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# The transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut

Analysis of their distribution and role
in the Old and Middle Kingdoms

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# Foreword

Zum Geleit

Vorliegendes Buch nahm seine endgültige Gestalt innerhalb des von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft geförderten *Sonderforschungsbereichs 980 Episteme in Bewegung – Wissenstransfer von der Alten Welt bis in die Frühe Neuzeit* an. Frei vom Zwang zur Rekonstruktion eines Urtextes und ohne die teleologische Prämisse eines sich ständig nur verschlechternden Textbestandes stehen am Beispiel der Pyramidentexte die Fragen, wie das Wissen über Kultur, Theologie und Sprache des Alten Reiches in das Mittlere Reich transferiert wurde, wie es rekonstruiert und rekonfiguriert, aber auch neu konstruiert und neu konfiguriert wurde, im Zentrum der Forschung.

Trotz mancher, von außen herangetragener Kritik an den insbesondere in der Tübinger Schule entstandenen Arbeiten zur altägyptischen Textüberlieferung darf konstatiert werden, dass auch diese Arbeiten sich bereits zwischen 1978 (Wolfgang Schenkel, *Das Stemma der altägyptischen Sonnenlitanei. Grundlegung der Textgeschichte nach der Methode der Textkritik*) und 2005 (Louise Gestermann, *Die Überlieferung ausgewählter Texte altägyptischer Totenliteratur („Sargtexte") in spätzeitlichen Grabanlagen*) oben genannten Fragestellungen in verschiedenartiger Weise gewidmet und den Eigenwert späterer Textbezeugungen – wie etwa im Falle von *Siut – Theben: Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten* – deutlich herausgestellt haben.

Wie diese Sichtweise auf die Texte bzw. Textzeugen in vorliegendem Band verfeinert, insbesondere auch unter Berücksichtigung der Tendenzen der New Philology einer gründlichen Überprüfung unterzogen und der prozessuale Charakter des Transfers herauspräpariert wurden, das lässt *The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut* als eine würdige Fortsetzung der insgesamt recht jungen, methodenorientierten überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Arbeiten zur altägyptischen Textkritik erscheinen. Bewusst den Untersuchungszeitraum auf sieben Jahrhunderte eingrenzend (ca. 2345–1650 v. Chr.), werden die besonderen Aspekte und die individuellen Eigenschaften des Texttransfers vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich untersucht und damit ein Modell des Transfers religiöser Texte im Alten Ägypten entworfen.

Das Buch legt gleichermaßen Zeugnis ab von der Sinnhaftigkeit der Arbeiten der Tübinger Schule wie von der Notwendigkeit steter neuer Auseinandersetzung mit methodologischen Kritikpunkten, von der Inspiration durch ein Forscherumfeld, wie es der *Sonderforschungsbereich 980* in einmaliger Weise zu bieten imstande ist, wie von der immensen Vertrautheit des Autors mit den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten.

Seine Aufnahme in die Reihe *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur – Beihefte* ist somit nur eine logische Konsequenz seiner reichen Bedeutung für den Transfer und die Rezeption altägyptischer Totenliteratur.

Berlin, 28.11.2016                                              Jochem Kahl und Nicole Kloth

# Preface

> I segni formano una lingua, ma non quella che credi conoscere.
> Italo Calvino, *Le città invisibili*, p. 4

The present volume is a revised and re-structured version of my study of the transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut from the end of the Old Kingdom into the Middle Kingdom, which was a case-study proposed in chapter four in my doctoral dissertation, *The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts into the Middle Kingdom: Philological Aspects of a Continuous Tradition in Egyptian Mortuary Literature*, defended in November 2012 at the University of Pennsylvania. The current version was made possible by the academic and financial support of the *SFB 980 Episteme in Bewegung – Wissenstransfer von der Alten Welt bis in die Frühe Neuzeit (DFG)*, under whose auspices I have conducted the final part of my research in Freie Universität Berlin. The Ägyptologisches Seminar and the SFB 980 have been an inspiring environment in which to conduct this research, and I am sincerely grateful for their support.

The object of this study is to identify and analyze the transmission of a series of texts that belongs to the group of texts of Nut, a segment of the larger corpus of Pyramid Texts dealing with the protection of the deceased by the sky-goddess and the reconstitution of his corpse. This group has been labelled *Spruchfolge* C in the initial study on sequences of Pyramid Texts by Hartwig Altenmüller and Group E in the recent study of the late Harold Hays.[1] As the initial stage of its transmission proves, the group of Pyramid Texts of Nut originated as two independent textual (and ritual) segments in the compositions for the pyramids of Teti and Pepi I in Saqqara, and later became a consolidated and well-known series – that is as a sequence – during the Middle Kingdom. In content, the present work adheres to the original results of the study, but it adds some new evidence and expands the discussion on the theoretical grounds of the group's transmission.

In seeking to display the particular data of the transmission of the group into the Middle Kingdom, this work – as in its original form – is limited to the analysis of sources of the Old Kingdom and the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. It is a case-study that has allowed me to apply methods of textual criticism to a group of texts whose conditions and characteristics permitted such analysis. The approach owes much to previous work, although in accordance with the strongest criticisms on the method, mainly from the field of Medieval Studies,[2] I have not aimed at a reconstruction of an unreachable *Urtext* but at demonstrating the process of transmission from the Old Kingdom archetype(s) to the Middle Kingdom witnesses, defining the historical settings in which this process occurred, and understanding the cultural and intellectual phenomena of text copying and creativity. The critical method (or lower criticism) in this work has obviously been limited by the surviving evidence.

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[1] See H. Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972), *ÄA* 24, pp. 47–49; and H.M. Hays, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012), PdÄ 31, p. 103.

[2] E.g. B. Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Éditions su Seuil, 1989).

In its methodological tone, the volume owes a great deal to the pioneering work of Wolfgang Schenkel, *Das Stemma der Altägyptischen Sonnenlitanei* (Wiesbaden, 1978), first scholar to introduce the critical method in Egyptology, and to the recent publication of Martin Worthington, *Principles of Akkadian textual criticism* (Berlin, 2012), whose application of the method to Akkadian texts has contributed substantially to the understanding of similar aspects of the transmission in the Near East. As concerns access to some particular sources, I am indebted to Klaus Finneiser (Ägyptische Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin), Hamil Loutfy, Yasmin El-Shazly and Heba Hamdy (Egyptian Museum, Cairo), Adela Oppenheim and Janice Kamrin (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), as well as Monika Doliñska (National Museum, Warsaw) for providing me information and photos of several unpublished Middle Kingdom coffins, sarcophagi, and models.

I am grateful to the SFB 980 Episteme in Bewegung and the Ägyptologisches Seminar at Freie Universität Berlin, especially to its director, Jochem Kahl, whose expertise on aspects of transmission with Egyptian texts has contributed to improve the discussion of this volume. As this book's foundation is part of my research for my University of Pennsylvania doctoral dissertation, I must express my thanks to my dissertation committee, David Silverman, James Allen, and the late Harold Hays. The premature death of Harold, friend and colleague, has deprived many from his advice and support and he will be really missed.[3]

I have benefitted from the knowledge, support and feedback of several colleagues who have read this work at diverse stages of its completion or discussed with me some of my ideas concerning the transmission and function of the Pyramid Texts of Nut. Thanks are due to Ludwig Morenz (Bonn), Andreas Pries (Heidelberg), Wolfgang Schenkel (Tübingen), and Mark Smith (Oxford). For this work I have conducted research in the University of Pennsylvania Museum Library, the Egyptology library at Freie Universität Berlin, and the Sackler Library at the University of Oxford, whose diligent staffs deserve my gratitude. I have also profited from my participation in the workshop "*Überlieferungsformen von Text und Bild im Alten Ägypten*," that was generously supported by the SFB 980 and organized by our research group A02 – Altägyptische Philologie, here at Freie Universität Berlin. I am also grateful to a few colleagues and friends with whom I have discussed various questions regarding the mechanisms of transmission and the textual critical method, in special Mariam Ayad, Barbara Bordalejo, Michaela Engert, Ramadan Hussein, Elisabeth Kruck, Maxim Kupreyev, Ilona Regulski, and Daniel Werning. I must also thank to Mohamed Osman, Dalia Galal, and Marwa Abd El-Razek for their assistance in dealing with the Egyptian Museum storage and database. In addition, my gratitude also goes to Juan Antonio Belmonte for his help with astronomical notions and problems. Last but not least, I am indebted to the editors of the *Beihefte* for the *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, Jochem Kahl and Nicole Kloth, for their invitation to publish this work in the series and their help with the contents of this manuscript, which has strengthened the contents of the study.

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[3] See F. FEDER and L.D. MORENZ, "In Memoriam: 'The Alpha and the Omega of Sinuhe' without Harold Hays," in H.M. Hays, F. Feder and L.D. Morenz (eds.), *Interpretations on Sinuhe. Inspired by Two Passages* (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), *EU* 27, p. vi.

Above all, the utmost gratitude is owed to Elisa Solano de la Torre for her disposition and diligence to help me with every aspect of my research. I dedicate this book to you, Elisa, for your generosity of spirit.

27 April, 2016, Berlin
A.J.M.

# 1. Introduction

It would be wrong to interpret a stemma as an exact historical picture of the history of the deliverance of the versions. One should bear in mind that a stemma is a *minimal* picture relating only to the text versions that still exist. Thus, a stemma can only be considered as a hypothesis about (a part of) the historic reality. On and around the lines of descent, we can imagine lost manuscripts whose contents are unknown.

Ben Salemans, *Building Stemmas*, p. 14

This book has been written as part of a larger project on the history of the transmission of the Pyramid Texts from the Old Kingdom to the Roman period. However, my aim here is not to define in a comprehensive manner the main streams of transmission and the intellectual, cultural and religious mechanisms that stimulated such an enduring phenomenon. Rather, I aim at individualizing a significant series of the whole corpus and exploring the particular aspects of its transmission from the Sixth Dynasty to the late Middle Kingdom as a model of textual dissemination of religious corpora in pharaonic Egypt. In other words, the book concentrates on the history of a special group of Pyramid Texts for about seven centuries (2345–1650 BCE).

As the chosen series is a group featuring *ca.* twenty-eight texts dealing with the role of the goddess Nut ensuring the reconstitution of the deceased's corpse and yielding his perfect state, I opted for the label 'Pyramid Texts of Nut,' although other scholars have previously labelled and examined the series with alternative names: group E and Sequence 84 (Hays),[4] Book of Nut (Billing),[5] series C (Thompson),[6] *Spruchfolge* C (Altenmüller),[7] and *Textgruppen* I-IV (Rusch).[8] The series is one of the largest groups of Pyramid Texts transmitted from the Old Kingdom into the Middle Kingdom and beyond. Although it dates mainly toward the end of the Old Kingdom, the motifs and characteristics of performance of the group are clearly distributed throughout the earlier sources.[9]

Two premises support the consideration of the series of Pyramid Texts of Nut as a modeled sequence. On the one hand, the series is identifiable as a unit through the repetition of all its texts in identical order in more than one source. On the other hand, it is the

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[4] HAYS, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts I*, p. 103; and *II*, p. 681 (chart E); HAYS, "Old Kingdom Sacerdotal Texts," *JEOL* 41 (2008–2009), pp. 47–94: esp. 57–58, chart E in p. 82; and HAYS, *The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts and its continuities with Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature* (Ann Arbor: PhD dissertation submitted to the University of Chicago, 2006), pp. 110–175.

[5] N. BILLING, *Nut: the goddess of life in text and iconography* (Uppsala: Akademitryck AB, 2002), *USE* 5, pp. 111–116, and table 1.

[6] S.E. THOMPSON, "The Origin of the Pyramid Texts Found on Middle Kingdom Saqqâra Coffins," *JEA* 76 (1990), pp. 17–25: esp. 20–24.

[7] ALTENMÜLLER, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, pp. 26–32, 47–49.

[8] A. RUSCH, *Die Entwicklung der Himmelsgöttin Nut zu einer Totengottheit* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1922), *MVÄG* 22, pp. 1–14 (though *Textgruppe* IV constitutes a subgroup of Nut-texts inscribed on Old Kingdom sarcophagi that is thematically associated with the protective capacity of Nut but not included in the recurring series after the end of the Old Kingdom with few exceptions such as the presence of the 'sarcophagus-text' PT7 in the sarcophagus of Aspelta; see n. 406 below).

[9] HAYS, *The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts*, p. 118.

product of conscious textual editing, because its texts are transmitted together, as a group, rather than individually.[10] It is also pertinent to state that they are homogeneous in content and function, mainly stressing the reconstitutive role of Nut, the extensive attention devoted to the exalted status of the deceased, and his resurrection. Additionally, analysis of its performance structure reveals that these texts conform to the sacerdotal structure of the resurrection type,[11] that is to say that they were understood to be performed by a priest for the benefit of the deceased, who is exclusively addressed here in the second or third person (that is: as 'you' or 'he').

## 1.1 The study of mortuary corpora transmission in the Old and Middle Kingdoms

In general, most of the earlier works on the corpus of Pyramid Texts have emphasized the study of particular spells and/or their theological-oriented themes, therefore disregarding a more profound examination of the structure of the corpus, its groups, series and functions. Only a few works truly concentrated on the systematic arrangement of the Pyramid Texts in order to explain the meaning of the diverse segments of the corpus.

One of the first scholars who examined the structure of the corpus and its segmentation was Hartwig Altenmüller in his *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches,* where he made use of the concept '*Spruchfolge*,' extensively applied to Middle Kingdom sources.[12] For Altenmüller, this concept was advantageous because it allowed him to trace the history of the same fixed sets of texts in later contexts.[13] Not long ago, Harold Hays revived the concept in his study of the organization of the Pyramid Texts,[14] where he made use of the terms 'sequence' and 'subsequence' (i.e. recurring series),[15] as

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[10] This statement does not imply that some of the mechanisms activated for the transmission of the series, mainly in the Middle Kingdom and the Late Period, did not include the dissemination and use of particular texts representing the whole series, such as in the cases of PT588 at Lisht and PT433–434 PT443–444 at Dahshur (see table 1 below). For the consideration of these two premises as distinctive features for a 'sequence,' see n. 18 below.

[11] See HAYS, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts I*, pp. 10–13, 265–268, figs. 15–16; HAYS, "Old Kingdom Sacerdotal Texts," *JEOL* 41 (2008–2009), p. 49, n. 15 (with further bibliography); and J. ASSMANN, "Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies," in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim I* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1990), pp. 1–45.

[12] ALTENMÜLLER, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, pp. 40–51.

[13] Id., p. 46.

[14] For a list of other works using the same methodology since the publication of Altenmüller's monograph, see HAYS, "Old Kingdom Sacerdotal Texts," *JEOL* 41 (2008–2009), p. 47, n. 6.

[15] HAYS*, The Organization of the Pyramid Texts I*, pp. 79–81 (definition of group), 120–123 (definitions for sequence and subsequence); and *II,* pp. 453–486 (chart of sequences/subsequences), 675–689 (charts of groups); HAYS, "Old Kingdom Sacerdotal Texts," *JEOL* 41 (2008–2009), pp. 47–94; and HAYS, *The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts*, pp. 7–18. Previous studies on the same subject are, i.a., J. KAHL, "Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Verhältnis von Unas und Sesostrisanch am Beispiel von PT302–312," *SAK* 22 (1995), pp. 195–209; J.P. ALLEN, "Reading a Pyramid," in C. Berger, G. Clerc, and N. Grimal (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant I* (Caire: IFAO, 1994), *BdE* 106/1, pp. 5–28; and J. OSING, "Zur Disposition der Pyramidentexte des Unas," *MDAIK* 42 (1986), pp. 131–144.

well as the notion of 'group'[16] in his approach to the structure and typology of the Pyramid Text corpus. For this author, 'text sequence' refers to a distinct section of contiguous texts;[17] this means "a string of two or more texts which 1) appears in more than one source, 2) has precisely the same constituents, 3) and disposes them in precisely the same order."[18] A section of the series that appears in more than one source has the label 'subsequence' or segment (*Abschnitte*) of a series.[19] However, pertinent as these concepts are, since they are present in the post-Old Kingdom forms of the corpus, their multiplicity of forms and strings attested in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom motivated me to work instead with the concept of 'series,'[20] which are equivalent in this study, and 'group.'[21] Altenmüller already observed that after the Old Kingdom several sequences appeared in the repertoire of Middle Kingdom Pyramid Texts. The predominance of strings of Pyramid Texts whose modifications in order or text units were slight convinced me, however, that it was pertinent to approach the multiplicity of assemblage-forms of Pyramid Texts of Nut after the Old Kingdom by identifying similar groupings and deviations in the series instead of fixed recurring sequences and subsequences.[22] I did, however, take account of the recurring sequences and subsequences, which in fact constituted a clear sign for repetition, preservation of forms, established tendency, and tradition. Therefore, in this volume I based my interpretations not only on the particular attestations of the recurring series (such as in Sq3–6C) but also on instances of loosely contiguous sets of Nut texts that may or may not appear in the same order or with the same text units. In other words, as the cases in which the complete series appear are not many, I also work with segments of it, whose variegation could also provide traces of innovation, change, and adaptation of its structure.

In my references to the process that gave origin to the Pyramid Texts in monumental form, I also use two crucial concepts that need further explanation in the incipit: 'entextualization' and 'textualization.'[23] The former term refers to any process of rendering any in-

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[16] See the significance of the analysis of Pyramid Texts in groups as observed in ALTENMÜLLER, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, p. 46; and see also the distinctions established in ALLEN, "Reading a Pyramid," in Berger, Clerc, and Grimal (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant I*, pp. 38–39.

[17] HAYS, *The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts*, p. 6.

[18] HAYS, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts I*, p. 120; and HAYS, *The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts*, pp. 12–13.

[19] HAYS, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts I*, p. 122; and HAYS, *The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts*, p. 13.

[20] For the concept of 'string,' see the major distinctions with 'sequence' in HAYS, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts I*, p. 122, and n. 491.

[21] Following the groups as distinguished in HAYS, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts*; and *II*, pp. 675–689; and in his previous study of the groups in HAYS, "Old Kingdom Sacerdotal Texts," *JEOL* 41 (2008–2009), pp. 47–94. In addition, the definitions of associated groups as presented previously in ALLEN, "Reading a Pyramid," in Berger, Clerc, and Grimal (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant I*, pp. 38–39, have been taken into consideration. For a criticism of the latter groups on the basis of the new established arrangement, see HAYS, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts I*, p. 5, n. 32.

[22] The high degree of adaptation of the corpus prompted the variegation of textual patterns in the process of series formation, in their order and components, therefore generating series that adopted innovative forms for their adjustment to new settings.

[23] For these two processes, see A.J. MORALES, "From voice to papyrus to wall: *Verschriftung* and *Verschriftlichung* in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts," in M. Hilgert (ed.), *Understanding Material Cultures. A*

stance of oral discourse a textual form, transferring such a model of speech into the setting of the written culture and literature, in the case of ancient Egypt just in the form of documents (papyrus scrolls) or monumentalizations of it (tomb inscriptions).[24] I refer to this concept when alluding to the process by which mortuary recitations from diverse origins became fixed in writing sometime before the Fifth Dynasty. Such an operation must be considered an intellectual undertaking (*sḫr*)[25] that the Memphite sacerdotal class initiated for the benefit of the king's afterlife existence. The corpus of Pyramid Texts, however, also experienced a related episode of transformation that some scholars have identified in the study of the transformation of oral cultures as 'textualization.' By means of this process, the entextualized oral discourse acquired literary form and detached from the discursive style.[26]

*Multidisciplinary View* (Berlin: De Gruyter, fc.), *Materiale Textkulturen* 9, pp. 57–126; MORALES, "Iteration, Innovation und Dekorum in Opferlisten des Alten Reichs. Zur Vorgeschichte der Pyramidentexte," *ZÄS* 142.1 (2015), pp. 55–69; H.M. HAYS, "The entextualization of the Pyramid Texts and the religious history of the Old Kingdom," in P. der Manuelian and Th. Schneider (eds.), *Toward a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom. Perspectives on the Pyramid Age* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015), *Harvard Egyptological Studies* 1, pp. 200–226; and C.H. REINTGES, "The Oral-compositional Form of Pyramid Texts Discourse," in F. Hagen *et al.* (eds.), *Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East. Literary and Linguistic Approaches* (Leuven-Paris-Walpole: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2011), *OLA* 189, pp. 3–54.

[24] The term was first coined in R. BAUMAN and C.L. BRIGGS, "Poetics of Performance as Critical Perspectives of Language and Social Life," *ARA* 19 (1990), pp. 58–88: esp. 73–75. See also G. URBAN, "Entextualization, Replication, and Power," in M. Silverstein and G. Urban (eds.), *Natural Histories of Discourse* (Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 21–44. For a comprehensive explanation of the entextualization phenomenon applied to the Pyramid Texts, see also HAYS, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts I*, pp. 90–92, and 198–203; and L.D. MORENZ, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der 2. Zwischenzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996), *ÄAT* 29, pp. 27–32. Further works deal with the differences between the entextualization of the oral discourse (which implies its decontextualization) and the textualization of the written recitations: see mainly W. OESTERREICHER, "Textzentrierung und Rekontextualisierung. Zwei Grundprobleme der diachronischen Sprach- und Textforschung, " in C. Ehler and U. Schaefer (eds.), *Verschriftung und Verschriftlichung. Aspekte des Medienwechsels in verschieden Kulturen und Epochen* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1998), *ScriptOralia* 94, pp. 1–9; and OESTERREICHER, "Verschriftung und Verschriftlichung im Kontext medialer und konzeptioneller Schriftlichkeit, " in U. Schaefer (ed.), *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1993), *ScriptOralia* 53, pp. 267–292.

[25] For the related notion of 'textualizing knowledge,' see C.F. ZINNI, *Interweaving: Memory Through Machines* (Ann Arbor: PhD dissertation submitted to the State University of New York in Buffalo, 2006), pp. 30–32. Here the author discusses Mary Carruther's ideas on textualization as the process in which literature or cultural narratives fix (like text-ile, interwened; see that the Latin word for text 'textus' also means weaving) the instances of language into framed texts, monumentalizing knowledge and memory for the community. See also M. CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature*, p. 14, and her idea that in the process of textualizing, the original work acquires commentary and gloss (paratextual information) because of the layers of meaning implied in the text. Although this is an approach that takes further the impact of the textualization on the original oral materials, the ancient Egyptian case also reveals that new meaning is attached to the resulting form of expression even if there is no formal commentary or gloss attached to it. As for the nature of the plan, see a similar concept in B. MATHIEU, "Mais qui est donc Osiris? Ou la politique sous le linceul de la religion," *ENiM* 3 (2010), pp. 77–107: 77.

[26] For this concept, see J.M. FOLEY, "Textualization as Mediation: The Case of Traditional Oral Epic," in R. Modiano, L.F. Searle, and P. Shillingsburg (eds.), *Voice, Text, Hypertext: Emerging Practices in Textual Studies* (Seattle-London: The University of Washington Press, 2004), pp. 101–120; L. HONKO, "Text as process and practice: the textualization of oral epics," in L. Honko (ed.), *Textualization of Oral Epics* (Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), *Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs* 128, pp. 3–54; and G. NAGY,

Finally, in the history of transmission of the Pyramid Texts I work with the notions of 'first adaptation,' 'second adaptation,' and 'recension.' Specifically, the concept of first adaptation refers to the aforementioned entextualization of the body of oral materials that formed the Pyramid Text corpus. In this study I also refer to this shift in the mortuary culture tradition as the invention of the Pyramid Texts or the Memphite recension,[27] in regard to the participation of the sacerdotal classes from Heliopolis and Memphis and their intellectual undertaking in the composition of the corpus.[28] My main interest, however, is vested in the later episodes of the adaptation of Pyramid Texts and Nut texts in particular, labelled 'second adaptation,' since this phenomenon implies the later shift of the corpus from the royal context in the Old Kingdom to the private one in the First Intermediate Period. Rules and principles determined the formation of assemblages for each king and the loosening of these conditions, which allowed – already for the pyramid assemblages of the queens in the Sixth Dynasty – the composition of new assemblages with variegated textual programs. The second adaptation defines the alteration of the corpus and the emergence of a series of mechanisms and principles for the adjustment of the Pyramid Texts to the new settings in which they were later used.[29]

Not to confuse with the Memphite recension of the Fifth Dynasty, in this work I also discuss an important aspect of the transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut, a phenomenon of textual 'recension' that occurred approximately in the mid–eleventh Dynasty. This aspect of the history of the dissemination of the series of Nut texts is explained in this volume through the analysis of the genealogical development of the series and its witnesses. Particular textual features in the transmission of Nut texts during the First Intermediate Period reveal the existence of an intellectual and specialized movement in the religious centers with mortuary collections – mainly in Saqqara – that worked with the corpus and comtemplated its utilization in new contexts (i.e. private mortuary monuments). Such a movement resulted in a recension of the corpus of old mortuary texts and left traces in the new witnesses of the late Eleventh Dynasty, whose versions of the texts of Nut showed modifications, deviations, and unattested errors.

"Homer as "Text" and the Poetics of Cross-Reference," in Ehler and Schaefer (eds.), *Verschriftung und Verschriftlichung. Aspekte des Medienwechsels in verschieden Kulturen und Epochen*, pp. 78–87: esp. 79. For the process of 'textualization' with the Egyptian materials, see J. ASSMANN, *Religion und kulturelles Gedächtnis* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2000), pp. 81–82.

[27] See S.A.B. MERCER, *Literary Criticism of the Pyramid Texts* (London: Luzac&Company Ltd., 1956), p. 5, who refers to this phenomenon as both 'recension' and 'redaction.'

[28] Although the process of entextualization might be immediate, the phenomenon of textualization seems to be characterized by its gradualness: see E.J. BAKKER, "How Oral is Oral Composition?," in E.A. Mackay (ed.), *Signs of Orality. The Oral Tradition and its Influence in the Greek and Roman World* (Brill: Leiden-Boston-Köln, 1999), *Mnemosyne–Bibliotheca Classica Batava Supplementum* 188, pp. 29–47.

[29] For a comprehensive study on the multiple forms of the transmission under the second adaptation frame, see A.J. MORALES, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts into the Middle Kingdom: philological aspects of a continuous tradition in Egyptian mortuary literature* (Ann Arbor: PhD dissertation submitted to the University of Pennsylvania, 2013), *passim*.

1.2 Pyramid Texts and Nut: transmission and function

The examination of the Pyramid Texts collections composed for kings and queens of the Old Kingdom shows that the oldest attestation of the Pyramid texts of Nut *as a series* occurred on the west wall of the sarcophagus chamber in the pyramid of Pepi I. Here, the sequence appears divided into two sections located on the middle and lower parts of the west wall. The reasons for the omission of the Nut sequence in the pyramids of Unas and Teti is unknown, but other texts of similar characteristics were used at the same location in these two pyramids. Following the history of the texts of Nut in the Old Kingdom, in the pyramids of Merenre and queen Ankhesenpepy II – again on the west wall of their sarcophagus chambers – the group incorporated PT588, that would become the introductory utterance *per excellence* in Middle Kingdom and later attestations. Furthermore, recent discoveries by the French Mission in Saqqara have uncovered fragments inscribed with Pyramid Texts from the tomb of a queen called Behenu, which also confirms the presence of texts of Nut in this Old Kingdom Memphite monument. Interestingly, at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, on the west walls of the sarcophagus chambers in the pyramids of Pepi II and his wife Neit, the sequence seems to have been re-arranged from previous shorter units found dispersed or in different order, constituting a grouping closer to the one found in the Middle Kingdom coffins. No doubt, the fluid configuration of the sequence seems to indicate that the function of the grouping was not dependent on a fixed number of spells or a certain order, but on the assemblage of texts with the same theme.[30]

Since it is in the Middle Kingdom when the series achieves its complexity, the study of the Pyramid Texts by Hartwig Altenmüller included an examination of the series of texts of Nut – *Spruchfolge* C – as a version of the series only attested in Middle Kingdom sources, and presumably – according to Altenmüller[31] – with Old Kingdom ancestors.[32] Harold Hays also identified parts of this Middle Kingdom grouping in the Old Kingdom pyramid collections, explaining the particular role of this group in the model of mortuary services performed for the deceased, namely in connection to the performance of the hour-vigil or *Stundenwachen* ritual. It is precisely in the setting of the vigilance of the deceased against hostile creatures and the reconstitution of his corpse where I believe that the series finds its meaningful origins.

Regarding this particular setting of performance for the Pyramid Texts of Nut, Nils Billing also suggested that texts from the south wall of the vestibule of the pyramid of Pepi I could represent a section of the later hour-vigil rites.[33] Likewise, in his analysis of the

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[30] Similarly, BILLING, *Nut: the goddess of life in text and iconography*, pp. 112–114, table 2.

[31] ALTENMÜLLER, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, pp. 29–31, 48–49 (*contra*: THOMPSON, "The Origin of the Pyramid Texts Found on Middle Kingdom Saqqâra Coffins," *JEA* 76 (1990), p. 23). Cf. my position regarding the development of the series, whose Middle Kingdom witnesses depended on Old Kingdom archetypes, therefore understanding that the reorganization of the series was due to the refinement of the rites and the ritual structure implied by these texts.

[32] ALTENMÜLLER, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, p. 49: "obwohl sie aus einem unbekannten Grund nicht in das Spruchgut der Pyramiden W und T aufgenommen worden ist."

[33] See N. BILLING, "The corridor chamber. An investigation of the function and symbolism of an architectural element in the Old Kingdom pyramids," in J.-C. Goyon and C. Carding (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6–12 september 2004* (Leuven-Paris-Dudley: Uitgeverij

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influence of the Late Old Kingdom pyramid collections on the Middle Kingdom composi-
tions, Stephen Thompson also deduced that this group was conceived as a major type in the
preparation of the collections for Pepi II and Neit,[34] afterwards becoming standarized in the
Middle Kingdom coffins, in which these texts played a similar role in the private mortuary
domain. In the analysis of the dissemination of the series, I also refer to the associated phra-
seology identified by Martin Bommas between two Pyramid Texts of Nut and the *Stunden-
wachen* rites.[35] Bommas' identification of such a relationship is bolstered by other signifi-
cant instances of Pyramid Texts presented in this volume that confirm the existence of vigil
ritual practices before the Middle Kingdom, overturning the opinions that pointed to some
Coffin Texts as the earliest occurrences of these ritual activities.[36]

As for the dissemination of the series, this study provides evidence for distinguishing
two cardinal phases in the transmission of the Nut texts from the Sixth Dynasty. The pivotal
juncture that set apart both stages was an intensive process of revision of texts that hap-
pened approximately in the middle of the Eleventh Dynasty and affected the late First In-
termediate Period and later witnesses relying on the manuscripts resulted from this revision
or 'recension.' The emergence of distinctive witnesses with manifest digressions and errors
points to a period of intensive speculative work with the texts, which led to a second phase
in which these heavily edited copies made it into the Twelfth Dynasty collections.

As exposed in this volume, the history of the dissemination of the Pyramid Texts of Nut
from the end of the Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom and even up to the Greco-Roman
times is a history of continuities, changes and (ritual) adaptations to new settings. Their
transmission into the Middle Kingdom reflects, therefore, the living role of the sacerdotal
rites that they embodied – in this case, rites concerning the protection and reconstitution of
the corpse of the deceased – and raises stimulating questions about their original setting and
function, as well as their later uses in the Late Period and the Greco-Roman times.[37]

Peeters, 2007), *OLA* 150, pp. 183–193: esp. 192–193; and BILLING, *Nut: the goddess of life in text and icono-
graphy*, pp. 111–115.

[34] THOMPSON, "The Origin of the Pyramid Texts Found on Middle Kingdom Saqqâra Coffins," *JEA* 76
(1990), p. 17.

[35] M. BOMMAS, "Das Motiv der Sonnenstrahlen auf der Brust des Toten. Zur Frage der Stundenwachen im
Alten Reich," *SAK* 36 (2007), pp. 15–22: esp. 16–19.

[36] For instance, J. ASSMANN (with collaboration of M. BOMMAS and A. KUCHAREK), *Altägyptische Totenli-
turgien III: Osirisliturgien in Papyri der Spätzeit* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2008), *Supplemen-
te zu den Schriften der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 20,
p. 320; and M. SMITH, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum III: the Mortuary Texts of Papyrus
BM 10507* (London: British Museum Publications, 1987), p. 25.

[37] An interesting aspect of the textual transmission beyond this study is the degree of knowledge and un-
derstanding demonstrated by the Late Period and Greco-Roman scribes and priests on old texts, their form,
function and language. See, for instance, the position by A. VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das
sogenannte Nutbuch I-II* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2007), *CNI Publications* 31, pp. 223–224,
in which she notes that Late Period priests did not understand old texts and could not compose new ones with
the old materials (*contra*: D. KLOTZ, "A new edition of the "Book of Nut"," *BiOr* 58.5–6 (2011), pp. 476–492:
esp. 489; and see also a related discussion in D. KURTH, "Zur Definition des Ptolemäischen," *GM* 229 (2011),
pp. 65–79, who criticizes arguments pointing to the inability of Ptolemaic priests and scribes to understand –
and compose – texts in Middle Egyptian).

1.3 Scope and limitations

The main purpose of this book is to define the history of transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut during the Pyramid Age in order to expose the major avenues of manuscript dissemination and the intellectual and cultural mechanisms that sustained such phenomenon. In consequence, the study focuses on the attestations of the texts belonging to that series in the context of the Old Kingdom royal pyramids and the later witnesses in private mortuary contexts in the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom. Although the textual analysis does not apply to those attestations identified after the Middle Kingdom, this study incorporates the later variants of the Old Kingdom texts so as to interpret the ramifications of the transmission and the function of the series in the domain of the ritual practices and theological postulations of the Late Period and Greco-Roman times.

As the scope of this work goes beyond the mechanic analysis of the dissemination of the series, I have incorporated into the examination its later variants, their contexts and functions, and have discussed the role of the scribes, priests and religious settings in the understanding of the transmission history of the Nut texts. Expectably, my approach to the domain of the written (religious) culture in the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom, therefore, will be primarily textual-historical and reception-dependent. The circulation and reception of copies of the Nut series in local cemeteries, therefore, provided the grounds for the exploration of scribal copying activities.

Relating to the scribal practices, I have contemplated errors and textual re-interpretations on the grounds that they reflect the readings carried out in temple libraries by 'scholars' (i.e. priests and scribes) in other contexts than the inner crypts of the Old Kingdom kings and queens.[38] Deviation from previous manuscripts might respond in some cases to intentional attempts to update the contents and meaning of a text (as part of the process of recontextualization). In most cases, however, the traditional nature of the religious discourse implies that errors or deviations observed in the post-Old Kingdom copies were due to the relatively rapid pace and mechanic text copying on tomb walls (i.e. in situ) or in the sides of coffins and sarcophagi (most probably in workshops).

Furthermore, it is relevant to note that this study visualizes the process of transmission of religious texts within the domain of the elite mortuary culture and their application in local cemeteries. In other words, the principles, mechanisms, and agents ruling this process of textual transmission should not be (immediately) associated with similar developments in the domain of poetic composition and practice. Although related, the configuration and circulation of poetic literature followed different tracks in the scribal domain and responded

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[38] In line with Cerquiglini's regard for the deviation and praise of the variant, and following the thoughts expressed in R. LUCARELLI, *The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen. Ancient Egyptian Funerary Religion in the 10th Century BC* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2006), *EU* 21, p. 3, who points out that "[w]hen confronted with a model copy previously written by hand, the scribe must have felt challenged to impose his own individuality on that model, so that the act of copying itself becomes a source of innovation in the new manuscript [...] We should take the opportunity to investigate the originality of the scribal cultures in all documents that have survived until now."

to more creative inclinations by the elite in the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom.[39]

These so to speak scholarly distinctive realms of the religious and literary transmissions pose several problems to scholars. First, we are not certain about the nature and character of the editorial work undertaken by priests and scribes in the temple libraries, archives, and houses of life in the third and second millennia BCE.[40] In addition, what we consider to be compositions generated by a process of productive transmission might have previously existed during the Old Kingdom in restrictive written forms (e.g. Coffin Texts on the bandages of Medunefer at Balat)[41] and in the domain of oral and performative ritual practices.[42] To end, minor modifications observed in the sequential composition of a series or within a text at the discursive level could imply wider ritual and theological ramifications of which we could be unaware and would hinder the discernment of the actual reason for the alteration.[43]

On another note about limitations of this work, in terms of textual-criticism I have considered the transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut up to the late Middle Kingdom. I have not ventured beyond the end of this period for two notable reasons: first, the reduction of Pyramid Texts attested in the New Kingdom; and second, the emergence of innovative textual programs – which implied the re-adaptation of the texts to new practices and beliefs – in the Late Period,[44] mainly due to the use of texts disconnected from the series in

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[39] For the motivations of poetic literature and the particular factors that help to distinguish the transmission of religious and literary texts, see n. 58 below; and MORALES, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts into the Middle Kingdom*, p. 103, n. 277. For a recent treatment of the question of knowledge and its professionals in ancient Egypt, see the discussion in TH. SCHNEIDER, "Knowledge and Knowledgeable Persons in Ancient Egypt: Queries and Arguments about an Unsettled Issue," in L.G. Perdue (ed.), *Scribes, Sages, and Seers. The Sage in the Eastern Mediterranean World* (Göttingen: Wandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 2008), pp. 35–46. Cf. also the differentiation of forms of knowledge and texts in the classical work by J. ASSMANN, "Kulturelle und literarische Texte," in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), *PdÄ* 10, pp. 59–82.

[40] Likewise, the nature of the private collections, most especially of literary texts but also with presence of mortuary literature, is still open to question. For further comments on this kind of collections, see MORALES, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts into the Middle Kingdom*, pp. 120–121, n. 315 (with bibliography, to which the reader should add the discussion on the Ramesseum hoard in MORENZ, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der 2. Zwischenzeit*, pp. 144–154).

[41] M. VALLOGGIA (with collaboration of N.H. HENEIN), *Balat I: Le Mastaba de Medou-Nefer I-II* (Caire: IFAO, 1986), *FIFAO* 31/1–2, vol. I, pp. 74–78, fig. 10; and vol. II, pls. 62–63 (inv. nos. 925, 1–12). Cf. further evidence from the First Intermediate Period in MORALES, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts into the Middle Kingdom*, pp. 168–169, n. 469.

[42] MORALES, "From voice to papyrus to wall: *Verschriftung* and *Verschriftlichung* in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts," in Hilgert (ed.), *Understanding Material Cultures*, pp. 57–126; and J. BAINES, "Modelling Sources, Processes, and Locations of Early Mortuary Texts," in S. Bickel and B. Mathieu (eds.), *D'un monde à l'autre. Textes des Pyramides & Textes des Sarcophages* (Caire: IFAO, 2004), *BdE* 139, pp. 15–41.

[43] At a local level, multiple factors could be involved in the process of textual modification: for instance, see R.B. PARKINSON, "Sailing Past Ellsinore. Interpreting the Materiality of Middle Kingdom Poetry," in G. Moers *et al.* (eds.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts* (Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag, 2013), *LingAeg StudMon* 11, pp. 123–137: 131, who notes – for the case of literary texts – that each local temple might have preferred a particular text for teaching students, which would have influenced their education and textual preferences.

[44] See A.J. MORALES, "Unraveling the thread. Transmission and reception of Pyramid Texts in Late Period Egypt," in S. Bickel and L. Díaz-Iglesias (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature* (Leuven: Peeters), *OLA*, forthcoming.

unbound fashion that would entangle the textual-critical analysis and produce less reliable results.

## 1.4 Theory and methodology

Early scholars of the Pyramid Texts have not attempted to approach the study of a segment of this extensive corpus with the purpose of combining both the interest on the genealogical reconstruction of its transmission and the attention for the textual work revealed in each manuscript and witness participating in the process. In other words, no work has dealt simultaneously with the history of the transmission of a group of texts and the genuineness of each of the manuscripts, copies and witnesses than came to disseminate such series. In the case of the Pyramid Texts, the significance of such an undertaking is essential since in the last years scholars have strived with the evaluation of traditional and innovative forms of textual continuity and change in the mortuary literature of the third and second millennia BCE.[45]

As the main purpose of this book is to reconstruct the history of the transmission of the series of Nut texts without disregarding the meaning of every modification, adaptation and even articulated error, I have attempted to merge the textual-critical approach with the analysis of the contingent domain of the manuscripts, copies and witnesses of the series.[46] The examination of the individual witnesses disclosed by the history of the transmission of the series has prompted and facilitated the interpretative work on the contexts, roles, and functions of the series in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, as well as clarified later embedments and uses of the series.

Consequently, in this study the examination of the earliest archetypes of the Pyramid Texts of Nut, their forms, uses and language not only concurs with the analysis of the later variants, digressions, errors and interpretations, but also with the exploration of the genuine context of vigil rites that generated and bolstered the use and transmission of this group of texts, from their initial inscription in the pyramids of the Sixth Dynasty kings to the later inception in burials of Middle Kingdom officials and at the Osirian shrines of some Ptolemaic temples.

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[45] See, for instance, the discussion on the dissemination of new materials (Coffin Texts) in the Middle Kingdom and the coalescence of Pyramid Texts in the textual domain in H.O. WILLEMS, *Les Textes des Sarcophages et la démocratie. Éléments d'une histoire culturelle du Moyen Empire égyptien* (Paris: Éditions Cybele, 2008), pp. 172–184; and the crucial enquiry tackled by B. MATHIEU, "La distinction entre Textes des Pyramides et Textes des Sarcophages est-elle légitime?," in Bickel and Mathieu (eds.), *D'un monde à l'autre*, pp. 247–262.

[46] As Parkinson comments, "[s]ource criticism has been a characteristic project of classical philology and is often a somewhat "inert" tool of analysis but it can also liberate interpretation," citing J. GOLDBERG, *Shakespeare's Hand* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis, 2003), pp. 55–78, 152–175, in R.B. PARKINSON, *Reading ancient Egyptian poetry: among other histories* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p. 10. The present (unconventional) study attempts, therefore, to merge the tools of source criticism and the interpretative strategies of the new philological approach.

Therefore, this book is partially the result of methodological friction[47] between the supporters of the textual critical method,[48] a recourse that *allows* the scholar to reconstruct the transmission of particular texts from their initial archetypes to the later witnesses with mistakes and deviations,[49] and the 'new philologists,' a recent development that implies a renovation of the concept 'philology' and a return to the awareness of the 'manuscript culture,'[50] more concerned for the genuine individuality of each variant.

In *Sailing Past Ellsinore*, Richard Parkinson notes that "the manuscript history of any ancient composition is very fragmentary and contingent, and a literal reading of the surviving data is potentially problematic."[51] While I agree with the author's emphasis on the complexities of literal reading and the value of the materiality of texts and the reader's point of view for boosting our knowledge on literature,[52] it is also true that data collection and analysis through the textual-critical method is unquestionably matchless. The nature of

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[47] For the current debate, see P. TROVATO, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method. A Non-standard Handbook of Genealogical Textual Criticism in the Age of Post-Structuralism, Cladistics, and Copy-Text* (Padova: Libreria Universitaria, 2014), *Storie e linguaggi*, pp. 39–45, 335–339; M.-D. GLEßGEN and F. LEBSANFT, "Von alter und neuer Philologie," in M.-D. Gleßgen and F. Lebsanft (eds.), *Alte und neue Philologie* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1997), *Beihefte zu Editio* 8, pp. 1–14; and B.N. SARGENT-BAUR, "Philology Through the Looking-Glass," in K. Busby (ed.), *Towards a Synthesis: Essays on the New Philology* (Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi, 1995), *Études de la langue et littérature françaises* 68, pp. 97–118.

[48] A position epitomized by Lee Patterson's opinion: "The refusal to edit –which is a part of the larger refusal to interpret– ultimate threatens to undermine both the rigor and the inclusiveness of the interpretative activity that is at the heart of textual criticism," (L. PATTERSON, "The logic of Textual Criticism and the Way of Genius: The Kane-Donaldson Piers Plowman in Historical Perspective," in L. Patterson, *Negotiating the Past* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp. 77–113: 112). See also M.D. REEVE, "Stemmatic Method: 'qualcosa che non funziona?'," in P. Ganz (ed.), *The role of the book in Medieval culture. Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium 26 September–1 October 1982* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 57–69. For pessimistic views on the method, see J.J. WITKAM, "The Philologist's Stone. The Continuing Search for the Stemma," *COMSt Newsletter* 6 (2013), pp. 34–38; and J. GRIER, "Lachmann, Bédier and the Bipartite Stemma: Towards a Responsible Application of the Common-Error Method," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 18 (1988), pp. 263–278.

[49] Due to the nature of archetypes and witnesses in pharaonic Egypt, the matter of the reconstruction of the original *Ur-Text* is not considered here. For a definition of 'archetype' in textual criticism, see P. TROVATO, "Archetipo, *stemma codicum* e albero reale," *Filologia Italiana* 2 (2005), pp. 9–18. See further bibliography on the question in n. 98 below.

[50] See PH. MÉNARD, "Réflexions sur la 'nouvelle philologie'," in Gleßgen and Lebsanft (eds.), *Alte und neue Philologie*, pp. 17–33 (with critical views on the new movement); S.G. NICHOLS, "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," *Speculum* 65 (1990), pp. 1–10. For the ambivalence of the New Philology (catchy) term and its alternative methods, see TROVATO, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method,* pp. 21–23; and W.D. PADEN, "Is There a Middle in This Road? Reflections on the New Philology," in Busby (ed.), *Towards a Synthesis*, pp. 118–137.

[51] PARKINSON, "Sailing Past Ellsinore. Interpreting the Materiality of Middle Kingdom Poetry," in Moers *et al.* (eds.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, p. 123.

[52] Further discussion on these issues in F. HAGEN, *An ancient Egyptian literary text in context: the instruction of Ptahhotep* (Leuven-Paris-Warpole: Peeters, 2012), *OLA* 218, pp. 24–28; PARKINSON, *Reading ancient Egyptian poetry*, pp. 272–276; and PARKINSON, "The History of a Poem: Middle Kingdom Manuscripts and their Reception," in G. Burkard *et al.* (eds.), *Kon-Texte. Akten des Symposions „Spurensuche-Altägypten im Spiegel seiner Texte". München, 2. Bis 4. Mai 2003* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), *ÄAT* 60, pp. 51–63: esp. 61.

the information inferred through the method and the resulting genealogical reconstructions cannot be procured in any other way.

Now admittedly, although 'new philologists' have criticized the tendency by the textual-critical method to understand that texts had a single meaning and the existence of variants always implied some kind of contamination,[53] it is important to stress that the nature of the composition and transmission of religious texts is different from the dissemination of literary compositions.[54] Ideological aspects and questions of religious orthodoxy could determine the intellectual processes that bolstered the productive and reproductive phenomena of transmission.[55] In addition, the contents – fused to the ritual and theological discourse they represented – were exposed to alterations generated by local forms of practice and cult. In this sense, the inclination in New Philology to make of the texts and their deviations a kind of transgression of the established norms in religion, society and politics is not manifest in the study of ancient Egyptian mortuary literature. Therefore, it is incontestable that the '*renversement des normes*' discussed by Howard Bloch[56] was not a driving principle in the alteration and adaptation of the Pyramid (and Coffin) Texts. Any modification attested in the repertoire of mortuary compositions from the Sixth Dynasty to the Late Middle Kingdom evidenced theological alternatives, ritual practices and social mores rather than any type of reaction, subaltern or subversive positioning.[57] It is clear, as Parkinson himself discusses, that aspects of entertainment and dissidence differentiated poetic works from other forms of discourse and elite culture.[58]

In pragmatic terms, the application of text-critical genealogical principles[59] has provided me with the raw data for the reconstruction of the history of the Pyramid Texts of Nut while meticulous scrutiny of individual variants resulted not only in a better reconstruction of the relationships between archetypes and witnesses, but also in a keen understanding of the scribal and manuscript culture that generated them. As a matter of fact, the examination on the routes of transmission of the extant variants for the Nut texts after the end of the Old Kingdom provided this study with an unexpected outcome, a recognizable episode of intensive speculation and reconsideration of old manuscripts in the mid–eleventh Dynasty, perhaps caused by the deterioration of the Old Kingdom Memphite collections, that resulted in

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[53] See R.H. BLOCH, *Etymologies et Genealogies. A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983), p. 9, who defines this tendency as "the tenacious chimera of the transparent work."

[54] MORALES, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts into the Middle Kingdom*, p. 103, n. 277. Cf. the analysis of scribal copying practices in the context of Sumerian literature, an exercise understood as "material debris of the educational process," which has generated interesting results on questions of memorization errors: P. DELNERO, "Memorization and the Transmission of Sumerian Literary Compositions," *JNES* 71.2 (2012), pp. 198–208: esp. 189, n. 1.

[55] MORALES, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts into* the Middle Kingdom, pp. 139–143.

[56] BLOCH, *Etymologies et Genealogies*, p. 263.

[57] MORALES, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts into the Middle Kingdom*, pp. 13–14, 44 (n. 98).

[58] PARKINSON, "*Sailing Past Ellsinore. Interpreting the Materiality of Middle Kingdom Poetry,"* in Moers *et al.* (eds.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, p. 126. In referring to this property of the interpretation of texts, he uses the term 'queer philology,' in Parkinson, Reading ancient Egyptian poetry, pp. 11 and 276, n. 23.

[59] Cf. the similar assignment with cuneiform texts in Akkadian in M. WORTHINGTON, *Principles of Akkadian textual criticism* (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), *SANER* 1.

a process of recension of the collections and generated numerous digressions, differences and errors in the produced copies before the reign of Mentuhotep (II) Nebhepetre. It is not to lessen the significance of this king's input on the revival of Memphite Old Kingdom traditions that the preceding outcome was introduced here. Rather, it seems that this evidence enhances our understanding of the scribal and priestly activities in the domain of temple libraries and repositories in the early second millennium BCE as a phenomenon independent of the ideological, political, and patronizing attempts by the crown to recuperate Old Kingdom canons and forms in architecture, art and literature.[60]

For the application of the text-critical approach I adopted a method of analysis that is not concerned with the reconstruction of the *Urtext*. In other words, I have not paid attention to the different editorial traditions with the purpose of finding the original manuscript form of the series.[61] The pursuit seemed futile to me as the nature, form and use of the textual collections in the third and second millennia BCE are still not clear to us, and would have turned such an analysis into a 'Platonic exercise.'[62] Instead, I have followed the basic principles of the common-errors method – inaccurately called the Lachmann method[63] – so that textual variation, digressional forms, and manuscript hierarchies could be reconstructed and examined. In this way, the focus of the study lies with the variants, the associated manuscripts, and the scribal and priestly exercises of (re)production, not on the original *Urtext* and the initial archetypes of the genealogical hierarchy.

Consequently, the common-error method is contingent on the errors[64] produced in the course of scribal copying and later transmitted to the subsequent copies, producing variants. These deviations from the archetype (e.g. a master-copy) are the key markers to reconstruct the pedigree of a corpus[65] and express the relationship of its witnesses through a stemma. For the construction of a stemma, first, one must identify the witnesses or *testimonia*. All

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[60] See J. KAHL, "Archaism," in W. Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2010), pp. 1–9 [http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewFile.do?contentFileId=1767958; accessed 16.09.2016]; and R. FREED, "Relief styles of the Nebhepetre Montuhotep funerary temple complex," in E. Goring, N. Reeves, and J. Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers: Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1997), *Studies in Egyptology*, pp. 148–163.

[61] In agreement with Parkinson's view on the contingency and subjectivity of any interpretation and translation of any text, and the impossibility to reconstruct an official *Urtext*, in PARKINSON, *Reading ancient Egyptian poetry*, pp. 274–275.

[62] As Jonathan Goldberg points out, "a textual criticism based on a search for an irrecoverable *Urtext* has committed itself to an unfounded Platonism," in GOLDBERG, *Shakespeare's Hand*, pp. 3–4 (cited at PARKINSON, *Reading ancient Egyptian poetry*, p. 262). In the same page, Parkinson expresses the inmense value of textual criticism and stemmatics for the analysis of Egyptian manuscripts but criticizes the disregard of these techniques for the search of meaning.

[63] S. TIMPANARO, *The Genesis of the Lachmann's Method* (Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 115–118: "we will be able to continue to speak of 'Lachmann's method,' even if we will have to use this expression as an abbreviation and, as it were, a symbol, rather than as a historically accurate expression."

[64] Traditional stemmatics focuses on indicative errors (*Leitfehler*), which are errors that have not been produced by scribal conjecture and, therefore, are monogenetic: they can be separative (*Trennfehler*) or conjunctive (*Bindenfehler*). Further information on error typology in TROVATO, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method*, pp. 55–58; and here in chapter Two.

[65] For comments on the difficulty to reconstruct textual families and pedigrees, see for instance A. DE BUCK, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), *OIP* 34, p. xv.

witnesses for the Pyramid Texts of Nut were identified and examined in the process of *collatio*, while in the following *examinatio* I could not include a few witnesses whose actual texts were not accessible (e.g. Sq4–5Sq).

For the *collatio*, it was necessary a practical knowledge of cursive hieroglyph and hieratic paleography for the transliteration and identification of the text main features and deviations. As the reader will be able to observe, orthographical features were also taken into consideration (e.g. classifier variation) although they did not serve commonly as diagnostic marks in the process of rendition of the phylogenetic relationships between the involved witnesses. The process included the preparation of the list of sources or witnesses (see chapter 3: table 1), and the retrieval of images, facsimile and drawings of the texts from publications, museums, and archives kept by research projects currently working with unpublished texts (e.g. MafS). The following stage was the composition of a textual (line-by-line) comparative table of texts (see chapter 3: table 2) in order to identify diagnostic deviating features such as digressions and differences.

These deviations constituted the core-data of the textual-critical analysis for the *examinatio* of the witnesses and their genealogical relationships, and facilitated the construction of stemmata or tree diagrams for the expression of such relationships. For the *examinatio* and stemma construction I selected a group of six diagnostic texts and focused on the deviating elements that revealed the family ties between their geno-texts (archetypes) and the pheno-texts (later witnesses). In addition, the diachronic organization of the sources and the awareness of the genealogical dependences permitted me to map the phenomenon, representing the operational sequence of the transmission by chronological stages in the territory. Although the resulting stemmata (chapter 3: figs. 4–10) and transmission maps (chapter 4: figs. 11–12) might be considered too simplistic or distant from the real process of textual dissemination, they have demonstrated to be a formidable resource as tools for the expression of the history of transmission. Additionally, I drew historical, archaeological and socio-religious data into the discussion to enrich the *stemma codicum* or history of the transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut and regard the variegation of textual forms of the series observed in the sources.[66]

In the stemmata, the particular *siglum* (e.g. AII, M1War, Sq3C) refer to the surviving witness – a coffin, tomb, sarcophagus – and the lower-case Greek letter (e.g. β, θ, λ) denotes the context in which the text experienced some alteration. Because of the limitations of the method and the criticisms received in regard to the use of a double-branched stemma,[67] I have deviated from the norm and have initiated every stemma with a vertex (α) rep-

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[66] Consequently, each particular variant participates in the reconstruction of the history of the Nut series, following the position exposed in CERQUIGLINI, *Éloge de la variante*, p. 62, who comments that "chaque manuscrit est un remaniement, une version."

[67] A feature known in textual criticism as 'Bédier's paradox': a problem first exposed by the philologist and historian Joseph Bédier, according to whom most of philologists arbitrarily reconstructed genealogies with two-branched stemmata. See J. BÉDIER, "La tradition manuscrite du Lai de l'Ombre. Refléctions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes," *Romania* 54 (1928), pp. 161–198, 321–356. Further comments on this question of the two-branched stemmata and Bédier's contribution to the genealogical method in TROVATO, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method,* pp. 82–94.

resenting not an archetype but the earliest episode in the history of the text,[68] a juncture in which orality, entextualization and productive transmission shaped not only the (*Ur*)text but in most cases the whole series to which it belonged as part of the process of construction of the entire mortuary literature tradition.[69] Textual contamination has been detected in a few cases,[70] although I have stressed this form of (horizontal) transmission only when the case was remarkable and supposed a disturbance for the genealogical relationships. This factor, the presence of textual elements from other texts (i.e. intertextuality, common deviations, errors, etc.), indicates that scribes consulted and collated their copies in the temple libraries and archives in an attempt to improve the form of the text or *lectio*. The fact that contamination is present in the process of transmission, however, should not make scholars think on "the futility of attempting to establish stemmata."[71] As noted above, contamination can suggest the use of several exemplars to copy a text,[72] a question observed indirectly through the inscription of different variants of the same (Pyramid) text in tomb walls of the Late Period, such as in the case of the tomb of Mutirdis at Asasif (TT 410) with three variants for two Pyramid Texts (PT593 and PT364) copied onto the wall.[73] The existence of several copies might also imply the demand of copies to the temple library from different workshops in the local settlement or necropolis, which would ultimately use them for the inscription and decoration of burial equipment (e.g. coffins, sarcophagi, canopic boxes, sledges) and at the tomb site – in situ – during the construction and decoration of the monument.[74] In this context, we must not forget that contaminations could also be produced by self-

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[68] That means the archetype represents not the official text but the lost ancestors and the cultural stratum that generated it. For this question, which affected the consideration of the archetype as a period of '*strozzatura*' by scholars such as Giorgio Pasquali and Sebastiano Timpanaro, see TROVATO, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method,* p. 64; TROVATO, "Archetipo, *stemma codicum* e albero reale," *Filologia Italiana* 2 (2005), pp. 11–12; and C. MACÉ *et al.,* "Textual criticism and text editing," in A. Bausi *et al.* (eds.), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition, 2015), *COMSt*, pp. 321–465: esp. 338.

[69] Therefore, (α) represents an episode of formation and initial textual dissemination, which obviously implies the emergence of archetypes of the series.

[70] TROVATO, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method,* pp. 128–134.

[71] A. PEACOCK, "The Medieval Manuscript Tradition of Bal'amī's Version of al-Ṭabarī's History," in J. Pfeiffer and M. Kropp (eds.), *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts. Proceedings of a symposium held in Istanbul March 28–30, 2001* (Beirut: Orient Institut Beirut, 2007), *Beiruter Texte und Studien* 111, pp. 93–105: 103.

[72] See the distinction of two main types, 'simultaneous contamination' and 'successive contamination,' in TROVATO, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method,* p. 132.

[73] See two interesting associations with the use of PT593 in three sections of room III: PT593 (§§1627a–1630c), room III, W wall, cols. 1–8; PT593 (Pyr. §§1630c–1631b), room III, W wall cols. 9–10; and PT593 (Pyr. §§1631b–1636a), room III, S wall (right of entrance door), cols. 11–13+14–18; and the use of PT364 also in three sections in rooms III and IV: PT364 (Pyr. §§609a–613c), room III, S wall (left of corridor to chamber II), cols. 1–8; PT364 (Pyr. §§613c–619a), room III, E wall, cols. 9–25; and PT364 (Pyr. §§609a–621c), room IV, E wall, cols. 1–17. See J. ASSMANN, *Grabung im Asasif 1963–1970, VI: Das Grab der Mutirdis* (Mainz: Zabern, 1977), *AVDAIK* 13, p. 84, pls. 37a, 38a (PT593); pp. 86, 94–96, pls. 35a–b, 42 (PT364).

[74] For questions relating to the commission, provision and authorization for mortuary texts and iconographic materials in local workshops, see MORALES, *The transmission of the Pyramid Texts into the Middle Kingdom,* pp. 190–191 (ii), nn. 525, 527–528.

dictation ('*dictée intérieure*'),[75] an action by which a scribe read or said (mistaken) words to himself, or by memorization, writing from the heart without examining the master-copy,[76] therefore producing a variant.

In sum, crossing the bridge from 'Old Philology' to particular traits of the New Philo-logical approach has enabled me to look at the transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut in multiple ways. The textual-critical method has provided immeasurable data and explicit genealogical ties. Differently, concentration on the manuscript culture has contributed to the "praise of the variant" and the exploration of the scribal and priestly alternative read-ings. The intention has been to analyze the form and function of the series of Nut, contem-plating the cultural, religious and social context of its texts and the reasons for local scribes and theologians to transmit them in verbatim or variegated forms. As a consequence, one learns, they adapted texts to new religious beliefs and brought about new beliefs into texts.

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[75] Further discussion on this type of error trait in n. 216 below.

[76] The question of memorization errors has been remarkably discussed for the case of Sumerian scribes in DELNERO, "Memorization and the Transmission of Sumerian Literary Compositions," *JNES* 71.2 (2012), pp. 198–208.