

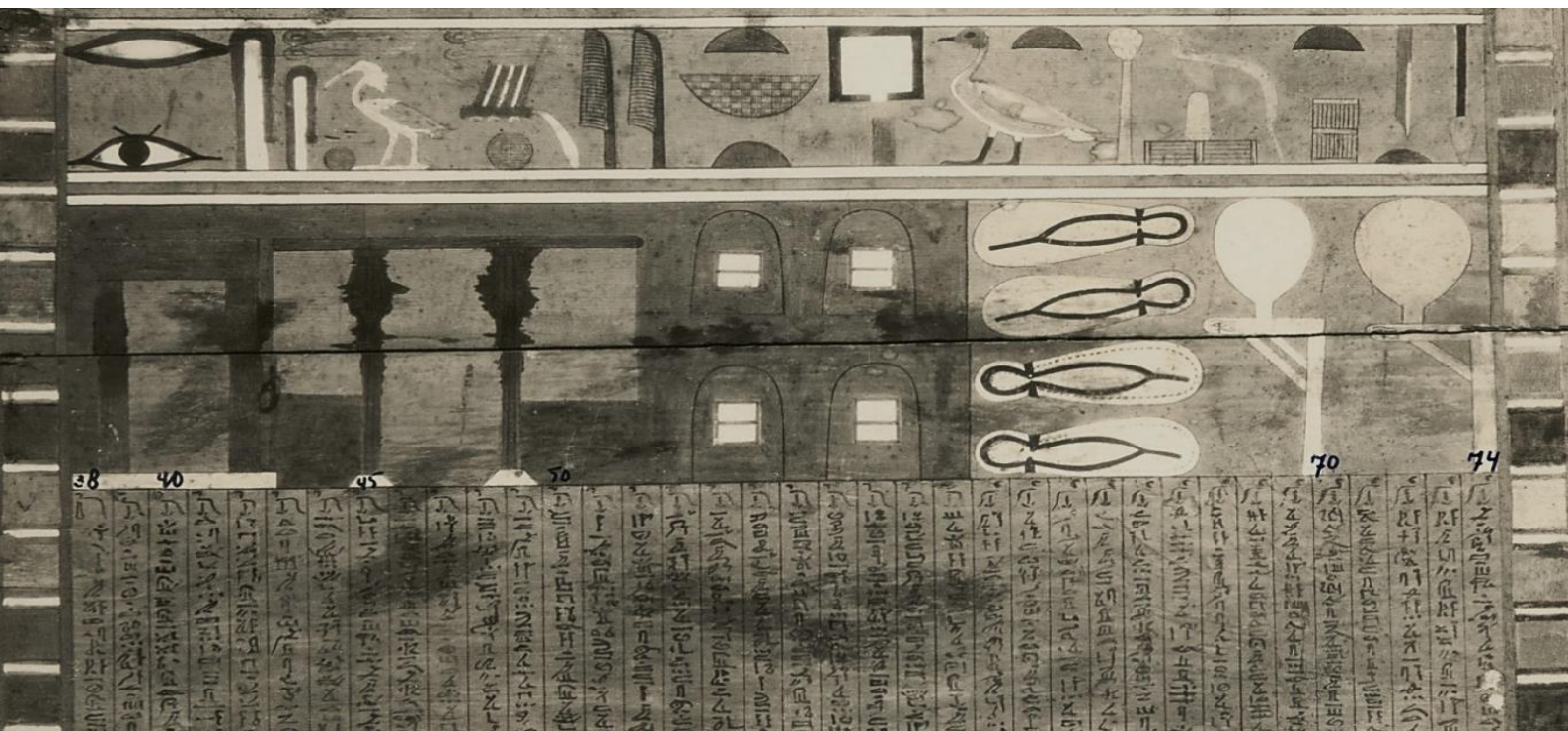
Faculty of Humanities, Leiden University  
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## “Food for Eternity”

The Coffin of Sathedjhotep: Granaries and Coffin Texts

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*“Scholars should not shrink from translating difficult texts. At the best they may be lucky enough to hit upon the right renderings. At the worst they will have given the critics a target to tilt at.”*

A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 32 (1946), 56.

For Nanny



## Acknowledgement

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my father (during my Sunday visits he always showed a keen interest in what I was doing), my brothers, sisters and friends who had to live with me during the period in my life that I took up the challenge to learn something about the Egyptian culture. I have to refer especially to Hannah Souwer who is “guilty” for bringing me into contact with the principles of the Egyptian hieroglyphs. And of course to Rikst Ponjee who made sure that I could consider myself a “student” among the other students. I am indebted to Joke Baardemans who came into my life the moment I was in need of a “little help from my friends”. Her support during these years was invaluable.

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I hope that I came up to the expectations of all those people.

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Photograph front: Detail of interior decoration on the foot of the outer coffin of Sathedjhotep (B4C, Cairo CG 28086)

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## 1 Introduction

W. Barta defines the offering list, placed on the walls of the cult chamber as the “*schriftlich fixierte Aufzählung von Opfergaben - - - (um) die materiellen Bedürfnisse der Toten - - - dauerhaft zu sichern*”.<sup>1</sup> Difference is made between the gifts which belong to the inventory of the tomb (*Grabinventar/Inventaropferliste*) and which are presented only once to the tomb owner, and the gifts or objects which belong to the food ritual (*Speisungsritual*) and which should be presented at a regular base. The latter consists mainly of food offerings, but includes also the rituals needed for the presentation of the food to the tomb owner. The offerings themselves are portrayed as images only without any further complementation by text. In the beginning they are depicted close to the offering table where the tomb owner is sitting while awaiting these offerings. Due to the extended scope of the respective offerings a shift takes place from being upon and around the offering table to the walls of the cult chapel and well in the transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>2</sup> Following Barta the south wall of the mastaba is preferred as the wall where the list is placed, because this wall is closest to the south entrance of the mastaba, where the most important offering place is situated.<sup>3</sup> The offering list becomes canonically fixed at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty and comprises the “*Speisungsritual*”. Barta defines it as list A.<sup>4</sup> This “*Speisungsritual*” is presented in the form of keywords which describe the order in which the ritual should be performed. After some introductory rites the food rites are described of which fruit- and grain sorts form a following section in the ritual.<sup>5</sup> The final rites include the bringing of the upper legs of oxen, the removal of foot prints and the breaking of the red vases.<sup>6</sup> Before the rituals were canonically fixed in what Barta calls the list A, a development took place within the private sphere. The rituals performed were expressed in the recitation of a number of texts, which evolved into the Pyramid Texts (PT)<sup>7</sup> so that these texts were available for royal as well as for private persons. It appears that the objects shown in the offering lists on e.g. stelae correspond quite well with a number of Pyramid texts.<sup>8</sup>

The “*Inventaropferliste*” which should be kept apart from the “*Ritualopferliste – Speisungsritual*” contains the objects consisting of the “*Hausrat*” of the tomb owner. For the inventory of the tomb Barta discerns a number of groups of objects based on their respective materials, “*Stoffliste, Salbenliste, Gefäßliste, Geräteliste, and Schurzliste*”.<sup>9</sup> The “*Inventaropferliste*”, however, contains also a “*Speiseliste*” which should not be confused with the food of the “*Speisungsritual*”. Since the end of the Third Dynasty they are presented in the form of small granaries with labels attached which describe the content of the respective granaries, see Figure 1, p. 5 near the bottom right side.

Part of the offers belonging to the “*Inventaropferliste*” finds its place in the offering formula.<sup>10</sup> Apart from the “*Stoffliste*” and the “*Speiseliste*” more and more items of the “*Inventaropferliste*” disappear from the offering lists. In the Sixth Dynasty they reappear on the walls of the sarcophagus

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<sup>1</sup> W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche* (MÄS 3; Berlin, 1963), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 51. However, a check in the database of R. van Walsem, *MastaBase, the Leiden Mastaba Project* (Leuven and Leiden, 2008), learns that of the 337 available tombs in the Memphitic region about one third of them (106) contains one or more offering lists (a total of 150). Only 44 of them (29 %) are found on the south wall of the cult chapel, the others are placed on the north (33), east (14) or west (48) wall, respectively. Of 11 offering lists the position is undefined.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 71; see p. 47 ff. for an example of list A.

<sup>6</sup> Barta, in W. Helck und E. Otto (eds), *LÄ IV*, 588.

<sup>7</sup> For a definition of Pyramid Texts *vide infra*, n. 16.

<sup>8</sup> A.J. Morales, ‘Iteration, Innovation und Dekoratum in Opferlisten des Alten Reichs: Zur Vorgeschichte der Pyramidentexte’, *ZÄS* 142 (1) (2015), 55–69.

<sup>9</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, 8–9. These lists are depicted on slab stelae at the right side in small boxes.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

room in the so-called object friezes<sup>11</sup> and after that also in the inner decoration of the coffins of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>12</sup>



Figure 1: Fourth Dynasty slab stela with offering table scene.

So, the object frieze can be thought to derive from the Old Kingdom offering lists, more specifically the “*Inventaropferliste*”, as identical objects appear in the frieze and the “*Inventaropferliste*”.<sup>13</sup> The presence of the offering list on the left (east) side of the coffin becomes more and more custom in the First Intermediate Period. Moreover, some objects originating from the offering list appear on the short walls of the coffin so that the object frieze contains not only the elements from the “*Inventaropferliste*”, but also elements from the “*Speisungsritual*”. For instance oils and cosmetics on the north side – the head –, and fruit and grains on the south side

of the coffin – the foot.<sup>14</sup> In the Middle Kingdom the offering list is preferably placed at the east wall of the coffin – the front.<sup>15</sup>

During the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom the so-called Coffin Texts (CT)<sup>16</sup> appear abundantly on the walls of the tomb and on the walls of the coffins.<sup>17</sup> As object friezes and Coffin Texts appear at about the same time and as such together in a number of Middle Kingdom coffins, see Table 2, p. 17, it seems in first instance reasonable to suppose that for that reason there could be a correlation between the object frieze and the texts.<sup>18</sup> H. Willems states that this relation

<sup>11</sup> G. Jéquier, *Les frises d’Objets des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire* (MIFAO 47; Le Caire, 1921).

<sup>12</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, 57; E. Otto, ‘Gerätefries’, in W. Helck und E. Otto (eds), *LÄ II* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 532; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1971), 212–4.

<sup>13</sup> This seems in first instance in contrast with H. Willems, *Chests of life. A study of the typology and conceptual development of Middle Kingdom standard class coffins* (MVEOL 25; Leiden, 1988), 203. Willems argues that some of the objects in the frieze are related to the “*Speisungsritual*” and in that way to the “*Ritualopferliste*” (“*Listentyp A*” following Barta), *vide infra*, *Historiography*, p. 8 ff., and not only to the “*Inventaropferliste*” as Barta states, see: Barta, *Opferliste*, 57. See also following n. 14.

<sup>14</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, 91. With this conclusion of Barta the remarks of Willems noted above, n. 13 are placed in another perspective. Barta indicates that elements from the “*Speisungsritual*” belonging to the “*Ritualopferliste*” are placed not only on the front side of the coffin, so that the tomb owner is assured of the regular necessary food, but also on the head and the foot of the coffin. On the head the ritual oils and cosmetics are presented, while on the foot the “*Frucht- und Getreideliste*” is depicted.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>16</sup> H. M. Hays, ‘The death of the Democratisation of the Afterlife’, in N. Strudwick and H. Strudwick (eds), *Old Kingdom, New perspectives, Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150 BC* (Oxford, 2011), 119. Hays defines the Coffin Texts as ‘mortuary texts attested in the Middle Kingdom and published in the eight volumes of the *Oriental Institute’s Coffin Texts series*’ and conform this definition he defines the Pyramid Texts as ‘mortuary texts attested in the Old Kingdom and published as such’.

<sup>17</sup> M. Heerma van Voss, ‘Sargtexte’, in W. Helck und E. Otto (eds), *LÄ V* (Wiesbaden, 1984), 468–70; J.K. Hoffmeier, ‘The Coffins of the Middle Kingdom: The Residence and the Region’, in S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies* (Malden, 1991), 70; H. Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture: Religious Ideas and Ritual Practice in Middle Kingdom Elite Cemeteries* (CHANE 73; Leiden, 2014), 226.

<sup>18</sup> H. Willems, ‘Ein bemerkenswerter Sargtyp aus dem frühen Mittleren Reich’, *GM* 67 (1983), 82.

has been shown in the coffins A1C (CJ 36418), G1T (Turin 15.774) and T3C (CJ 47355), but also in other coffins.<sup>19</sup>

Amulets can appear between the objects depicted in the object frieze.<sup>20</sup> To make them effective some magic spells have to be recited over them, by which the coffin owner obtains power over some adversary elements. But, also objects are depicted which find their use in rituals such as the Opening of the Mouth<sup>21</sup> which is also listed in what Barta calls the “*Listentyp B*” or the small offering list.<sup>22</sup> It would explain why in the coffins not only the objects but also the necessary accompanying texts are present. However, not every text has *a priori* a relation with one of the depicted objects.<sup>23</sup>



Figure 2: Interior decoration of the foot of the inner coffin of Sathedjhotep (B3C: Cairo CG 28085).

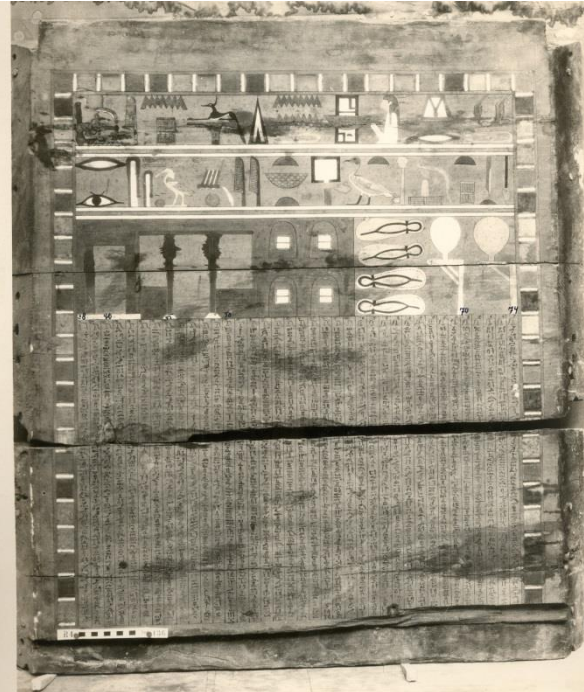


Figure 3: Interior decoration of the foot of the outer coffin of Sathedjhotep (B4C: Cairo CG 28086).

One of the objects which appears in the object frieze since the Twelfth Dynasty is the granary, a columned hall containing a number of storage silos for grain and related products.<sup>24</sup> The depiction of the granary is reserved for the foot of the coffin.<sup>25</sup> So, on the foot of the set of coffins of

<sup>19</sup> Willems, *GM* 67, 88, Note 11. However, he does not indicate which coffins he has in mind.

<sup>20</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 224.

<sup>21</sup> E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual II: Kommentar* (Äg. Abh. 3; Wiesbaden, 1960), 6 ff; W. Helck, ‘Einige Bemerkungen zum Mundöffnungsritual’, *MDAIK* 22 (1967), 41.

<sup>22</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, 78. The appearance of the *psš-kf* in his lists on p. 79 and 94, respectively seems for Barta sufficient to make the lists into an “*Opening of the Mouth ritual*”. This seems highly questionable as all the cleaning steps in the start of the list can be seen as the cleansing for any cultic ritual as well as the food in the rest of the list. See e.g. Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual II*, 7. The ‘use’ of the *psš-kf* in the “*Opening of the Mouth ritual*” as part of the embalming ritual is extensively described by R. van Walsem, ‘The PSŠ-KF: An investigation of an ancient Egyptian funerary instrument’, *OMRO* 59-60 (1978-1979), 220 ff. It is shown that the *psš-kf* in origin was never an instrument for the opening of the mouth. It played a part in the mortuary rituals and was depicted in scenes of the Opening of the Mouth ritual since the New Kingdom.

<sup>23</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 48.

<sup>24</sup> G. Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sarkkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie* (SAGA 7; Heidelberg, 1993), 93.

<sup>25</sup> For a more extended discussion and the development of the granary *vide infra*, Chapter 4, p. 26.

Sathedjhotep from Dayr al-Barshā we find a representation of a granary, see Figures 2 and 3, p. 6.<sup>26</sup> G. Lapp puts the granary into the category 'food' in his division of objects in the object frieze.<sup>27</sup>

In this thesis we want to look for a possible correlation between the granary as object of the object frieze and the Coffin Texts which are placed in the neighbourhood of this object. Do these texts speak overtly about the granary or only in concealed ways? Or can the granary be regarded as a vignette to the accompanying text? Is the arrangement, the choice of a specific text, a Coffin Text or a Pyramid Text and the object, the granary a premeditated one? If there should be a correlation between the granary and the accompanying text, is this correlation a sought one by the coffin owner, Sathedjhotep?

We will start with looking into some detail for the ideas presented in the literature about the textual organisation within the interior of some Middle Kingdom coffins and the correlation between some of the objects of the frieze and the Coffin Texts.

The context of the discovery of the set of coffins of Sathedjhotep, some ideas about the prosopography and dating will be discussed in brief. A description of the iconography of the interior decoration of the coffins will be treated followed by a short discourse on the orthography of the Coffin Texts present on the foot. Although we will spend attention to both the outer and the inner coffin, the main attention will be directed at the text on the foot of the inner coffin of Sathedjhotep (B3C, Cairo CG 28085).

A short chapter will deal with the development of the granary in time, starting as single elements in the decoration of the cult chambers of the Old Kingdom mastabas, followed by its more complex appearance in the burial chambers of the Sixth Dynasty and on the foot of some Middle Kingdom coffins.

Then we will present a translation of the applied Coffin Text on the foot of B3C (Cairo CG 28085), the inner coffin of the set of Sathedjhotep, followed by a possible interpretation of this specific text.

A final discussion with some conclusions will be presented, where we will try to answer the above stated questions. This is followed by some recommendations for further investigations concerning the interior decoration of Middle Kingdom coffins.

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<sup>26</sup> Willems, *Aspects*, 246: the coffins are known under their sigla B3C and B4C, respectively,

<sup>27</sup> Lapp, *Typologie*, 93.

## 2 Historiography

H. Willems remarks correctly that few Egyptologists have been engaged in the study of Middle Kingdom coffins.<sup>28</sup> Especially, the study of a coffin as a whole, and not the study only directed at the Coffin Texts. He observes a wide gap between the interest in the Coffin Texts and what he calls “Text Coffins”.<sup>29</sup>

The work of P. Lacau<sup>30</sup> and A. de Buck<sup>31</sup> is dealing mainly with the texts available in a number of Middle Kingdom coffins. Attention to the decoration has been shown by G. Jéquier in his work about the object friezes in these coffins.<sup>32</sup> The circumstances that only the texts were easily accessible for study, can serve as an explanation for the lack of attempts to correlate the Coffin Texts with their non-textual environments.<sup>33</sup> One should take into account that the choice of a specific spell and its place in the interior decoration of the coffin and its environment of other spells and objects is most probably premeditated. The study of only this text will never lead to “*the clue to the meaning of a text*”, following Willems.<sup>34</sup> It can hopefully help to understand what the decorator of a specific coffin had in mind.

Within the study of Middle Kingdom coffins there appear to be relatively few studies dealing with the analysis of one complete coffin or even a set of coffins. Among those are the studies of H. Willems, E. Meyer-Dietrich, B. Arquier and J. Dahms.<sup>35</sup> But, in some other publications reference has been made to the correlation between the pictorial decoration and the accompanying texts on the walls of the Middle Kingdom coffins. Starting point in the respective studies is often the fact that some correlations have been shown to exist between objects depicted inside the coffin and the nearby placed texts.

### 2.1 The object frieze as depiction of some rituals

In the editions of the Coffin Texts by A. de Buck and A. Gardiner the correlation between an object appearing in the object frieze and the text is clearly apparent e.g. in spell CT 232 where the spell stands beside the *wrs* sign on the head of the coffin G1T (Turin 15.774).<sup>36</sup> The text of the spell is related to the head rest: *r n wrs pn - - -*. The same phenomenon can be observed in spell CT 934 where the text seems to refer to the head rest in the nearby placed object frieze.<sup>37</sup> It is De Buck who refers to this existing correlation.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, in the same spell reference is made to objects which

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<sup>28</sup> H. Willems, *The coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): A case study of Egyptian funerary culture of the Early Middle Kingdom* (OLA 70; Leuven, 1996), 2.

<sup>29</sup> Willems, *Heqata*, 2.

<sup>30</sup> P. Lacau, ‘Textes Religieux’, RT XXVI–XXVII (1904–1905); P. Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire, Tome I* (CGC. Nos 28001–28086, Cairo, 1904); P. Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire, Tome II* (CGC. Nos 28087–28126, Cairo, 1906).

<sup>31</sup> A. de Buck and A.H. Gardiner, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I-VII. Texts of Spells 1-1185* (OIP 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87; Chicago, 1935–1961).

<sup>32</sup> Jéquier, *Frisés d’Objets*.

<sup>33</sup> Willems, *Heqata*, 4.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*; E. Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil: ein ägyptischer Frauensarg des Mittleren Reiches aus religionsökologischer Sicht* (AUU, Hist. Rel. 18; Uppsala, 2001); E. Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst: Personenkonstituenten zur rituellen Wiedergeburt in einen Frauensarg des Mittleren Reiches* (OBO 216; Göttingen, 2006); B. Arquier, *Le double sarcophage de Mésehti S1C (CG 28118) – S2C (CG 28119). Recherches sur l’organisation du décor iconographique et textuel* (PhD Thesis, Université Paul Valéry – Montpellier; Montpellier, 2013); J. Dahms, *Die Särge des Karenen -Untersuchungen zu Pyramiden- und Sargtexten* (PhD Thesis, Universität Heidelberg; Heidelberg, 2014): I have not been able to obtain a copy of this last thesis from the author.

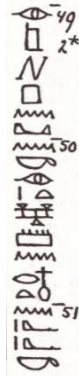
<sup>36</sup> De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts III*, 300.

<sup>37</sup> De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts VII*, 134–6.

<sup>38</sup> De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts III*, 300.



are presented in the object frieze where the objects have an identical legend added, e.g. a *mnfr.t* ornament, see Figure 4 (spell CT 934). Even the objects can be found in the text columns where they serve as vignettes to the text. Also the correlation between the list of offerings in G1T (Turin 15.774) and part of spell CT 936 seems indisputable.<sup>39</sup>



The legend to the picture, showing a bracelet placed upon a low table, *mnfr.t n(y).t<sup>c</sup>.wy=f*, “An ornament of his arms”, is found again in the spell placed below this picture: *wsir N pn di(=i) n=k ir.t hr mnfr.t n<sup>c</sup>.wy=k*, “This Osiris N.: I give you the eye of Horus, an ornament for your arms”.

Figure 4: Detail of spell CT 934 on the head of coffin G1T (Turin 15.774)

In his description of the tomb of Djehutinakht at Dayr al-Barshā, H. Willems indicates that some of the objects in the object frieze, depicted on the north wall of the tomb, would be identical with the objects mentioned in some Pyramid Texts.<sup>40</sup> Vases refer to PT 50–4, unguent bags to PT 54c–55d, and strips of textile to PT 56–7.<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, no direct correlation between the objects and these texts is available. Willems is one of the few authors after Jéquier who spends an extended discussion on the object frieze as part of the interior decoration of the Middle Kingdom coffins.<sup>42</sup> His study shows that the object frieze forms an integrate whole with other parts of the decoration within the coffins. One of the earlier remarks made by Willems is that some (or most? FS) Coffin Texts have **no relation** with the objects depicted in the frieze or any other decoration of the coffin.<sup>43</sup> As already shown above, Willems argues that some objects shown in the frieze can function as vignettes to the Coffin Texts below the object shown, e.g. Figure 4 showing the *mnfr.t*-bracelet in coffin G1T (Turin 15.774). He states that the objects in the frieze can be seen as “*abstract renderings of the ritual acts surrounding the presentation of the tomb inventory to the deceased, and not just drawings of the equipment itself*”.<sup>44</sup> Following the ideas of E. Otto and W. Barta the object frieze has a **possible** relation with the offering list and in that way with the offering ritual.<sup>45</sup> The offering ritual should be read as “ - -the blanket term for the ‘Speiseritual’, the royal and the private ‘object rituals’ and the royal insignia offering”.<sup>46</sup> In the Introduction (p. 4 ff.), *vide supra*, we have already mentioned that part of the offering list, the object ritual, finds its way into the object friezes of the Middle Kingdom. As remarked, also items from the food ritual can be found in the frieze, e.g. the relation between the granaries on the foot of some coffins and the text of spell CT 923, which refers to the same cereals as

<sup>39</sup> De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts VII*, 141–3.

<sup>40</sup> H. Willems, *Dayr al-Barshā, Volume I: The rock Tombs of Djehutinakht (No. 17K74/1), Khnumnakht (No. 17K74/2), and Iha (No. 17K74/3)* (OLA 155; Leuven, 2007), 34.

<sup>41</sup> Willems, *Hegata*, 58–62,

<sup>42</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 200–28; Jéquier, *Frisés d’Objets*.

<sup>43</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 48.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

<sup>45</sup> Otto, in Helck und Otto (eds), *LÄ II*, 532; Barta, in Helck und Otto (eds), *LÄ IV*, 587.

<sup>46</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 206.

addressed in some of the depictions of the granary.<sup>47</sup> The only coffin on which this spell is found appears to be coffin M1C (CJ 42949). The following table gives an overview of the products mentioned in this spell and the products found as legend to some of the granaries depicted in a number of other coffins:

Table 1: Correlation between Coffin Text and legends to the granaries on the foot.

Spell CT 923 <sup>48</sup> M1C		Coffin B1C <sup>49</sup>	Coffin B16C <sup>50</sup>	Coffin B9C <sup>51</sup>
	<i>Wb. I, 142.13</i>	<i>it mh.y</i>		<i>it mh.y</i> <sup>52</sup>
	<i>Wb. I, 142.14</i>		<i>it šm<sup>c</sup></i>	
white <i>sh.t</i> grain	<i>Wb. IV, 267.10</i>			
green <i>sh.t</i> grain	<i>Wb. IV, 267.10</i>			
wheat, <i>sw.t</i>	<i>Wb. III, 426.14</i>	<i>s(w).t</i>	<i>sw.t</i>	
	<i>Wb. I, 486.16</i>	<i>bd.t</i>	<i>bd.t</i>	<i>bd.t hd.t</i>
	<i>Wb. I, 478.10</i>	<i>bš3</i>	<i>bš3</i>	
	<i>Wb. IV, 524.2</i>	<i>šr.t</i>		<i>šr.t</i>
barley, <i>it</i>	<i>Wb. I, 142.11</i>			
<i>b3b3.t</i>	<i>Wb. I, 418.14</i>			
fruit, <i>nbs</i>	<i>Wb. II, 245.10</i>			
dates, <i>bnr</i>	<i>Wb. I, 461.12</i>	<i>bnr.t</i>	<i>bnr</i>	

Willems indicates that some of the objects presented on the foot-frieze can be attributed to the funerary ceremonies.<sup>53</sup> He argues and shows that in the interior decoration of coffin A1C (Cairo JdE 36418) the formulas in the heading of the respective sides function as a legend to the objects or scenes depicted.<sup>54</sup> Also relations between the objects of the frieze and the Coffin Texts could be established. Even a correlation between the head and the foot exists, which gives the decoration a spatial effect. The object frieze and the texts on the head refer to an offer ritual, interpreted as the Opening of the Mouth ritual. This ritual continues on the foot where the offering and purification rites play a role. In the ceremonies taking place within the “*Reinigungszelt*” objects such as all kinds of vases, sandals, life-signs (*ḥnh*) are in use. The object frieze on the foot can have a depiction of only a granary (e.g. S10C, CJ 44980), or being combined with shoes (B3C, CG 28085), writing tools (B16C, CG 28088), carpenter equipment (B4L, BM 30841), *ḥnh*-signs (B1P, Louvre E10779A), mirrors (B4C, CG 28086) and textiles (B1P, Louvre E10779A). Correctly, Willems points out that the presence of the sandals in the object frieze on the foot cannot directly be related to the rites performed within the “*Reinigungszelt*”, but can also point at a private use in daily life.<sup>55</sup> Although not stated as such the granary is in first instance not a part belonging to the rites performed in the purification tent. The frieze presents clearly a mixture of practical and religious based objects. Willems’ Table 13 gives an overview of all the objects which can be present in the object frieze but the granary itself is not described.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 203.

<sup>48</sup> R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts: Spells 1–1185 & Indexes, Volume III, Spells 788–1185 & Indexes* (Corrected and reprinted edition; Oxford, 2004), 65.

<sup>49</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, 177.

<sup>50</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages II*, 13.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>52</sup> On coffin B9C the cereals are indicated as harvest and stock from the *sh.t-htp* and the *sh.t-ḥrw*, respectively.

<sup>53</sup> B. Grdseloff, *Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt* (Le Caire, 1941), 25–31.

<sup>54</sup> Willems, *Heqata*, 56.

<sup>55</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 213–4.

<sup>56</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 223–4, Table 13.

B. Grdseloff describes the necessary equipment (*dbḥ.w n ibw*)<sup>57</sup> present in the purification tent for the lector priest, as shown in a number of mastabas of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>58</sup> Under the equipment we recognize besides vessels, jars, bowls, and sandals, also a lot of food, such as bread, meat and fish.<sup>59</sup> The food can be contained in baskets or just placed on or under the offering table, as we know from Old Kingdom stelae.<sup>60</sup> The objects shown in the purification tent have found their way into the object frieze of the Middle Kingdom coffins and are depicted among others on the foot of the coffin. The purification of the body starts in the purification tent with a washing with water, which is kept in the respective vessels, after which the body is put in new cloths and provided with sandals. The act is seen as a rebirth to be ready to join Re and his followers.<sup>61</sup> After the embalming the body is brought back to the purification tent for a second time, where a number of rituals will be performed, e.g. the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. After this ceremony the body is able again to take part in drinking and eating of the available food. If, as Grdseloff assumes, the purification tent can be traced back to the royal purification tent, then it seems also quite reasonable to state that some rooms in the valley temple of Khaphre in Giza can be described as magazines and storerooms for the necessary equipment and food for the rituals of purification and embalming.<sup>62</sup> In the valley temple of Menkaure some rooms can be indicated for the same purposes.<sup>63</sup>

In this perspective it seems also reasonable that when objects from the purification tent appear in the object frieze on the foot of the coffin, also the granary as part of a complex of storerooms finds its place on the foot of this coffin.

J. Settgast arrives at about the same conclusion as Grdseloff, that the objects which belong to the equipment of the purification tent (*ibw*) find their use in the purification scenes as depicted in some tombs.<sup>64</sup> The same objects have found their way in the object frieze. Settgast objects the opinion of Grdseloff that the depicted food (assigned as *d3.t-r3*)<sup>65</sup> would be used as payment for the priest and its helpers.<sup>66</sup> By Settgast the depiction is explained as a probable food offering to conclude the rituals performed, or as food for the tomb owner on his travels.<sup>67</sup> This conclusion seems more reasonable as far as this agrees with the depiction of the granaries. Why would one depict the payment of the priests still in the coffin? Remarkable is that in the Eighteenth Dynasty the funeral procession reaches the “*Heilige Bezirk*” (*t3-dsr*) where two rows of buildings are depicted, described as gods shrines.<sup>68</sup> In some of the buildings figures are presented which can be representatives for the respective gods. The structures designated as “*hm Kapelle*”<sup>69</sup> look surprisingly identical to the granaries depicted in a number of Old Kingdom tombs in the Memphitic area.<sup>70</sup> This can be just coincidental because as H. Willems clearly argues that the “*New Kingdom depictions reflect a set of*

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<sup>57</sup> Grdseloff, *Reinigungszelt*, 17.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, Abb. 1.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, Abb. 3.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>63</sup> The question arises if and how this “correlation” between the purification tent and the valley temples in the private and royal sphere, respectively expresses itself at other places and in other times, e.g. at Dayr al-Barshā during the Middle Kingdom. Without an extensive study of the available literature it will not be possible to make a well-founded statement about this issue. See also Chapter 7, p. 46.

<sup>64</sup> J. Settgast, *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (ADAIK 3; Glückstadt, 1963), 9–15.

<sup>65</sup> *Wb.* V, 514.

<sup>66</sup> Grdseloff, *Reinigungszelt*, 17.

<sup>67</sup> Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 15.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 52, Tafel 5.

<sup>69</sup> *Wb.* III, 280.

<sup>70</sup> See e.g. Figure 12, p. 30, tomb of Degem; or G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de Particuliers contemporains de Pepi II* (Le Caire, 1983). It would be interesting to investigate if there is a connection between this type of buildings.

funerary rituals that has evolved significantly beyond the situation evinced by the (Middle Kingdom) coffins”.<sup>71</sup>

So, the ‘scenes’ depicted as part of the object frieze seem to be representative for mortuary or funerary rituals.<sup>72</sup> Some of the items of the object frieze are clearly connected to the Coffin Texts written above or below them, e.g. some of the items in the frieze function as determinatives of the offerings to which in spell CT 934 is referred and which is written below the frieze on the head of the coffin.<sup>73</sup> Items in the object frieze can be related to specific Pyramid Texts, which on their turn can be evaluated as representative for some of the “Introductory rites” as defined by G. Lapp in his description of an Old Kingdom ritual.<sup>74</sup>

## 2.2 The granary in some “text coffins”

An extended description of the decoration of the foot of the Middle Kingdom coffin A1C (Cairo JdE 36418) is presented by Willems, including a description of the object frieze, see Figure 5. Although the fifth register seems to be a continuation of the offering scenes of the fourth register, the scenes represent, together with the scenes in the sixth register, the storage of cereals. The granary complex exists of two pillared buildings which probably stand within the enclosure of a single wall. The building in the sixth register is thought to be the “office”, (*ḥ3.wy n šnw.t*).<sup>75</sup> From within this “office”-building stairs go to the roof, where the access to the storage rooms is located. At the floor of the fifth register a man is holding a basket upside down, probably after filling one of the storage rooms with grain.<sup>76</sup> This register shows three dome-shaped granaries with square shutters. Between the granaries a door is depicted which gives probably access to the granary complex. Under the stairs in the sixth register an arrangement of “small” granaries is depicted, dome-shaped with square

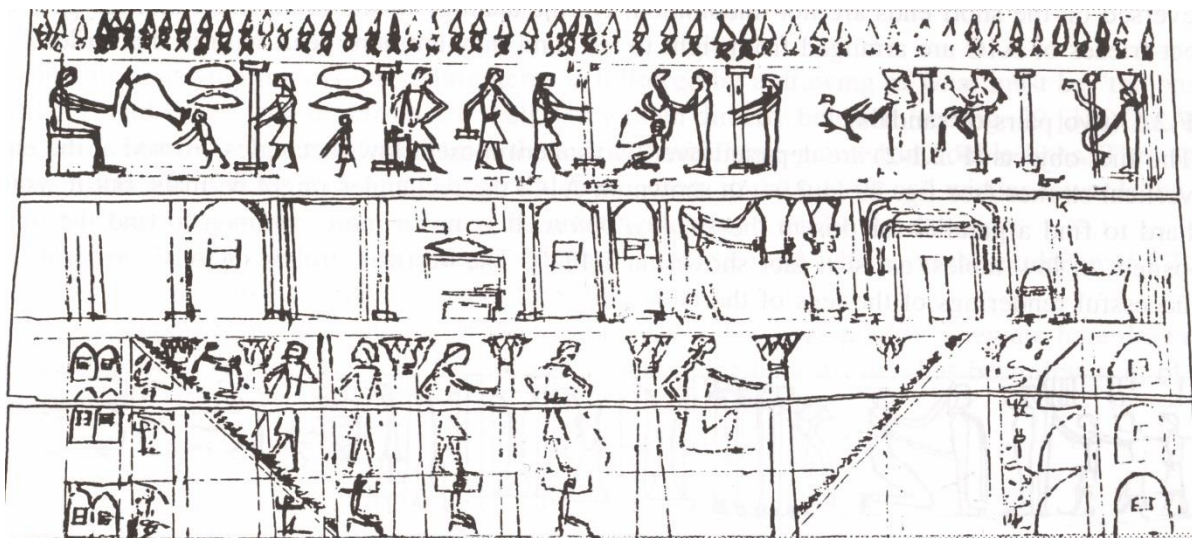


Figure 5: Detail of the decoration on the foot of coffin A1C (CJ 36418; 4<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> register).

<sup>71</sup> Willems, *Heqata*, 113.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 50; Willems, *GM* 67, 81–90.

<sup>73</sup> Willems, *Heqata*, 58.

<sup>74</sup> G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches unter Berücksichtigung einiger späterer Formen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), 187; Lapp describes the offer ritual by means of the texts recited by the lector priest ranked by a number of rites and ceremonies. These rites and ceremonies are coupled to the figurative depictions in the tomb.

<sup>75</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, 176.

<sup>76</sup> It would be possible that we have to consider what Willems calls the fifth and the sixth register as just one register. The silos of this “fifth” register could well be placed behind the hall with stairs and smaller silos.

shutters. Near these granaries heaps of products are piled up against the wall. Some labels at the heaps indicate their content, e.g. barley (*it*) and emmer (*bd.t*).

Willems suggests that the image on the coffin intends to convey the idea that the availability of large quantities of grain are a precondition for an eternal life, a suggestion supported by the depiction of the arm raising figures with *rnp.t* and *hfn* signs on their heads on the foot of coffin T3C (CJ 47355, see Figure 7, p. 27).<sup>77</sup> In his interpretation of the decoration he refers to an earlier study<sup>78</sup> in which he argued that the granaries have their root in the “offering ritual”, as described in Barta’s “*Listentyp A*” for the Middle Kingdom, a list which ends with the cereals.<sup>79</sup> This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that the head and foot of the coffin seem to form the beginning and the end of the ritual, respectively. The decoration of the head as well as the foot find their origin in the ceremonies which accompany the nocturnal vigil in the Place of Embalming.<sup>80</sup> The decoration on the foot can be seen as a series of rituals in which libations and purification play an important role. They should remove any evil so, that the body of the coffin owner can be reconstituted and prepared for a solar resurrection.<sup>81</sup> The libation can be interpreted as a reconstitution of his bodily efflux, which for Osiris was considered as identical to the inundation of the Nile, on which the growth of barley and emmer were dependent. So, providing the coffin owner with his “efflux”, he was also provided with an offering of grain. This offering was rendered by depiction of the granaries.<sup>82</sup>

One of the authors who treats the coffin as a unity in depictions and texts is E. Meyer-Dietrich. She treats in a number of extended publications the interior of some Middle Kingdom coffins, M5C (CJ 42826)<sup>83</sup> and M3C (CJ 42825)<sup>84</sup> from Mīr. She proposes<sup>85</sup> that “*die formende Kraft der Landschaft sich auf die Religion - - - auswirkt.*” So, the influence and meaning of the Nile inundation can be seen in the resurrection ritual in the cult of the death by means of the Coffin Texts. To underscore this thesis she uses both the texts and the depictions in the interior of the coffin and treats the coffin as a unit and with that in mind the complete text edition in the coffin as a unit. Meyer-Dietrich states in her introduction<sup>86</sup> that her choice of coffin M5C (CJ 42826) is among other criteria based on the fact that the texts are at their “*usual location*” in the coffin. However, when she compares the location of the texts in M5C (CJ 42826) with the location of these texts in six other coffins, it appears that the concordance between the coffins is minimal, e.g. the texts PT 213–4 which appear in M5C (CJ 42826) on the foot, are in M1C (CJ 42949) and M2C (CJ 42947) located on the back.<sup>87</sup> Most probably she was influenced by the ideas of P. Barquet on the position of specific texts in a coffin. In his article Barquet shows that in some coffins of Upper-Egypt (Aswān, al-Jabalayn and Thebes) some specific texts (CT 229, 236–9, 241, 932 and 644) have their fixed place within the decoration program of the coffin.<sup>88</sup> The content of the text can be related to the specific side where the text has been placed. It concerns just three coffins, A1C (CJ 36418), G1T (Turin, 15.774), and T3C (CJ 47355) in which the above mentioned spells have been placed. If we take the respective coffins we will see that in each of these coffins the spell CT 236 preceded by spell CT 235, is placed on this foot. However, it appears, as shown in the work of De Buck and Gardiner, that the coffins mentioned are the only ones

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<sup>77</sup> Willems, *Heqata*, 123, Fig. 37 and plate 47.

<sup>78</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 203.

<sup>79</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, 100–1.

<sup>80</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 137.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil*.

<sup>84</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst*.

<sup>85</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil*, 11.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 28–9.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 86–7, Tabelle 5.

<sup>88</sup> P. Barquet, ‘Les textes spécifiques des différents panneaux des sarcophages du Moyen Empire’, *RdÉ* 23 (1971), 15–22.

having these spells on their side.<sup>89</sup> But, the two spells refer to the legs and feet which should be given to the owner of the coffin so, that he can walk again and make his way to the tribunal and the gates of the Netherworld.<sup>90</sup> The correlation of these texts lies more in a relation to the body in its coffin than to the decoration, more specifically the granaries, on the foot of the coffin. When the texts speaks of “- - - I receive food-offerings - - - , the *Entourage of Re who give supplies of food; I am the one who collects for himself his efflux in front of Rostau*”, one can probably think about some allusion to the granaries where the basic materials for the food are stored and where the products of the efflux – the Nile inundation – will be stored.<sup>91</sup>

Of interest for our work is Meyer-Dietrich’s treatment of the foot panel on which in the object frieze a granary and a pair of sandals are depicted. She describes the depiction of the granary as being composed of three separated elements, i) the façade of a naos, ii) a lotus topped column under a reversed sky sign, and iii) the granary itself.<sup>92</sup> In a number of notes she gives an ‘*explanation*’ for the respective elements, the naos forming the door through which the coffin owner can reach the room where the unification with the god can take place.<sup>93</sup> The reversed sky carried by the lotus topped column is seen as a symbol for the resurrection in Nun.<sup>94</sup> The coffin owner sees here the way she has to travel, the reversed sky and the goal of her journey, through the door of the naos to the unification with the god.<sup>95</sup> The pair of sandals should provide her with some means to avoid impurity on her journey.<sup>96</sup> The granary can serve as stock for the offerings necessary on her journey, or as an everlasting supply of food for the coffin owner. A third option which Meyer-Dietrich gives is based on the location of the granary at the south end of the coffin, being the direction from where the Nile inundation comes into view. Taking these views into consideration she explains the objects of the frieze as the road, the goal and the conditions and character of her journey. The two texts available at the foot, PT 213 and PT 214, do not refer directly to the objects as depicted in the frieze but are explained so that they fit in the meaning she gives to these objects. Moreover, Meyer-Dietrich refers to H. Willems<sup>97</sup> to explain that the granaries are located on the foot of the coffin because of the fact that they are always depicted on the south wall of the sarcophagus room from which location they are borrowed for the interior of the coffin.<sup>98</sup> This statement appears to be incorrect as will be shown later, *vide infra*, Chapter 4, p. 31.

E. Meyer-Dietrich treats the decoration of the interior of coffin M3C (CJ 42825) in an identical way as she did with M5C (CJ 42826), *vide supra*.<sup>99</sup> The model she develops for her interpretation of the texts and accompanying depictions is partly based on the ritual theory of C. Bell.<sup>100</sup> The performance of rituals deals with a practical action by which the specific situation in which the coffin owner is present, can be transformed and changed, according to Bell. The coffin in which the owner is lying forms the environment which by the process of rituals is transformed from the real world into a symbolic world, a religious one.<sup>101</sup> This religious world inside the coffin is represented by the texts and depictions. It is the result of a religious-symbolic description of the real world and the owner of the coffin and brings them together. The ritual acts should help the coffin owner to fulfil a resurrection so that she can come to an agreement with her environment. From the factors that can

<sup>89</sup> De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts III*, 303–306. It appears that one more coffin, T3L (BM 29570) has spell CT 236 on the foot of its coffin.

<sup>90</sup> Faulkner, *Coffin Texts I*, 184–5.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>92</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil*, 98.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 98, Note 296.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 98, Note 297.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>96</sup> See also S. Schwarz, ‘Zur Symbolik weißer und silberner Sandalen’, *ZÄS* 123 (1968), 75.

<sup>97</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 209.

<sup>98</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil*, 132.

<sup>99</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst*.

<sup>100</sup> C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York, 1992), 101.

<sup>101</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst*, 5-6.

play a role in the rituals Meyer-Dietrich considers the ones that are personal for the coffin owner, her idea of purity, food provision and personal hygiene. And more specifically she takes the elements into consideration which are part of a person, the Name, the Ba, the Ka, the Shadow, and the Body, while the religion–ecological elements are treated as well. The choice of specific texts and depictions is determined by their availability, their way that they can be manipulated and their positive and negative connotation.

In first instance the depictions on the walls of the coffin are what they depict, a true representation of the objects they represent in the real world, such as the offerings and the objects of the object frieze. Meyer-Dietrich states that they can be furthermore considered as ritual objects which are there for the coffin owner. If the accompanying texts relate to a connection between the object and the coffin owner, the depictions of buildings, doors and the sky can be considered as ‘*Bildhandlungen*’, which serve as a ritual act.<sup>102</sup> Such as the depictions can be seen as ritual ‘*Bildhandlungen*’, the texts can be considered as ritual ‘*Sprechhandlungen*’.<sup>103</sup> Their variation explains why there are no identically decorated coffins. Meyer-Dietrich clearly states that the depictions do not contain instructions for the ritual but they are the rituals themselves. So, the depictions are “**neither illustrations of the texts nor an aesthetic decoration**” of the coffin. They can act apart from the texts which are found in their vicinity.<sup>104</sup> The possibility that the depictions can be considered as an elucidation of the ‘*Sprechhandlungen*’ is no part of her investigation.<sup>105</sup> Also the ‘*Sprechhandlungen*’ are not treated or investigated on their possible accompanying recitation of texts with the depictions.

For the objects depicted on the foot, being a door, the reversed sky carried by a column and a granary she gives a comparable explanation as in the foregoing publication<sup>106</sup>, although the door can now also give access to the granary.<sup>107</sup> The place where the coffin owner stays is represented by the reversed sky supported by a lotus topped column. The granary depicted on the south wall of the coffin is symbol for the Nile inundation which comes from the south and provides the necessary fertility and in that way the necessary provision of food.<sup>108</sup> The door can give access to the granary as well as being the exit from the coffin for the owner.<sup>109</sup> The white background of the door would be in contrast to the ‘*darkness*’ represented by the reversed sky.

B. Arquier is one of the few authors who treats the coffin as a unit and more specifically in this case the set of coffins of Mésehti from Asyūt.<sup>110</sup> It is his aim to demonstrate the general organisation of the texts, the order in which they should be read and the decoration of the coffins. The background of the texts is based on a number of themes: the possession of script and knowledge (formulae, rituals, transformations and roads), the respective manifestations of the tomb owner (Ba, Ka, Akh), and the changes in time (hours, days, months and seasons of the year) as read from a star clock on the cover of the coffin, and place (the Duat, the necropolis and the West). The themes are an attempt to ensure the future of the tomb owner in the Netherworld. It appears that only the

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<sup>102</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst*, 13.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 14–5. She has to admit that the instructions for ritual acts found in the offering list do not fit this view. Moreover, the observations of the De Buck on spell CT 923 and CT 934 are dismissed.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>106</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil*.

<sup>107</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst*, 137.

<sup>108</sup> This ‘south’ connection with the inundation is only valid for people who live along that stretch of the Nile where it has a real south–north flow. The people living near the great bend of the Nile above Luxor see the inundation coming from the west or from the east. It would be interesting to see if they change the position of their coffins with respect to the direction of the flow of the Nile and in that way correcting their cardinal point of view. At least they do not depict the granary on one of the other sides of the coffin.

<sup>109</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst*, 137.

<sup>110</sup> Arquier, *Mésehti*.

interior of the inner coffin, S1C (CG 28118) has been decorated.<sup>111</sup> The foot is depicted solely with a granary surrounded by a large number of texts. Arquier describes extensively the correlation between objects of the frieze on the front of the inner coffin and the accompanying texts.<sup>112</sup> He remarks that some of the objects in the frieze, which are necessary for the tomb owner are also available as models in the sarcophagus room. The ‘real’ objects (the models) and the objects in the decoration appear to be two means of the same script, and are enriched by the accompanying texts.<sup>113</sup> The granary depicted on the foot is mentioned as a representation of the well doing of the inundation of the Nile.<sup>114</sup> In spell CT 245, depicted above the granary on the foot, mention is made of the sources of the inundation, which for Arquier is reason to note that “*la référence à l’eau de la crue, traditionnelle sur la paroi de pieds, - - - - , avec la présence des greniers. - - - - Ce chapitre sert en quelque sorte d’introduction à la représentation des greniers - - -*”.<sup>115</sup> But, unfortunately it appears that the foot of the interior of S1C (CG 28118) is the only place known, see Table 5, p. 33, where this specific spell CT 245 has been written near a granary. The spell has also been placed on the front of the outer coffin S2C (CG 28119) or on the head of S3C (CJ 36444).<sup>116</sup> However, the correlation between the granary and the accompanying texts, CT 245–249 is following Arquier not immediately clear. More explanation as described above is not given by Arquier. But, then he starts to look in a combination of a number of texts, in which the inundation of the Nile is referred to in some different aspects, the inundation itself, the abundance caused by the inundation, Hapy and Nepri. The specific texts mentioned are arranged on the foot or the head, according to the south to north orientation which is substantial for the occurrence of the inundation. But, when they appear still on the front or the back, they are placed at the beginning or the end of the respective coffin board, and so still closely related to the south and the north, respectively.<sup>117</sup> He concludes with “*La présence des greniers sur la paroi de pieds de S1C est là pour rappeler cette crue et ses bienfaits*”.<sup>118</sup> In general, the foot of S1C (CG 28118), the inner coffin is completely devoted to the knowledge which the coffin owner should retrieve. It concerns the formulae, the rituals, the transformations and the roads of the Netherworld. To our great relief Arquier remarks in his conclusion that each coffin in the Middle Kingdom has probably its own program in text and decoration! So, it would be difficult to find an agreement between coffins of different owners.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Arquier, *Mésehti*, 56. Arquier comes up with two possible reasons why the outer coffin does not contain any figural decoration : a) the objects which the tomb owner needs and which are at hand at the walls of the inner coffin are less accessible when they are depicted at the outer coffin (sic !), b) leaving out the figural decoration provides more space for texts. Other coffin owners with a set of coffins do not have this problem, e.g. Sathedjhotep (B3C and B4C).

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 58–68.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 110, Tableau 25, Tableau 27.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 360. More research is needed to see how general this statement is or if it is only valid for the coffins of Mésehti.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 360.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 513.



### 3 Coffin set of the lady Sathedjhotep

#### 3.1 Collection of coffins

The set of Middle Kingdom coffins of Sathedjhotep from Dayr al-Barshā derives from a restricted selection of coffins based on the material present in the collection of A. de Buck.<sup>120</sup> This selection is presented in the following table. The restriction taken in this table is based on coffins having a foot decorated with a granary. Furthermore, the table indicates if on the foot Coffin Texts or Pyramid Texts are present (column ‘Granary’).

Table 2: Collection of coffins decorated with a granary on the foot.

Siglum	Provenance	Identification	Granary	Egberts	Jéquier	Lacau	de Buck	Lesko
A1C	Aswān	CJ 36418	CT	√			√	√
B1C	Dayr al-Barshā	CG 28083	CT	√	√	√	√	√
B1L	Dayr al-Barshā	BM 30840	CT	√			√	√
B1P	Dayr al-Barshā	Louvre E10779A	CT	√			√	√
B1Y	Dayr al-Barshā	Yale 1950.645	CT	√			√	√
B2L	Dayr al-Barshā	BM 30839	CT	√			√	√
B2P	Dayr al-Barshā	Louvre E10779B	CT	√			√	√
B3C	Dayr al-Barshā	CG 28085	CT	√	√	√	√	√
B3L	Dayr al-Barshā	BM 30842	CT	√			√	√
B4C	Dayr al-Barshā	CG 28086	CT	√	√	√	√	√
B4L	Dayr al-Barshā	BM 30841	CT	√			√	√
B5C	Dayr al-Barshā	CJ 37566	CT	√			√	√
B7C	Dayr al-Barshā	CJ 37567	CT	√			√	√
B9C	Dayr al-Barshā	CG 28091	CT	√	√	√	√	√
B10C	Dayr al-Barshā	CG 28092	CT	√	√	√	√	√
B13C	Dayr al-Barshā	CG 28090	CT	√	√	√	√	√
B15C	Dayr al-Barshā	CG 28123	CT	√	√	√	√	√
B16C	Dayr al-Barshā	CG 28088	CT	√	√	√	√	√
B17C	Dayr al-Barshā	CG 28087	CT	√	√	√	√	√
BH1C	Banī Ḥasan	CJ 37564a		√			√	
BH5C	Banī Ḥasan	CJ 37569		√			√	
G1T	al-Jabalayn	Turin 15.774	CT	√			√	√
M1C	Mīr	CJ 42949	CT	√			√	√
M3C	Mīr	CJ 42825	CT	√			√	√
M5C	Mīr	CJ 42826	CT	√			√	√
M6C	Mīr	CJ 42827	CT	√			√	√
M12C	Mīr	CG 28046	CT	√			√	√
S1C	Asyūt	CG 28118	CT	√	√	√	√	√
S1Tū	Asyūt	Tübingen Inv.Nr. 6					√	
S3C	Asyūt	CJ 36444	CT	√			√	√
S5C	Asyūt	CJ 45064		√			√	
S6C	Asyūt	CJ 36320		√			√	
S9C	Asyūt	CJ 44979		√			√	
S10C	Asyūt	CJ 44980	CT	√			√	√
S14C	Asyūt	CJ 44981		√			√	
S18C	Asyūt	CJ 44019					√	
Sq2C	Saqqāra	CG 28036	CT	√			√	√
T3C	Thebes	CJ 47355	CT	√			√	√
Sum	38		30	36	10	10	38	30

<sup>120</sup> A. Egberts, ‘The Collection de Buck at Leiden’, *GM* 60 (1982), 11.

The collection of A. de Buck, as published by Egberts contains 136 documents related to coffins or coffin fragments. Only thirty eight of them are decorated with a granary, of which eight, marked in yellow in Table 2 are not accompanied by Coffin Texts.<sup>121</sup> The table indicates if the respective material has been used by Lacau<sup>122</sup>, Jéquier<sup>123</sup>, De Buck<sup>124</sup> and Lesko<sup>125</sup> in their respective publications. The data of De Buck is related to Coffin Texts present in the coffin, not restricted to the foot, while the data of Lesko is restricted to the foot of the respective coffin.

We have to realise that the number of thirty eight coffins is negligible regarding the amount of Middle Kingdom coffins which are known, being at least 813 as published by H. Willems.<sup>126</sup> And even this number can be considered insignificant as Willems assumes that only 5 % of the coffins are preserved.<sup>127</sup> Although Table 2 suggests that there are more coffins left having Coffin Texts in their interior decoration of the foot compared to coffins without Coffin Texts on the foot, the data of Willems shows that only 19 % of the coffins has Coffin Texts.

### 3.2 General data

The following table provides some data concerning the respective coffins of Sathedjhotep.

Table 3: General data.

Siglum <sup>128</sup>	Class	Identification <sup>129</sup>	Type <sup>130</sup>		Material	Height	Width	Length	Lid height
			inner	outer					
B3C	Coffin	CG 28085	1b	IIIaa	Wood	70	66	226	13
B4C	Coffin	CG 28086	1b	IIIaa	Wood	100.5	96	262	18

The data concerning the material and the respective dimensions have been taken from P. Lacau.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>121</sup> The collection of A. de Buck as described by A. Egberts contains 136 coffins or coffin fragments partly covered with Coffin or Pyramid Texts. Sixty eight (68) coffins are in such a condition that the foot is still present. Only for these sixty eight feet some data can be given. As shown in the Table 2, thirty eight (38) coffins have a granary in their decoration. Just thirty (30) coffins have a granary combined with Coffin Texts. So, eight (8) of them have on the foot only the granary without any text. Of the feet remaining (30) probably without a granary, only eighteen (18) can be positively marked as having no granary in the decoration. Of these eighteen (18) four (4) show only a figurative decoration and fourteen (14) Coffin Texts as well. Of a small number of coffins (6) it is not clear if the foot contains a granary and/or Coffin Texts.

<sup>122</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages I*; Lacau, *Sarcophages II*.

<sup>123</sup> Jéquier, *Frises d'Objets*, 299–302.

<sup>124</sup> De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts I-VII*; J.P. Allen, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts, VIII. Middle Kingdom copies of the Pyramid Texts* (OIP 132; Chicago, 2006).

<sup>125</sup> L.H. Lesko, *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents* (Berkeley, 1979).

<sup>126</sup> Willems, *Aspects*, 159–60, Figure 24, 238–315.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 246.

<sup>129</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, 201–38.

<sup>130</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 131–5, 181–6.

<sup>131</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, 201, 222.

### 3.3 Provenance

In the Middle Egypt region of Dayr al-Barshā at the edge of the Wādī Nakhla two archaeological zones have been defined.<sup>132</sup> The zones Z1 and Z2 comprise amongst others the remains of a Middle Kingdom cemetery. In zone 2, at the mouth of the Wādī Nakhla the well-known nomarchal tombs of the Middle Kingdom are situated. Although the site was visited and explored since the Seventeenth century an increased activity occurred at the end of the Nineteenth century by G. Daressy and A. Bey Kamal.<sup>133</sup> In the publication of the latter a map is presented of the nomarchal necropolis.<sup>134</sup> At the top of the map, at the end of a road two tombs (19 and 20) have been plotted.<sup>135</sup> The position corresponds with the above mentioned zone 1. The largest shaft (19) was excavated earlier already by G.W. Fraser and M.W. Blackden till a depth of 15 m (50 ft) although without any result.<sup>136</sup> Daressy continued in 1897 the excavation of this shaft.<sup>137</sup> At a depth of 32 m he found a kind of niche in the wall and at 46 m he reached the bottom of the shaft. In the burial chamber he found some remains of a set of wooden rectangular coffins covered with hieratic inscriptions and canopic vases. Right next to this deep shaft Daressy discovered a second, smaller shaft (20), with a depth of about 7 m.<sup>138</sup> The burial chamber was located to the south and measured 3.05 x 1.1 m and had an inclination of about 10° to facilitate the entrance of the coffins. The set of coffins inside consisted of two rectangular boxes which fitted into each other. On the hieroglyphic bands on the exterior of the coffins they read the name of *nb.t pr s3.t-ḥd-ḥtp*, “The Lady of the House, Sathedjhotep”. The head boards of the coffins had been destroyed by tomb robbers and of the deceased only the legs were found. From the mortuary equipment some small wooden objects were retrieved plus fragments of canopic chests and faience beads. The set of coffins is now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Some of the boards, front panel, back panel and foot of the inner coffin are on display in the museum.

### 3.4 Prosopography and dating

In the genealogical table of the family of Djehutihotep the name of Sathedjhotep shows up twice.<sup>139</sup> The second one is the daughter of Djehutihotep and Hathorhotep who lived in the reign of Senwosret II and III. The other was the wife of Nehri II, a nomarch who lived during the reign of Senwosret I. As the coffin set of Sathedjhotep typologically can be dated close to those of the early Middle Kingdom, it was argued by H. Willems that they belonged to the wife of Nehri II.<sup>140</sup> This theory was later rightfully discarded by Willems due to the fact that the coffins of Sathedjhotep were not found in one of the two shafts which belong to the tomb of Nehri II, and where we may assume that his wife would have been buried. Moreover, the shaft (20) where the coffins were detected by

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<sup>132</sup> H. Willems, M. De Meyer, D. Depraetere, Chr. Peeters, S. Hendrickx, T. Herbich, D. Klemm, R. Klemm, L. Op de Beeck and M. Depauw, ‘Preliminary Report of the 2002 Campaign of the Belgian Mission to Deir al-Barsha’, *MDAIK* 60 (2004), 239, Fig. 1.

<sup>133</sup> G. Daressy, ‘Fouilles de Deir el Bircheh (novembre-décembre 1897)’, *ASAE* 1 (1900), 17–43; A. Bey Kamal, ‘Fouilles à Déir-el-Barshéh (mars-avril 1900)’, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 14–43.

<sup>134</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 2, 15, Fig. 1. This map is a copy with some additions from an earlier map published by F. Ll. Griffith and P.E. Newberry, ‘El Bersheh Part II’ (*ASE* 4; London, 1894), 57.

<sup>135</sup> The tomb with the shafts 19 and 20 has been renumbered 19M70/1, see Willems, De Meyer, Depraetere, Peeters, Hendrickx, Herbich, Klemm, Klemm, Op de Beeck and Depauw, *MDAIK* 60, 248–50. The respective shafts 19 and 20 in the ‘old system’ should be identified by means of an added letter A and B in the proposed system, 19M70/1A and 19M70/1B. But, it is not clear which shaft gets which addition.

<sup>136</sup> Griffith and Newberry, *El Bersheh II*, 57. Shaft G on his plan.

<sup>137</sup> Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 19–20.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 20–1.

<sup>139</sup> Griffith and Newberry, *El Bersheh II*, 15; H. Willems, ‘The nomarchs of the Hare Nome and early Middle Kingdom history’, *JEOL* 28 (1983–1984), 102.

<sup>140</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 74.

Daressy is close to the large shaft (19) described above. Willems argues justly that they should belong to a couple, and seen their dimensions, to either a 'new' nomarch or to an important member of the local elite.<sup>141</sup> Although the last option is preferred, Willems does not rule out the other option.

E. Brovarski places the nomarch Djehutinakht V in a group of nomarchs which reigned in the Tenth and Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>142</sup> His son, Nehri II is placed in the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty probably under Amenemhat I. Willems agrees with Brovarski concerning the relative chronology for his group of coffins.<sup>143</sup> Further Willems suggests to enlarge the group of coffins studied by Brovarski with the coffins of Sathedjhotep, Cairo CG 28085 and 28086, respectively.<sup>144</sup> Based on the typology Willems prefers to place these coffins in a later period and well in the beginning of the reign of Senwosret I.<sup>145</sup> G. Lapp places the set of coffins typologically somewhere in the transition from the Eleventh (no object frieze on the east wall of the coffin) to the Twelfth Dynasty (presence of the granary) which corresponds more or less to what Willems proposes.<sup>146</sup> But, Lapp remarks incorrectly that Willems has put this set of coffins in an earlier period, viz. the one which Brovarski calls the Tenth to Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>147</sup>

### 3.5 Iconography

For the interior decoration of the foot of the coffins we can discern the following segments which are superimposed on each other, see Figures 2 and 3, respectively on p. 6.<sup>148</sup>

1. ornamental frame
2. ornamental hieroglyphs
3. object frieze
4. non-ornamental text

#### 3.5.1 Ornamental frame

The ornamental frame consists of a narrow band of geometrical, rectangular ornaments in different colours – white, green, red and yellow on B3C (Cairo CG 28085) and – red, blue, yellow and green for B4C (Cairo CG 28086). The rectangular ornaments are divided from each other by means of three vertical coloured stripes – black, white, black in the horizontal band and red, white, red in the vertical bands on B3C, and probably – red, white, red on B4C. The band of ornaments is enveloped in green coloured lines.<sup>149</sup> The ornamental frame is placed at the horizontal top rim and the vertical edges of the sides of the foot.

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<sup>141</sup> Willems, De Meyer, Depraetere, Peeters, Hendrickx, Herbich, Klemm, Klemm, Op de Beeck and Depauw, *MDAIK* 60, 255–6; however, in a recent publication of Willems, *Aspects*, 70, Fig. 11, the set is still assigned to the wife of Nehri II.

<sup>142</sup> E. Brovarski, 'Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom', in W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davies (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980* (Boston, 1981), 29, Figure 13.

<sup>143</sup> Willems, *JEOL* 28, 93.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>145</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 71.

<sup>146</sup> Lapp, *Typologie*, 88, 92-3.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

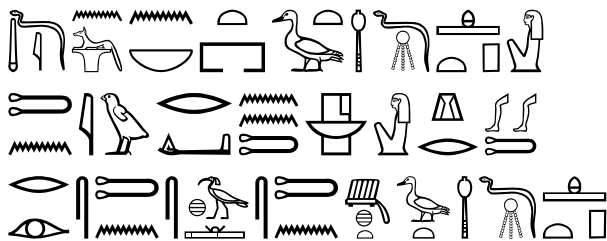
<sup>148</sup> The photographs originate from the collection De Buck at the NINO at Leiden. See also Egberts, *GM* 60, 9-12.

<sup>149</sup> As we have only black and white photographs available for the description of the interior decoration, the indication of the colours has been assessed partly from an insufficient view of the foot of B3C – Cairo CG 28085 during a visit to the Egyptian Museum at Cairo. For the foot of B4C – Cairo CG 28086 we can only guess what the actual colours are, because it is not on display. Some indications about the applied colours can be found in Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, 202, 223.

### 3.5.2 Ornamental hieroglyphs

The second segment which is adjacent to the ornamental frame consists of some horizontal bands with ornamental hieroglyphs. On Cairo CG 28085 the polychrome hieroglyphs are painted directly onto the wood, while for Cairo CG 28086 they are applied on a yellow background. On Cairo CG 28085 the three horizontal bands of text are divided from each other and the adjoining segments by coloured lines. Between the ornamental frame and the first band of text a green and white line has been drawn, between the other bands of text and the next segment three coloured lines – green, red and white, respectively, have been depicted. On Cairo CG 28086 there only are three coloured lines between the two lines of text and the following segment – white, green, white.<sup>150</sup>

#### 3.5.2.1 Ornamental text on the foot of Cairo CG 28085 (B3C)

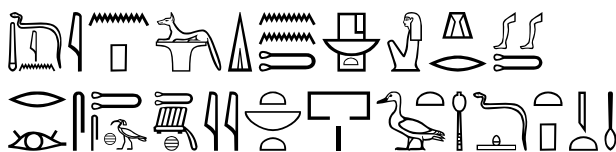


*dd mdw in inpw n nb.t-pr s3.t-ḥd-ḥtp*  
*tn iw rdi.n(=i) n=t nb(.t)-ḥw.t hr rd.wy=t*  
*r rm=s tn s3ḥ=s tn im3ḥ.(y)t s3.t-ḥd-ḥtp*

*Saying words by Anubis to the mistress of the house, this Sathedjhotep:  
 “I have placed for you Nephthys under your feet,  
 so that she beweeps you and makes you glorious, the venerated one, Sathedjhotep.”*

In the third line we observe for the verb *rmi* – “weep, bewweep” – the use of the simple eye (D4 in Gardiner’s sign-list). Although an alternative interpretation would be the verb *dgi* – “see, look” – we have chosen for the first one because the same text can be found on the head of the coffin where the eye with flowing tears (D9 in Gardiner’s sign-list) has been used.<sup>151</sup> Moreover, an identical text is present on the foot of coffin London BM 30841 (B4L) with the D9 sign, the eye with the flowing tears. Further, the folded cloth sign (S29) has been applied three times in reversal.

#### 3.5.2.2 Ornamental text on the foot of Cairo CG 28086 (B4C)



*dd mdw in inpw di.n(=i) n=t nb.t-ḥw.t hr rd.wy=t*  
*r rm=s t<n> s3ḥ<s> t<n> im3ḥ.yt nb.t-pr s3.t-ḥd-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>.t ḥrw*

<sup>150</sup> The colour scheme of Cairo CG 28086 can only be guessed, based on a comparison of the grey scale in the black and white photographs of Cairo CG 28085.

<sup>151</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, 203 ; Lacau has used the eye with flowing tears in the transcription of the text, probably to be in accordance with the use of sign D9 in the text at the head of the coffin.

*Saying words by Anubis: "I have placed for you Nephthys under your feet, so that she beweeps you and makes you glorious, the venerated one, the mistress of the house, Sathedjhotep, true of voice."*

In accordance with the text on Cairo CG 28085 we have chosen for the interpretation of the verb *rmi*, although in this case written with the eye touched up with paint (D5 in Gardiner's sign-list). If we assume that the writer of the text had the intention to give the text the same content as the one on the foot of Cairo CG 28085, did the writer make some mistakes or did he try to save some space by leaving out a number of signs? Has *iw di.n(=i)* the same meaning as *di.n (=i)*, or is the latter a nominal *sdm=f* with emphasis on the adverbial element *hr rd.wy=t?*<sup>152</sup> This is unlikely because he did not have that intention in the text of Cairo CG 28085. The dependent pronoun for the second person singular female is written as *t* instead of *tn*. Furthermore, the suffix pronoun second person singular female *s* after the verb *s3h* has been left out.

### 3.5.3 Object frieze on the foot

Although the object frieze on the foot of Cairo CG 28085 is heavily damaged it is still possible to discern the respective elements that have been drawn. At the left a door on a low doorstep is placed which gives access to a hall. The roof of this hall is supported by wooden (?) pillars placed on a stone base. The pillared hall is adjacent to an area, surrounded by a wall in which four round topped granaries have been placed. The top of the granaries can be reached over a stair which is placed within the pillared hall. In the side of the granaries a small door is placed which gives access to the content of the granary. At the right side of the granary three pairs of identical sandals are situated.<sup>153</sup> The object frieze of Cairo CG 28086 contains a granary with at the left side a door placed on a low doorstep. The door gives access to a hall, surrounded partly by a low wall. The roof of the hall is supported by composed pillars placed on a stone base. In the hall four round topped granaries have been placed with at the front side a small wooden door. The remainder of the object frieze is formed by two pairs of sandals, the upper one being yellow grey and the lower pair white, both with black laces.<sup>154</sup> Two mirrors complete the object frieze. The colour of the left one is white, of the right one yellow grey, according to Lacau.<sup>155</sup> On the horizontal support of the mirror a *w3.t*-eye has been painted.

### 3.5.4 Non-ornamental text

The non-ornamental texts on the respective panels cover about half of the foot and consist of Coffin Texts – CT – and Pyramid Texts – PT – written in vertical columns, thirty columns on Cairo CG 28085 and thirty seven on Cairo CG 28086, respectively. On Cairo CG 28085 the columns are interrupted in the middle by a fracture in the panel. Cairo CG 28086 has a fracture, although much smaller in about the middle of the columns of text. The titles of the respective spells are written in red, while the spells itself are written in black. On Cairo CG 28086 the respective spells are divided from each other by a red horizontal line. The signs on Cairo CG 28085 have been incised with a sharp object after they had been painted on the panel. The texts are produced in small cursive hieroglyphs and for the larger part in retrograde style. On Cairo CG 28085 only the *dd mdw* group has been reversed in the reading direction. On Cairo CG 28086 the first twenty three columns have a reversed

<sup>152</sup> See also Willems, *Dayr al-Barshā I*, 36, Note a.

<sup>153</sup> Jéquier, *Frisés d'Objets*, 27, Fig. 76; Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, Pl. L, Fig. 417.

<sup>154</sup> The colour as indicated by Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, 224. For the form, see also: Jéquier, *Frisés d'Objets*, 27, Fig. 75; Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, Pl. L, Fig. 418.

<sup>155</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, 224. For the form see: Jéquier, *Frisés d'Objets*, 134, Fig. 362; Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 139.

*dd mdw* group corresponding with the direction of reading, while the remnant of columns has a direction conformal with the rest of the signs in these columns.

Table 4: Overview of CT spells and PT utterances on Cairo CG 28085 and 28086, respectively.<sup>156</sup>

Coffin	Column		Spell/Utterance	Reference <sup>157</sup>
	Lacau <sup>158</sup>	de Buck <sup>159</sup>		
<b>CGC 28085</b>	1–30	29–58	CT 173 <sup>160</sup>	CT III, 47a–55b
Sum			1	
<b>CGC 28086</b>	1–3	38	CT 737	CT VI, 367a–c
		[38]–39 <sup>161</sup>	CT 192	CT III, 102d–108b
	3–4 <sup>162</sup> , 4–5	[39]–42	CT 383	CT V, 45b–47b
	5–6 <sup>163</sup>	[42]	CT 410	CT V, 234d
		43	CT 111	CT II, 125b–c
	6	[43]	CT 628	CT VI, 247a–c
	6–7	[43]–44	CT 738	CT VI, 367d–f
	7	[44]	CT 565	CT VI, 163i–k
	7–8	[44]–45	CT 739	CT VI, 367g–j
	8	[45]	CT 566	CT VI, 164j–m
	8–9	[45]–46	CT 349	CT IV, 381a–b
	9	[46]	CT 463	CT V, 335a–d
	9–10	[46]–47	CT 512	CT VI, 97a–b
	10	[47]	CT 148	CT II, 209c–d
	10	[47]	CT 425	CT V, 269a–b
	10–22	[47]–59	CT 61	CT I, 256a–264h
	22–31	[59]–68	CT 60	CT I, 248a–255e
	31–34	[68]–71	PT 670	PT VIII, 1972–1977b
	35	72	CT 191	CT III, 99b–i
	36 <sup>164</sup>	73	CT 740	CT VI, 368a–c
		[73]	CT 573	CT VI, 177b–c
		[73]	CT 114	CT II, 131e–132a
	37 <sup>165</sup>	74	CT 75 <sup>166</sup>	CT I, 314b
		[74]	CT 312	CT IV, 68b–e
		[74]	CT 439	CT V, 292a
Sum			25	

The change in direction of the *dd mdw* group occurs at the transition from granary to sandals in the object frieze, although it does not correspond with the transition to a new spell. The foregoing table gives an overview of the spells and utterances on the respective feet.

<sup>156</sup> The listing of the spells corresponds with the index in: Lesko, *Index*, 25, 27.

<sup>157</sup> Reference is made to the respective volumes of De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts I–VII*, and Allen, *Coffin Texts VIII*.

<sup>158</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, 203.

<sup>159</sup> The column numbers can be found on the respective black and white photographs in the photographic archive of A. de Buck. The numbers occur as well in the volumes of De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts I–VII*, and Allen, *Coffin Texts VIII*.

<sup>160</sup> The remaining part of this spell (ECT III, 55b–59c) has been written on the head of the coffin, columns 1–18.

<sup>161</sup> A number between square brackets refers to a spell which does not start at the beginning of a column.

<sup>162</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, 224, misses the transition from CT 737 to CT 192 in column 38. Moreover, he divides CT 383 to some different texts due to the fact that at the end of column 40 a red stroke is applied before *iw=k*, as well as after *nw* and *dd.n=i* in column 41.

<sup>163</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, 224, introduces a new text after the stroke in front of *tm rdi=s* in the middle of CT 410.

<sup>164</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, 226, does not indicate that we are dealing here with more than one CT.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, Lacau does not indicate that we are dealing here with more than one CT.

<sup>166</sup> For the transition of spell CT 75 to CT 312, see below in the following Chapter 3.5.5.2, p. 24 ff.

### 3.5.5 Remarks on the orthography

A transcription of the cursive hieroglyphs of the respective spells can be found in a number of publications of which the work of De Buck, Gardiner and Allen is the most recent one.<sup>167</sup> In his publication on Middle Kingdom coffins in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, Lacau has given, at least for the somewhat longer texts, only the beginning, the middle and the end of the respective texts.<sup>168</sup> Moreover, if a text appears to be identical with one which is already treated for another coffin, he refers to the first one. For instance, for the text on the foot of Cairo CG 28085 he refers to Cairo CG 28083 where the text can be found on the back of the coffin.<sup>169</sup> Lacau has given the full transcription over the years in a number of publications under the title of ‘Textes Religieux’, where he puts comparable texts under each other, e.g. the texts of Cairo CG 28085 and CG 28083, respectively. It shows clearly, that on details there exist differences in both texts.<sup>170</sup> Parts of the texts on the foot of Cairo CG 28086 have been published as ‘Textes Religieux’.<sup>171</sup>

#### 3.5.5.1 Cairo CG 28085 (B3C)

The order of column numbering follows the system of de Buck and Gardiner in their publication of the Coffin Texts. The numbering starts on the head with column 1, followed by the foot, back, front, top and bottom, respectively.<sup>172</sup> As the head contains 28 columns, the text on the foot starts with column 29 and ends with column 58. The text is written in cursive hieroglyphs in retrograde style, apart from the opening of each line, the *dd mdw* in group. The text of spell CT 173 starts with the title of the spell in red, the rest of the spell is in black ink. Starting with column 35 the hieroglyphs have been incised with a sharp object. The incision has taken place after writing the hieroglyphs on the panel. After column 58 the text of spell CT 173 continues on the head panel with columns 1 through 18.

#### 3.5.5.2 Cairo CG 28086 (B4C)

In agreement with the column numbering on the inner coffin, the text on the foot of the outer coffin starts at column 38 and ends with column 74.<sup>173</sup> The text is written in cursive hieroglyphs in retrograde style apart from the opening of the columns 38 through 60. All the other columns have also the opening group *dd mdw* in retrograde style. The orthography of the text has caused some problems if we compare the interpretation of Lacau<sup>174</sup> and De Buck<sup>175</sup>. They differ on points where a spell should start or end. Part of the problem is caused by the Egyptian “editor” who is not very consistent in dividing the respective spells by a horizontal stroke, or starting a new spell with a title in red.

If no division strokes or titles in red have been given, the division by de Buck is only based on comparable texts on other coffins. But even De Buck seems sometimes lost in his interpretation e.g. when a specific text does not seem to fit as the continuation of a specific spell. In the last column of

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<sup>167</sup> De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts I-VII*; Allen, *Coffin Texts VIII*.

<sup>168</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages I*.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

<sup>170</sup> Lacau, *RT XXVI*, 150–6.

<sup>171</sup> CT 148: Lacau, *RT XXVII*, 55–6 ; CT 425: Lacau, *RT XXVI*, 227–8 ; CT 61: Lacau, *RT XXVII*, 221–6; CT 60: Lacau, *RT XXVII*, 227–33.

<sup>172</sup> T.G. Allen, *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts with Cross Indexes of These and Other Egyptian Mortuary Texts* (SAOC 27; Chicago, 1950), 44.

<sup>173</sup> Allen, *Occurrences*, 44.

<sup>174</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, 224.

<sup>175</sup> De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts I-VII*. See the respective spells as indicated in Table 4, p. 23.



the foot, column 74, he even wonders if the beginning belongs to spell CT 75. The continuation could belong to a spell from the Book of the Dead, BD 78.<sup>176</sup> The text is followed by a new spell, CT 312, even without the title of the spell.

In conclusion we can say that on the foot of the outer coffin none of the spells are present in their full content. A lot of them are only presented with their title, sometimes with just a short part of the spell added, probably meant as a *pars pro toto*. Or titles have been left out, what seems not unusual in this period of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>177</sup> The writer has been selective in placing horizontal separation strokes to indicate where, in our perspective, a new spell should begin.

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<sup>176</sup> De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts I*, 315, note 2. De Buck gives the impression that a spell from the Book of the Dead is introduced into the corpus of the texts applied in the coffins of the Middle Kingdom. The funerary texts known as the Book of the Dead appeared at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty in which corpus many spells of the Coffin Texts were included. De Buck describes in A. de Buck, 'The earliest version of Book of the Dead 78', *JEA* 35(1949), 87-97, that the text of Book of the Dead 78 will be published in De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts IV*, 68 ff. This appears to be spell CT 312, the spell which follows in line 74.

<sup>177</sup> T.G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians concerning the Hereafter as expressed in their own Terms* (SAOC 37; Chicago, 1974), 2.

#### 4 The granary as part of the object frieze

The most prominent part of the object frieze on the foot of a Middle Kingdom coffin can be the depiction of a granary or probably better called a storage facility for grain and related products. That the Egyptians considered the granary as part of the object frieze can be deduced from the way they depicted the granary. For instance on the foot of B16C (Cairo CG 28088), see Figure 6 the granaries are placed upon low tables together with other items appearing in the object frieze.<sup>178</sup> For that reason they are treated by G. Jéquier in his book on the objects appearing in the friezes of Middle Kingdom coffins.<sup>179</sup>

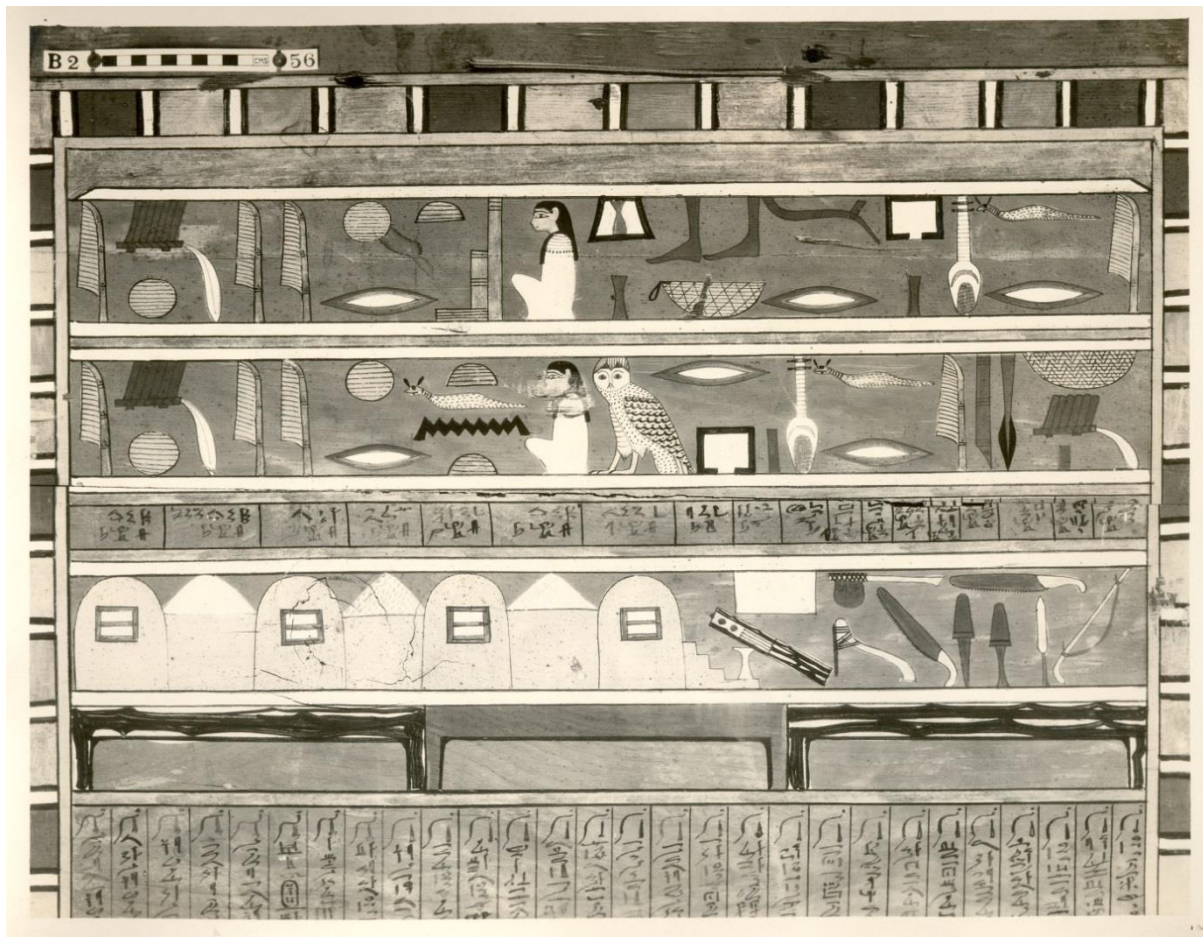


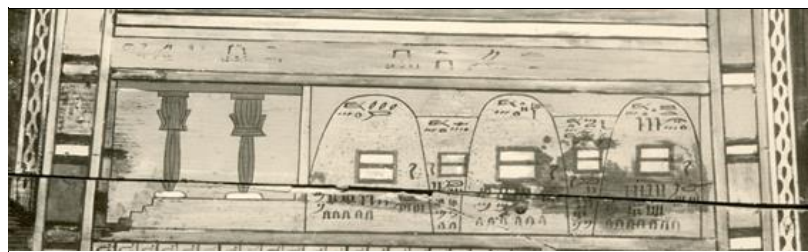
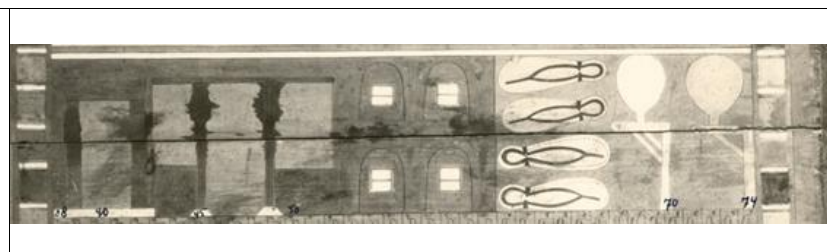
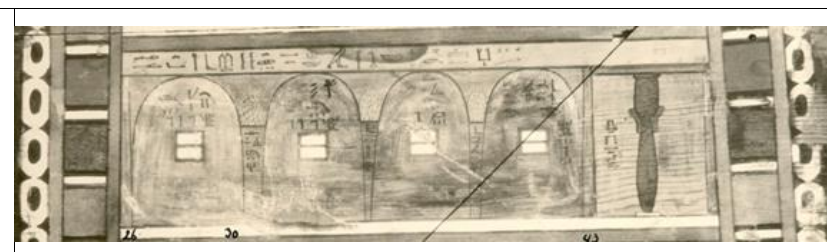

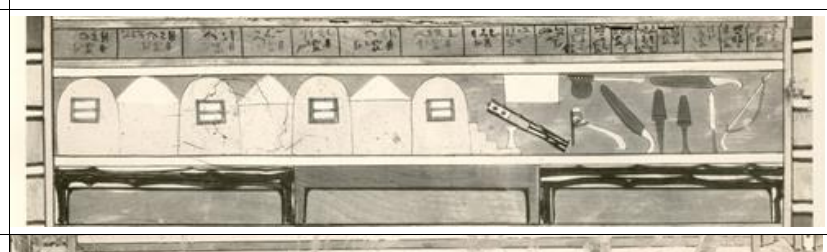
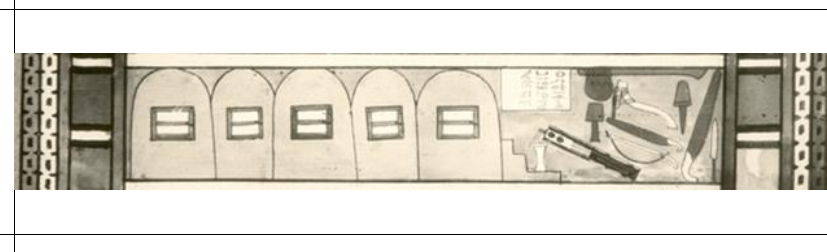
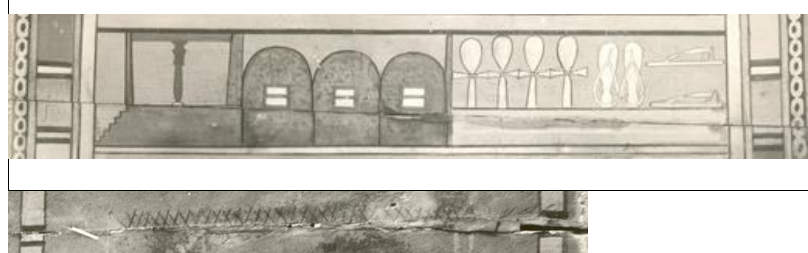
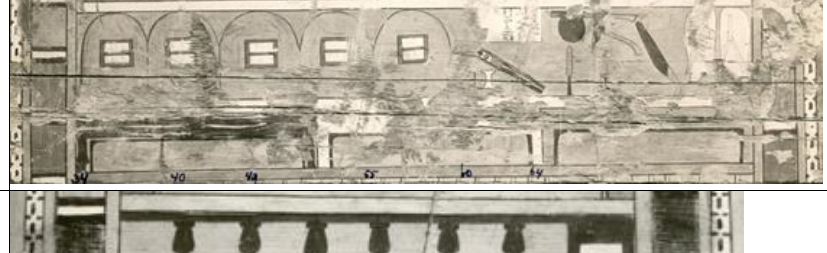
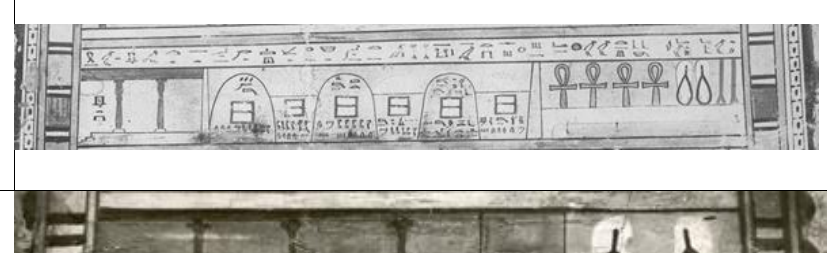

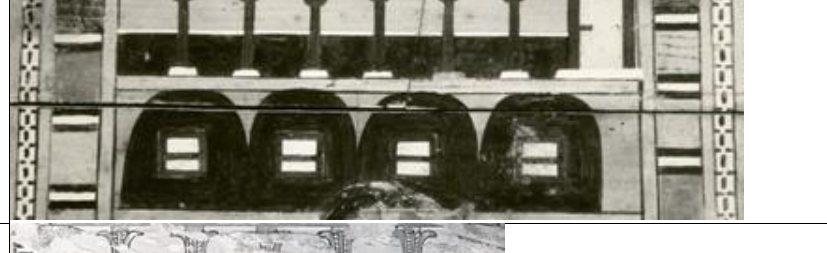

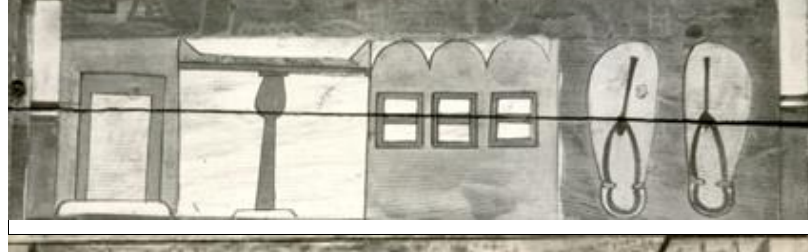




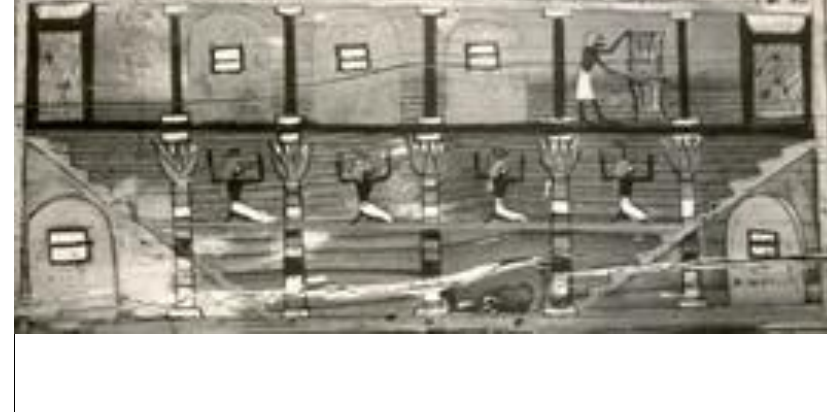
Figure 6: Part of the foot of coffin B16C (Cairo CG 28088) with granaries placed on low tables.

If we consider the depictions of a number of granaries, see Figure 7 as applied in the coffins presented in the photographic archive of A. de Buck, it will be clear that the Egyptians did not have a fixed idea of how the granary should look like. They can use a number of elements to compose their picture of a granary. The key element is the storage room or silo where the grains and related products can be stored and from where the content can be removed through a small opening closed with shutters in front of the silo. In principle the silo consists of a cylindrical structure closed at the top by a round roof. In a few cases, e.g. B7C (CJ 37567), the round-topped silos are interspersed by

<sup>178</sup> Jéquier, *Frisés d'Objets*, 244, Figure 642. The same observation can be made for B4L, in Figure 7, p. 27, and for B9C, B13C and B17C, not included in this figure.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 299–302.

Figure 7: A selection of depictions of granaries from the coffins as listed in Table 2.

	B1C		B4C		B5C
	B7C		B16C		B17C
	B1L		B4L		B1P
	BH5C		M1C		M3C
	M5C		S1Tü		T3C
	S5C		S14C		

silos which seem to have a flat roof top, although the roof is covered by a heap of some product. The middle heap at B5C (CJ 37567) contains a label stating that we are dealing with *bnr*, ‘dates’. The arrangement of silos can be preceded by a small flight of stairs, e.g. B1L (BM 30840), B4L (BM 30841), B16C (CG 28088), B17C (CG 28087), BH5C (CJ 37569) and T3C (CJ 47355), a small hall resting on one or more columns, or a door. The door and the small hall are considered to be an integral part of the granary as is made clear by the labels attached to the hall or door, *šnw.t* or *šnw.t n.t d.t*, e.g. B1P (Louvre E10779A), B5C (CJ 37566) and B7C (CJ 37567), respectively. The elements can be combined into one picture where a door, hall with pillars and silos are attached to each other, e.g. B4C (CG 28086). In some of the coffins of Mīr and Asyūt the construction becomes more complex, more columns are added which seem to make part of the area where the silos are placed, multi-storeyed buildings with a flight of stairs to the upper storey or roof, e.g. T3C (CJ 47355). In coffin B1C (CG 28083) the legends attached to the picture tell us that the hall with columns is the *ḥ3wy n šnw.t*, ‘the hall of measuring of the storehouse’,<sup>180</sup> or ‘the two offices of the granary’<sup>181</sup> while the silos are named the *šnw.t wr.t*, ‘the great granary’. The respective silos contain a label concerning their content. The three dimensional construction of the granary can be deduced partly from the models that have been found in a number of burial chambers of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>182</sup> The models show a square courtyard surrounded by high walls, sometimes at the corners pulled up. A door gives access to the courtyard. The granaries have been placed to one of the sides of the yard. They are accessible for the workers by means of a flight of stairs. In a sheltered part of the courtyard some scribes are busy with their administration, probably keeping track of what comes in and what goes out.<sup>183</sup>

The development of the granary from the Old Kingdom via the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom is extensively described by A. Badawy.<sup>184</sup> He refers to Jéquier who most probably in imitation of Lacau divides the construction of a granary in three elements, the silos, the heaps of products and the columned hall.<sup>185</sup>

The elements forming the granary can be traced back to the slab stelae of the Third and Fourth Dynasty where the silos are depicted as part of the ‘*Inventaropferliste*’, see Figure 1, p. 5.<sup>186</sup> They are derived since the end of the Third Dynasty of the ‘*Speisliste*’ which is part of the named ‘*Inventaropferliste*’.<sup>187</sup> The silos, the columned hall, the scribes, the heaps of products can be found as part of the decoration of the cult chambers of the Old Kingdom mastabas.<sup>188</sup> They are an integral part of the agricultural setting of the storage of products within daily life scenes.<sup>189</sup> The following figures show some examples of these agricultural scenes. Figure 8 shows only four heaps of different kinds of fruit, as indicated by their respective labels, *sšp.t i3rr.t* (WB I, 32.13), *wnš* (WB I, 325.5), *nbs* (WB II, 245.16), and *išd* (WB I, 136.9).

<sup>180</sup> Jéquier, *Frisés d’Objets*, 302.

<sup>181</sup> J. Vandier, *Manuel d’Archéologie Égyptienne. Tome VI, Bas-reliefs et Peintures: Scènes de la vie Agricole à l’Ancien et au Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1978), 233.

<sup>182</sup> H.E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt from the Tomb of Meket-Re at Thebes* (PMMA 18; New York, 1955), 25–7, Figure 20, 62; A.M.J. Tooley, *Egyptian Models and Scenes* (Buckinghamshire, 1995), 36–42.

<sup>183</sup> J.H. Breasted Jr., *Egyptian Servant Statues* (Washington, D.C., 1948), 12–6, Pl. 9c, 11b, 12b; Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 38, Fig.1.

<sup>184</sup> A. Badawy, *Le dessin architectural chez les anciens Égyptiens* (Le Caire, 1948), 116–125.

<sup>185</sup> Badawy, *Dessin*, 116; Lacau, *Sarcophages II*, 139. Lacau has separate numbers for the respective elements forming the granary: e.g. CG 28123–B15C, côté 2, line 12 « Une salle à colonnes, line 13–18 six greniers, entre chacun d’eux une colonne ».

<sup>186</sup> P. Der Manuelian, ‘Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis’, in W.K. Simpson and D.B. O’Connor (eds), *Publications of the Pennsylvania – Yale Expedition to Egypt 7* (New Haven and Philadelphia, 2003), 98–102.

<sup>187</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, 8–9.

<sup>188</sup> Van Walsem, *MastaBase*.

<sup>189</sup> Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom: studies in orientation and scene content* (London, 1987), 120–1.

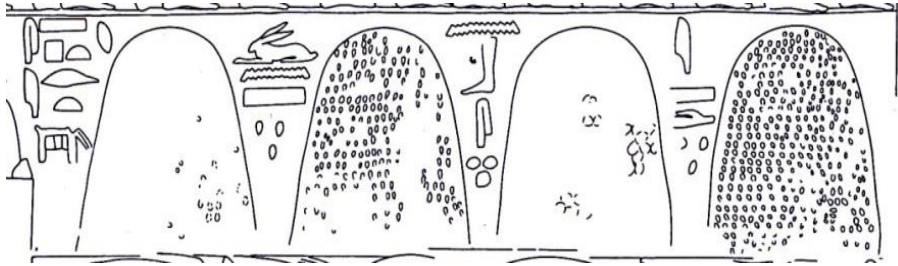


Figure 8: Heaps of different kinds of fruit (Tomb of Nikauisesi).

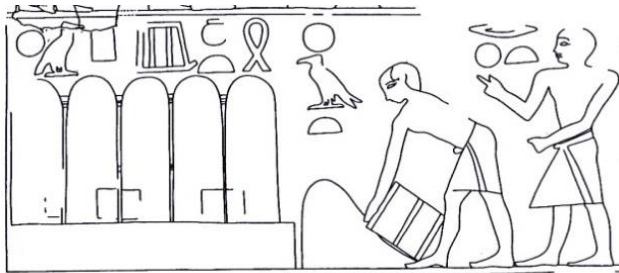


Figure 9: Measuring the grain in front of the granary (Tomb of Kayemnofret).

Figure 9 from the offering chapel of Kayemnofret shows a worker with a bucket measuring *ḥ3.t* (WB III, 223.4), grain in front of a row of cylindrical silos, *šnw.t ph3* – the ‘granary of grain’, (WB IV, 510.1 and WB I, 542.8) on a raised pedestal or behind a small wall in front of them. A supervisor, *ir.y-ḥ.t* (WB I, 104.1) is attending the work.

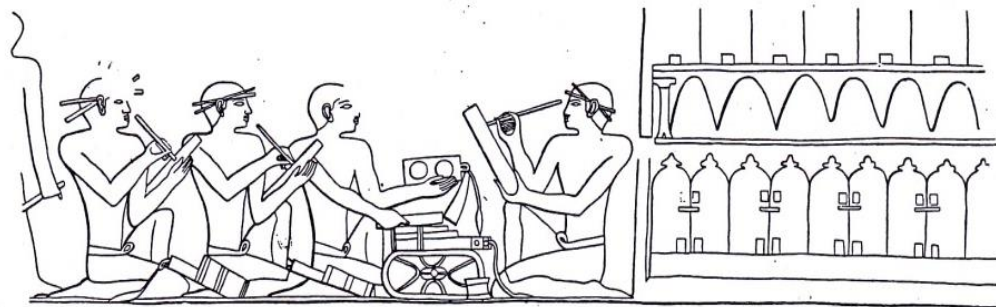


Figure 10: Scribes attending their business in front of a granary (Tomb of Kamerhu).

Figure 10 shows a more complicated construction of a granary. Two rows of cylindrical silos are shown within a courtyard surrounded by a wall. Between the rows of silos heaps of products are shown. In front of the granary some scribes are attending their business. The scribes give the impression that they are working in the open air.

In Figure 11 we see in the lower register again a group of workers emptying their sacks with grain into the top of a silo. Three workers arrive at the granary with a sack on their head, another worker stands on a raised foothold and takes the sacks over. To the right of this scene two scribes are sitting in a pillared hall busy with their scribal activities.

In the mastabas of the Memphitic region where these kinds of scenes can be found they are appearing mainly as single elements. In an exceptional case the elements have been combined or placed at a close distance of each other.<sup>190</sup> In the Sixth Dynasty a preference is shown for depicting the granary, composed of the above described elements – silos, heaps and pillared hall – in the burial

<sup>190</sup> We have to realize that within the Memphitic region as deduced from the data in the MastaBase within the 337 tombs available in this database only twenty four (24) tombs contain scenes dealing with storage in general, of which storage in silos and forming small heaps of grain and fruits form even a smaller part.

chamber of the mastaba, see Figure 12.<sup>191</sup> Five cylindrical silos are arranged besides a hall with at least two pillars. The granary complex can be entered through a door which is shown at the right. The complex is situated within a walled construction. Within the compound also twelve heaps of respective products are shown. From a table in the book of A. Dodson and S. Ikram it can be deduced that not every burial chamber was decorated with a granary.<sup>192</sup>

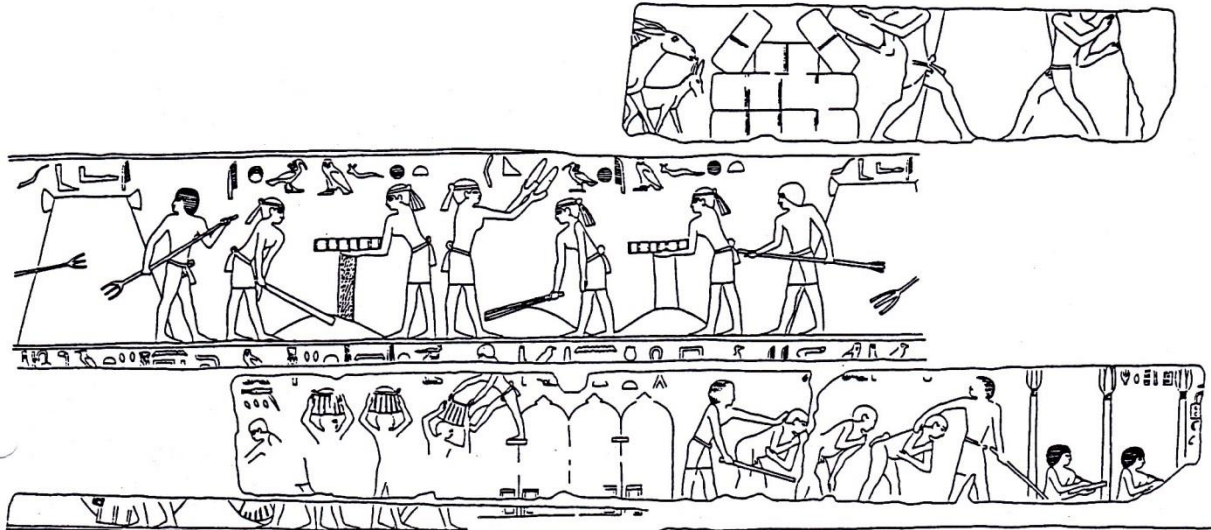


Figure 11: Workers filling silos and scribes in a pillared hall.

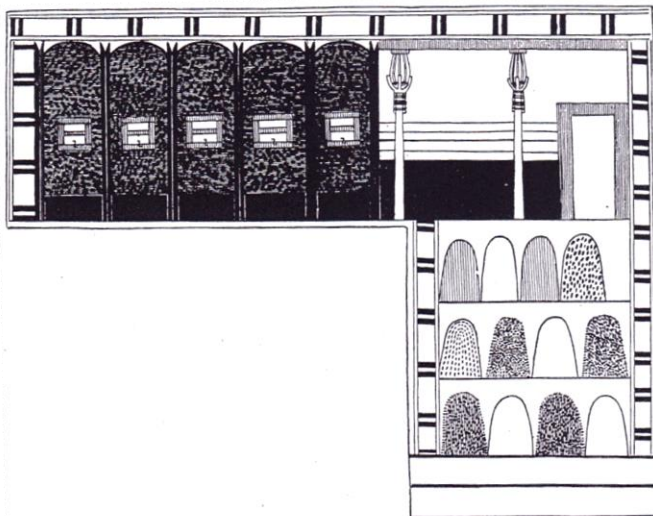


Figure 12: Granary in the burial chamber of the tomb of Degem at Saqqara.

<sup>191</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux*, 120, fig. 136. The number of tombs available with a depiction in the burial or sarcophagus room is insubstantial compared with the number of tombs in the Memphitic region, 32 versus 382. Nineteen tombs not included within the LMP MastaBase originate from a table in A. Dodson and S. Ikram, *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt: Royal and Private Sepulchres from the Early Dynastic Period to the Romans* (London, 2008), 183–5.

<sup>192</sup> Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb*, 183–5, Table; the description learns that only 25 burial chambers out of 67 contain a depiction of a granary.

H. Willems<sup>193</sup> and E. Meyer-Dietrich<sup>194</sup> in his follow state that the location of the granary at the foot of the Middle Kingdom coffins is borrowed from its location in the sarcophagus or burial chamber where the granary “always” would be depicted on the south wall. However, when we make an analysis of the orientation of the granary using the data of the LMP<sup>195</sup> for the Memphitic region and the above mentioned table in the work of A. Dodson and S. Ikram<sup>196</sup> it appears that the south wall in the burial chamber shows clearly a preference with 59 % in sixteen out of twenty seven tombs, while the other walls, north, east and west each score 7.5 %. For 18.5 %, five tombs, the exact orientation stays unknown.

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<sup>193</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 209.

<sup>194</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil*, 132.

<sup>195</sup> LMP: Van Walsem, *MastaBase*.

<sup>196</sup> Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb*, 183–5, Table.

## 5 Coffin Text Spell 173

### 5.1 General remarks

Table 5, p. 33 presents an overview of the coffins which show besides a granary on the foot also Coffin Texts.<sup>197</sup> The selection is based on the photographic archive of A. de Buck.<sup>198</sup> This collection contains amongst a number of other items, such as papyri and ostraca, 136 coffins provided with Coffin Texts. Among these 136 coffins, only half of them (68) have their foot still available. Of these sixty eight coffins fifty two have text present on the foot. The remaining sixteen coffins are not provided with any Coffin Texts, while eight coffins are provided with the depiction of a granary. The same selection of sixty eight coffins comprises thirty eight coffins with a granary depicted on the foot of which thirty coffins have also Coffin Texts available. These thirty coffins (with a granary and Coffin Texts) are shown in Table 5 with an indication of the spells which can be found on them. The table does not show these spells in the order as they are depicted on the respective foot.<sup>199</sup> The table shows clearly that not two coffins are identical concerning the layout of the foot. The number of spells on the foot can vary between one (1) and a maximum of twenty five. In the latter case only parts of the respective spells have been put on display. It appears that 132 different spells have been used on the foot of these thirty coffins. Ninety nine of these spells are used only once, twenty seven just two times and six three times. It would be difficult to argue that the foot of the coffin has a fixed spell to combine with the depicted granary. The table shows that the coffin with siglum B3C (Cairo, CG 28085), the inner coffin of Sathedjhotep, originating from Dayr al-Barshā is provided with just one (1) spell, viz. CT 173. In the collection of De Buck and the corresponding overview of Lesko this spell occurs only three times.<sup>200</sup> In coffin B1C (Cairo, CG 28083) the spell can be found on the front and in B2L (BM 30839) on the back. In B3C part of the spell, ECT III, 47a–55b, is presented on the foot, the remainder of this spell, ECT III, 55b–59c, forms the first lines on the head of the coffin.

### 5.2 Translation and interpretation of spell CT 173 (ECT III 47a–59c)

#### 5.2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a translation of spell CT 173, in principle based on the translations of R.O. Faulkner and P. Barguet.<sup>201</sup> It is Barguet who places this spell in his general chapter on “*Les dangers de l’au-delà et leur esquive*” and within this section in a chapter about “*L’alimentation du mort*”.<sup>202</sup> Also use will be made from the work of C. Carrier, where a transliteration of the text is given.<sup>203</sup> The translations of Barguet and Carrier follow as much as possible the version of the spell found on B1C (Cairo CG 28083).

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<sup>197</sup> See also Table 2, p. 17 and n. 120, p. 18.

<sup>198</sup> Egberts, *GM* 60, 9–12.

<sup>199</sup> For an indication of the order of the available spells on the foot see L.H. Lesko, *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents* (Berkeley, 1979).

<sup>200</sup> De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts III*, 47–59; Lesko, *Index*, 23, 25, 40.

<sup>201</sup> Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, 147–50; P. Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1986), 378–81.

<sup>202</sup> Barguet, *Textes*, 373.

<sup>203</sup> C. Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire égyptien, Tome I: spells [1] à [354]* (Paris, 2004), 426–33.





Furthermore, some translations exist which have been consulted when in doubt about the version provided by Faulkner.<sup>204</sup>

It is not the intention to present a translation of the text of my own but I just follow as much as possible the existing translations. The problems which can arise from comparing the different editions lie in the fact that the Egyptian “editors” have been switching between personal pronouns, mostly the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular, and the name of the coffin owner, N. *pn*. By this probably quite automatic change, the word-order does no longer fit with “our” rules of Egyptian syntax.<sup>205</sup> In the translation we can exchange N., this N. and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns by the name of Sathedjhotep.

## 5.2.2 Translation

(III, 47a) **NOT TO EAT FAECES AND (b) NOT TO DRINK [URINE] IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD.**

- (c) What N. detests is what N. detests<sup>206</sup>, (d) this N. will not eat (it).  
(e) Faeces are the abomination of [this] N., (f) and this N. will not eat it.  
(g) Filth<sup>207</sup> shall not enter this mouth of this N., (h) and this N. [will not eat it] with her mouth, (i) this N. will not touch it with her fingers, (j) this N. [will not tread] on it with her toes, (k) because this N. will not eat [faeces] for you<sup>208</sup>, (III, 48a) this N. [will not drink] urine for you, (b) this N. will not go [upside down] for you, (c) this N. will not accept this mat of Shesmetet<sup>209</sup> for you; (d) because [this N.] will not eat for [you] this filth which issued from the hinder parts of Osiris.
- (e) ‘Eat!’ say they<sup>210</sup> to this N.  
(f) ‘This N. [will not eat for you].’  
(g) ‘Why?’  
(h) ‘Because this N. is shod (III 49,a) with [these] sandals of [Sokar].’  
(b) ‘[Eat!] say they to this N.  
(c) ‘This N will not eat for you.’  
(d) ‘Why?’[ say they to] this N.  
(e) ‘Because that staff which separated sky and earth is in the hand of this N.’  
(f) [‘Eat!’ say they to] this N.  
(g) ‘This N will not eat for you.’  
(h) ‘Why?’ say they to this N.  
(i) ‘Because that support<sup>211</sup> [which is in the acacia] prevents her (III, 50a) the eating of that filth which is issued from the hinder parts of Osiris.’<sup>212</sup>

<sup>204</sup> J. Zandee, ‘Egyptian Funerary Ritual: Coffin Texts, Spell 173’, *BiOr* 41 (1984), 5–33; D. Topmann, *Die >>Abscheu<<-Sprüche der altägyptischen Sargtexte: Untersuchungen zu Textemen und Dialogstrukturen* (GOF 39; Wiesbaden, 2002), 169–74; H. Grapow, ‘Eine alte Version von Totenbuch Kapitel 51–53’, *ZÄS* 47 (1910), 100–11.

<sup>205</sup> De Buck, *JEA* 35, 89.

<sup>206</sup> Where the translation of Faulkner speaks of “I” (the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular) on the coffins B1C and B2L, on coffin B3C we find “this N”. Faulkner translates: “What I doubly detest”, while the nominal clause reads literally: “The abomination of N is the abomination of N”.

<sup>207</sup> *htp-k3*, “satisfaction of the Ka” is generally considered to be a euphemism for “filth”. See: *Wb* III, 195.1

<sup>208</sup> *n=tn*, “You”, pluralis.

<sup>209</sup> The meaning of this expression is unknown, but probably connected with one of the manifestations of the Goddess Sekhmet. See: H. Bonnet, ‘Schesehtet’, *RÄRG*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin, 1971), 679.

<sup>210</sup> The participants in the dialogue, which appear to be the Gods in III, 50b.

<sup>211</sup> Faulkner indicates that the word *tw3w* is used only here, and that his translation is deduced from the context, see: Faulkner, *Coffin Texts I*, 149, n. 7. The translation ‘support’ is taken from Barguet, *Textes*, 379. This translation is also given by D. van der Plas and J.F. Borghouts, *Coffin Texts Word Index* (Utrecht, 1998), 304.

<sup>212</sup> The translation of Faulkner which is mainly based on the text of coffin B1C or B2L offers here two sentences. In the first sentence he reads *hsf.n=i* as a *sdm.n=f* construction. The object of this sentence is then *tw3w pw*. The second sentence starts in accordance with the earlier sentences with an imperative, *wmm*, “Eat!”. The text

- (b) ‘What can you live on?’ (c) say they, these gods to this N.  
 (d) –<sup>213</sup> (e) ‘in this land to which this N. has come.’  
 (f) ‘This N. eats of bread of white emmer’<sup>214</sup>,  
 (g–h)<sup>215</sup>,  
 (B1C and B2L, g) ‘I drink of beer of red emmer’  
 (h) ‘What is then this bread of white emmer?’  
 (III, 51a) ‘What is then (this) beer [of red emmer]?’  
 (b) ‘What (else) can you live on?’  
 (c) ‘Because seven portions are in [this land, to which this N. has come]<sup>216</sup>,  
 (d) four portions above with Re (e) and three portions below with Geb.’  
 (f) ‘He who has granted to you [to eat; where] is he?’<sup>217</sup>  
 (g) ‘In the booths under the *im3*-tree of *Itnw(s)* in her presence of her Horus-*Itnw*<sup>218</sup>.  
 (III, 52a) Because this N. has entered into flame-*wts.t*,  
 (b) and this N. has gone forth from *st.t* (Sehel),  
 (c) driving the two she-asses of Shu.  
 (d) To this N. has been given her father, her mother, her brethren, her fellow-townsmen, her complete [family];  
 (e) because there is a protector for this N. as far as Elephantine<sup>219</sup> and at [every] place where N. wishes to be (f) and where this N. can sit down.’

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on B3C gives another, more preferable solution for this text. By writing *hsf.n n=s tw3w pw - - -*, we obtain a dative construction with *tw3w* as subject. The object is then formed by the second sentence with *wmm* as an infinitive. This is in agreement with the respective translations of Barguet (*op. cit.* p. 379) and Zandee (*op. cit.* p. 6) for this sentence.

<sup>213</sup> B1C continues with: ‘What have you come to eat?’, while B2L and B3C leave out (part of) the question and give only: ‘in this land to which you have come.’

<sup>214</sup> *t n bd.t hq.t*

<sup>215</sup> Only on B1C and B2L: (g) ‘I drink of beer of red emmer.’ (h) *sy r=f t n(y) bd.t hq.t*, Faulkner reads here the verb *sy* and translates it as: “Bread of white emmer will perish”, while Barguet reads it as an interrogative noun followed by an enclitic particle: “De quel donc pain de blé blanc, - - - - , vivras-tu?” But he combines it with the question in the next sentence (III, 51b): *nh=k ir=f m-i3st*: “De quoi vivras-tu?” Carrier sees it as two separated sentences, see: Carrier, *Textes I*, 428–9.

<sup>216</sup> Faulkner (*op. cit.* p. 148) has an alternative reading for *hr-ntt h.wt 7 m t3 pn ii n(=i) r=f h.wt 4 - - - -*, “Because seven portions are in this land, there come to me four portions - - - -”. However, a relative form *ii.n=i* should here be red with *r=f* as the resumption.

<sup>217</sup> This is the translation of Faulkner (*op. cit.* p. 148) and Zandee (*op. cit.* p. 6) of *rd n=k wmm=k ir=f tn sw*. Topmann (*op. cit.* p. 172–3) reads: *rdi n=k wmm=k ir=f tni {sw}*, “Wo lässt man dich essen?”. The translation of Faulkner and Zandee is conform the explanation of J. Borghouts, ‘Prominence constructions and pragmatic functions’, in G. Englund and P.J. Frandsen (eds), *Crossroad: chaos or the beginning of a new paradigm* (CNI 1; Helsingør, 1986), 57, (46). For a somewhat extended discussion see Topmann, (*op. cit.* p. 102, Exkurs). Grapow (*op. cit.* p. 107) proposes that *wmm=i* is left out and that *sw* should be read as *st*, so that the sentence becomes the answer on the question: “Wo lässt man dich essen?. [Ich esse] es (?) in den Lauben unter - - - -”. The whole discussion depends also on the question who is the subject in the next sentence, the one who gives access to the eating or the tomb owner.

<sup>218</sup> Reference made to Hathor, often qualified as Khentet-Itenous, see Barguet, *Textes*, 380, n. 15. Faulkner (*op. cit.* p. 148) translates “in the presence of *shr* who makes (men) subordinate (?)” (*r-gs shr ssiitnw*), while Zandee (*op. cit.* p. 6) comes to about the same solution (*r-gs shr ss itnw*), but gives no translation. Topmann (*op. cit.* p. 173), Carrier (*op. cit.* p. 428–9) and Barguet (*op. cit.* p. 380), read (*r-gs=s hr=s {s} itnw*), “neben ihrem Horus *s:itn.w*”, or “auprès d’elle (et) de son Horus-Itchenou”, respectively. Preferable seems the solution of Grapow (*op. cit.* p. 107, 44a) who argues that one should read: “an ihrer (der Göttin) Seite, wie Horus, der *Itnw*”.

<sup>219</sup> Can be read as *3bdw*, Abydos as is done by Carrier (*op. cit.* p. 428) and Topmann (*op. cit.* p. 173). Although reading Elephantine seems preferable to the fact that Elephantine was the southern border of Egypt from where the tomb owner encountered protection.

(III, 53a) She is the bull, [the old one of Kenzet]  
 (b) in charge of the five portions in this temple;  
 (c) five portions are above with Re, (d) and five portions [are below with Osiris].  
 (e) The two sacred doors are opened for this N.,<sup>220</sup>  
 (f) [the two doors of Kenzet] are opened for her,  
 (B1C and B2L, g–j)<sup>221</sup>  
 (k) in front of the Great Egret,<sup>222</sup>  
 (III, 54a), and the one who opens up ways (Wepwaut), who went from the top of the *s3r.t*-plant.<sup>223</sup>

(b) This N. [washes] herself, (c) she cleanses her mouth, (d) (so that) her teeth are sharpened<sup>224</sup>!  
 (e) Faeces stand in awe of this N. (f) and urine stands at a respectful distance of her,<sup>225</sup>  
 (g) just as the two who cross the sky<sup>226</sup> abhor [death (*sp sn*)!]<sup>227</sup>

(h) ‘O you two who cross] the sky, take this N. with you,  
 (III, 55a) that [this N.] may eat of what you eat, (b) and that this N. may drink<sup>228</sup> of what you drink,  
 (c) that this N. may travel through the sky, (d) that this N. may travel to and fro in Nut.’  
 (e) ‘The booth of this N. is in the Field of Rushes,<sup>229</sup> (f) my plenty is in the Field of Offerings,<sup>230</sup>  
 (g) this N. supports the sky with her horns, (h) she toes the earth with her sandal(s).’

(III, 56a) This N. is the Double Lion<sup>231</sup>, older than Atum, (b) this N. takes her seat which is in the deserts and which is in Akh-bit.<sup>232</sup>

<sup>220</sup> Barguet (*op. cit.* p. 380) and Carrier (*op. cit.* p. 428–9) read here a conditional clause in which the tomb owner is the subject, *wn.n=i* as on B1C and B2L, who opens the doors. Zandee (*op. cit.* p. 6) and Faulkner (*op. cit.* p. 148) interpret the sentence as a passive with a dative construction, *wn n=i*, which seems correct to me. On B3C, however, the text reads *wn.n* (the determinative following the double *n*) *N. tn 3.wy dsr.wy sn n=s* (the determinative between the double *n*) so, that *N. tn* becomes the subject of the sentence. “(If) this N. opens the sacred doors and (when) the two doors of Kenzet are opened for her, (then) - - - -”.

<sup>221</sup> This text is missing in B3C. The text reads, starting at (e) “The sacred doors are opened to me, the doors of Kenzet are thrown open for me, my messenger appears, Thoth is on high, the spirits are awake, those who are in Kenzet roar - - - -”.

<sup>222</sup> *Wb* IV, 365.14, *sd3 wr*, “the great bittern (heron, egret)”, an epithet for Toth. Based upon this epithet Zandee (*op. cit.* p. 17, n. 53g), proposes to read instead of *wpw.ty*, ‘the messenger’, *wpw.w*, ‘the judge’, because Toth is acting as judge in the battle between Horus and Seth. B1C writes *wpw.t* and B2L *wpw.t*, the first with the walking legs determinative.

<sup>223</sup> The *s3r.t* plant, which following *Wb* III, 422.5 is an unknown plant, but probably a corruption of *isr.t* and thus translated as tamarisk.

<sup>224</sup> This sentence is by Faulkner considered as a main sentence while Barguet treats it as a subjunctive clause.

<sup>225</sup> The translation follows here the interpretation of P.J. Frandsen, ‘*Bwt* in the Body’, in H. Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms* (OLA 103; Leuven, 2001), 151. The three versions on the respective coffins have a somewhat different interpretation of the text. B1C: *mk wi hs twr wi wsš.t*; B2L: *mk w(i) hs twr wi wsš.t*; B3C: *mk N tn hs twr=s wsš.t*. The problem arises from the interpretation of the dependent pronoun and noun following the verb forms *mk* and *twr* in the respective versions on B1C and B3C. A solution is offered by H.M. Hays, ‘Transformation of context: The Field of Rushes in Old and Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature’, in S. Bickel and B. Mathieu (eds), *D’un monde à l’autre Textes des Pyramides & Textes des Sarcophages* (3<sup>e</sup> éd; Le Caire, 2013), 192, n.127: *mk.w=i hs; twr.w wsš.t* ‘I am protected, O excrement, even with urine being rejected’.

<sup>226</sup> Barguet refers to the sun and the moon, for Re and Toth, respectively; see: Barguet, *Textes*, 380, n. 18.

<sup>227</sup> Faulkner gives as a translation: “like those detestable ones who cross the sky dead, dead.”

<sup>228</sup> Here ends the text on the foot, to continue at the head, where part of the sentence is repeated: “and that this N may drink - - - -”.

<sup>229</sup> *sh.t i3rw*.

<sup>230</sup> *sh.t htp.wt*.

<sup>231</sup> *rw.ty*.

<sup>232</sup> Chemmis, the place where the god Horus was born.

(c) This N. has taken possession of the Powers and their courts<sup>233</sup>, (d)<sup>234</sup> this N. has led the Ones who are in their booths, (e) this N. has taken possession of the Ones who are in their Caverns.  
 (f) This N. has made the circlings of the *hnhnw*-bark (g) which has led this N. on the ways of Khepri.  
 (III, 57a) This N. stands on the Bark of Khepri. (b) This N. controls the two crews of Atum in the evening<sup>235</sup> (c) on the day when the God [recites] his words in power.<sup>236</sup> (d) This N. causes his word to enter the “One who is narrow of throat”.<sup>237</sup>

(e) This N. opens her mouth, she eats from life, (g) she lives from air, (h) this N. will live again hereafter.  
 (i) Faeces are the abomination of this N., (j) she will not eat it, (III, 58a) she will not drink urine.  
 (b) This N. will live after Aker. (c) This N. is the one who protects the son of the “One who is in control”<sup>238</sup> (d) the son of the Great God.  
 (e) Efflux is the abomination of N., (f) she will not eat it; (g) this N. has eaten of the tree of dates<sup>239</sup> of “Who is in his shrine”, (h) and on whom the followers of Re live.

(III, 59a) ‘Be off from this N.!’<sup>240</sup>

(b) ‘Who are you then, this N.?’

(c) ‘This N. is Horus, who is <on> his high perch’.

### 5.2.3 Interpretation

Spell CT 173 belongs to a group of about sixty spells, classified as ‘abomination’ spells.<sup>241</sup> The spells of this group are often placed in pairs or small groups, such as e.g. CT 173 combined with CT 174 which occur as a pair on the coffins B1C, B2L and B3C.<sup>242</sup> Zandee supposes that this spell is composed from elements already appearing in a number of other spells between the PT as well as the CT.<sup>243</sup> In accordance to Grapow he argues that the end of the spell is composed from elements from the Book of the Dead!<sup>244</sup> Based on the latter, one can also argue that elements from spell CT 173 have been applied both in a number of other spells and the Book of the Dead.

<sup>233</sup> B1C and B2L have additionally: “on the ways of the Bark of Khepri”. Moreover, Barguet (*op. cit.* p. 380) reads here a conditional clause.

<sup>234</sup> From here to III, 57a only present on B3C.

<sup>235</sup> *mšrw*: evening, the time when the sun sets.

<sup>236</sup> *m hrp.w*, written without a God-determinative. So, the translation “in power” as Faulkner does, is preferable above “parmi les Puissants” as Barguet (*op. cit.* p. 381) wants to read.

<sup>237</sup> The “One who is narrow of throat”, the one who is gasping for breath, *g3(w) hty.t*, Osiris (?)/ the dead!

<sup>238</sup> *snhn.w*: Faulkner (*op. cit.* p. 149) translates as “the One who is in control”, while Barguet (*op. cit.* p. 381) reads it as “the One who rejuvenates”.

<sup>239</sup> *wmm.n N tn m ht n bnr - - -*: Faulkner (*op. cit.* p. 149): “This N. has eaten of Him who is in charge of dates”; Barguet (*op. cit.* p. 381): “This N. will eat of the tree with dates”. On B1C *m ht* is written with the walking legs determinative, so there is no obvious reason to translate *ht* as “tree”. Although for the other coffins it is possible to translate it as the “tree of dates”, see the arguments of Zandee (*op. cit.* p. 30).

<sup>240</sup> B3C has the plural *hr.tywny*: “Be far from this N.”, as if the gods were being told to depart, see Faulkner, *Coffin Texts I*, 150, n. 24. The other coffins have *hr t(w) dd.n=i r=i*, which Faulkner (*op. cit.* p. 149) wants to read as: *hr t(w) dd=sn r=i*, “Be off! say they to me”. Barguet (*op. cit.* p. 381), however, reads it as “Be off, you! I said with regard to me.” The given translation is according to Zandee (*op. cit.* p. 32).

<sup>241</sup> Topmann, *Sprüche 2*, Abb. 1.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>243</sup> Zandee, *BiOr* 41, 33. He mentions: ECT III, 47a–52f ≡ CT 199; 53a–55f ≡ PT §121b–d, PT §126–130b. CT 205, CT 210 (most probably not correct, may be CT 220); 56a–58h ≡ CT 143, CT 153, CT 423, CT 438; BD 3, 38A and 38B.

<sup>244</sup> Grapow, *ZÄS* 47, 100.

Spell CT 173 starts with a title (ECT III, 47a–b) in which two subthemes are given, expressing the abomination, *viz.* not eating faeces and not drinking urine. The title is followed by an expression, a colophon (ECT III, 47c–48d) of the tomb owner in which she (Sathedjhotep) clarifies what she detests and that she will not eat, drink or even touch what she considers as ‘filth’. The filth itself is formulated in a euphemism, *htp-k3*, “what the Ka satisfies”. To the two themes already appearing in the title she adds a third one, which is often found in combination with the first two, *viz.* not going upside down. The idea of ‘not going upside down’ has been elaborated by J. Zandee in his concept of ‘the world reversed’.<sup>245</sup> The realm of the dead should be lying on the underside of the world of the living, and as a consequence they should walk there with their feet against the ceiling. The strange idea then is that they by walking in this position would be touching excrements with their mouth, suggesting that the excrements float in air. However, their fear is that they will touch it with their hands and feet. Furthermore, it is suggested that in the upside down position the mouth will act as the anus.<sup>246</sup> The idea would be based on some passages in the Coffin Texts and the Book of Gates.<sup>247</sup> The passages meant declare that excrements are eaten by a demon, a mummy-form guardian and the ‘executioner of Osiris’. But, as G. Kadish correctly formulates, “they are not the deceased or ‘stand-ins’ for the deceased”.<sup>248</sup> Following H. Kees, the tomb owner fears to be excluded from regular food supply and that he has to eat his own excrements.<sup>249</sup> D. Müller argues that there is absolute no reason that the Egyptians took this concept literally.<sup>250</sup> The creatures who try to convince the tomb owner that he or she has to consume excrements and urine hope that he or she will lose his or her ritual purity. If the tomb owner can resist the challenge, he or she will not die a second death but reach the Fields of Reeds.<sup>251</sup> A better understanding of this detestation for excrements and urine seems to be the fear for becoming impure by touching them in one way or another. Kadish<sup>252</sup> in his turn explains the concept of abomination of filth, excrements and urine by introducing some ideas from the work of M. Douglas.<sup>253</sup> “*Dirt offends against order. Eliminating it is not - - - -, but a positive effort to organize the environment*”.<sup>254</sup> Kadish argues that we are not just dealing with ritual purity by avoiding the eating of filth and going upside down, as thought by Zandee and Müller, but with the concern of the Egyptians for *m3<sup>c</sup>.t*, order, unity, balance, and in that same way the detestation for disorder, disunity.<sup>255</sup> In his research on *bw.t* P.J. Frandsen comes to the same conclusions that the tomb owner in his ‘liminal’ phase is tested if he is able to discern *m3<sup>c</sup>.t* from *isf.t*. He will die a second death by “*violating a bw.t, - - - which defines all that is not m3<sup>c</sup>.t.*”<sup>256</sup> Not only in the life of the living but also in the life of the dead this order should be maintained. In this light we can see the dialogue which follows in spell CT 173 where Sathedjhotep has to convince her questioners that she will adhere to the rules of order and purity, and that she is in the possession of the correct knowledge which earns her a place in the Hereafter.<sup>257</sup> In a dialogue (ECT III, 48e–52f) the questioners (some gods as appears in ECT III, 50b) ask her why she does not want to eat excrements. Sathedjhotep answers these questions with denying that she wants to eat and puts forward that she is in possession of some symbols of power which will help her: (i) the sandals of Sokar, which will make

<sup>245</sup> J. Zandee, *Death as an enemy: according to ancient Egyptian conceptions* (Leiden, 1960), 73–9.

<sup>246</sup> Zandee, *Death*, 77.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>248</sup> G.E. Kadish, ‘The scatophagus Egyptian (1)’, *JSSEA* 9 (1979), 207.

<sup>249</sup> H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter. Grundlagen und Entwicklung bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches* (Fünfte Auflage; Berlin, 1983), 199–200.

<sup>250</sup> D. Müller, ‘An early Egyptian guide to the Hereafter’, *JEA* 58 (1972), 120–1.

<sup>251</sup> Müller, *JEA* 58, 119–21.

<sup>252</sup> Kadish, *JSSEA* 9, 203–17.

<sup>253</sup> M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger. An analysis of concept of pollution and taboo* (New York, 2002).

<sup>254</sup> Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 2.

<sup>255</sup> Kadish, *JSSEA* 9, 214.

<sup>256</sup> Frandsen, in Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects*, 166–7.

<sup>257</sup> P.J. Frandsen, ‘On the fear of death and the three bwts connected with Hathor’, in E. Teeter and J.A. Larson (eds), *Gold of Praise. Studies of Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (SAOC 58; Chicago, 1991), 139–40.

able that she can move freely in the Hereafter. Moreover, they symbolise purity obtained by a ritual cleansing and they protect her against attacks by demons who try to force her to eat filth.<sup>258</sup> (ii) A staff which separates sky and earth. Probably the *d<sup>c</sup>m* staff which as a powerful object once separated the sky and the earth.<sup>259</sup> Being in the possession of this staff she can threaten the questioners and show that she is divine. (iii) The support from the acacia.

The gods change their direction of questioning by not longer pointing to the eating of excrements but by wondering what else she then thinks to eat. Sathedjhotep declares that her provision of food has a cosmic origin, which consists of bread of white emmer and beer of red emmer. Once again for confirmation she is asked about the bread she thinks to eat and the beer she thinks to drink. Sathedjhotep declares that she wants to participate in the offerings which have been given to the gods in their temples, taking part in the return of offering.<sup>260</sup> Offerings which have been given to the gods of heaven, *viz.* Re and the gods of the earth, *viz.* Geb. Topmann describes extensively the number of portions (*ih.t*), the gods involved and their places.<sup>261</sup> Moreover, by declaring that she, Sathedjhotep, can have part in food of the ones who live in the realm of the dead, she has the right to be “one of them”.<sup>262</sup>

The next question has caused some discussion in the literature<sup>263</sup> on its meaning, also in view of parallel texts in other similar spells, e.g. spell CT 192 (ECT III, 108a), “Where would you eat (it)?”<sup>264</sup> The place she then indicates is described as ‘in the booth under the *im3*-tree of *itnw=s*’. If we consider the *im3*-tree as a tree dedicated to Hathor, as indicated in spell CT 164 (ECT III, 1e) and *itnw=s* as a reference to Hathor<sup>265</sup>, then we can picture ourselves Sathedjhotep as sitting in a pavilion under a tree, a not uncommon depiction of the dead in the Hereafter. Sathedjhotep is compared with Horus of *itnw=s*, who is in the presence of Hathor. The reason that she is allowed to reside under this tree in the protection of a goddess (Hathor) she demonstrates by making some statements. Following Zandee the statements, entering the flame and going forth from Sehel, refer to the free movement of the deceased.<sup>266</sup> More probably a reference is made to the goddess Sekhmet or Hathor in her more vengeful aspect, both seen as the Eye of Re, which in its turn is compared with the fire spitting uraeus-snake.<sup>267</sup> That she comes forth from the south, from Sehel, in the meantime driving the she-asses of Shu is due to its problems left out in interpretations of this spell. The asses of Shu are explained as representing demons or even Seth, which are dangerous for the tomb owner.<sup>268</sup> Or do we have to see here a reference to the fertility of the Nile inundation which is coming from the south, starting at Sehel, the border of Egypt? And are the she-asses of Shu the donkeys depicted in mastaba scenes treading the seed in a ploughed field? A clear reference to Seth, the Lord of the Northern sky is made in spell CT 203, who is responsible for treading in the seed.<sup>269</sup> In this agricultural setting it is important that Sathedjhotep can make use of her family to

<sup>258</sup> Schwarz, *ZÄS* 123, 75.

<sup>259</sup> J.K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the vocabulary of ancient Egypt. The term DSR with special reference to Dynasties I–XX* (OBO 59; Freiburg/Göttingen, 1985), 81–3.

<sup>260</sup> H. Altenmüller, ‘Opferumlauf’, in W. Helck und E. Otto (eds), *LÄ IV* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 596–7.

<sup>261</sup> Topmann, *Sprüche*, 78–80.

<sup>262</sup> Frandsen, in Teeter and Larson (eds), *Gold of Praise*, 139.

<sup>263</sup> Topmann, *Sprüche*, 101–3; Zandee, *BiOr* 41, 12–3. See also above, n. 217, p. 35.

<sup>264</sup> *wmm=k (st) ir=f tni*

<sup>265</sup> D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique: Égypte Ancienne I* (Paris, 1980), 77.504; Chr. Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen VIII* (OLA 129; Leuven, 2003), 358, *hnt.yt itnw=s*, “Die Vorsteherin von Itnw=s”, an epitheton of Hathor.

<sup>266</sup> Zandee, *BiOr* 41, 14.

<sup>267</sup> B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 130–6.

<sup>268</sup> Zandee, *BiOr* 41, 14; J.F. Borghouts, ‘The magical texts of papyrus Leiden I 348’, *OMRO* 51( 1971), 144–5.

<sup>269</sup> Faulkner, *Coffin Texts I*, 164–5.

sustain her with food in her afterlife.<sup>270</sup> Her freedom of movement as a *b3*-soul is further stated by the fact that she encounters protection or awe in the whole country, in fact everywhere she wants to reside. With these statements of Sathedjhotep her questioning has come to an end.

Sathedjhotep proceeds now by strengthening her position by putting forward some declarations. She identifies herself with a mythological bull (ECT III, 53a), the oldest bull of Kenzet. The bull of Kenzet, one of the bulls responsible for fertility like the bull of Heliopolis, “le Taureau Solaire” who provides portions of food (ECT III, 53b–c).<sup>271</sup> Kenzet refers to some celestial region and its inhabitants or to a south east region where the sun is rising and which plays a role in the myth of Hathor as Eye of Re, the “far goddess”.<sup>272</sup> As a place where the sun rises in the morning, the place is closed by doors which have to be opened to give Re and in his follow Sathedjhotep, access to the world of the living.<sup>273</sup> But, before she can take part in the food offerings and can accompany Re and Toth in their bark she has to be sure to be clean by going through a ritual of cleansing (ECT III, 54b–d).

Sathedjhotep appeals then to the two gods, Re and Toth (ECT III, 54h–55d) that they let her accompany them, and that she can have part in their food, because she has declared herself being on the same level as Re and Toth in the abomination of excrements and death (ECT III, 54e–g). Among the goals Sathedjhotep is striving after is receiving a place in the Field of Rushes (*sh.t i3rw*) and the Field of Offerings (*sh.t htp/htp.wt*), regions of plenty and abundance. The latter is more commonly described in a number of spells as the Field of Hetep, a god with whom the deceased will identify himself.<sup>274</sup> In these spells a description (CT 466) can be found of a plan on which the districts, cities, lakes and isles are situated. The activities of the deceased in these fields are extensively described in CT 467, travelling around, ploughing, reaping, making love and resting. The colophon of the specific spell summarises his blessings of being in the Field of Hetep.<sup>275</sup> H. Hays argues that the meaning of the Field of Rushes has quite extensively changed since the Old Kingdom.<sup>276</sup> The meaning of the term can be derived from its context to which it is inseparably connected.<sup>277</sup> In the Pyramid Texts reference is made to the term Field of Rushes as a place of purification (*w<sup>c</sup>b*).<sup>278</sup> The place of the Field of Rushes is one where the deceased is purified, a place which he has to pass before his ascent to the sky.<sup>279</sup> This in contrast to the Field of Offerings, a place of rest. Some of the texts in the Old Kingdom, however, speak about the Field of Rushes as a place of destination to which the deceased has to travel by boat.<sup>280</sup> The theme of reaching the Field of Rushes, in one way or another is often come across in the Middle Kingdom, mainly in the texts known as Coffin Texts. It now has become prominently a place of rest in contrast to the place of passage in the Old Kingdom. It would mean that also the meaning has been changed through a shift in context.<sup>281</sup> Moreover, the theme of being a place of purification has lost its prominence. New context is added in the Middle Kingdom or is becoming more prominent, e.g. the theme of the booth of the deceased being in the Field of Rushes.

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<sup>270</sup> H.D. Schneider, *Shabtis. An introduction to the history of ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes with a catalogue of the collection of shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (CNMAL 2; Leiden, 1977), 42.

<sup>271</sup> J.-L. Simonet, *Les collèges des dieux maîtres d'autel* (OrMo 7; Montpellier, 1994), 154–5.

<sup>272</sup> L.V. Žabkar, ‘Kenset’, in W. Helck und E. Otto (eds), *LÄ III* (Wiesbaden, 1980), 391–2; E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, II (AH 3; Basel, 1976), 134 (369).

<sup>273</sup> H. Brunner, ‘Die Rolle von Tür und Tor im alten Ägypten’, in W. Rollig (ed.), *Das hörende Herz: Kleine Schriften zur Religions- und Geistesgeschichte Ägyptens* (OBO 80; Göttingen, 1988), 250.

<sup>274</sup> L.H. Lesko, ‘The Field of Hetep in Egyptian Coffin Texts’, *JARCE* 9 (1971–1972), 89–102. The spells in which these fields are described belong to a group CT 464–467.

<sup>275</sup> Lesko, *JARCE* 9, 96.

<sup>276</sup> Hays, in Bickel and Mathieu (eds), *D’un monde à l’autre*<sup>3</sup>, 175–200.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*, 178 ; e.g. PT 479, 525 and 567.

<sup>279</sup> J. Leclant, ‘Earu-Gefilde’, in W. Helck und E. Otto (eds), *LÄ I* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 1156–60.

<sup>280</sup> Hays, in Bickel and Mathieu (eds), *D’un monde à l’autre*<sup>3</sup>, 188; e.g. PT 461.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.



In the Old Kingdom it occurs just once in PT 210.<sup>282</sup> In the Middle Kingdom the theme of the Field of Rushes, together with the Field of Offerings now combines more often with the theme of not eating excrement and not drinking urine, as expressed in spell CT 173. A description of the content of these texts can be considered as “*provisioning texts*”, where hunger and thirst, and the eating and drinking of filth are the opposite of an adequate supply of food and drink. Moreover, the Field of Rushes is mentioned in combination with references to eating and drinking (ECT III, 54h–55f).<sup>283</sup> So, going from the Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom the Field of Rushes has changed from a place of purification which one has to pass to a place of food provision where one wants to rest. A final statement concludes this part of the spell, in which Sathedjhotep probably refers back to being the bull of Kenzet or the Heavenly Cow. She declares that she touches the sky with her horns and the earth with her toes.

The remainder of the spell (ECT III, 56a–57d) is equivalent to spell CT 438, which has as a title “SPELL FOR LIVING AFTER DEATH”. Zandee describes quite extensively that this part of the spell has its roots in ‘solar theology’.<sup>284</sup> Sathedjhotep identifies herself with some primeval gods, the Double Lion, being Ruti, and is referring to Shu and Tefnut who were born by Atum. But, now she claims even to be older than Atum and doing so she reinforces her position between them. After identifying herself with Horus, the heir of Osiris who was born and hidden in the marshes of Akh-bit, she claims to have power over the beings in the Hereafter. She escorts Khepri in his bark and takes part in the daily travel of the sun, but also in his nightly visit of the Netherworld, where the caverns are situated. Furthermore she takes part in the resurrection of Osiris, “the One who is narrow of throat”.

In the next columns (ECT III, 57e–58h) Sathedjhotep returns to the main issue of this spell concerning on what she can live and what is her abomination. She claims that she will live after Aker, in his meaning of death.<sup>285</sup> Once again she states that she is Horus, the son of Osiris. The food she detests as the efflux is opposed to the food which comes from fruit-trees of Re. As Zandee argues, it is in line with the Field of Offerings and the Field of Rushes in foregoing lines, places where Re is responsible for growth and harvest of grain which sustains the deceased.<sup>286</sup>

The dialogue which was conducted between some gods, the questioners and Sathedjhotep is resumed and finds its conclusion in the last lines (ECT III, 59a–c). The questioners are warded off by Sathedjhotep after which they ask for the last time who she is. Finally she identifies herself with Horus, what she did already before.

With Zandee it can be said that “- - - *the main theme [of this spell CT 173] is the safeguarding of the nourishment of the deceased and the rejection of abnormal methods of digestion*”.<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> Hays, in S. Bickel and B. Mathieu (eds), *D'un monde à l'autre*<sup>3</sup>, 191.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, 195–8.

<sup>284</sup> Zandee, *BiOr* 41, 23–8.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

5.2.4 Some numbers concerning granaries, abomination spells and *sh.t-htp/sh.t-i3rw*

D. Topmann lists in her work on “>>Abscheu<<-Sprüche“ fifty eight spells which appear in the edition of A. de Buck and A. Gardiner on Coffin Texts.<sup>288</sup> These fifty eight spells deal with the abomination concerning the eating and drinking of excrements and urine, respectively and/or the walking upside down. Fifty two of them can be found in coffins and six written on papyri. If we check these spells on the occurrence of the *sh.t-htp* and/or the *sh.t-i3rw* then just ten abomination spells remain of which eight in coffins and two on papyri, see Table 6, the horizontal axis.

Table 6: Coffins with granaries versus coffins with abomination spells.

CT	Coffins								Papyri		Sum
	173	174	183	184	193	197	203	216	581	1011	
Granary	173	174	183	184	193	197	203	216	581	1011	10
S1C											0
S10C											0
M5C											0
B1C											0
B3C	√										1
B4C											0
B5C											0
B9C				√							1
B15C				√							1
B1L											0
B2L											0
B3L											0
B2P											0
B1Y											0
Sum 14	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	

The overview of Topmann contains fourteen coffins with both Coffin Texts and granaries on the foot, see Table 6, the vertical axis.<sup>289</sup> The eight abomination c.q. *sh.t* spells can be found in twenty nine coffins on one of their walls, being head, foot, front and back, respectively. If we take from this selection only the spells which have been written on the foot, just three spells remain, viz. CT 203 (T2Be), CT 173 (B3C), CT 184 (B9C and B15C), of which the last one appears in two coffins. If we then further restrict our selection to the coffins which have also a granary depicted on the foot, two spells remain in three coffins, indicated in Table 6. Spell CT 173 in the inner coffin of Sathedjhotep is one of them.

<sup>288</sup> Topmann, *Sprüche*, 10–11, Abb. 3; De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts I-VII*.

<sup>289</sup> The number of fourteen is derived from a comparison of Abb. 3 from Topmann, *Sprüche*, 10–11, and Table 5, p. 33 in this paper.

## 6 Conclusions

Although ‘some’ (or most? FS) Coffin Texts seem to have no relation with the objects depicted in the object frieze of Middle Kingdom coffins, it has been shown earlier, p. 8 ff. that at least some objects in the frieze clearly serve as vignette to the texts written below them.<sup>290</sup> It is furthermore known that some objects named in specific CT and PT appear as objects in these friezes, although they do not occur together in the same coffin.<sup>291</sup> Or that legends added to some depictions of the granary can be related to some specific spells, e.g. the products stored in the granaries or the location from where these products arrive.<sup>292</sup>

It has also been shown that, as H. Willems states, the objects of the frieze can act as “*abstract renderings of ritual acts surrounding the presentation of the tomb inventory*”.<sup>293</sup> This idea is also vented by W. Barta who shows that the object frieze has a relation with the offering list and in that way with the offering ritual.<sup>294</sup> Objects appearing in the respective lists of the “*Inventaropferliste*”, defined as the objects which should be presented only once to the tomb owner in contrast to the “*Ritualopferliste*” with objects or products which should be presented on a regular base, find their way into the object frieze of the Middle Kingdom coffins. If we agree that the objects from the “*Inventaropferliste*” find their way into the object frieze, than it is reasonable to state that the granary, depicted on the foot of MK coffins and sometimes clearly represented as an object of this frieze, is rooted in this “*Inventaropferliste*”. This seems to be confirmed by its appearance in the “*Inventaropferliste*” of Fourth Dynasty slab stelae in the form of small granaries with legends concerning their content.<sup>295</sup> The fact that the granaries do not occur always in the “*Inventaropferliste*” of the slab stelae as well as object of the frieze in MK coffins, makes clear that the granary does not belong to the so-called ‘*indispensable*’ items or themes, for which the tomb owner had no freedom of choice concerning its content.<sup>296</sup> The granary, as a representation of eternal access to food, should also find its origin, or maybe its ‘second’ meaning in the “*Speisungsritual*” as stated by H. Willems and W. Barta, to make clear that there exists a relation between the head and the foot of a coffin with the beginning and the end of a specific ritual.<sup>297</sup> As the “*Speisungsritual*” is a regularly thought event, one would expect that the provision of food and drink are part of supplies necessary to ensure the material provision of the tomb owner for eternity and in that way as an ‘*indispensable*’ item, which could not be left out of the decoration program. But still, there appear to be a lot of MK coffins without the depiction of a granary. So, then there should be other means for the tomb owner to ensure the eternal provision of food, such as probably the offering formula or the offering table itself. But, if the granary is depicted, and if it stands together with the offering table for the same goal, *viz.* the provision of food, then the meaning of the granary should be another one or it acts just as an additional decoration. Or are we dealing with another, only once performed ritual which takes place in the “*Reinigungszelt*”, in which the granary plays no part in first instance?<sup>298</sup> It can be assumed that e.g. the ritual of Opening of the Mouth enables the tomb owner to take part in drinking and eating of the available food, food which is presented in the form of a granary. B. Grdseloff assumes that the purification tent can be traced back to the royal purification tent. So, it seems reasonable to argue that some rooms in the valley temples

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<sup>290</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 48; De Buck and Gardiner, *Coffin Texts III*, 300.

<sup>291</sup> Willems, *Dayr al-Barshā I*, 34.

<sup>292</sup> Table 1, p. 10.

<sup>293</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 203.

<sup>294</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, 57.

<sup>295</sup> Der Manuelian, in Simpson and O’Connor (eds), *Publications*.

<sup>296</sup> R. van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom elite tombs. Analysis & Interpretation, Theoretical and Methodological Aspects* (MVEOL 35; Leiden, 2005), 53, and references therein.

<sup>297</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 203; Barta, *Opferliste*, 91.

<sup>298</sup> Grdseloff, *Reinigungszelt*, 25–31.

of Khaphre and Menkaure can be described as storerooms for the necessary equipment and the food needed in the rituals.

The recently published studies which treat MK coffins as a unit in decoration concerning texts and depictions, present us with a number of meanings for the presence of the granary, although always based upon ideas developed by looking at a single coffin and not looking for general rules.<sup>299</sup> The meaning is sought in the accompanying texts in the coffin, not specifically the ones placed in the vicinity of the depiction of the granary. We have to realise that for the tomb owner the meaning was absolutely clear even without an accompanying text, as coffins exist in which only a granary is depicted on the foot. These studies give the strong impression that the “granary” must fit in the model which the author of the publication wants to use for explaining the layout of the coffin under consideration. The models presented vary between religious-ecological<sup>300</sup> and ritual based ones<sup>301</sup>. It does not make sense to decompose the structure of the granary into the elements from which, as has been shown in Chapter 4, it was composed, viz. a pillared hall with entrance door, heaps of products and silos, and which seems to be confirmed by the existing 3-D models of the granary.<sup>302</sup> The granary serves then as a stock for the offerings the tomb owner has to make on his way to unification with some god.<sup>303</sup> Or it can be used as an everlasting supply of food for the tomb owner himself. The silo of the granary becomes a symbol for the “bodily efflux” of Osiris, being the inundation of the Nile.<sup>304</sup> Or the granary is considered to be the Nile inundation itself which arrives from the south, being the reason that the granary would be depicted at the foot of the coffin, representing the south.<sup>305</sup> More acceptable to me is the symbolic value ascribed to the granary as a means to have large quantities of grain available as precondition for an eternal life.

Why do not we treat the granaries as true depictions of what they are in the real world? As mentioned we can assume that the meaning, real or symbolic, was quite clear for the tomb owner. He could add some legend to the depiction describing the complete construction as the *h3.wy n šnw.t*, “the hall of measuring of the storehouse”, and naming the silos *šn.wt*, *šnw.t wr.t* or *šnw.t n.t d.t*. To give expression to a more symbolic function for using the granaries in the Hereafter, they added a legend, which indicated the origin of the content of the silo, e.g. *it mh.y - - - sk3 m sh.t htp* or *it hd - - - hftn.t m sh.t i3rw*, products from the harvest and storage of these products from the “Field of Offering” and the “Field of Rushes”.<sup>306</sup> The tomb owner did not need more explanation, the depiction itself was sufficient.

Can the PT or CT supplied near the depiction of the granary be meant as an explanation for what the meaning of the granary should be, or was it intended as a parallel means of the same script, enhancing each other? It is true that in a number of texts elements can be found that seem to be related to the depiction of the granary or the content of the granary. Spell CT 173 on the foot of the inner coffin of Sathedjhotep does not form an exception. It seems too good to be true that this spell can be interpreted as one dealing with food, and the safeguarding of the nourishment in the Hereafter. Even the reference to the Field of Rushes and the Field of Offerings makes it into a text dealing with the provisioning of an adequate supply of food and drink. It seems to couple the text directly to the depiction of the granary, especially as the granary at other coffins can bear as legend a reference to these specific fields, as seen above, Table 1 and n. 51, p. 10 and n. 306 on this page. But, we have to be cautious in drawing too quickly this conclusion. We have seen that from the 136 coffins in the archive of A. de Buck, only thirty eight of them have a depiction of a granary on the foot

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<sup>299</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil*; Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst*; Arquier, *Mésehti*.

<sup>300</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil*.

<sup>301</sup> Willems, *Heqata*; Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst*; Arquier, *Mésehti*.

<sup>302</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil*, 62.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, 98, Note 296.

<sup>304</sup> Faulkner, *Coffin Texts I*, 185; Arquier, *Mésehti*, 110.

<sup>305</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst*, 137.

<sup>306</sup> Coffin B9C (CG 28091), Lacau, *Sarcophages II*, 41.

of the coffin, of which thirty have been combined with some Coffin Texts.<sup>307</sup> We have shown that within this combination of depiction and CT, respectively PT, spell CT 173 occurs only once, in the inner coffin of Sathedjhotep. And even then, only part of the spell is supplied on the foot, the remainder being placed on the head. Moreover, spell CT 173 is one of the 132 spells occurring on the foot of a coffin in combination with the depiction of a granary. So, when spell CT 173 seems to correlate so '*obviously*' with the granary, then why did the Egyptian "editor" or coffin owner apply it only once? Most probably because the granary told its own story and was enough to give its own explanation for its meaning.

In conclusion we can say that the choice of Sathedjhotep for depicting a granary on the foot of her inner coffin was a premeditated one. She could have chosen for the decoration of the foot without the depiction of a granary. So was her choice for applying spell CT 173 on the foot of her coffin a premeditated one. She could have chosen for any other spell or no spell at all, as other coffin owners clearly did, and even more she did herself in the decoration of the outer coffin. On the foot of her outer coffin she applied twenty five different spells in combination with the granary.<sup>308</sup> It was her very individual choice to decorate the foot of her inner coffin in the way she did, with a granary and spell CT 173, two different means to express her wish to be provided with food for eternity.

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<sup>307</sup> Egberts, *GM* 60, 9–12; see also Table 2, p. 17 and Table 5, p. 33.

<sup>308</sup> It is considered to be outside the scope of this thesis to analyse and interpret these 25 different spells.

## 7 Perspectives on future research

We have to realise that within the time and framework of this thesis not all questions which pop up while writing it, can find an answer. Some of the questions can probably be answered after a thorough study of the subject, while others will never get an answer, e.g. who determines how the interior of the coffin should be decorated, which objects and which texts should be applied? How do they come to these decisions, do they know what other people did? Is there a local tradition in the decoration of the interior of a coffin?

Other questions are more related to the object frieze itself. How sure can we be that the objects in the frieze have their origin in the “*Inventaropferliste*” as defined by W. Barta? If also offerings from the “*Opferliste*” find their way in the frieze, how can we determine the difference? Or can specific objects belong to both categories at the same time? Why is the granary as object of the frieze always, as far as we know, depicted on the foot? How does its specific form as found in the burial chamber relate to the form of the “*hm-Kapelle*” in the work of J. Settgast?<sup>309</sup> Are we dealing with just the general assumed form for a chest in which you can store products as grain or even a god?

Is there a relation of the granary with the other objects, - sandals, mirrors, tools, ankh-signs, scribal-palette, textiles - placed in its vicinity? If, as convincingly shown, these objects can be related to some funerary ritual in the purification tent, and if the purification tent in the private sphere is related to the valley temples in the royal sphere during the Old Kingdom, would it be possible that there exists some relation between the magazines in the valley temple and the granary depicted in the object frieze of some Middle Kingdom coffins?<sup>310</sup> And so, does it make the granary a part of this funerary ritual? And could it be the reason that the granary, as far as we know, always is depicted on the foot of the coffin?

Most probably we should consider more panels in a study than just one. And probably it will not suffice to study just one panel or a text in isolation from the rest of the coffin. For its interpretation it would be good, as has been performed in recent years by a few authors, to look for a “grammar” of the Middle Kingdom coffins as proposed by Ph. Derchain in his study of the temple “grammar”.<sup>311</sup> To understand the meaning of a particular scene in a temple decoration one has to compare as many as possible identical scenes. To come to a syntax of this “image-language” one should study the context in which a “word” – the image – appears. So, to read a coffin we have to learn and to understand its “vocabulary” and its “grammar”.<sup>312</sup> Or, to quote L.H. Lesko<sup>313</sup>: “ - - - our most important task now is to study the significance of the original arrangement of all the religious texts (and related decorations: FS) on the coffins. Either the actual location of a text on a coffin or the context in which the text occurs can have some bearing on our interpretation of it, and until we learn more about the composition of the Coffin Text we shall continue to err in our descriptions either by taking things out of context or by considering them in improper context.”

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<sup>309</sup> Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 52, Tafel 5; and e.g. Figure 12 – p. 30, the tomb of Degem.

<sup>310</sup> D. Kurth, ‘Reinigungszelt’, in W. Helck und E. Otto (eds), *LÄ V* (Wiesbaden, 1984), 220–2; H. Willems, ‘The Embalmer Embalmed: Remarks on the Meaning of the Decoration of Some Middle Kingdom Coffins’, in J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde* (Groningen, 1997), 344 ff.

<sup>311</sup> Ph. Derchain, ‘Un manuel de géographie liturgique à Edfou’, *CdÉ XXXVII/73* (1962), 33–4.

<sup>312</sup> Willems, *Chests*, 48.

<sup>313</sup> Lesko, *JARCE* 9, 101.

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## 9 List of abbreviations

ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe, Glückstadt.
Äg. Abh.	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden.
AH	Aegyptiaca Helvetica, Basel.
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Le Caire.
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt, London.
AUU	Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Uppsala.
BD	Book of the Dead.
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden.
BM	British Museum, London.
CdÉ	Chronique d'Égypte, Bruxelles.
CGC	Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Le Caire.
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, Leiden.
CJ	Cairo JdE: Cairo Journal d'Entrée (Cairo Museum), Le Caire.
CNI	The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Helsingør.
CNMAL	Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, Leiden.
CT	Coffin Texts.
ECT	The Egyptian Coffin Texts, A. De Buck and A.H. Gardiner, Chicago.
FS	Frans Sanders, the author of this thesis, Eindhoven.
GM	Göttinger Miszellen, Beiträge zur ägyptischen Diskussion, Göttingen.
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen IV. Reihe Ägypten, Wiesbaden.
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston.
JdE	Journal d'Entrée (Cairo Museum), Le Caire.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London.
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap (Gezelschap) "Ex Oriente Lux", Leiden.
JSSEA	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto.
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden.
LMP	Leiden Mastaba Project, Leiden.
MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien, Berlin.
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, Mainz.
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire.
MK	Middle Kingdom.
MVEOL	Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux", Leiden.
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Freiburg.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago.
OK	Old Kingdom.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven.
OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, Leiden.
OrMo	Orientalia Monspeliensia, Montpellier.
PMMA	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, New York.
PT	Pyramid Texts.
RÄRG	Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, Berlin.
RdÉ	Revue d'Égyptologie, Le Caire.
RT	Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie Égyptiennes et Assuriens, Paris.
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens, Heidelberg.
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation, Chicago.

Wb Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache, Berlin.  
ZÄS Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig.

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