nature of their performance, there is no reason to suppose that the execution of any of Nu’s texts required the kind of infrastructure entailed by collective rituals. His professional offices were *imi-r3 htm.t* “treasurer” and *imi-r3 pr n(i) imi-r3 htm.t* “steward of the treasurer.”²³⁸ Obviously he was not a professional reciter of his own Book of the Dead. Thus the recitation of his texts was done outside of the administrative and economic structures of society. This assessment will apply to all of his texts except for BD 150 and 151, which are not marked as performed by him.

From the point of view of performance, then, three kinds of texts can be isolated in the Papyrus of Nu: iconic texts, reframed texts, and strictly individual rites. Those of the first kind were not meant to be performed, and texts of the latter two are introduced by formulae which make the papyrus owner their reciter. The reframed ones are generally concentrated together. In their immediately prior forms, they were to be done by another for the deceased, an Akh, but the papyrus represents them now as being done by Nu himself. Even in their prior forms they were not collective performances, notwithstanding specifications that they be done alongside cultic acts such as the funeral. This is because they contain express marks of private performance on behalf of the deceased and since there is no reason to think that their performance entailed the administrative and economic supports underlying collective performances. Even so, because their prior forms do involve execution by a separate officiant for their beneficiary, it may be expected that the grammatical structure of some of these can match the formats found in collective services. In contradistinction to the reframed texts, there are some texts with express notations of self-performance beyond the introductory recitation formulae. Since they are found scattered throughout the papyrus, it is assumed that such comments are incidental and that self-performance was the general rule.

As a further note of importance, it may be observed that the Papyrus of Nu is distinguishable from the Berlin papyrus on the basis of variegated versus uniform composition. Whereas the Berlin papyrus consists of a set of rites which together form part of a single ritual performed daily, the Papyrus of Nu evidently consists of a number of rites to be done on various occasions. These include the day of burial at an unspecified moment,²³⁹ in association with the opening of the mouth,²⁴⁰ in association with a funeral procession,²⁴¹ and on various ceremony days.²⁴² Of course, the great majority of texts with specifications of date

²³⁸ Lapp 1997, pp. 20–22.

²³⁹ BD 1, in position #3.

²⁴⁰ BD 30B and 137A in positions #114 and #125.

²⁴¹ BD 101, 156, and 155 in positions #127–129 respectively.

²⁴² BD 141/142, 133, 136A, and 130 in positions #90–93 and 95 respectively.

of performance are of the reframed kind. But even from that it is evident that the papyrus is a compilation of rites rather than a single contiguous ritual. Based on this point of differentiation, it is evident that individual rites were not so elaborate as collective rituals. The former consisted of acts narrowly bounded in time, one or two utterances which could be performed in a matter of minutes, while collective rituals consisted of series of rites unfolding over a considerable period of time. This shows that papyri like Nu's were on the order of collections unified by a single theme²⁴³—in this case post-mortem well-being—rather than containing a concatenation of rites unified by a single, temporally demarcated ritual. Importantly, the variegation of particular situations may be identified as the necessary condition leading to a more heteroglossic document in terms of the performance structures within it.

Still, none of the rites in a Book of the Dead are presented as being proper to a setting other than the individual. None of them is marked as being done in the context of a cultic performance. This is not to deny that some of its rites have verbatim parallels elsewhere. Rather it is to say that, within any given Book of the Dead, its rites are homogeneously presented as pertaining to an individual context.

2. *The Use of Books of the Dead by the Living*

The notion of Lepsius²⁴⁴ that a Book of the Dead was supposed to be a 'guidebook' or 'pass' may be seen by now to be slightly misleading. A guidebook is consulted like a map as reference, and one does not think of it as somehow being 'done.' But only one of Nu's texts, the iconic text BD 150, which shows a kind of plan of the other world, could be construed as answering to this description. And only one text, BD 72, makes note of the efficacy of possession as an alternative,²⁴⁵ as if it might have been construed as a kind of pass. Excepting BD 150 and 151, the rest are marked as recitations to be done by the owner of the papyrus. This point and the notations of physical activities to be done in conjunction with them—especially with the reframed texts²⁴⁶—show that the texts were objects of action beyond consultation (as happens with a guidebook) or possession (as with a pass).

Accepting, then, that the texts on a papyrus like Nu's were to be performed by its owner, it is important to ask whether they were to be performed in life or after death. The answer is that the former must certainly pertain. Since the view that performance of a Book of the Dead after death is non-controversial in Egyptology²⁴⁷—and would, more importantly, be a question of ancient *beliefs* about the activities of an incorporeal being rather than about actual, historical human *practice*—the in-life dimension will receive the most attention here. This is a topic which has received increasing consideration in Egyptological literature in the last decade. It now begins to be stressed that rites of the Book of the Dead, along with other ritualized 'mortuary' activities,²⁴⁸ were also performed by living persons. In an individual context, that means they were done in a domestic situation.

A notation in the Papyrus of Nu suggests in-life performance since it seems to make reference to an afterlife condition pertaining to the future:

²⁴³ Cf. the discussions of Gester mann 2005, p. 21, Lapp 1996, pp. 42–49, and S. Morenz 1973, p. 222.

²⁴⁴ See above at n. 202.

²⁴⁵ See above at n. 229.

²⁴⁶ Stipulations that certain physical activities are to be done or refrained from being done are also found in the notations of BD 64 (short and long versions) and 125.

²⁴⁷ See for instance S. Morenz 1973, p. 229; it has its precedent at least as early as Naville 1971 [1886] *Einführung*, p. 20.

²⁴⁸ See the archaeological literature cited at Willems 2001, p. 254 n. 5. An important document in this context is the ritualistic pBerlin 10482, as it evidently stems from an individual rather than collective context; see Jürgens 1990, pp. 62–63.

BD 176 (Ea) 4

ir rḥ r3 pn
wnn=f m 3ḥ iqr
n m(w).t.n=f m whm m hr̄it-ntr

As for the one who knows this utterance,
 he will be a skillful Akh
 who does not die again in the necropolis.

The verb form *wnn=f* geminates, and since its root is from the *secundae geminatae* class, and since it follows the quasi-conditional²⁴⁹ particle *ir* “as for,” it suits the morphology and environment of a ‘prospective’ *sdm=f*. Then the state of being an Akh, or ‘spirit,’ is to be attained in the future. Since the processes of the mortuary rituals performed for the dead in the New Kingdom were already supposed to make the deceased into an Akh, the condition mentioned in BD 176 must refer to a moment not yet experienced by the knower, and therefore prior to death and the rites thought to bring the desired condition about.

But, due to the ambiguities of Egyptian morphology and syntax, which are legion, it is better not to rely upon the interpretation of grammatical structures but to consult semantic information.

Of more use are several texts making explicit reference to use by their beneficiary *tp b3* “upon earth,” that is, by the living.²⁵⁰ One may begin this inquiry by considering a notation parallel to that for BD 68 (Ea) 16–17 cited above, as found accompanying a different text in the Nineteenth Dynasty Papyrus of Any:

BD 21 (Eb) (Wasserman 1994, pl. 6)

ir rḥ mḏ3.t tn tp b3 <di> m zš tp qrs r3-pw
iw=f pr=f m hrw m hpr.w nb(.w) mr(.w)=f

As for the one who knows this book upon earth or <it is put> in writing on the coffin,
 he goes out into day in all the forms which he may desire.

To be sure, the benefits of the text are to be accrued after death, as this is what is indicated by the phrase *pri m hrw* “to go forth into day,” since it implies departure from the tomb.²⁵¹ But the statement creates a contrast between experience of the text in life (*rḥ tp b3*) versus possession of the text on the coffin (<*di*> *m zš tp qrs*): knowledge in life, possession after death. The situation of learning a text specifically in life is also found in a notation accompanying another text from a Nineteenth Dynasty papyrus: *ir rḥ mḏ3.t tn tp b3 iw pr=f m hrw wnn=f hr šm.t tp b3 m-m nḥ.w nb.w* “as for the one who knows this book upon earth, he goes out by day, going upon earth among all the living.”²⁵² To paraphrase, the one who learns the book in life is supposed to pass out of the netherworld upon death and thereafter exist among the living.

²⁴⁹ In the sense that the particle creates a stipulation or sets up a condition, thus a protasis, and is followed by an apodosis.

²⁵⁰ On this phraseology, see Quack 1999, p. 12, DuQuesne 2002, pp. 38–40, von Lieven 2002, pp. 49–50, and Jo. Gee 2006, pp. 75–77. The phraseology’s usage in describing texts is present also in the Middle Kingdom mortuary literature, but less commonly, as with the title appended to the end of CT 154 II 288/9a–c (S2P): *w3ḥ tp b3 3ḥ m hr̄it-ntr q hr nb.w ienw pr.t r p.t* “enduring on earth, being an *3ḥ* in the necropolis, entering in to the lords of Heliopolis, and ascending to the sky.” For usage on earth in the Coffin Texts, see also the references cited below at n. 256.

²⁵¹ As observed by S. Morenz 1975, p. 201.

²⁵² BD 70 (Pb) 5–6.

It is just as one might have assumed. If it is believed that knowledge of the afterworld should be acquired in order to successfully navigate it, then one would presume that preparations would be made prior to crossing the threshold. These two Nineteenth Dynasty statements make that assumption explicit by attaching *tp t3* “upon earth” to *rh* “to know.”

The verb *rh* does not receive such an express qualification in the Papyrus of Nu, but there are several notations in it which nevertheless establish a contrast between in-life and after-death in the context of the texts’ use. For instance,

BD 18 (Ea; Lapp 2009) 40–43

dd z(i) r3 [p]n w^cb
pr.t pw m hrw m-ht mni=f ir.t hpr.w [r]di ib=f
ir grt šdd sw nb [hr=f] r^c nb
w^{d3}=f tp t3
iw=f pr=f m h.t nb.t
n spr.n sw h.t dw.t
sšr m3^c h^h n(i) zp
iw m3.[n]=i (sw) iw(=f) hpr m-^c=i wr.t

Should a man recite [th]is utterance while pure,
it means going out into day after he dies and making the metamorphoses which his heart [gives].

And as for anyone who recites it [for himself] every day,

(it means) he is prosperous on earth:

he goes forth from every fire,

and no evil comes near him.

Truly effective millions of times.

I [have] seen (it), and (it) has largely happened to me.²⁵³

The contrast between *m-ht mni=f* “after he dies” in the first sentence and *r^c nb...tp t3* “every day...upon earth” in the second establishes a difference in time of performance and the respective results attained. The benefits of the first sentence are accrued after death, while those of the second are accrued upon earth. As it is not possible to reap the benefits of a text prior to one’s experience of it, it necessarily follows that the daily performance was to be in life. The on-earth dimension is strengthened by the testimonial “I have seen it, and it has largely happened to me.” Setting aside the truth value of the statement and its formulaic character, it is not possible for anyone to have reasonably made such a claim except while alive.

A similar contrast between after-death and in-life benefit may be seen in another rubric from Nu’s papyrus:

BD 17 (Ea) 2–3

///.../// [pr].t h3.t m hrit-ntr
3h [m imn.t]
///.../// m hpr.w nb mrr=f
hb sn.t hms.t m zh

²⁵³ Cf. T1Be’s paratect to CT 335 (> BD 17) IV 326a-g (T1Be): *dd NN r3 pn w^cb [m ntr(w)] hzmn.i w^{d3} tp t3 [hr r]^c mny nfr hr [wsir ir.t hpr]r.w r^{di} ib=f pr.t m hrw hb^c zn<.t> hms.t m zh in NN m-ht mny=f ir [dd] sw hr=f /// [tw=f] pr=f m-ht* “N. is to say this text while purified [by] Hezmen-[natron]. Prospering on earth [with R]e, mooring beautifully with [Osiris. Making transform]ations which his heart gives. Going forth by day, playing Senet, sitting in the booth by NN after he moors. As for the one who says it over himself ///, he goes forth afterwards.” For [m ntr(w)], cf. PT 553 §1368a (P): *s^cb r3=f m ntr(w) hzmn(i)* “his mouth having been purified with natron.” I owe the other reconstructions to the personal communication of E. Wente.

pr.t m b3 ʕnh.y in NN m-ht mn[i=f]
iw(=f) 3h n ir st tp B

///.../// [go]ing [up] and going down in the necropolis,
 being an Akh [in the west]
 ///.../// in all the forms which he desires,
 playing at Senet and sitting in a booth,
 and going out as a living Ba by NN after [he] die[s].
 It is beneficial for the one who does it upon earth.

The titles include an indication of an effect of the texts to be experienced after death. But the sentence which concludes the titles provides a counterpoise to this afterworld purpose. It claimed that there is *3h.w* “benefit” to be gotten by the one who makes use of the text in life.

A further contrast of this kind can be found in the notations from both of Nu’s versions of BD 64, with that from the long version given here:

BD 64 (Ea) 41–42

ir grt rh r3 pn
sm3ʕ hrw=f pw tp B m hrit-ntr
iw=f ir=f ir.t nb.t ʕnh.w

And as for the one who knows this utterance,
 it is the case that his voice is made true on earth and in the necropolis,
 and he does everything that the living do.

The result to be obtained—*m3ʕ hrw* “being true of voice” or “being justified,” a term which has both religious and legalistic²⁵⁴ connotations—is to be accrued in two contexts: *tp B* “upon earth” and *m hrit-ntr* “in the necropolis,” i.e. in life and after death.

As these paratextual statements develop clear contrasts between use and benefits in life versus after death, it should not seem radical to recognize their significance. And after all there is quite a lengthy history of scholars drawing attention to them. Already in the Nineteenth Century, Lepsius commented upon how statements like them showed the relevance of the Book of the Dead to the living.²⁵⁵ This assessment has actually been similarly held for it and other mortuary texts continuously afterwards.²⁵⁶ The self-performance of Egyptian mortuary texts by the living is not a revolutionary idea; it has been continuously noted in Egyptological literature for over a hundred years. It is only that the significance of this observation has never been elaborated upon. For instance, there is no mention of this aspect of the Book of the Dead’s use in an otherwise excellent encyclopedia article on domestic religion in ancient Egypt.²⁵⁷ The phenomenon is neither unknown nor forgotten; it is simply not understood. Thus it has often been mentioned in passing and thereafter neglected. The present section of this chapter begins to rectify this situation. It argues that Books of the Dead originally

²⁵⁴ See Hays 2007, p. 56 nn. 102–103, and Doxey 1998, pp. 91–93.

²⁵⁵ Lepsius 1867, pp. 8–9, cited at DuQuesne 2002, p. 42 n. 48 (and see the further reference at his n. 49), Quack 2000, pp. 57–59, and von Lieven f.c. (who is followed already by Luft 2008, p. 84, and *idem* 2009, p. 88).

²⁵⁶ Tiele 1882, p. 31; Sethe 1931, p. 531 with n. 3; Kees 1952, pp. 37–38; *idem* 1983 [1956], pp. 218–219; Barquet 1967, pp. 21–23; Hornung 1963, p. 40 n. 72; *idem* 1991, p. 31; *idem* 1992, p. 125; Wente 1982, pp. 175–176; de Cenival 1992, p. 33; Eyre 2002, p. 66; DuQuesne 2002, p. 46; Jo. Gee 2006; Kemp 2007, pp. 17–18; von Lieven f.c. See also Federn 1960, pp. 245–246 with nn. 54–55; and further references at Wente 1982, p. 162 n. 9. Cf. Jasnow and Zauzich 2005, p. 57.

²⁵⁷ See the reference cited above at n. 99.

constituted or were modeled after operative documents—things to be performed in life on a personal basis.

The nearest attempt to conceptualize the performance of mortuary texts by the living, by Edward Wente, prompted mainly by notations in the royal underworld books of the New Kingdom but also in connection with the Book of the Dead,²⁵⁸ has only led to a dispute over terminology, with the effect of leading the discussion away from the role and place of this activity in society. Specifically, there have been complaints²⁵⁹ against associating the term *mysticism*²⁶⁰ with the in-life performance of Egyptian mortuary texts, on the grounds that the term is not appropriate. As a matter of fact the word *mysticism* is quite broad in meaning,²⁶¹ and that would undermine arguments against its application here. Attempts to specify precisely what belongs to the category are problematic: mysticism is a branch of activity which is historically and culturally conditioned with consequently variable results and measures.²⁶² Also, identification of the phenomenon in a culture cannot be based on the reportage of personal experience or consciousness, for then one would be required to essentially negate the category's significance in, for instance, the first millennium of Christian history.²⁶³

And yet the term's use is still suspect, and for an ironic reason. A series of studies have discredited the academic employment of *mysticism* at all, most recently on the grounds that its universalistic, scholastic meanings were produced at their origins “by seekers for seekers, for those who longed to be firsthand prophets but who mostly remained secondhand observers.”²⁶⁴ In applying the word or denying its applicability, the game that tends to be played is to separate one's beloved mystics from the odious practices of non-mystics.²⁶⁵ This assessment cuts both ways. The term *mysticism* is a pivot through which religious practices may be covertly lauded or condemned.

²⁵⁸ Wente 1982.

²⁵⁹ Against its applicability: Assmann 2001a, p. 250 n. 33; *idem* 2001b, pp. 511–515; Willems 1996a, pp. 279–283 (see the critique of DuQuesne 2002, p. 42 n. 53); Assmann 1995b, pp. 52–53 with n. 43; and Demarée 1983, p. 256 n. 311; see also Roulin 1996, vol. i, p. 121 n. 610. Similarly, the application of the term ‘Einweihungstexte’ to mortuary texts by Thausing 1943, p. 43, provoked a series of objections against that appellation by S. Morenz 1952, p. 80; *idem* 1957, col. 124; and *idem* 1975, pp. 200–202. Interestingly, *idem* in the third work sees the phrase *tp B* “in der geistigen Nachbarschaft zur artverwandten Zaubersliteratur, in besonderen Fällen zur vielfältig expansiven Gattung der Weisheitslehren, und stellen außerdem einen Bezug auf gottesdienstliche, also den Priestern vorbehaltenen Rituale fest.” But that is not a disputation of the phrase's this-worldly significance, but an acknowledgment of it. For his position on the translation of Egyptian ideas into initiatory Hellenistic mystery cults, see S. Morenz 1973, p. 250.

²⁶⁰ See the overview of Egyptologists using this term by DuQuesne 2002, pp. 41–43, and Jasnow and Zauzich 2005, pp. 54–55, the latter citing those for and against it. On this topic, it may be mentioned that Federn 1960, p. 246, holds as a matter of personal opinion that the transformation texts of the Coffin Texts involved the “transformations of a living person into various divinities (or aspects of the one divinity),” and on that speculative basis he associates these texts with yogic *samadhi*. The association is incorrect for technical reasons. *Samadhi* is not a *practice* involving the assumption of a divine identity (as occurs, for example, in the tantric practices *devayoga* and *devamana*, on which see Cozort 1986, pp. 57–58), but rather is a *state* resulting from a practice—a state involving the union of the subject (the practitioner) with the object of his contemplation, whatever it may be (see Grimes 1996, pp. 269–270).

²⁶¹ See Parrinder 1972, p. 317.

²⁶² See Hollenback 1996, pp. 74–93 and 580–585, forcefully exposing the fallacy of the common contention that mystical experience is characterized by a dissolution of the distinction between subject and object. Cf. similarly McGinn 1991, pp. xvi–xvii; and Katz 1978, pp. 32–46.

²⁶³ See McGinn 1991, p. xiv.

²⁶⁴ See Schmidt 2003, pp. 273–274 (summary of research since 1978), p. 289 (statement of the author's argument: the *sui generis* rhetoric applied to the term in the mid-Nineteenth Century paradoxically made the concept ‘timely’ rather than ‘timeless’), pp. 290–291 (the closure of the category), and p. 294 (for the quotation).

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 290–291. This same critique can be directed against some emic discourses on mysticism: they are concerned with specifying the characteristics of attainment, the “marks by which we should know a man who has reached identity with God” (Ranade 1983, p. 124): their social function is to distinguish classes in the mundane world. In its interface with society, the practice of mysticism has as much to do with the construction of social identity as it does with its ostensible, transcendental object.

Setting aside the affectively charged words we might apply to activities—though doubtless the term *mysticism* will continue to be used as an analytical category despite its loaded background, just as the term *magic* is still used despite criticisms made against it²⁶⁶—the fact remains that paratextual notations within the Book of the Dead make explicit note of their use upon earth. This is not to exclude the significance of other notations, such as the rarer ones which locate efficacy in the presence of texts on the shroud or coffin, nor yet again especially late evidence which shows beyond doubt that many Books of the Dead (and other mortuary documents) were treated as physical objects of amuletic post-mortem significance.²⁶⁷ Rather, it is to point out that the explicit statements concerning in-life use show that the original role played by Books of the Dead traversed the boundary between the world of the living and what was thought to come and be done after death.

It is also not to deny that the purpose of such in-life practice was chiefly to obtain a beneficial afterlife. Without contemplating whatever mental or spiritual states might have been provoked by encounters with them, at a minimum the texts of the Book of the Dead were read with the aim of preparing oneself for the catastrophe of death, in order to learn the magical knowledge deemed requisite to the transition from this world to the next.²⁶⁸ That trajectory is implicit in the phraseology “going out into day” as in passages cited above. The point of learning the text was supposed to be in anticipation of death and to secure a desirable afterlife. Even so, alongside the afterworld benefits are ones to be gotten by the living practitioner, as is evident from some of the examples quoted above, such as “and as for the one who recites it for himself every day, it means being prosperous on earth.”

That papyrus²⁶⁹ Books of the Dead were used by the living establishes the cultural possibility that, in earlier periods including the Old Kingdom, texts like these might also have been used before death. To judge from Nu’s collection, such texts would have been prepared for individual settings, as when an officiant performed a text for a close family member and

²⁶⁶ For Egyptology, see the seminal deconstruction of the category of magic by Gutekunst 1987, pp. 77–98 (cf. Ritner 1992, pp. 189–200; *idem* 1993; and Quack 1999, pp. 5–17). Concluding that no solid difference can be found between magical versus cultic acts, Gutekunst urges the abandonment of the terms. Yet this has not taken place. This is partly because the difference is not said to reside in intrinsically different structures or contents of the actions performed, but in the degree of social involvement—in other words, where and by whom a text or rite was employed—and it is precisely according to distinctions made partly on this point that the term continues to be used. It should be pointed out that the dissolution of magic as a category was set in motion by Mauss and Hubert 1972 [1904], as observed by Pocock 1972, pp. 1–2 (and, further on the trichotomy magic-religion-science, see Tambiah 1990), though that does not seem to have been the work’s intent. Nevertheless, Mauss and Hubert did succeed in drawing out numerous points of contact between the magic and religion: magic borrows representations from religion (*ibid.*, pp. 12 and 85); magic produces the same kinds of changes as religion (pp. 42 and 128); both can have sanctuaries, determine time and place for ritual, and employ special instruments, with entry rites before a central ritual and exit rites (pp. 46–49); and they have the same types of central rites, including non-verbal sympathetic (pp. 20–21), purificatory and sacrificial rites, and ones involving the construction or use of images, as well as verbal rites such as oaths, wishes, prayers, interjections, and simple formula (pp. 52–54); in sum, they both have the same kinds of rites (p. 86); and these rites are in both cases formal (p. 59). Further, their positive and negative rites are in close correlation (p. 128); both use a constellation of imagery (pp. 62–63); both have obligatory beliefs (p. 93); and, last, both deal with value-judgment sentiments (p. 121). The distinction which remains after all these connections, then, lies along the original axis of division: the collective versus individual: the distinction has to do with the level of social authorization, a matter of felicity.

²⁶⁷ See especially the Demotic notation of pBM 10209, discussed at M. Smith 2009b, p. 178 with n. 4, and Martin and Ryholt 2006, pp. 270–274, and see further the latter’s collected references to papyri found wrapped into and/or accompanying mummies at pp. 273–274 nn. 10 and 12–21.

²⁶⁸ Within the mortuary literature, a concern with knowledge of arcana emerges in the Middle Kingdom mortuary literature (see Hays 2004, p. 190 with nn. 115–118), and it is present already in non-royal statements in the Old Kingdom, as discussed later in the present book.

²⁶⁹ For discussion of the earliest manifestations of what we today call Books of the Dead as occurring more commonly on shrouds and sarcophagi, see the reference above at n. 201.

as when (much more often) texts present themselves as entirely self-performed. The second kind of text is what predominates in the Papyrus of Nu, since explicit indications of such self-performance are scattered throughout it. Together with notations of private performance among the reframed texts, the notations of self-performance separate their in-life use from the cultic sphere. Their place of performance would therefore have been in the household or an appropriated public venue. This is to put the rites of Books of the Dead as such in the domain of what may be called domestic, non-cultic religious practice.

Above all, the notations emphasize that the recitations were to be known, that is, to be learned. One may therefore observe, finally, that there could be no more suitable Egyptian medium for learning a text than a papyrus.²⁷⁰ In comparison to the earlier attested manifestations of mortuary texts on shrouds, coffins, and tomb walls, the New Kingdom papyrus Book of the Dead was a portable document which could have been easily made use of directly in life. Due to the ease with which the papyrus scroll could be read in settings outside of the crypt, such as in one's home or in an appropriated part of a temple or some other more public space, and due to internal statements made in it concerning use in life, it can be hypothesized that a primary use of papyrus Books of the Dead like those of Nu²⁷¹ was, or at least originally was, by the living in preparation for the afterlife.²⁷² In that case, their deposition in the tomb would have been a secondary development of the tradition. Originally prepared to be engaged by the living, the papyrus scroll was naturally enough put with the deceased in the tomb due to its relation with the mysteries of resurrection and her person, and due to ineffably motivated custom. It morphogenetically became part of the tomb equipment, and in later periods the physical practice of deposition at the burial became primary. But it was not designed in the first instance to be tomb equipment. This means that, properly speaking, the New Kingdom papyrus Book of the Dead was not 'funerary' at its origin, that is, an item meant in the first instance to be relevant to the funeral. Originally, it was 'mortuary' only inasmuch as its aim was to prepare one for the afterlife.

3. *Performance Structures in an Individual Setting*

Accepting that the rites of Nu's papyrus were situated in an individual setting, they may now be examined in respect to the grammatical person of the beneficiary to identify their structural patterns. It is useful to enumerate the grammatical forms and their frequency:²⁷³

²⁷⁰ On the notion that Books of the Dead were supposed to be a replacement for physical tomb goods which the poor could not afford, see Beinlich 1988, pp. 7–8, and for a rebuttal of this notion, see Guksch 1988, pp. 89–90.

²⁷¹ This discussion involves in the first place the more textual Books of the Dead from the Eighteenth Dynasty; later, more visually oriented productions such as those of the Nineteenth Dynasty Papyrus of Any (Eb) move more toward monumental, non-operative objects to be admired visually rather than accessed verbally.

²⁷² It is of no avail to minimize the significance of notations of use by the living through asserting, as does Servajean 2003, p. 31, that the comparative rarity of mortuary texts reproduced on specifically ostraca shows "que leur lecture dans le monde des vivants était peu fréquente." People also read papyri.

²⁷³ This evaluation exclusively considers the text as such, thus omitting framing paratextual notations and internal para/metatextual commentaries. The latter are to be found in BD 17, and they use neither the first-person forms (referring to the beneficiary) nor the second person (referring to beings addressed by him), as observed by Rößler-Köhler 1995, pp. 114–115 and 117.

Table 2. Person of the Beneficiary in pBM 10477

| Person of the beneficiary | Number of texts overall | Subset: number of reframed texts | Subset: number of iconic texts |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1st person only | 108 | 1 | 0 |
| 3rd person only | 13 | 7 | 1 |
| 1st and 3rd person | 7 | 1 | 0 |
| 1st and 2nd person | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Not mentioned | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| 2nd person only | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2nd and 3rd person | 1 | 1 | 0 |

From the statistics of Table 2, it is clear that texts situating the beneficiary strictly in the first person constitute the preponderance. A similar observation has been made already by Assmann concerning Books of the Dead in general.²⁷⁴ It is now given tactile expression through examination of this particular document.

a. *Personal Performance Structure*

Above it was asserted as a matter of assumption that self-performance was the general rule for Nu's texts. This assertion was made based on the fact that, aside from introductory recitation formulae, explicit notations to that effect are scattered throughout the document. Examination of the person of the beneficiary in them reveals an important consistency which helps justify that assumption. As indicated above, there were two manners of expressing self-performance: one involved benefits of knowing a text, the other statements of performance (*iri*) or recitation (*šdi*).

Seven texts with notations of knowledge situate the beneficiary strictly in the first person within the body of the text itself. For instance,

BD 176 (Ea) 1–4

r3 n(i) tm m(w)t m wħm
đd-mdw in imi-r3 pr n(i) imi-r3 ħtm.w nw m3^c-ħrw
bw.t=i B i3b.ty
nm ^cq=i r ħb.t
nm ir.tw n=i ħ.t m nw n(i) bw.t ntr.w
ħr nt(i)t ink is sw3 w^cb ħr-ib msq.t
rđi.n n=f nb-r-đr 3ħ.w=f ħrw ħf n(i) zm3 B.wy m-b3ħ-^c nb ħ.t
ir rħ r3 pn
wmm=f m 3ħ iqr
n m(w)t.n=f wħm m ħrit-ntr

Utterance of not dying again.

Recitation by the steward of the overseer of treasurers Nu, true of voice:

The eastern land is my detestation;

I will not enter to the place of judgment,²⁷⁵

and nothing will be done for me of that which the gods detest,

because I am an Akh who passes through the midst of the Mesqet pure.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ See Assmann 1986b, col. 1001 with 1006 n. 48; *idem* 1990, p. 6; and *idem* 2002, p. 32. See similarly, and for the Papyrus of Nu in particular, Lapp 1997, pp. 34 and 55–56.

²⁷⁵ For the connotations of the word *ħb.t*, see Hays 2007, p. 44 n. 10.

²⁷⁶ This and the previous statement are derived from CT 335 IV 324b–c.

The lord of all has given me his magical power²⁷⁷ on that day of joining the two lands in the presence of the lord of ritual.²⁷⁸
 As for the one who knows this utterance,
 he will be a skillful Akh
 who does not die again in the necropolis.

Because the recitation is stated as being done by Nu, the first person of the text must refer to him, as does the benefit mentioned in the terminal notation. Even without this explicit notation, it goes without saying that the text was intended to be recited for the benefit of Nu, since the content revolves around him. Inasmuch as its statements are performative in the Austinian sense,²⁷⁹ what is accomplished is accomplished for him and by him.

Akin to Nu's seven texts with knowledge notations situating the beneficiary strictly in the first person is another, but this one places him in the first *and* second person, a dialogue in the form of question-and-answer cross-examinations:²⁸⁰ BD 99, a 'ferryman text.'²⁸¹ According to it:

BD 99 (Ea) 38–41

ir rḥ r3 pn
iw=f pr=f m sh.t i3r.w
iw di.tw n=f šns ds pzn hr h3w.t n(i)t ntr ʿ3
3h.t s3.t m it bty in šms.w-hr 3zh n=f st
wsʿ.hr=f m nn it bty
sin.hr=f hʿ.w=f im=sn
wn.hr hʿ.w=f mi nn ntr.w
iw=f pr=f m sh.t i3r.w m hpr.w nb myy{=i}<=f> pr.t im=f
s3r m3ʿ hḥ n(i) zp

As for the one who knows this utterance,
 he goes forth from the field of rushes,
 and a loaf, jug, and cake are given to him on the altar of the great god,
 and an aroura of land with barley and emmer by the followers of Horus, who reap it for him.
 Then he eats this barley and emmer,
 and he rubs his flesh with it,
 and then his flesh is like that of the gods.
 He goes forth from the field of rushes in any form in which <he> desires to go out.
 A matter a million times true.

The notation is cut from the same bolt of cloth as the one attached to the end of BD 176: it informs the reader about the benefits accruing specifically to the one who knows it. Due to this explicitness, it is clear that the text's efficacy is dependent entirely on the reader's

²⁷⁷ On *3h.w* versus *h3* "magic," see Roeder 2003, pp. 205–209; Ritner 1993, pp. 30–35; and Borghouts 1987, pp. 29–46.

²⁷⁸ For *nbw h.t* as "lord of ritual," see similarly CT 1124 VII 455b (B3C): *NN tn dhw.ti nb h.t n wsir nb h.t n NN tn* "NN is Thoth, lord of ritual for Osiris and lord of ritual for NN."

²⁷⁹ The term *performative sentence* "indicates that the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action" (Austin 1962, p. 6), i.e. such a statement both says something and accomplishes something. The notion of the performative utterance has entered Egyptology in respect to religion and ritual at Assmann 2001a, p. 51, and in respect to magical practice at Eschweiler 1994, p. 14. For a review of its use in history of religions, see Penner 2002, pp. 156–158.

²⁸⁰ On the differentiation of kinds of mortuary texts with such dialogues, see Rößler-Köhler 1995, pp. 117–123, and see further the references at Jasnow and Zauzich 2005, p. 55 n. 163 and the discussion of Quack 2007, p. 252, concerning the Book of Thoth as an initiatory dialogue. On their contextual position in (modern notions about) ancient Egyptian commentaries, see the overview of Assmann 1995a, p. 93.

²⁸¹ On ferryman texts, see most recently Hays 2007, pp. 45–47, with bibliography there at nn. 15 and 29. For the edition of the synoptic text of BD 99, see now Lüscher 2009.

interaction with it. The desired results are not to be gained through interaction with another performer.

In harmony with this detail, many of the entities who address the beneficiary in BD 99 are unlikely physical co-participants. This is especially so when he is cross-examined by inanimate objects, for instance, at BD 99 (Ea) 10–11: *dd n=i m=i i.n hrp.w hnd hp.wy m=k* “‘Tell me my name,’ says the mallet (*sc.* for a mooring post). ‘Shank of the Apis is your name.’” An inanimate object speaks to the text owner, and he makes answer to it, thereby demonstrating his knowledge and right to receive a boat which will carry him to the other world. The situation it presupposes is unmatched by any Egyptian text from a collective ritual service. In them, human officiants bear sacerdotal titles or assume the roles of deities.²⁸² They do not assume the roles of tools or pieces of meat. Because the assumption of such roles does not suit the Egyptian collective ritual setting, and because the knowledge notation of BD 99 specifically shows that its benefits were to be accrued by a singular individual independent of any second party, and because there is no contextualizing mark to warrant seeing the text as being performed by anyone other than its own beneficiary—as indicated by the introductory recitation formula attached to it²⁸³—it may be evidentially concluded that this text was not reframed from another context.²⁸⁴ It was composed to be done just as it presents itself: it was done by the papyrus owner for himself. Consequently the dialogue may be understood as a literary or rhetorical device, a figure of diction.

In effect, as employed by the living, the questions and statements posed to the beneficiary in BD 99 are quotations, since he is actually the one who is supposed to utter them—the statements of another person are embedded within the single performer’s speech. The recitation of these and other quotations by the beneficiary in the Book of the Dead and other mortuary texts reifies the presence of a separate speaker, despite the physical presence of only one.²⁸⁵ It is a matter of shifting deixis, the origin and directionality of speech, and through that shift the text does not merely transmit information. The way the information is presented reconstructs or evokes a situation in which more than one party participated. It is a rhetorical figure. As the addresses to the beneficiary constitute quotations, the three texts indicated in Table 2 as ‘1st and 2nd person’ should really be understood as ‘1st person only’ insofar as the pronominal forms are relevant to indicating performance structure.

The other three texts with notations of self-performance aside from the introductory recitation formulae are BD 18, 125, and 148.²⁸⁶ Like the texts with knowledge notations, BD 125 places the beneficiary in the first person. The other two texts situate the beneficiary in the first and third person both. As with the case of BD 99, it may be assumed that the alternation between persons was a rhetorical figure. Again it is a matter of shifting deixis, though now between objectivity and subjectivity. In the first instance, it creates a distance between the speaker and the attributes and actions he applies to himself, removing him and them from the ‘here and now’; in the second, the gap is closed.

The common denominator among all the texts with notations of self-performance is the first person: the beneficiary is strictly in the first person (eight texts), or is in the first and second person (one text), or is in the first and third person (two texts). Remarkably, it is

²⁸² Hays 2009a, pp. 26–27.

²⁸³ BD 99 (Ea) 1–2: titles followed by *dd-mdw in NN* “recitation by NN.”

²⁸⁴ The speculation of Bidoli 1976, pp. 30–33, that the dialogues of ferryman texts had their origins in initiatory rites into a practical guild, has been rejected by analogical reasoning by Willems 1996a, p. 160 (but see *ibid.*, p. 381), followed by Bickel 2004, p. 109.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Irvine 1996, pp. 146–147: “the speaker ‘animates’ the persona of another, taking on another subjectivity for the duration of the reported speech.”

²⁸⁶ For the citations of these statements, see above.

precisely the first-person beneficiary who is absent in texts from the collective ritual setting. And remarkably it is precisely texts in the first person which are by far the most abundant in the Papyrus of Nu—nearly 90%: 108 strictly in the first person, seven in the first and third,²⁸⁷ and three with quotations yielding a seeming first and second.²⁸⁸ Due to this high frequency, the format of the first person unequivocally constitutes the performance structure characteristic of the individual setting.

Inasmuch as the performance structure characteristic of the Papyrus of Nu is effectively absent from collective service, and to the extent that this document is regarded as exemplifying Books of the Dead and, from the point of view of their structure of performance, the kinds of rites done by the Egyptian for himself, texts in the first person may be regarded as distinctive to the individual setting. This is entirely in accord with the introductory recitation notations appearing with every one of them: as they present themselves, their performance is personally dependent upon the text owner. Due to that dependence and the distinctiveness of the first-person form, texts situating the beneficiary in it can be termed *personal texts*, and they can be said to display a *personal performance structure*.

b. *Reframed Texts of Sacerdotal Structure*

Texts situating the beneficiary in the first person may be regarded as typical to the individual setting. But, as is shown by the statistics of Table 2, more formats were infrequently employed. To be sure, except for the non-performed, iconic ones, all of Nu's texts may be called personal texts by virtue of their introductory marks of recitation. Still, it is methodologically efficient to allow a further description in some important cases.

The most variation in format occurs with texts of the reframed kind. These, as argued, also fall outside of collective performances and within an individual setting: according to their notations, they were performed outside of cult, as for a close family member, with explicit restrictions on number of participants, and with injunctions of secret performance. Even so, the expectation was raised that these particular texts might exhibit structures found to be particular to the collective setting.

This is indeed so with especially two of them: one placing the beneficiary strictly in the second person, BD 155, and one with switching between the second and third, BD 137A. Here it is not a matter of a dialogue between the self-performing beneficiary and a figurative participant, as with BD 99. Rather, as presented *within the body text itself*, the beneficiary plays no role in its recitation, just as in the preponderance of rites in the temple sanctuary ritual. Coupled with the fact that their paratextual notations indicate that their prior forms involved performance by an officiant for the beneficiary, their display of the second person lets BD 155 and 137A be appropriately described as possessing the sacerdotal structure. Someone acting for another in a religious rite may be said to fill the capacity of a priest.

Situating the beneficiary in the second or second and third persons is particular to collective services, but it is also occasionally found in contexts separate from them. Consequently, and as signaled above, it is clear that the sacerdotal structure was not absolutely bound to a collective setting. While it is the case that formats with the beneficiary in the second person predominate rituals like the temple sanctuary ritual, and that they are strikingly rare in the Papyrus of Nu (and other Books of the Dead), they are not unique to just one performance setting. Different contexts of production could make use of the same structures of performance. This

²⁸⁷ BD 18, 84, 91, 100 (a reframed text), 148, 152, and 189.

²⁸⁸ BD 78, 99, and 126.

concerns the prior forms of texts like BD 155 and 137A, still evident as a kind of palimpsest in their final, reframed versions.

Still, from the point of view of the reframing, these two texts BD 155 and 137A could be justly described as personal texts also. It is because they were performed outside of a collective setting that the two fit in Nu's compendium among other individual rites. And to make their execution independent of a second party, the introductory recitation formulae were applied to them. The reframing expressly converted the texts into self-performed rites. Now presented as if being done by the beneficiary himself, he in effect addressed himself, and their performance was no longer dependent upon someone else. To the extent that the texts were actually recited by the text owner during his own lifetime, these addresses had the pragmatic value of a rhetorical figure; the statement addressed to oneself becomes an embedded element which reifies a non-present officiant. This is not unique to the Papyrus of Nu; the conversion of sacerdotal texts into self-performed rites occurs in other Book of the Dead texts as well. This could even be done by the adjustment of pronouns, changing them from the second to the first.²⁸⁹

In short, the structure of these texts themselves is *sacerdotal*, but the notations reframing them make their performance *personal*: therefore both terms are appropriate. But, as the results of the present analysis of Nu's Book of the Dead will be applied in subsequent chapters, it is useful to give them a label which will help carry forward the discussion most smoothly. Out of expedience, the term *sacerdotal text* will be applied to all texts in the second person or switching between the second and third without regard to their context of presentation.

To determine the significance of such a format with a given text, context must be evaluated. If one finds, as with the temple sanctuary ritual, that sacerdotal texts appear with great frequency throughout all members of a distinct group of texts, then one will be in a position to conclude that the overall group was situated in a collective setting. A sacerdotal text in that situation may be regarded as an integral part of that activity. If one finds, as with the Papyrus of Nu, that sacerdotal texts appear only exceptionally in a group while the first-person format is common, then one will be in a position to suppose that a circumstance similar to that pertaining to Nu's papyrus is at hand. The rare second-person texts had indeed been prepared to be recited by someone else for the beneficiary, but, as with the Book of the Dead, this activity was meant to be done in a setting separate from collective activities. Based on its individual context, such a sacerdotal text may be further described as a *personal service*.

c. *Texts Reframed from Proxy Performance*

That reframed texts can display the sacerdotal structure is to be expected, given that their prior configurations involved recitation by someone for someone else. What is unexpected and highly interesting is that the reframed texts can also show first-person forms, as two of them do in Nu's papyrus: BD 30B and 100. The former is strictly in the first person and the latter in the first and third person both. In short, these two reframed texts display what is characteristic to the individual setting, the personal performance structure. They present an intriguing deviation—and in the process provide a further point of discursive separation between collective and individual settings. It was argued that the reframed texts belonged to the individual setting, and it was seen that the beneficiary was not situated in the first person in the collective setting. The fact that the reframed BD 30B and 100 diverge from what is

²⁸⁹ As with BD 174, which is partially converted away from the sacerdotal structure, see Hays and Schenck 2007, pp. 100 and 105. For observation of such conversions in the Middle Kingdom mortuary literature, see Hays 2007, pp. 57–58.

normally found in the latter becomes, as a result, another reason to distinguish the prior context of reframed texts from it.

Assuming that BD 30B and 100 as transmitted preserve their prior formats, it requires one to see that a separate officiant in an individual setting had a greater degree of flexibility in how the beneficiary could be configured. He could address the beneficiary, as in the sacerdotal BD 155 and 137A, thus reflecting the real-world separation between the two parties. Or, as with BD 30B and 100, he could speak in the beneficiary's own voice as a kind of proxy.

The proxy performance of first-person texts is attested outside of the mortuary literature, as with magical-medical texts. An example of such occurs in the initial recitation of Papyrus Ebers,²⁹⁰ where it is explicit that, even though the first person of the text is the beneficiary, the actual reciter is someone speaking for him—a separate practitioner.²⁹¹ The reason for this may be found upon consideration of how magical texts were performed. It has been assumed that their practitioners were also distinct from their beneficiaries, with “most ‘private individuals’ functionally unable to use magical texts,” with the incapability attributed to pervasive illiteracy in ancient Egypt.²⁹² The proxy performance of magical and medical texts thus has a pragmatic basis.

With mortuary texts from the New Kingdom and earlier, illiteracy is not an issue, since such texts were for the literate elite. Nor can texts have been performed by proxy merely in the interest of overcoming the inertness of the corpse,²⁹³ since that problem could have been resolved simply by placing the beneficiary in the second or third person. Rather, a reason for this rhetorical figure may be found in the results of its employment. In speaking with his own voice the words of the beneficiary, the officiant is projected along an unruptured indexical chain into his place;²⁹⁴ the projection makes the officiant ostensibly participate in the effects he seeks to bring about in the actual beneficiary, and vice versa. By making use of this mode, he closes the gap between himself and the one for whom he is speaking. It creates an affinity of identity between the two—something which does not happen between the worshipper and the worshipped in cult, but something which is evidently permissible in an individual setting. The permissibility may be presumed to reside in intimacy, a close and private connection between officiant and beneficiary. In contrast, collective service was performed by professional or semi-professional staff, who were not bodily related to deities (in the case of temple cult), and need not have been in the case of the dead (in the case of mortuary cult). In either event the cultic performances were not done in an intimate setting, but were witnessed by other human officiants as well.

But a further underlying cause for this unusual rhetorical figure may be found in the restricted deployment of proxy texts. Outside of the Papyrus of Nu, there are only a few other rites in the New Kingdom Book of the Dead which show first-person forms referencing the beneficiary while including notations indicating that they were to be recited by someone else: BD 13, 89, 130, and 160.²⁹⁵ What is striking is that all of these texts²⁹⁶ concern the

²⁹⁰ pEbers 1, 1–11; for the text in translation, see Borghouts 1978, pp. 44–45 (#71).

²⁹¹ As similarly observed for a different medical text by Quack 1999, p. 7.

²⁹² Ritner 1990, p. 40.

²⁹³ As noted above, BD 30B expressly indicates its performance in association with the opening of the mouth, thus on the day of interment, and BD 100 appears within a set of texts which contain four references to execution on the day of a funeral procession and interment.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Silverstein 2004, p. 626.

²⁹⁵ Two of these texts appear in the Papyrus of Nu, but in his versions there is either no sign of a reframed, prior state (BD 89, for which see the references above at n. 227), or the text shows the third rather than first person (BD 130: the beneficiary appears in the first person at e.g. BD 130 [Ba] 9).

²⁹⁶ Cf. also BD 15B2, a hymn to the setting sun with a paratextual notation indicating that it was to be recited by the son of the deceased on his behalf; but the “I” of the text must be the son himself, with benefit by association accruing to his father; for the text, see T. Allen 1974, pp. 20–21.

talismanic charging of an image or inscribed amulet, as explicitly specified in accompanying paratextual instructions.²⁹⁷ They are thus identical in situation to Nu's BD 100 and BD 30B.

Since proxy texts constitute a special case of performance, and since they are constrained to a particular situation of use, namely the charging of amulets, it is clear that it was the situation itself which precipitated the unusual rhetorical figure. While to be sure the paratextual notations of texts such as BD 30B, which concerns the charging of a scaraboid amulet, make it evident that the performance was envisioned as being done by someone else for the dead,²⁹⁸ it is also true that Egyptians wore amulets and possessed iconic images in the course of their lives. Given the layer of recontextualization seen in the reframed texts, it can be surmised that another such reframing is at hand here: to wit, that the first-person forms in the body texts reflect a yet further prior form and indeed original circumstance of use. The body text was composed for the purpose of charging one's own amulet or talismanic object which would thereafter be worn or kept in life. This body text was then recontextualized by paratextual notation for proxy performance, as with BD 30B, and done by a separate party on the day of burial. It was thereafter reframed by introductory recitation formula so as to present itself as being done by the beneficiary. It is a complex solution. But it has the advantage of conforming to and explaining all the facts of a complex situation.

But in the absence of explicit paratextual notations, the Book of the Dead option of proxy performance makes it difficult, from a purely positivistic perspective, to determine whether it might be at hand with any given first-person text or one in the first and third person both.²⁹⁹ As it proceeds, the present work will not engage this issue for three reasons. First, the identifications of proxy performance in Books of the Dead are achieved by consideration of paratextual notations, which are normally absent from the Pyramid Texts. Thus, interpreting Pyramid Texts in this way would be a matter of assumption. Second, proxy performance is statistically quite rare in Books of the Dead, and therefore to make such an assumption for the Pyramid Texts would be to go against the grain of tangible evidence. Third, the final forms of the proxy texts in the Papyrus of Nu were, in any event, reframed to be self-performed, a closure of the circle through successive layers of recontextualized speech. These three points are invoked to cut the Gordian knot.

d. *Third-person Texts in an Individual Setting*

There are thirteen texts which put the beneficiary strictly in the third person.³⁰⁰ In this number are included the two parts of BD 151, which was identified as an iconic text, and there are seven texts identified as having been reframed.³⁰¹ As discussed above, these seven are found concentrated together along with BD 151.

Most noteworthy of the reframed third-person texts is BD 136A, because it occurs in two versions in the Papyrus of Nu. The first of them, which can be called BD 136Aa in position

²⁹⁷ On the first person of these texts, see Eschweiler 1994, p. 74. According to an unpublished study of E. Wente, kindly provided to me, some Coffin Texts may also be understood to have been performed by priests reciting on behalf of the deceased in the first person, as indicated by paratextual remarks. By his measure, these include C/T 111, 304, 341, 416, 508, 576, and 770; (on C/T 341, see Willems 1996b, p. 205 n. 51; on C/T 508 and 576 see Willems 1988, p. 208). With Wente, a less certain case of proxy performance may be found in C/T 149.

²⁹⁸ And further, some surviving scaraboid amulets found in burials are of great size and lack piercing for a suspension loop, indicating that they were designed expressly for a burial context; see Andrews 1994, pp. 56–59.

²⁹⁹ Besides the reframed BD 100 and the self-performed BD 18 and 148, in the Papyrus of Nu there are four other texts which cast the beneficiary in both the third and first person: BD 84, 91, 152, and 189.

³⁰⁰ BD 2–3, 6, 101, 108, 130, 133–134, 136, 144, 151 (parts 1 and 2), and 156.

³⁰¹ BD 101, 130, 133–134, 136, 144, and 156.

#93, is one of the reframed texts. That version of the text situates the beneficiary in the third person. The second version, BD 136Ab in position #133, is much abbreviated, includes no notations to show that it had been reframed from a prior form, and it casts the beneficiary in the first person. The discrepancy in person suggests, on the one hand, the existence of separate streams of tradition for what is essentially a singular unit of semantic information. On the other, it shows that such a unit could be modified in respect to the person of the beneficiary. This is already at play in the Middle Kingdom form of this text, CT 1030,³⁰² where the first person is manifest in some versions and the third person in others.

In the case of the two different versions of BD 136A in the Papyrus of Nu, the self-performed version BD 136Ab has the beneficiary subjectively achieving the results, and he is in the first person. The reframed version BD 136Aa casts the beneficiary in a position conformable to what was found in collective service, the sacerdotal structure, and it is in the third person. Assuming that its prior form was also in the third person, distance and distinction between the speaker and the beneficiary is created. It is possible that the third-person format was chosen as the prior form of BD 136Aa because it was to be performed by an officiant and because this distance was desired. On the other hand, as has been seen, this format was just one of several available options.

There are four other texts situating the beneficiary strictly in the third person; two of them are adjacent to one another (BD 2–3 in positions #81–82) and in between texts showing the first person, and the other two (BD 6 and 108 in positions #116 and #34 respectively) are each similarly in between texts showing the beneficiary in the first person. Since the three locations are widely separate from one another rather than being concentrated together, the texts occupying them are not segregated in the way that the reframed texts are, nor are they otherwise marked so as to distinguish them from the texts among which they have been mixed. Since the texts adjacent to them have first-person formats, are marked for self-performance (as ubiquitously), and have no notations to indicate reframing, it can be assumed that BD 2–3, 6, and 108 likewise were composed for self-performance. Thus the reciter of a text could use strictly the third person to make reference to himself. That is conformable to the first and third-person texts with notations of self-performance, BD 18 and 148. In speaking of himself strictly in the third person, the beneficiary creates and maintains a seemingly objective distance from the attributes and actions he is applying to himself.

By itself, then, the third-person format is not diagnostic of a text's situation: it can be found in collective service (as in the temple sanctuary ritual) or in the individual setting, either as a rite to be carried out by someone else for the beneficiary or as a rite to be done by himself (both in the Papyrus of Nu). To localize it, the context of presentation must be examined. If it is found among many texts with the beneficiary in the second person and switching between the second and third, as in the temple sanctuary ritual, one will have grounds to interpret a third person text and its companions as to have been performed in a cultic situation. The attribution of the label *sacerdotal text* will then reflect the interpretation of its manner of performance and its situation of presentation.

If, in contrast, such a text is found among many texts with the beneficiary in the first person, as in the Papyrus of Nu, one will have grounds to interpret it and its companions as texts which were to be performed in an individual setting. That is simple enough, but there is a choice to be made concerning the next analytical step to be taken. On the one hand, one could wish to determine whether the manifest text had been reframed from a situation where it had been performed by an officiant in a private context for the beneficiary. On

³⁰² As at CT 1030 VII 259a. On this text, see Otto 1977, pp. 1–18; and Assmann 2001a, pp. 174–177.

the other, one could take into account the fact that this format was apparently suitable for self-performance in the first place, and that, in the Papyrus of Nu, all such texts (with the exception of the iconic BD 151) were framed for self-performance anyway. Since the pursuit of the first option is dependent upon paratextual information, lacking in the Pyramid Texts, the second route will be followed below. Consequently, the label *personal text* will be applied to third-person texts found among ones with the first-person formats. This appellation will reflect the interpretation of such a text's manner of performance and its situation of transmission.

e. *Texts Not Mentioning the Beneficiary*

The final format encountered in the Papyrus of Nu is to be found in texts not mentioning the beneficiary. Their content and context of transmission need to be considered in order to determine the relationship between the beneficiary and its performance. In the Papyrus of Nu, the texts not mentioning the beneficiary are BD 33 (self-performed only), BD 141/142 (reframed to be self-performed), and BD 150 (non-performed iconic text). The status of the last two has been determined above. BD 33 in position #14 is found among first-person texts and has no notations to indicate a manner of execution beyond the introductory recitation formula. It may be supposed that it was to be done just as they were, that is, self-performed. It can consequently be described as a personal text.

f. *Personal Services for Gods*

There is one other kind of text found in Books of the Dead which Nu does not have. For instance, BD 173, attested in the near-contemporary papyrus of Nebseni,³⁰³ puts the text owner in the role of Horus performing service to Osiris. Nebseni declares *i.n=i hr=k nd=i hr=k in.n=i n=k m3̣.t r bw hr psd.t=k im di=k wn=i m-m=sn imiw-ht=k* “I have come to you and greet you, having brought truth to you right where your Ennead is, so that you may grant that I be among those who are in your following.”³⁰⁴ After this comes the main part of the text, consisting of a series of statements several of which are resonant of those also to be found in mortuary cult. A good example is *h3̣ wsir ink z3̣=k hr i.n=i mh.n(=i) n=k ir.t-hr (m) md.t* “O Osiris, I am your son Horus: I have come even having filled the eye of Horus with unguent for you.”³⁰⁵ The phraseology of filling the eye of Horus with oil³⁰⁶ is found in a Pyramid Text³⁰⁷ which is readily situated in mortuary cult.³⁰⁸ What the text owner gets out of this service, which is directed at the god, is through the principle of reciprocity. He has come so that the god may let him be among his Ennead. As the rite is performed by an officiant for a beneficiary in the second person, BD 173 may be classified as a sacerdotal text. Nevertheless, it is not a cultic rite: as a whole it has no correlate in any known temple or mortuary setting, and it is transmitted in a document for individual use. The last detail is critical. The structure of performance is identical to what was found in the temple sanctuary ritual, but the context of performance is different. To distinguish this application of the sacerdotal structure from the usual one, it will be further described as a *personal service*. Personal services to gods are

³⁰³ See Lapp 2004, pp. 20–22 for the dating.

³⁰⁴ BD 173 (Aa) 4–6.

³⁰⁵ BD 173 (Aa) 46.

³⁰⁶ See the motif ‘Eye of Horus Filled’ and similarly the motif ‘Is Filled with Oil’ in Listing Four.

³⁰⁷ PT 72 §50b: *wsir W. m-n=k ir(t)-hr mh.n(=i) n=k ir.t=k (m) md.t* “O Osiris Unas, take the eye of Horus! With oil have I filled your eye for you.”

³⁰⁸ See the following chapter, under Group A.

akin to the prior forms of the reframed personal services to the dead found in the Papyrus of Nu. They are sacerdotal texts done in an individual setting.

Book of the Dead hymns are similar. For instance, in BD 15A1 (La) the papyrus owner, Qenna, addresses the sun god as beneficiary, and the text thus also conforms to the sacerdotal structure. The end of this very hymn, lines 17–23, is also found with some variations as a rite in the temple sanctuary ritual, TSR 41.³⁰⁹ It is a question of a single text used in two different environments. In a temple context, it is a cultic act, a collectively performed service for a god. As an act of personal worship, it is an individual rite, a personal service to him. This is precisely in parallel to dual usages of the Pater Noster discussed at the beginning of the chapter.

g. *Summary*

In a moment, exchanges like that of BD 15A1 with the temple sanctuary ritual will be further explored, but before doing so it is convenient to summarize what has been presented so far.

The individual setting shows a greater variety of interpersonal formats than what was found in the temple sanctuary ritual: seven as opposed to four (see Tables 1 and 2 above). This may be owed to a practical difference between what the documents represent. An Egyptian collective service was a single, elaborate event consisting of a concatenation of rites. It was focused on one specific situation, and therefore it had occasion only to use the structure particular to its setting's genre of discourse; it was uniform in respect to structure because the document as a whole uniformly dealt with a single, extended event. The Papyrus of Nu and similarly other documents consisting of rites to be done in individual settings, including texts of magical and medical papyri, tend to be more variegated. Nu's papyrus consists of a number of different rites to be performed on different occasions and in different situations. They were not to be done all at the same time, but at different times. It is a collection, a compilation, and for this reason it is more variegated.

Despite the diversity, texts with the beneficiary in the first person are by far the most plentiful in the Papyrus of Nu, and in that density they are diagnostically indicative of an individual setting. Since they were self-performed, texts bearing this format are labeled personal texts. Third-person texts and texts not mentioning the beneficiary which are transmitted among first-person texts may be similarly understood as self-performed and labeled as personal texts as well. This is to describe the texts from the point of view of their final forms and their context of transmission. Texts situating the beneficiary strictly in the second person or switching between the second and third are rare in the Papyrus of Nu. As with texts from the collective setting, they are labeled as sacerdotal texts because their manner of performance is the same. But, due to their non-cultic setting, they are identifiable as a branch of the sacerdotal category, personal services to gods and to the dead.

The overall composition of documents consisting of rites for performance in an individual setting may be distilled as follows:

³⁰⁹ T. Allen 1974, p. 226 with n. 3 and Assmann 1969, pp. 2 n. 11 (under "Text II 1") and pp. 165–186.

| | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|---|
| domain | individual setting | most performed by beneficiary for himself some rites performed by close family members (reframed in BD) some iconic (non-performed) |
| <i>produces</i> | | |
| discourse | personal structure | majority principally in the first person some third-person texts & ones not mentioning beneficiary |
| | sacerdotal structure | few second or third person further described as 'personal service' |

Figure 2. Individual Setting vs. Personal Structure

Figure 2 represents what is found in documents such as the Papyrus of Nu. That source, and Nebseni's like it, are interpreted as reasonable supports for the in-life performance of rites done outside of a collective setting, on behalf of the reciter himself or a close family member. The feature of media distinguishes such documents from the Pyramid Texts. The latter are not portable copies of texts but monumentalized ones. While the source material for the Pyramid Texts surely came from portable documents, ones suitable for use in the actual practices which they concern, it is important to realize that the process of entextualization must have affected the function and meaning of the texts. Their monumentalization transformed them and opened up possibilities not available to the papyrus or leather scroll. This important point will be addressed momentarily.

C. *Exchanges between Settings*

The fact that there were exchanges of phraseology and texts between different settings is a detail with important ramifications. The exchanges between temple and tomb (for instance) show that there was a permeable boundary between different domains of practice. The present section will discuss certain methodological considerations arising from this phenomenon.

In the case of BD 15A1 and TSR 41, it is a matter of a sacerdotal text used as an individual rite of worship on the one hand versus the same text used in a collective ceremony for a deity on the other. In both cases, it may be pointed out, it is a god who is the object of worship. Benefits accrued to the human ritualist were to be gotten by the principle of reciprocity. In the case of BD 173 and its phraseological resonance with texts from mortuary service, it is a matter of the same kind of statement being deployed in an individual setting and in a collective setting. A further distinction is that with BD 173 the statement is addressed to a deity, whereas in mortuary service it is addressed to a dead person. Similarly, the numerous connections already observed between temple rites and Pyramid Texts represent another complex of exchanges between services performed for gods and those performed for dead persons—verbatim texts, phraseology and sentiments, and participant roles.³¹⁰ Other connections between different domains are not hard to find for Book of the Dead texts in particular. And although the phenomenon of the same texts used in cultic as well as in individual

³¹⁰ See above at n. 120.

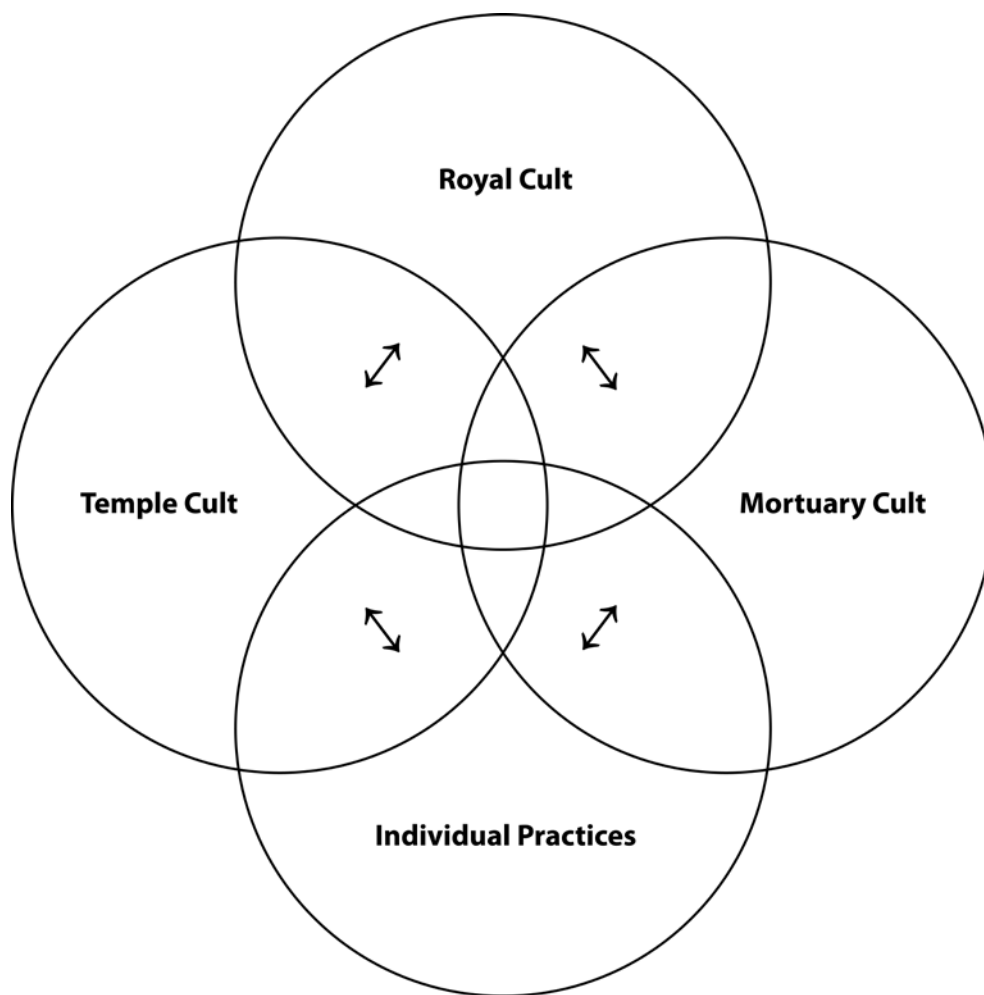


Figure 3. Milieu of Egyptian Religious Practice

settings has been observed before,³¹¹ research has only recently begun to draw out parallels between its texts and other situations of display in earnest.³¹²

The overlapping relations between the various settings of Egyptian religious practice are graphically depicted in Figure 3. Each of the circles represents a domain of religious activity. Royal cult includes the coronation ceremony, the Sed ceremony, and the daily formalities of the court. Temple cult includes the temple sanctuary ritual, the offering ritual, and other events mentioned above. Mortuary cult includes the rites conducted in association with the funeral proper and regular service thereafter. Individual practices include the personal performance of mortuary texts in preparation for the afterlife, such as Books of the Dead, as well as personal votive rites undertaken for a deity. It also

³¹¹ Ritner 1989, p. 103.

³¹² Jo. Gee 2006 and von Lieven f.c. Though very useful, the latter study (cf. *idem* 2002, pp. 53–56 and *idem* 2010, p. 105 with n. 70) assumes that exchanges between Books of the Dead and temple decoration had their origin in the latter. But in nearly every case the Book of the Dead version is attested first, sometimes centuries before being displayed as monumental temple decoration—a diachrony that should be addressed and explained. That study also does not account for the differences in media, scroll to be read versus monumental representation. See further below at n. 783.

includes magical and medical rites. Notice, finally, that the term *cult*, in accordance with one of its specific dictionary meanings, is restricted to collective versus individual practice.

The overlaps of the circles and the arrows are intended to show that each of the domains was inextricably related with the others.³¹³ In view of the analog continuum, it may be asked whether it is legitimate to digitally distinguish between them by the application of different terminology.³¹⁴ But it is the same with most analytical terms dealing with social phenomena: they are notoriously difficult to define—*nationalism, religion, magic, medicine*, etc. This is because the things to which they refer have no distinct boundaries. It is a question of spectrums of beliefs and practices which blend one into the other. Nevertheless, that does not mean that the terms should not be employed. They provide conceptual anchors for discussion, and the space between their oppositions—the transgressive cases that make transit between the divisions—is the place where understanding is generated. Moreover, exchanges like the ones under discussion become visible and meaningful only through the differentiations which they violate; to see their exceptionality, the rule holding in general must be appreciated. Thus the application of artificial, analytical terms helps reveal the dynamics, the processes of cultural life.

While the Egyptian religious milieu may and should be analytically decomposed so as to establish a better understanding of its historical details, it has to be understood that every dimension of analysis, while contingently relevant, was inseparably affected by the objects of the other dimensions of analysis. What exchanges between different contexts show is a dialogue between different domains of action and production, an interaction—and as a result the terms employed to show this very interaction deconstruct themselves. Expressed statically, as already by S. Schott, there was a common stock of texts from which rituals were constructed.³¹⁵ Expressed dynamically, Egyptian rituals were motivated and created by rules of practice and conceptualization common to their particular situations, and the rituals themselves changed these rules by sometimes striving against the conventions they themselves helped define.

Common situations of performance led to commonalities among the rites within one of the (fluid) domains, and consequently to (changing) differences in rites produced in different situations. Being human in origin, the rules of any given situation admitted to play, letting a text or piece of phraseology be drawn across borders and back again.

Taking the preceding reasons into account, the identification of trajectories of transformation is necessarily dependent upon first establishing the discursive rules particular to different settings in life. These rules are the principles which generated, organized, and unified the distinguishable ritual act, and they are intertwined with the often monumentalized documents attesting to them. In their constitutive principles is the explanation not only for the history of the text, but the history of the practices they reflect. That latter history is a form-critical concern, and it also must be a central concern of the present research. Further, as this study seeks to understand the social meaning of the Pyramid Texts, part of that meaning is to be found in the practices whereby the text was monumentalized on tomb walls. Thus it is also necessary to take into account the anthropology of the act whereby text was transposed from a performed situation to a static, artefactual situation.

³¹³ A first step toward showing the imbrication of different settings of performance was taken at Hays 2002, where the entire construct was conceptualized as a “ritual milieu.”

³¹⁴ Cf. Jo. Gee 2006, p. 86.

³¹⁵ See Hays 2002, p. 155 n. 15. This concept is promoted by Luft 2009, pp. 61–62, who sees it as futile to pinpoint the origins of a text in one setting or another, and similarly *idem* 2008, p. 86. In the latter work, the author goes on to seek to pinpoint origins after all; see below at n. 325.

Given a single text or phrase deployed in two different settings in life, it seems—within Egyptology at least—to be almost an instinctive reaction to make the determination of origins into the main end of research: in which domain did the intertext first appear?

One might suppose that the text-critical³¹⁶ method could be applied³¹⁷ to map out a proper genealogy of descent between exemplars of an exchanged text, and further to establish “a text which, in the now universally accepted formulation, most nearly represents the author’s original (or final) intentions.”³¹⁸ But ultimately the text-critical method cannot solve questions of original setting. The method is dependent, correctly, upon supposing intervening, hypothetical source manuscripts between each of the actually attested exemplars. But the temporal position of these hypothetical sources is of course unknown, and yet key to make an answer.

The problem is further compounded by the absence of the author from the point of view of this particular material, in contrast to textual criticism’s keen interest in *the* authentic and original shape of the text, in preference to any later and defective copies. But with Egyptian ritual texts performed in royal, temple, mortuary, or individual settings, the critical identity is that of the beneficiary, with the result that the author is vanished completely from view. The only other relevant (and manifest) party is the performer,³¹⁹ whose personal and human identity is also irrelevant³²⁰—unless he happens to be the same as the text’s beneficiary. One of the consequences of placing the meaning of an Egyptian text in the lap of its beneficiary is that the actual author, his intentions, and his original work are unimportant to the manifest exemplar from the parent culture’s point of view. It was the operative now that mattered, while the past was of importance only inasmuch as it contributed to the power of the present. Modifications made to the hypothetical original cannot be defects, but in the act they must have been meaningful in their own right. That, at least, must be the autochthonous point of view. All of this is to say that the ends of the text-critical method are not well suited to capturing the cultural dynamics which generated Egyptian mortuary texts.

To pursue historical layers manifest in a text or corpus without regard to deviations between exemplars, one can employ a kind of source criticism. The efforts made above concerning the reframed texts in the Book of the Dead fall under this heading, and certain practices to follow in two later chapters do as well. The source-critical technique is traditionally wedded to the discourse about origins: that is, the method is generally aimed at separating discursive layers of a text, and these layers are deemed the products of separate editorial acts. Thus source criticism is directed at dividing a text into parts, with an age and context associated with each. Its domain is not the empirical, objectively perceivable differences between exemplars; that is more in the avenue of textual criticism. Source criticism is more typically concerned with conflicts in conceptual, ideological, and other kinds of content internal to the text. As it relies upon its audience’s recognition of a conflict in the text, it can, but need not, be a more subjective enterprise than textual criticism.

³¹⁶ The seminal research of Schenkel 1978 and *idem* 1980 employing the text-critical method was followed by important studies aimed at establishing the genealogy of sets of texts transmitted into and within the Middle Kingdom; see the introduction to the text-critical method and an overview of work accomplished in it within Egyptology at Kahl 1999, pp. 28–43, as well as Jürgens 1993, pp. 49–65; notable studies where it is applied to Old and Middle Kingdom mortuary texts include *idem* 1996, *idem* 1995, *idem* 1988, Kahl 1996, and Lapp 1988.

³¹⁷ Cf. Assmann 1969, p. 166.

³¹⁸ McGann 1992, p. 15.

³¹⁹ In Goffmann-esque terminology, the author is the producer of the text, the ‘animator’ is the performer, and the ‘principal’ is in our case the beneficiary; see the summarized differentiation of author, animator, and principal at Hanks 1996, pp. 163–165.

³²⁰ Hays 2009a, pp. 26–27, and add Assmann 2001a, p. 156, to the references cited there. This point is discussed in detail below in Chapter Four.

It is important that source criticism reached its acme in the field of biblical studies at precisely the same time that the discipline of Egyptology was coming into existence as an academic field. The Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis, the archetypal source-critical model, was generated in the late Nineteenth Century, and its evolutionary manner of thinking has long been recognized.³²¹ According to it, various sources of the Pentateuch are isolated and put in relative chronological order according to information internal to them. The point of source criticism, then, is not to study the documents as they have been received, but to discern the temporal relationships between their elements, especially through lexical differences between different texts or passages of a text. For instance, just through isolating layers of the Hebrew Bible, and approaching it through those layers, knowledge about the history of ancient Israelite religion can be inferred. The method is obviously of tremendous value.

One means of discerning different layers is through interpreting differences in the deployment of divine names as indications of separate origins.³²² It is noteworthy that James H. Breasted, who spearheaded the study of Pyramid Texts, had originally trained under the Hebrew philologist William Rainey Harper in the late Nineteenth Century. And his analysis of the Pyramid Texts is pure source criticism in the tradition of the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis, complete with a temporal isolation of source strata according to the presence of the names of the gods Re and Osiris.³²³ But this picture has not been generally pursued or promulgated,³²⁴ and certain details about the transmission of the Pyramid Texts, to be discussed in the following chapter, are not consistent with it.

But the source-critical method, the sorting out of texts and layers of texts according to differing usages of names, is elsewhere effectively employed in Egyptology, for instance through assessing a text where the name of the god Osiris Khentimentiu alternates with that of the human beneficiary in certain Book of the Dead and Opening of the Mouth rites. In source-critical fashion, and on the basis of the presence of the name of the deity in the texts concerned, it has been concluded that some preserved exemplars were copied from versions used in temple cult.³²⁵ In this permutation of source criticism, the alternations are viewed as editorial discrepancies, and the discrepancies are then assumed to show a chronological trajectory.

The chronology and differentiation of settings in life are important results that can be gotten from this sort of approach. But when applying the source-critical idea to the Pyramid Texts, the aim in this work will be to go a step farther: to take apart the event of editing according to its context, to make the editorial intervention reversible, to perceive the motivation of the transit.³²⁶ In short, the present investigations seek to take account of the meaning of the transformation. For instance, in cases like the alternation of the name of the god Osiris Khentimentiu with that of the human beneficiary, the modification shows the deliberate transplantation of a human into a divine role, the elevation of a corpse to the status of a sacred symbol. The human assumption of divine roles is a symbolic device permeating Egyptian religious literature, and it is partly because of that device that texts could be shared between human and divine settings in the first place. That is one of the dynamics which connect the nodes. Thus the source-critical method can yield a history, rather than just a chronology.

³²¹ See for instance Rowley 1963, p. 16.

³²² See *ibid.*, pp. 20–22.

³²³ See Breasted 1912, Lecture IV vs. Lecture V.

³²⁴ An exception: the supposed tension between these two gods in the Old Kingdom, perceived through interpretations of the Pyramid Texts, continues to be promulgated by e.g. Koch 1993, Kapitel 6 vs. Kapitel 7.

³²⁵ As at Quack 1997, pp. 238–239, *idem* 2006, pp. 138–143, and at Luft 2008, p. 87, where textual discrepancies are drawn out between the name of the deceased and the names of gods.

³²⁶ Cf. the critique of textual criticism at McGann 1992, 117–120.

One last methodological consideration resulting from the phenomenon of exchange. Since the assessment of context or setting of performance is important if one is to build a history of a text (for instance, temple versus tomb), then one must engage in form criticism. One of its chief instruments is the typological classification of texts, through drawing out associations between them. For the present material, the Pyramid Texts, to do form criticism means to isolate with rigor the textual morphologies particular to one setting over the other; the large-scale details about the different contexts must be drawn out. Coupled with knowledge of a text's synchronic and diachronic transmission, one may evaluate the degree to which it is more like those from one setting or the other. It is a question of the typology of discourse appropriate to a particular setting in life, and recognizing that the monumental context of transmission is a shadow or reflection of a particular setting of human action. In other words, it is to examine the texts to locate those proper to two of the domains sketched in Figure 3: mortuary cult and individual practices.

Having returned to that figure, the present discussion must have its end in developing an expectation of imbrications of settings in the Pyramid Texts. In the ensuing chapters, a division will be made between mortuary cult and individual mortuary rites, and it will be seen that there are exchanges between situations, an interchange between them. To identify the limits of the categories and their ruptures is to discover the human processes which generated the corpus and changed it. In a nutshell, that is the aim of the present book: to recover the event that was the invention of the mortuary literature tradition in ancient Egypt.

D. *Operative versus Non-performed, Monumental Texts*

The movement of a text between settings of human performance, for instance from individual practice to cult, is a recontextualization. At the moment a rite is moved from one situation to another, its witnesses who are versed in the cultural activities appropriate to them will note the shift and feel the tension to which the rules of discourse have been subjected. A rite—a recitation—belonging to one domain has been moved out of it and put into a situation where it does not quite fit. Done well, the movement is a work of genius: a bridge has been made between two formerly separate fields of speech and action, a bridge made precisely through transgressing the rules governing them.

The always concomitant reverse-side of recontextualization is decontextualization, the escape of discourse from its original situation. Egyptian ritual recitations constitute a case in point. The performed recitation was a set of words designed to be spoken in a particular social situation. But the inscribed text was one or more steps removed from that situation.³²⁷ Especially the monumental representation of a ritual recitation became a visual commodity, all the more so in pictorially driven hieroglyphs. Monumentalized, it was decontextualized from where it had been aurally experienced in the context of human, physical action, to where it was visually experienced as an adornment to a space-demarking artefact. Such a process of transformation, of the escape of discourse from its original, performed situation and its recontextualization as a strictly textual object, may be called *entextualization*.³²⁸ As developed in linguistic anthropology and folklore studies, the term mainly concerns the conversion of speech to writing, thus the transcription of orally delivered accounts to written documents. This focus was in part stimulated by the historical background of these fields'

³²⁷ Cf. similarly Quack f.c.

³²⁸ For the coining of the term, see Bauman and Briggs 1990, pp. 73–75.

practitioners in transcribing orally transmitted stories and myths, but their concerns are applicable here as well. The present work will focus on just one possible aspect implicated in an entextualization event: the process whereby the cue of the script to be spoken becomes something to be regarded, a visual object. This process is studied in order to pursue its effects on the significance of the text, and what the modifications tell about the culture which made them.

A distinction between two kinds of Egyptian religious texts has been perceptively made by Hubert Roeder. As he has observed, on the one hand are operative texts to be recited, and on the other are texts not presented with the intention that they be orally performed.³²⁹ The one was a script, a prompt to be used in human performance in spoken word and action. The other was a thing to be seen rather than done with the voice.

This distinction can be taken a step forward: the dynamics of entextualization register the transformation of one to the other. The static dichotomy Roeder perceives can be understood as a dynamic, historical process. What can be pursued is how the script as support to an actually performed rite was converted into an object experienced outside of its environment of origin. The effect of the move from aural to visual experience was to transform the text's 'Sitz im Leben'³³⁰—it was to recontextualize it. Modifications to the text helped secure its successful transit to a new situation of encounter. These modifications can be appraised to inform us about the document's new significance versus its old one.

Expressed in this way, one might see that the program of 'entextual criticism,' to call it after its inspiration, will necessarily involve all three of the methods outlined in the preceding section. To differentiate settings of performance, texts must be form-critically classified. And since transits between settings are expected, then one must be on alert for editorial evidence to this effect. When it is a case of discrepancies between manuscripts, then the nature of the evidence is identical to that operated on by the text-critical method, (though these investigations will be limited to postulating the shape of just one source manuscript immediately prior to any given exemplar or set of exemplars, while remaining uninterested in an archetype or the genealogical relations between them). Consideration of the distribution of some crucial deviations will allow even texts attested in only one exemplar to be evaluated by content, source-critically, in respect to their history, but in what follows the source criticism always ends up relying on differentiable 'text-critical' evidence. All of this begins from the central concern of entextualization research: what impact did the transfer of media have on the documents, and what does the nature of this impact have on our understanding of the human history of religion in this period? Thus, the core question is about the decontextualization process (ultimately itself a transgression of settings, from an oral to a visual arena). To answer it, a number of contextualizing investigations must be done: what settings were being transgressed? It is this system which is pursued.

The procedure just described will be carried out on the Pyramid Texts over the course of the next three chapters. It approaches the texts as monumentalizations, and it thus must uncover as part of its research the effects of the act of monumentalization itself, especially as regards texts from the two categories outlined in this chapter.

³²⁹ See Roeder 2004, p. 27, for the division between "operative Texte" and "Schrifttexte."

³³⁰ See already Güttgemanns 1970, p. 88, on the effects of reframing the New Testament Gospels from oral to written modes of transmission: "Formgeschichtlich, d.h. strukturell, vollzieht sich an dem Einzelstück durch das Überwechseln an einen anderen »Sitz im Leben«, vor allem durch den Wechsel vom mündlichen zum schriftlichen Traditionsmodus etwas so Entscheidendes, daß man geradezu von einer formgeschichtlichen Veränderung sprechen muß, wenn man nicht gleichzeitig die methodologischen Grundlagen der Formgeschichte, also die Prämisse von der soziologischen Bestimmtheit der Formen durch ihren »Sitz im Leben«, umstoßen will." The transfer of media entails transfer of setting in life.

As a preliminary to the study of the Pyramid Texts, it will be useful to first examine the effects of transposition on texts from the specific fields of action already encountered, temple cult and the individual practice of Book of the Dead texts. What happened to the ritual script when it was transposed from its setting of performance (the very situation for which the text was composed) and made into a document to be encountered in a monumental situation (where the text was no longer read during the performance of the rite it defined)?

The two papyri consulted earlier in this chapter in establishing the formal features of cultic service and individual rites can be understood as operative documents. This is certainly the case with Papyrus Berlin 3055. It is a purely textual document. It contains no vignettes or images, and it is written in the hieratic script. Therefore the pictorial component which is always at play in the hieroglyphic script is largely suppressed. In this way it is a utilitarian document, something much more to be used than visually appreciated: priests either recited from it in the course of actual performances or they consulted it beforehand in order to learn or check the correct words to be said in them. Because its reason for being was to serve as the support for a singular activity, namely the performance of a particular ritual, the Berlin papyrus is homogeneous and uniform in composition. Pragmatics governed its content: it would have been inconvenient to intersperse rites or other content having nothing to do with the sanctuary ritual, and still less convenient to include rites from another domain of practice.

As an operative document, the Berlin papyrus is in contrast to monumental depictions of the same rites on temple walls throughout pharaonic history. Such depictions are deployed with some regularity beginning in the New Kingdom, but their structural antecedents can be found already prior to the time from which the Pyramid Texts come.³³¹ With them, the iconic, visual element is emphasized. At the center is a large-scale pictorial depiction of the rite, an image of the king as priest doing something for a god. These scenes form one of the main staples of Egyptian temple decoration.

To briefly contextualize Egyptian temple decoration: there are precious few inscriptions from the Old Kingdom giving an idea of how any kind of Egyptian temple was decorated then, but when the evidence begins to appear it is commensurate with what would become a standard decorative repertoire in the New Kingdom, with progressive developments and local variations through the remainder of pharaonic and late history. The scene of the cultic act was regularly inscribed on temple walls, as noted above. In general, scenes showing the presentation of food and drink offerings are displayed in the outer areas—that is, toward the front of the temple—and they also occur in the innermost, sanctuary areas. Alongside them in the latter location, purificatory acts done in immediate proximity to the god are often displayed. If acts of purification do create ‘sheer difference,’³³² then the not-so-subtle effect of putting purification scenes around the cult statue’s innermost abode was to draw attention to how that place was different—a perpetual reminder of the special condition of the god’s image housed there.

Such scenes of ritual acts may be said to have served a number of other real functions, alongside the ones we might suppose the Egyptians perceived in them. But what is of paramount interest now is that the actual recitation was not often included in this kind of presentation. When it was, as in the scene of Figure 4,³³³ it was subordinated to the pictorial element.

³³¹ See Hays 2009c, p. 2 n. 8.

³³² As asserted at J.Z. Smith 1987, p. 108.

³³³ After Calverley and Broome 1935, pl. 12.

Figure 4 represents events performed in the sanctuary of the god. It is from the Nineteenth Dynasty temple of Seti I at Abydos, mentioned above. It is from one of several parallel chapels to various prominent deities, in this case Amun-Re.

The figure represents the ritualized purification of the god's image by pellets of natron.³³⁴ The recitation accompanying and helping constitute this act, beginning with TSR 60 (itself parallel to PT 35), appears in the scene hovering over the images of the king and god. King Seti acts as officiant, and he is shown plucking and presenting a pellet from a cup. The recitation is: *ʿb=k ʿb hr tꜣ phr ʿb=k ʿb dhw.ti tꜣ phr* "Your (sc. Amun's) purification is the purification of Horus, and vice versa. Your purification is the purification of Thoth, and vice versa," and so on. The presented recitation goes on to TSR 61 (parallel to PT 36), and the whole block of texts concludes over the king's head with the formulaic closing *wʿb zꜣ 2 imn-rʿ hr(i)-ib hꜣw.t-nb-mꜣ.t-rʿ* "Pure, twice, Amun-Re resident in the House of Seti I."

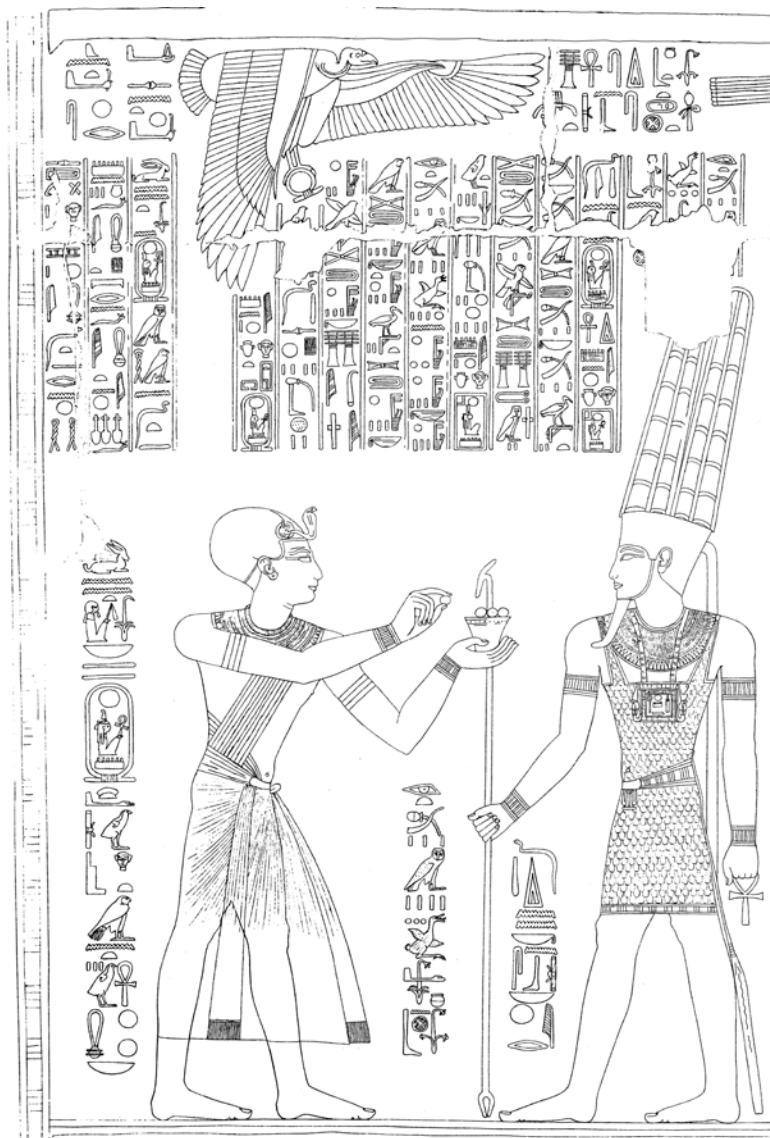


Figure 4. Scene of New Kingdom Temple Rite

³³⁴ The title of the recitation TSR 60 and the caption before the king are derived from a parallel to PT 34.

The domination of the image is the necessary outcome of the combination of graphic and textual representation, especially when the mode of doing the latter is in part pictorial, as with Egyptian hieroglyphs. The graphic image communicates more directly, more simply, and more largely than the word. As a result, when a ritual scene does give the recitation accompanying the action (as with Figure 4), it functioned as a caption to the whole rather than standing as the scene's reason for being. The text is in the periphery, not the center.

Whether a scene has the recitation text or not, it is normally embroidered with short captions naming the rite and its participants. In the figure, the rite is named just in front of the king's gown: *ir.t ʿb m fdlw ʿ sm ʿ nhb* "Purifying with four pellets of Upper Egyptian (natron) of el-Qab" (parallel actually to PT 34). The god and king in the present case do not receive separate labels, but reference is made to them in the surrounding texts. The god is identified in a formulaic closing which has been tacked on to the end of the recitation proper, the 'Pure, twice, Amun-Re . . .,' a statement which is the pragmatic equivalent of an 'Amen.'

The king is identified in two ancillary statements behind him. These describe the king's status; formulaic, they are typically found in this position. The lower one in the figure says, *wnn ni-sw.t nb ʿ wy mn-mʿ.t-r ʿ h ʿ w hr s.t hr n(i)t ʿ nh.w mi-r ʿ r ʿ nb* "The king and lord of the two lands Seti I appears upon the Horus-throne of the living like Re every single day." This remark was not part of the rite itself; it is not found in the Berlin papyrus, and these kinds of statements concerning the royal disposition cannot be correlated to any particular rite therein. Like the caption naming the act, it was not performed. Rather, one is to understand that this act—of being at the *s.t hr* "the position of Horus"—is the role proper to the officiant, and above all the king. He is the one always acting as Horus, archetypal officiant to the god. Like the recitation text above, the statement is in effect a caption to the scene, but in this case an explanation of one aspect of it.

The ancillary statement about the royal disposition frames the king's side of the scene; it can be balanced on the god's side by ancillary statements concerning a reciprocal deed done for the king by the deity, as similarly in the figure. They are also formulaic.³³⁵ In the figure, just to the left of the image of the god there is a comment attributed to him. He says, *di.n=i n=k snb nb hr(i)=i* "I have given you all the health which is with me." Declarations of reciprocal acts like this did not belong to the rite itself, as Arno Egberts has pointed out,³³⁶ because they nowhere appear in the surviving operative manuscripts, like the Berlin papyrus, just as the monumental statements about the king's status do not. Like the short captions naming the rite and its participants, the ancillary statements are non-performed elements which have been applied to the pictorial representation to elucidate its meaning: that is to say, they are not extracts from a *ritual script*.

But of course they were (and are) performed in the sense of being encountered and read by the beholder of the *monumental inscription*. As Pascal Vernus has pointed out, pictorial representations of ritual combined disparate elements to contribute to the generation of an ideological or transcendental reality. In this loose sense they are even vaguely 'performative' in the Austinian way: they achieve their intention in the constitution of the monument itself; by saying so on the monument, they make it so.³³⁷

But let us be precise: they do not achieve their intention in the more or less strict sense of the Austinian performative, because they are not themselves speech acts but representations

³³⁵ The oldest attestation of these formulaic statements of reciprocation stem from a Third Dynasty temple inscription, on which see L. Morenz 2002, pp. 137–158.

³³⁶ Egberts 1998, p. 359. Vernus 1985, pp. 307–308 (as Gunn 1924, p. 72 before him), further points out that there are few cases where the god is actually shown in the act of doing something; ordinarily he is immobile and static. The god's statement does not denote the depicted event; it comments upon it.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 307–308.

thereof. It was the chisel of the sculptor which left the message, and not the lips of a god shaping spoken words heard by the ear. This is a crucial point which has often been neglected by scholars who have concerned themselves with grammatical features of statements like “I have given you all the health which is with me.”³³⁸ The hieroglyphs standing for the statement of the deity are a representation of speech embedded in a graphic representation of an act: neither is the speech nor the act itself. The monument does not of itself operate in the moment, performatively or otherwise. After the text’s monumental actualization by the hand of the engraver, to again be actualized as an agent it requires an audience which is willing and able to enmesh itself in a dialectical relationship with it.³³⁹ To be actualized, it must be encountered. Moreover, the audience must be competent in the monumental statement’s context of convention, must understand and accept its sense so as to create, maintain, and participate in a social framework of consensus.³⁴⁰ In short, it is not the god who recites the statement and achieves something by the very act of saying it. The actualization of the hieroglyphs attributed to the god depends upon an audience encountering them, reading them, understanding them, and accepting their words as felicitous. Speech is not writing. The stones do not of themselves speak.

Speech is not writing, and monumental texts are not rituals, and they are not operative ritual scripts. Dominated by the graphic representation of an action, a temple ritual scene includes various texts of different natures. When included, elements from an operative script do tell what an officiant would say during the course of the depicted rite, but now the statements serve as caption rather than being the support to the actual performance. The whole is further embellished with other captions and ancillary declarations, which were not performed in the sense of being elements of any actual rite. All together texts and image become a representation of the event and its significance—but they are neither the event itself, nor the instruments to effectuate it.

The monumental depiction communicates information outside of the rite, and it functions differently than the text used as its support in actual practice. The monumental depiction is static and visual, and in these two senses it is iconic. The operative script is also static, as is any other inanimate object, but it is in service to human activities which are carried out in evanescent time, and they are experienced not only visually but also aurally and through the other senses as well. The monumental depiction is simultaneously archetypal and specific: it is archetypal in that it shows the king performing the deeds, whereas in actual practice it was his delegates who did so. And the monumental depiction is specific, in that it designates not just any performer or a class of performers, but a singular historical personage. The actual script of Papyrus Berlin 3055 does not include this detail: no specific king is named, in contrast to the scene of Figure 4. In the temple sanctuary ritual’s actual execution, the historical identity of the performer was irrelevant.³⁴¹ He was a generic quantity.

³³⁸ The body text concerns statements made by gods. To be clear, the discourse on the ‘performative’ *sdm.n=f* (for references to scholars who have engaged this topic, see Servajean 2003, pp. 34–35 with nn. 12–15) is prompted mainly from *sdm.n=f* statements accompanying pictorial depictions of ritualists engaged in the very physical acts denoted by the statements (see Gunn 1924, pp. 69–71). And in those cases also the discourse is misguided, because in their denotative content the statements are descriptive, i.e. fully constative, and consequently they ought not be performative in the strict Austinian sense; see Austin 1962, pp. 145–146. As a matter of fact, the problem Gunn dealt with had to do with tense and nothing to do with Austinian performativity. It is a matter of an unhappy coincidence of the same word used in entirely different ways.

³³⁹ See Feldman 2010, p. 150, and Ong 1982, p. 75.

³⁴⁰ See Fish 1982, pp. 707–708. Consequently one should not suppose that a particular verb form or grammatical structure can indicate, of itself, a performative utterance, as pointed out by Derchain 1989, pp. 13–18. That is why the attempt of Servajean 2003, pp. 9–15, 57–58, 62–64, to associate simple grammatical structures with performativity is not quite complete: generalized *langue* is not of itself a substitute for the specificity of language-in-use.

³⁴¹ See the references above at n. 320.

Thus the entextualization of the performed rite over to monumental media brings about its transformation. The differences simultaneously decontextualized and recontextualized what was being represented. In specifying reciprocal acts and results, the rite's monumental representation told what happened outside of the rite proper. In freezing the rite as a seen snapshot, the priests, scribes, and sculptors removed it from the play on all the senses in the flow of time. In idealizing and specifying the identity of the officiant, they shifted the focus of identity partly away from the ostensible beneficiary, the god, and over to the king. In short, the monumentalization of the ritual text not only decontextualized the event but superadded significance. This significance included the displacement of perspective away from its origin, projecting it toward an idealized conceptualization, an idea rather than a deed. Above all, what increased in relevance was the donor of the decoration itself: the monumental presentation created a permanent connection between the king and the monument where his depiction now appears. It had the effect of underscoring the overt legitimacy of the king's rule by divine right, something hardly touched upon in the execution of the event itself. The monumentalization actually made the king out now to be one of the depicted rite's prime beneficiaries.

To be sure, everything that is made with care and made to be seen can be made into something beautiful. The hieratic script of the Berlin papyrus may not be as transparently pictorial as the hieroglyphs of the monument, but the careful hand in which it was written is pleasing. So even the text of the operative script has been treated with some concern for visual aesthetics. But that means that the play between aural support and visual monumentalization is a question of degree.

So also with Books of the Dead. Papyrus exemplars from the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty offer fewer pictorial vignettes than those from the Nineteenth:³⁴² the visual component became more prominent later in the tradition. A paratextual addition, the vignette intensified the visual experience of the text, and in the process it shifted the document away from being support for an aural performance and more to being a visual representation. Though they are few, the presence of such vignettes already in Nu's papyrus signaled a transition away from operative purpose: the papyrus was not merely looked at to find out what was to be said, but it was looked at to be appreciated visually. So also with the presence of iconic texts, such as BD 150 at the very end of the papyrus and the scene of the adoration of Osiris at the very beginning. Further still with the choice of script: its cursive hieroglyphs had a more ornamental function than hieratic simply because they communicated on the visual level more directly. There are, in addition to these turns toward the visual, further elements in the papyrus which removed it from its operative base, notably linguistic elements. The reframed texts set up paradoxes through the addition of a layer of paratext which made the text owner, the named object of their rites, into their reciter—thereby creating situations impossible to realize in physical practice. Dead men do not physically put amulets on themselves. What was reflected in these particular texts could not be actually performed as it says, not without extemporaneous modification by the reciter—a further act of recontextualization. In their sum, the visual and linguistic moves made the document less operative than one like the Berlin papyrus. It could be engaged more so on the level of visual aesthetics, and its texts were altered in such a way that it became less convenient for actual use as a support to the practices it encoded.

But, by the nature of the papyrus medium, it remained a read thing. Its reason for being was to be a book. Practicality of use was therefore at the forefront. Books of the Dead did

³⁴² Milde 1991, p. 4 and see also his n. 15.

contain some rites which were exchanged with other contexts of performance, but none of them were presented within the papyri to serve as supports to activities outside of the individual setting. It would have been disruptive to its purpose to have included a rite intended to be performed in mortuary cult, for instance, except as iconographic caption to a pictorial image.³⁴³ While a papyrus like Nu's does display variegation in the structure of the particular rites it contains, a Book of the Dead is still homogeneous in respect to its setting. That homogeneity was governed by the pragmatics of the scroll's situation in life: its duty was with the individual's religious practices, not the community's.

The papyrus was designed to be read, and its shape and size were governed by this practical function. As it was unrolled and engaged by the reader, the scroll maintained the same distance between the eyes and the words, traversing only some centimeters. But the text inscribed in vertical columns on a monument could have its words rising and falling for the span of whole meters—in and out of the comfortable reach of sight and in and out of light. The inconvenience of reading a monumental text is due to the secondary relationship of text to edifice. A monument's primary function is to enclose and demarcate physical space. It takes on significance in synergy with its human purpose, and one way of enhancing that significance is to secondarily apply inscriptions: their role in that context is consequently to impart meaning to the thing.

To be sure, the more articulate power of the word is such that a text can submerge the physical function of a monument, and this was especially so with all but the most monumental of stelae. And it is equally the case that there were indeed Egyptian texts composed for the express purpose of being put on monuments, and with the intention that they be read and action incited thereby—above all, 'appeals to the living.'³⁴⁴ These again depended upon their actualization by a reader and his or her acceptance of their felicity.

But for the present discussion what must be emphasized is an indissoluble trait of a monumental text: in being put on an immobile medium, a text now not only was something to be read, but it now also was something which marked space. Thus a monumental text may be said to have a more physical role. It now interacts not merely with the hands and eyes (as a papyrus), but its dialogue is with the body as a whole—including the legs and arms. In the case of a ritual script transferred to a monument, it became even farther removed from human practice and even more of an object.

In the transposition of setting from portable document to monumental surface, the Egyptian ritual text was partly released from the pragmatic constraints of its operative source media. In being converted to an artefactual, visual representation, the text could have things added to it and changed in it which did not concern the human event which had motivated its original composition, but were indeed meaningful in the new, monumental situation. It was recontextualized.

Such recontextualization was just now encountered with temple ritual rites through the superaddition of ancillary statements having no actual part in the represented performance, and it can also be observed among Book of the Dead texts transcribed to monumental surfaces. A good example is the shroud of the king Thutmose III,³⁴⁵ in part because it breaks the mould of what we would tend to call 'monumental.'

³⁴³ So for instance with BD 1 (Ag), which includes a portion of MÖR 2 over a pictorial scene of the opening of the mouth as caption.

³⁴⁴ Strudwick 2005, p. 41.

³⁴⁵ For this source, see Munro 1994, Textband, pp. 41–45 and pls. 14–19; *ibid.*, Tafelband, pls. 32–43; and Dunham 1931, pp. 209–210 and pls. 31–36.

It is a non-performed, monumental text-as-artefact. A scroll was designed to hold words. A shroud was designed to hold a body. The scroll was designed to be unrolled, re-rolled, unrolled again and be read repeatedly. The shroud was designed to be wrapped one time, to enclose and be closed with finality. To be sure, it seems strange (to us) to refer to a shroud as a monument. But by the distinction that has been argued between operative and monumental texts, between texts meant to support a vocalized performance versus texts meant to decorate—to embellish or *smnh* a thing, especially something which happens to mark space, something meant to be appreciated visually, something inconvenient to read—by this description a shroud bearing texts must be regarded as monumental.

And one must take the shroud's self-identification into account. In the very first column of the shroud's top register, its texts are introduced with a paratextual declaration:

Cb (Munro 1994, Tafelband, pl. 32) 1

ntr nfr nb B.wy nb ir.t h.t ʕ3-hpr.w-rʕ z3 rʕ n(i) h.t=f mr=f imn-htp
ir.n=f m mnw=f n it=f ntr nfr nb B.wy nb ir.t h.t ni-sw.t bi.ti mn-hpr-rʕ z3 imn-rʕ n(i) h.t=f mry=f dhw.ti-ms
hpr.w-nfr
ir.t n=f md3.t n(i)t siqr 3h
rdi.t h3=f r wi3 n(i) rʕ...

The king Amenhotep II:

as his monument did he make for his father the king Thutmose III,³⁴⁶
 the making of a book for him of causing the Akh to be excellent,
 of causing him to board the bark of Re...

This dedicatory statement concerns the fabrication of the book (*md3.t*) as a monument (*mnw*).³⁴⁷ The shroud's texts are justly described as monumental since it describes them as such.

It is significant that this statement employs the phraseology *siqr 3h* “making the Akh skillful” in its first notation of the book's function. It is the same title given to one of the sets of reframed texts in the Papyrus of Nu, and they were to be done as by a close family member for another. The book as monument keys in precisely with this notion. It makes the act of inscribing the shroud into a deed of enduring (*mn*) filial piety. It is done by the son in service to his dead father (*it=f*) to secure the perfection (*siqr*) of his father's exalted, spirit form (*3h*).

But, as the shroud presents itself, the contents which follow are to be performed by the text owner himself, the dead King Thutmose. In the mostly intact top register, all of the texts are introduced by incorporating his name in the *dd-mdw in NN* “recitation by NN” formulae and, where the owner is referred to in the body texts, it is by the first-person pronoun. It is Thutmose as “I” who does the boarding of the bark of Re. These are all personal texts, according to the studies carried out earlier in this chapter.

The shroud monumentally represents, therefore, a particular setting of action: individual religious practice. That is, the texts are all personal and they all pertain to the individual setting.

³⁴⁶ In full: “The good god, lord of the two lands, lord of ritual, ‘Great Are the Manifestations of Re,’ son of Re of his body and beloved of him, Amenhotep: he made as a monument for his father, the good god, lord of the two lands, lord of ritual, king of Upper Egypt and king of Lower Egypt, ‘Enduring is the Manifestation of Re,’ son of Amun-Re of his body and beloved of him, Thutmose ‘Beautiful of Manifestations.’”

³⁴⁷ In the Egyptian context, *mnw* “monument” refers to a lasting, important deed; the written text is metaphorically termed an edifice. But the happy coincidence of the cultural meaning of the Egyptian word *mnw* with the present topic makes this example especially apt. Cf. similarly Urk VII 25, 19 (Khnumhotep): *ir.n=f m mnw=f* “as a monument did he make (this inscription),” with the details of it following.

That is, they all pertain to it except for one.³⁴⁸ At the end of the first register, in its last column at the far right, a sacerdotal text appears, PT 77 (see Figure 5³⁴⁹). This text will turn out to be a permanent fixture of Egyptian mortuary service, a rite performed by priests in the context of collective ritual for a deceased person.³⁵⁰ In comparison to the statements made just before it, in comparison to the regular and explicit declarations of agency made there—“recitation by Thutmose”—the agent of this text’s performance is here not declared.³⁵¹



Figure 5. Shroud of Thutmose III, Right End

³⁴⁸ After the dedicatory formula, the texts in the top register are BD 17, 154, elements of the Litany of Re (cf. BD 180), BD 1, 22–24, 21, 90, and 125, followed by PT 77; see Munro 1994, *Tafelband*, pls. 14–18 and Dunham 1931, pls. 31–32; cf. Munro 1994, *Textband*, p. 42, and *idem* 1987, p. 287 (#51).

³⁴⁹ After Dunham 1931, pl. 36.

³⁵⁰ PT 77 on Cb also bears a title, which is noted in the following chapter; see below at n. 385.

³⁵¹ Besides not specifying the text owner as speaker, the text alters a first-person pronoun referring to the priest, so that the identity of the reciter is made indeterminate. Cf. PT 77 §52b (N): *dd(=i) tm m h3.t Ne. pn* “in the brow of Neferkare do I put you (sc. unguent)” versus Pyr. §52b (Cb; Dunham 1931, pl. 36, l. 50): *dd=l tm m h3.t ni-sw.t mn-hpr-r m3c hrw pn* “in the brow of King Menkheperre do you put yourself.” It is a detail of decontextualization. Further on this formula, see Pries 2011 (forthcoming).

It is also distinguishable by the double line drawn between it and the rest of the register. One other column of text in this register is separated in the same way, the introductory dedication formula at the far left (not shown in the figure). Consequently the initial dedication and the cultic rite of the last column literally frame the texts from an individual context between them. They represent (and partly constitute) acts done not by Thutmose himself, but things done by others for him. And at the extremities, they punctuate the register, whose contents, in contrast, represent themselves as if self-performed.

But even without this perfect symmetry and the special divisions made by the simple means of a double line, the contrastive character of PT 77 would have been felt by the document's editors. Their cultural knowledge of the respective settings was enough to see the boundaries of genre. As mentioned above, this particular text was already in the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty a classical element of Egyptian mortuary cult, and would continue to be. With this background, the hypothetical audience (it was not expected that there would be a 'real' one) sees on the shroud rites done by the beneficiary for his own benefit, and these are framed by texts having to do with actions done by others for him.

Thus the shroud's largely intact first register consists of a mixture of texts, not merely variegated but heterogeneous: a set of rites transposed from the individual setting, punctuated. What contributed to the possibility for heterogeneity was the fact that the texts were not transcribed for the purpose of acting as a support in a particular human activity. There was no real-world, practical connection between PT 77 and the texts preceding it. Transcribed instead to a body-enclosing artefact, the texts were separated from their origins in practice, with the visual and spatial functions taking precedence over the role of the text as something to actually be read. In short, the monumentalization of texts relaxed the constraints of discourse genres, including the most inviolable one: genres are not to be mixed. Except when they are, obviously, and that makes heterologies like this one of special interest.³⁵²

In the case of the shroud, the texts had been transposed from documents like those to be unrolled in the hands of the living. Now wrapped around the corpse they became a static representation of the knowledge and practices with which they were associated. Their efficacy no longer derived from being physically performed and learned in a human event, but in their physical proximity to the body as the written word itself. Transferred to the monument, the text became more an artefact, a graphic arrangement, and in this sense more an idea than a deed. In moving out from the center of human activity, it moved closer to the sphere of mind and imagination.³⁵³ It bore much of the significance of the event—it must have been due to that very significance that it was brought onto the monument in the first place—but in the process it was partly severed from it.

This line of inquiry eventually has a great deal to do with what follows, because the Pyramid Texts attested in royal tombs of the Old Kingdom are of course monumentalizations, as Vernus has stressed,³⁵⁴ and as monumentalized *dd-mdw* "recitations" they are entextualizations. Therefore, if they had enjoyed an existence prior to their introduction to the tomb, then we should be aware that their transfer to it might, could, should, and must have had effects on their original forms and therefore their attested significance. It consequently becomes a delicate but obligatory task to isolate the changes induced by their entextualization

³⁵² On genre, see Derrida 1981, and, with great clarity on the tension between the irreducibility of the text versus its inextricable relationship with genre, see Frow 2006, pp. 24–28. For observance of the heterogeneity internal to the members of a genre, see Bakhtin 1986, pp. 60–61.

³⁵³ Cf. Ricoeur 1971, p. 532, and Bakhtin 1986, p. 115.

³⁵⁴ Vernus 1996, pp. 161–162.

and to see through them both the form in which the text is attested, and the practices from which it was derived.

This is entextual criticism. It is a matter of isolating the tangible patterns of modification applied to the Pyramid Texts. Knowing the patterns of modification with precision, a text can be plotted on a historical vector, and in this way its prior forms can be seen through its attested states. And with knowledge of the characteristics particular to both states, the dynamic significance of the corpus can be understood.

Patterns of distribution—the diachronically examined arrangement of texts on the tomb walls—will turn out to be very useful in getting one's bearings in negotiating the modifications. The groundwork for this will be laid directly.