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2008

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# Some Remarks on the Pyramid Texts Inscribed in the Chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu

Mariam F. Ayad

AMENIRDIS I WAS THE FIRST NUBIAN WOMAN to assume the title of God's Wife. Her funerary chapel is the earliest surviving mortuary monument belonging to a God's Wife of the Twenty-third to the Twenty-sixth Dynasties.<sup>1</sup> Located within the main temple enclosure at Medinet Habu, the chapel lies to the southeast of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III.<sup>2</sup> The chapel owes its current stone structure to Amenirdis's successor Shepenwepet II who demolished an earlier mud-brick construction and erected this "monument for eternity" for her adoptive mother.<sup>3</sup> The date of construction of Amenirdis's chapel can thus be assigned to Shabako's reign (c. 716–702).<sup>4</sup>

The chapel of Amenirdis I consists of two tent shrines set one inside the other.<sup>5</sup> This particular arrangement resulted in the creation of a corridor surrounding the inner structure (also known as a *cella*). It is in this corridor that scenes and texts pertaining to Amenirdis's funerary cult are inscribed. Amenirdis's texts include selections from the Pyramid Texts, two Solar Hymns and forty-five scenes from the Opening of the Mouth Ritual. In 1996, Professor Lesko encouraged me to examine and translate these previously unpublished texts.<sup>6</sup> It is with much pleasure that I offer him these remarks on the uniqueness of Amenirdis's Pyramid Texts.

In order to determine whether there were any discernible patterns that affected the choice to include some PT utterances in the chapel of Amenirdis, comparisons were drawn with the versions inscribed in four groups of monuments. These groups were: 1) The Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty tombs at Asasif, 2) Twenty-seventh Dynasty tombs at Saqqara, 3) The texts inscribed on the sarcophagi of the God's Wife of Amun Ankhnesneferibre and the Napatan King Aspelta, and lastly 4) Old Kingdom versions of the Pyramid Texts. Not only did these comparisons prove Amenirdis's PT selections to be uniquely precise, but they also suggest that her scribes were greatly influenced by the versions preserved in the Sixth-Dynasty pyramid-tombs of Pepi II and Neit.

## AMENIRDIS'S SELECTION OF PYRAMID TEXTS

Amenirdis's selections from the Pyramid Texts are inscribed on the lower register of the east, west and north walls of the passage surrounding her *cella*. Two "resurrection" spells (PT 468 and PT 412) occupy most of the east wall, while utterances PT 670, PT 33 (= PT 423) and part

1 For evidence on the destruction of Shepenwepet I's chapel in antiquity, see Uvo Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu V: Post-Ramessid Remains*, OIP 66 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1954), p. 18.

2 PM II, pp. 476–78, and pls. xlii, xlv.3; Hölscher, *Excavation V*, p. 22.

3 Hölscher, *Excavation V*, p. 20.

4 Dates cited in this article are based on those in K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1995), pp. 154, 378–79, and 468.

5 B.J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 97–98.

6 G. Daressy's older edition of Amenirdis's texts "Inscriptions de la chapelle d'Amenirtis à Médinet-Habou," *RT* 23 (1901), pp. 4–18 inadequately and incompletely presented her texts. Moreover, in his edition Daressy's did not include a description of the scenes accompanying Amenirdis's texts.

of PT 454 are inscribed on the west wall.<sup>7</sup> Offering spells PT 81, PT 414, PT 634E, PT 634C,<sup>8</sup> and PT 635 appear on either side of the doorway on the north wall.

On the east wall, Amenirdis receives a “jackal-face,” and she is as “mysterious” as Anubis (PT 468). She is urged “not to suffer,” “not to languish,” and “not to groan” (Pyr. 903a), because “Horus has caused you to become an *Akh*-spirit at the head of the *Akh*-spirits and to have power at the head of the living” (Pyr. 903b). The texts inscribed on the east wall end with:

*ndr ʿ.t in ihmw-sk*

*n sk.t n htm.t dt*

Your limb has been grasped by the Imperishable Stars

You will not perish, you will not be destroyed ever!

The texts of the east wall thus confer on Amenirdis divine attributes through which she may ascend to the sky and achieve an afterlife.<sup>9</sup> The texts also contribute to the magical preservation of her body. Preserving the body was essential to attaining an afterlife. The reference to the Imperishable Stars found at the northern end of the east wall helps guide Amenirdis to the north sky, her final destination. Once there, Amenirdis would be able to become an Imperishable Star herself. The seeming unchanging nature of the circumpolar stars made joining them the deceased’s ultimate desire.<sup>10</sup> Thus although Amenirdis’s texts include an *abridged* version of spell PT 412, none of the essential elements of PT 412 is missing.

Utterances PT 670, PT 33 (= PT 423) and PT 454, inscribed on the west wall, reinforce the resurrection theme already seen on the east wall. Spell PT 670, a (later) variant of spell PT 482,<sup>11</sup> starts with:

*wn ʿwy pt sn ʿwy pd[wt]*<sup>12</sup>

The doors of the sky have been opened. The doors of the celestial expanses have been thrown open . . .”

It goes on to include:

*šm.t iw[t.t] sdr.t rs.t mny.t ʿnh.t*

If you go away, you will return, if you go to sleep, you will wake up, if you die, you will live.

Amenirdis is then given cool water and natron by which she may be refreshed (PT 33).<sup>13</sup> Libations were essential for reviving the deceased. Ritual pouring of “cool water” served to restore the bodily fluids to the “dry and shriveled” corpse.<sup>14</sup> Amenirdis is called upon to “surround all the gods” and she is asked to seize their provisions and all their possessions.<sup>15</sup> Such exhortations served to assert the deceased’s authority.

Offering spells dominate Amenirdis’s north wall, where the overriding theme is clothing the deceased (PT 414 and PT 635) through the “presentation of the napkins” (PT 81 and PT 634E).<sup>16</sup> Equipping the deceased with proper clothing was an integral part of preparing

7 References to Pyramid Texts are to the spell (PT) and line (Pyr.) numbers of K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, neu herausgegeben und erläutert. I–II (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1908–10).

8 See J.P. Allen, *Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1984), pp. 682–83, for the identification of columns Ne 4–6 and Ne 10–12 as variants of spell PT 634.

9 For the assumption of divinity as a prerequisite to achieving an afterlife, see W. M. Davis, “The Ascension-myth in the Pyramid Texts,” *JNES* 36 (1977), p. 168.

10 J.P. Allen, “Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts,” in: *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, *Yale Egyptological Studies* 3, ed. W.K. Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 10.

11 So Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 285; and Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* II, p. 475.

12 For a discussion of *pdwt* or ‘celestial expanses,’ see J.P. Allen, “Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts,” pp. 5–6 and 9.

13 Amenirdis’s version is most similar to PT 33. Cf. Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, pp. 14 (for PT 32); 16 (for PT 33); 419 (PT 423).

14 A.M. Blackman, “The Significance of Incense and Libations in Funerary and Temple Ritual,” *ZÄS* 50 (1912), p. 71.

15 The text of Amenirdis I is similar to PT 454, yet shows considerable variation from the Old Kingdom version of this spell.

16 See Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 19 for PT 81; *ibid.*, p. 136 for PT 414; and *ibid.*, p. 263 for PT 635.

him/her for the afterlife. It empowered the deceased “so that the gods may fear [the deceased] just as they fear Horus.” It is *only* in her capacity as the king of Upper and Lower Egypt that the deceased is able to strike terror in the hearts of the gods. By adopting the whole spell, including the part referring to becoming a king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenirdis ensured that she will have an afterlife. The text of this spell is completely modified to suit Amenirdis’s feminine gender.

The texts of Amenirdis thus clearly contain parts of the Resurrection and Offering Rituals. In the nine Pyramid Text spells chosen for inclusion in the chapel of Amenirdis, Amenirdis is resuscitated, provided with food, cool water, incense, and the proper clothing and crowns needed to equip her with the magical power necessary to achieve the afterlife. In this respect, Amenirdis’s selections from the Pyramid Texts served the same function as they did in other tombs. What sets hers apart is their brevity. Indeed, Amenirdis’s selections from the Pyramid Texts are unique. None of her contemporaries, members of her staff, or their successors had her particular selection of Pyramid Text utterances inscribed in their tombs.

### THE ASASIF TOMBS

Harwa, the Chief Steward of the Estate of the God’s Wife Amenirdis I, constructed a vast tomb (TT 37) at the center of the Asasif cemetery. Pyramid Text utterances are inscribed on the south and the north walls of the first pillared hall in Harwa’s tomb.<sup>17</sup> Although the texts remain unpublished, Harwa’s selection of the Pyramid Texts seems to be quite different from the selection found in Amenirdis’s funerary chapel.<sup>18</sup> The tomb’s central location in Asasif suggests that it may have been the first Late Period tomb to be located in this particular section of Asasif.<sup>19</sup> The tomb of Harwa may have functioned as a precursor to the tomb of Mentuemhat (TT 34), not only in terms of its choice of location at the Asasif cemetery, but also in terms of the style of decoration employed.<sup>20</sup> None of the texts of Mentuemhat have been published.<sup>21</sup> But in light of the other similarities that exist between the two tombs, it is possible that Mentuemhat’s textual selection was similar to Harwa’s.

Just like Harwa’s, the selection of Pyramid Texts inscribed in the tomb of Ibi (TT 36) contains none of the spells found in the chapel of Amenirdis.<sup>22</sup> Instead, utterances PT 205, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212 occupy 35 columns on the west wall of Ibi’s pillared hall.<sup>23</sup> The spells are part of an offering scene and represent Allen’s Sequence D, in which the deceased responds to “the Offering Ritual conducted on his behalf... [and] establishes himself as the source of his own

17 PM I.1, pp. 68–69. An Italian team led by Dr. F. Tiradritti is currently excavating the tomb of Harwa.

18 Utterances PT 213–216 (A. Heyne, personal communication).

19 D. Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole*. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 6 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), pp. 44–46 and 163–83; F. Tiradritti, “Haroua et sa tombe (TT37): Essai d’interprétation,” *Bulletin de la Société Française d’Égyptologie*, no. 147 (March 2000), p. 13.

20 E. R. Russmann, “Harwa as Precursor of Mentuemhat,” in: *Artibus Aegypti Studia in Honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer. A collegis amicis discipulis conscripta*, eds. H. De Meulenaere and L. Limme (Brussels: Musées royaux d’art et d’histoire, 1983), pp. 137–46.

21 While J. Leclant briefly discusses this tomb in his monumental work *Montouemhat: Quatrième prophète d’Amon, prince de la ville*. Bd’E 35 (Cairo: IFAO, 1961), pp. 171–86, he makes no mention of the nature of the specific selection of the texts found there, attributing that to the poor state of conservation of this tomb. “La copie des textes exige une grande attention: la plupart des parois sont endommagées par la remontée des sels et leur cristallisations en surface; des pans entiers se sont écroulés; enfin les voleurs ont scié un grand nombre de figures, détériorant les colonnes de textes voisins” (Leclant, *Montouemhat*, pp. 180–81). The texts of Mentuemhat thus remain unpublished.

22 Interestingly, as preserved, the tomb of Anch-Hor (TT 414), father of Ibi, does not contain any Pyramid Texts at all. Instead, chapters of the Book of the Dead decorate its pillars. Cf. M. Bietak and E. Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des ‘Anch-Hor Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978).

23 K. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36)*, Band I: *Beschreibung der unterirdischen Kult- und Bestattungsanlage* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983), pp. 167–69 and pls. 54–56.

food-supply.”<sup>24</sup> Ibi’s choice of Pyramid Texts may have been influenced by the selection found in Hatshepsut’s southern Hall of Offerings located on the third terrace of her temple at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>25</sup> There, utterances PT 210–12 occupy the north wall, while PT 205, 207, 209–12, are inscribed on the south wall. The spells are accompanied by offering scenes. On both the south and north walls, processions of priests present Hatshepsut with offerings.<sup>26</sup>

The selection of Pyramid Texts found in the tomb of Sheshonq (TT 27), High Steward of Ankhnesneferibre, is much more extensive than Ibi’s. Utterances PT 214–19, 245–47, 269–72, 302–4 are inscribed in his pillared hall.<sup>27</sup> These utterances are part of Allen’s Sequences E (214–19), F1 (245–47), and G (302–4), in which the deceased’s spirit is released, emerges from the *Duat*, and ascends to the sky, respectively.<sup>28</sup> Sheshonq’s selection thus overlaps with Harwa’s texts (Sequence E), but not with Ibi’s selection of Pyramid Texts.

The most extensive selection of Pyramid Texts inscribed in an Asasif tomb belongs to the Prophet and Chief Lector Priest Pedamenopet (TT 33).<sup>29</sup> There, Pyramid Texts are found both “independently” and as part of his funeral liturgy.<sup>30</sup> Of the utterances that comprise his funeral liturgy, namely PT 20, 21, 22, 37, 77, 78, 591, 634A, 644, 645, 648, utterances PT 20, 21, 22, 37, 634A also occur among the texts of Amenirdis’s funeral liturgy. Other Pyramid Text spells inscribed in this tomb include PT 25, 28–92, 29–97, 32, 34–42, 72–79, 81, 82–96, 108–71, 245–67, 269–72, 285, 302–4, 317–20, 373 (= 436), and 475. Of these, only PT 81 also occurs in the chapel of Amenirdis.

However, in terms of content, his selection includes representative spells from all the sequences discerned by Allen in his analysis of the texts inscribed in the pyramid-tomb of Unis.<sup>31</sup> The Offering Ritual is represented in the tomb of Pedamenopet by Sequence A (PT 23, 25, 32, 34–42, 72–79, 81, 108–71), while the Resurrection Ritual is represented in Sequence E1 (PT 245–67). Pedamenopet’s spirit emerges from the *Duat* in PT 269–72, and PT 285, (Sequence F), ascends to the sky in PT 302–4 (Sequence G), and, as a baboon, greets the sun at dawn in utterances PT 317–20 (Sequences I and J).<sup>32</sup> Thus, in terms of content, the selection of texts found in the tomb of Pedamenopet encompasses the selections found in the chapel of Amenirdis (the Offering and Resurrection Rituals), the tomb of Sheshonq (the Resurrection Ritual and Sequences F and G), as well as additional spells equipping the deceased for the afterlife (Sequences I and J). Pedamenopet’s extensive selection of Pyramid Texts thus anticipates the widespread usage of Pyramid Texts in the Twenty-seventh Dynasty.

24 J.P. Allen, “Reading a Pyramid,” in: *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, eds. C. Berger, G. Clerc and N. Grimal, *BdE* 106 (Cairo: IFAO, 1993), pp. 12, 17.

25 Also noted by W. Schenkel in: “Zur Frage der Vorlagen spätzeitlicher ‘Kopien,’” in: *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, eds. J. Assmann, E. Feucht, R. Grieshammer (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1977), pp. 415–41.

26 E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari IV* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1901), pls. 110–12.

27 I. Vincentelli, “Testi delle Piramidi nella tomba di Šešonq,” in: *Vicino Oriente IV/2* (1981), pp. 40–43. In addition, the tomb of Sheshonq also contains chapters 26, 44, 50, 57, 61, 62, 64, 77, 79, 83, 89 of the Book of the Dead. Cf. A. Roccati, “Il libro dei morti di Šešonq,” in: *Oriens Antiquus* 15 (1976), pp. 232–50.

28 For the division of the various sequence, see J.P. Allen, “Reading a Pyramid,” p. 12. For a more detailed discussion on the content of each sequence, see *ibid.*, pp. 16–19. Sequence E comprises the “Resurrection Ritual.”

29 PM I.1, p. 50; and J. Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der Thebanischen Nekropolis* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1884).

30 In making the distinction between spells found as part of the “funeral liturgy” and those found “independently,” I am following the distinction established by T.G. Allen in *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts With Cross Indexes of Those and Other Mortuary Texts*, SAOC 27 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950). The list of PT spells cited here is adapted from Allen’s invaluable work.

31 The exception being Sequence D, in which the deceased responds to the offering ritual performed on his behalf and become self-sufficient.

32 For a more detailed discussion on the deceased’s role in the sunrise as represented in the Pyramid Texts, see J.P. Allen, “Reading a Pyramid,” pp. 20–22.

## THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DYNASTY TOMBS AT SAQQARA

Although the Persian shafts at Saqqara contain extensive selections of the Pyramid Texts, few of the utterances that occur there also occur in the chapel of Amenirdis. However, the spells they do share are usually located on corresponding walls. Spells 81, 414, 635 and 634E appear in the same order and on the same wall (the north wall) in both the tomb of Pedineith and the chapel of Amenirdis. In both monuments, the offering list occurs on the east wall.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, spell PT 81 also occurs on the north wall in the tombs of Pedineith<sup>34</sup> and Tjanhebou, while a variant of Spell 33 is also inscribed on Tjanhebou's west wall (PT 32 = lines 97–100).<sup>35</sup>

## THE TEXTS OF THE ANKHNESNEFERIBRE AND ASPELTA

When tracing his ancestry through the female line, King Aspelta mentions no fewer than six females who bore the title of Divine Adoratrice. Amenirdis was one of them.<sup>36</sup> In addition to the texts of the hours of the day and the night that dominate the lid of Aspelta, utterances PT 272, 320, 364, 412, 628, and 629 are also included among the texts inscribed on this sarcophagus.<sup>37</sup> Of these only PT 412, a resurrection text, also occurs among the texts of Amenirdis. Lines Pyr. 616 a–f are found on his box.<sup>38</sup> The lines comes from PT 364, which is another resurrection text.<sup>39</sup>

Two lines from utterance PT 320 (Pyr. 515a–516b) occur on the exterior of Aspelta's lid, at the head end of the sarcophagus,<sup>40</sup> and continue on the exterior front side of the sarcophagus. In spell PT 320, "the King becomes a star" and has the power to dispatch the hours, and seems ready to ascend to the sky. Most likely, the reference to the hours was inserted here intentionally, possibly to enforce the concepts expressed in the texts of the hours of the day and the night already included among the texts inscribed on the lid of sarcophagus. In PT 272, "the King demands admission to the beyond."<sup>41</sup> PT 628 and PT 629 are both devoted to the role of Depths in aiding the deceased.<sup>42</sup> The texts of King Aspelta are thus *thematically* different from Amenirdis's.

- 33 Cf. T.G. Allen, *Occurrences*, p. 96; M.A. Barsanti, "Tombeau de Péténisis," *ASAE* 1 (1900), pp. 230–36. cols. 1–205 occur on the East wall; cols. 206–406, on the West wall; cols. 407–87, on the north wall; and cols. 488–542, on the South wall.
- 34 M.A. Barsanti, "Tombeau of Péténéit," *ASAE* 2 (1901), pp. 97–111. Cols. 1–94 and the offering table/list occur on the west wall; cols. 95–122, on the east wall; cols. 123–45, on the north wall; cols. 146–66, on the south wall.
- 35 M.A. Barsanti, "Tombeau de Zannehibou," *ASAE* 1 (1900), pp. 262–82. Cols. 1–111 occur on the west wall; cols. 112–57, on the east wall; cols. 158–90, on the south wall; and cols. 191–210, on the north wall.
- 36 S. Al-Rayah, "The Napatan Kingdom (c. 860 BC–310 BC)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Liverpool, 1981), p. 117 mentions that "an adoptive relationship... [possibly through] a female line of adoptive nature from a second postulated adoption of Amenirdis II, of purely Napatan character," is referred to here.
- 37 The sarcophagus of Aspelta is adorned with representations of the Night and Day Barks and texts of the hours of the day and the night. For the texts of the hours of the day and night, see S.K. Doll, "The Day Hour Texts on the Sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta," in: *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*, eds. W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davis (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981), pp. 43–54. The hours of the day and the night also adorn the sarcophagus of King Anlamani, which despite its striking similarity to the sarcophagus of Aspelta, contains no Pyramid Texts at all. Cf. S.K. Doll, "Texts and decorations on the Napatan Sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1978), pp. 374–76. For the Pyramid Texts, see T.G. Allen, *Occurrences*, pp. 74–78, 82, 95, *passim*.
- 38 Doll, "Napatan Sarcophagi," pp. 376 and 293; id., "Identification and Significance of the Texts and Decorations on the Sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta," *Meroïtica* 6 (1982), p. 278.
- 39 Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, pp. 101–102. The text of the spell reads: "The king has cleared the night, *the King has dispatched the hours*; the Powers appear and ennoble the King as Babi. The King is the son of one who is unknown; she bore the King to Him whose face is yellow, Lord of the night skies. Humble yourselves, you lords; hide yourselves, you common folk, from before the King, for the King is Babi, Lord of the night sky, *Bull of the baboons*, who lives on those who do not know him" (emphasis mine). It thus resonates with themes pertaining to the King's nightly journey and the hours of the night. For the text of PT 364, see Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, pp. 118–19.
- 40 Doll, "Napatan Sarcophagi," p. 159.
- 41 Title of spell borrowed from Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 79.
- 42 For PT 628–29, see Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, pp. 261–62.

Utterances PT 422, 477, 479, 532, 690 are inscribed on the sarcophagus of the last woman to become a God's Wife of Amun, Ankhnesneferibre, daughter of Psametichus II.<sup>43</sup> Despite PT 690's partial overlap with PT 468,<sup>44</sup> the texts inscribed for Ankhnesneferibre are completely different from the texts of Amenirdis, in terms of both selection and content. The texts of Ankhnesneferibre are primarily Osirian. In PT 477, "Osiris is raised from the dead," while PT 532 is an "Osirian text."<sup>45</sup> This is not the only reference to Osiris on Ankhnesneferibre's sarcophagus. Indeed, an important Osirian text, the *Stundenwachen*, is also inscribed on her sarcophagus.<sup>46</sup> Ankhnesneferibre's selection of Pyramid Texts thus seems appropriate in light of the other Osirian texts inscribed on her sarcophagus. The lack of overlap between the texts of Amenirdis and Ankhnesneferibre, despite their occupying the same priestly office, is hardly surprising given that a change in the dynastic line separated the two women.<sup>47</sup>

### THE OLD KINGDOM VERSIONS

Of all Old Kingdom versions inscribed in Fifth and Sixth Dynasty pyramid-tombs, Amenirdis's version is most similar to the copies inscribed for Pepi II and his queen Neit (see tables 4 and 5). The higher spell numbers of Amenirdis's utterances indicate that her selection was derived from a later version, possibly the version inscribed for Pepi II. Indeed, the PT utterances inscribed in the funerary chapel of Amenirdis I all occur among the texts inscribed in the pyramid-tomb of Pepi II, where they are found in his burial chamber. The one exception: utterance PT 468 occurs on the west wall of his antechamber. There is also a noticeable correspondence in the layout of PT utterances inscribed in both monuments (table 6). Of the utterances occurring on the west wall in the chapel of Amenirdis I, namely PT 33, 454, and 670, only one does not occur on the west wall of Pepi II's burial chamber: PT 670 (N 759–65),<sup>48</sup> which occurs on the south wall of the same chamber.<sup>49</sup> But as PT 670 occurs at the southern end of the west wall in the chapel of Amenirdis, it may be argued that its positioning there may represent an approximation of its original location in the tomb of Pepi II.

Similarly, utterances PT 81, 635, and 634, which occur on the north wall of the chapel of Amenirdis I, also occur on the north wall of the burial chamber of Pepi II. Spell 414, inscribed on the north wall of Amenirdis, is found on Pepi II's east wall. Thus, once more we find that of all the spells inscribed on Amenirdis's north wall, only one (PT 414) does not occur on the corresponding wall of Pepi II's burial chamber.

Utterances PT 412 and PT 468 inscribed on Amenirdis's east wall are somewhat more problematic. PT 412, which begins on the north wall of Pepi II's burial chamber, and ends on its west wall, appears, in abridged form, at the northern end of Amenirdis's east wall. PT 468 is the only utterance among those found in the chapel of Amenirdis that occurs on the north wall of Pepi II's antechamber rather than in his burial chamber. The layout of the texts of Pepi II's queen, Neit, may shed more light on the positioning of these two spells on Amenirdis's east wall.

43 C.E. Sander-Hanssen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre*, neu herausgegeben und erklärt (Kopenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1936), pp. 11–14, for the text of PT 690; 17–18, for PT 532; 18–22, for PT 477; 143–44, for PT 422.

44 T.G. Allen, *Occurrences*, p. 99.

45 Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, pp. 164–65 and 199–200.

46 Sander-Hanssen, *Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre*, pp. 68–84. Cf. H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1911).

47 Even within the same dynasty, indeed within the same family, individuals holding the same priestly position could have different religious affiliations. Cf. L.H. Lesko's comments on the "essentially Osirian" religion of the Twenty-first Dynasty High Priest of Amun Pinedjem I and his grandson's (Pinedjem II's) solar beliefs in: "Some Remarks on the Books of the Dead composed for the High Priests Pinedjem I and II," in: *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. D.P. Silverman, SAOC 55 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 182 and 185–86.

48 T.G. Allen, *Occurrences*, p. 53.

49 Cf. G. Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saqqarah: Le monument funéraire de Pepi II* (Cairo: IFAO, 1936), pl. 10.

The substructure of the pyramid-tomb of Queen Neit consists of one room only.<sup>50</sup> Since her scribes had less space with which to work, they had to condense their selection from the Pyramid Texts. In this respect, the texts of Neit represent a break from previous Old Kingdom tradition, providing a link to the later “privatization” of the Pyramid Texts.<sup>51</sup> However, despite the limited space available for the scribes of Neit, they chose to inscribe a number of utterances several times. Variants of PT 33 (PT 32 and PT 423), for example, appear *five* times at various locations in her burial chamber. Similarly, PT 454 and 468 are each inscribed twice on different walls of Neit’s burial chamber

Just as in the chapel of Amenirdis I, utterances PT 81 and 635 occur on the north wall in the pyramid-tomb of Queen Neit. Similarly, utterances PT 454, 33 (= 423), found on the west wall in the chapel of Amenirdis, also occur on the west wall of Neit’s burial chamber. Further comparisons with the texts of Neit indicated that when an utterance occurred more than once in her tomb, *and* when the occurrences were on different walls, the corresponding location of this particular utterance in the chapel of Amenirdis may be considered the closest approximation possible to its location in the tomb of Neit. For example, PT 454 occurs on the west and north walls of the burial chamber of Neit, but is placed at the north end of the west wall in the chapel of Amenirdis I. Similarly, spell PT 468, which occurs twice on the south wall of Neit’s burial chamber and once on her east wall, is inscribed at the southern end of the east wall in the chapel of Amenirdis.<sup>52</sup>

However, just as in the pyramid-tomb of Pepi II, PT 412 does not conform to either of these patterns. PT 412, inscribed twice on Amenirdis’s east wall, occurs twice on the south wall of Neit’s burial chamber. Its anomalous location may be explained by looking at the context in which this spell occurs. In the two instances in which this utterance appears (Nt. 468–79 and Nt. 640–52), it immediately follows PT 468 (Nt. 456–68 and Nt. 626–40).<sup>53</sup> In the funerary chapel of Amenirdis, PT 412 (E 35–39) also occurs immediately after PT 468 (E 1–35). That PT 468 and 412 form a “sequence” is further supported by their occurrence together *and* in this same order on Middle Kingdom coffins and in the *shw* liturgies of the Ptolemaic period.<sup>54</sup> If placing PT 468 at the southern end of the east wall was an attempt to approximate its location in Neit’s burial chamber, then placing its sequel, PT 412, immediately after it on Amenirdis’s east wall seems appropriate.

Of the utterances found in the chapel of Amenirdis, only spells PT 414 and its variant PT 634C do not occur among the texts inscribed in the burial chamber of Neit.<sup>55</sup> Their content and function may explain their absence from the Queen’s burial chamber. In the pyramid-tomb of Pepi II, the series PT 634A–39 introduces a “statue rite” akin to the Opening of the Mouth ritual. Allen suggests that the absence of this sequence from the tomb of Neit may be attributed

50 G. Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saqqara: Les Pyramides des Reines Neit et Apouit* (Cairo: IFAO, 1933), p. 14.

51 J.P. Allen, “The Pyramid Texts of Queen *Jpwit* and *Wdwt.n.(j)*,” *JARCE* 23 (1986), p. 1.

52 Conversely, PT 468 could have been inscribed on the eastern half of the south wall. This location, however, was reserved for the Hymn to the Rising Sun.

53 T.G. Allen, *Occurrences*, p. 56, and Jéquier, *Neit*, pp. 22–23, 25 and pls. 17–19 (for Nt. 456–79) and pls. 23–24 (for Nt. 624–52).

54 They appear together on the Middle Kingdom inner and outer coffins of the *hstj-ꜥ*, Amenemhat, B 9 C and B 10 C. Cf. L.H. Lesko, *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents* (Berkeley: BC Scribe Publications, 1978), pp. 31–33; and T.G. Allen, *Occurrences*, pp. 82 and 87 where he also indicates their appearance *sequentially* on pap. Schmidt (Ptolemaic). PT 468 and 412 have been identified as texts Nr. 16 and 17, respectively, in the *shw* II liturgy. Cf. Figs. 6–7 in: J. Assmann, “Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies,” in: *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* I, ed. S. Groll (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1990), pp. 36–37.

55 Utterance PT 670 was deliberately omitted from the discussion here. T.G. Allen lists it among the texts that occur on the north wall of Neit’s burial chamber among lines Nt. 309–28 (cf. T.G. Allen, *Occurrences*, p. 56). Upon checking Jéquier’s edition of Neit’s texts, however, it became evident that Nt. 309–28 contain none of the utterances ascribed to them by Allen. PT 670 is similarly unidentified as such in Jéquier’s “Concordance.” Cf. Jéquier, *Neit*, pp. 19–24 and pl. 12. It is noteworthy that its variant, PT 482, is also absent from Neit’s texts.



to the abridged nature of her texts.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, since both spells equip the deceased with the royal insignia of the White and the *Wrrt*-crowns, they may have been deliberately omitted from the texts of Neit. The Egyptians believed that the White crown was “imbued with divine power.”<sup>57</sup> In the Old Kingdom, only a King could acquire this highly guarded honor.<sup>58</sup>

Thus, not only are the texts of Amenirdis most similar to those of Pepi II and his Queen Neit, but certain PT spells also appear consistently on the same walls in the pyramid-tombs of Pepi II and Neit and in the funerary chapel of Amenirdis I. In all three monuments utterances PT 33 (= PT 32 = PT 423) and 454 appear on the west wall, while PT 81 and 635 appear on the north wall. PT 634 and 414, which are omitted from Neit’s texts appear on the north wall in both the burial chamber of Pepi II and the chapel of Amenirdis I. It thus seems that the positioning of the Pyramid Texts found in the chapel of Amenirdis I follows to a great extent the basic layout found in the pyramid-tombs of Pepi II and his wife Neit (see table 6). The particular layout of Amenirdis’s PT spells may have been a direct consequence of first-hand copies made during visits to Old Kingdom monuments. In favor of this theory is the Kushite’s well-established tendency to copy Old Kingdom scenes and texts. Scenes in the temple at Kawa depicting Taharqa as a sphinx trampling over Libyans are so similar to scenes preserved at the solar temples Abusir that they must have been copied directly from the Old Kingdom monuments.<sup>59</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Amenirdis’s Pyramid Texts were completely adapted to suit her feminine gender. For example, Pyr. 903c “How good it is, what Horus has done for this king... etc.” was changed to “How good it is what Horus has done, namely the protection of his father. How good it is what Horus has done for you, *his mother*, Amenirdis” (coll. E 26–28). But this is not the only feature that sets her texts apart.

Out of the hundreds of Pyramid Text utterances available for Amenirdis and her scribes, only nine utterances were chosen for inclusion among the texts of her funerary chapel. In those nine spells, Amenirdis was resuscitated, and provided with food, cool water, incense, and all the proper insignia needed for her to achieve the afterlife. Comparisons with Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth, and Twenty-seventh Dynasty copies of the Pyramid Texts as well as several Old Kingdom versions proved her texts to be unique in their brevity and conciseness.

Selections from Pyramid Texts were inscribed in Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty tombs at Asasif. The tombs belonged to officials attached to the Estate of the God’s Wife (e.g. Harwa, Ibi, Sheshonq) or their contemporaries (Mentuemhat and Pedamenophis). Examining the Pyramid Texts inscribed in these tombs showed that while none of the Chief Stewards’ tombs shared Amenirdis’s particular selection of Pyramid Texts, their choice of Pyramid Texts was greatly influenced by the selection found in Hatshepsut’s southern Hall of Offerings located on the third terrace of her temple at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, Amenirdis’s more concise selection proved to be wider in scope. In other words, in fewer spells, Amenirdis’s scribes covered more themes.

The Twenty-seventh Dynasty tombs at Saqqara, also known as the “Persian shafts,” contain extensive selections from the Pyramid Texts. Rather than indicating that dynastic change affected the choice of PT spells, comparing those texts with the texts of Amenirdis indicated that both had much in common. The similarities are not limited to the selection of spells chosen

56 J.P. Allen, “Funerary Texts of King Wahkare Akhtoy on a Middle Egyptian Coffin,” in: *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, ed. J.H. Johnson, SAOC 39 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1979), p. 23: “Nt. and B16C dispense with these preliminaries and begin immediately with the procession [of the statue].”

57 S. Collier, “The Crowns of Pharaoh: Their Development and Significance in Ancient Egyptian Kingship” (Ph. D. diss., UCLA, 1996), p. 26.

58 Cf. Collier, “Crowns of Pharaoh,” table 25 on p. 138.

59 See fig. 3.17 in B. Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 244.

60 Also noted by W. Schenkel in: “Zur Frage der Vorlagen spätzeitlicher ‘Kopien’,” in: *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, eds. J. Assmann, E. Feucht, R. Grieshammer (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1977), pp. 415–41.

for inclusion, but include the physical layout of these spells, which is similar in both the Persian shafts and in the chapel of Amenirdis.

The texts inscribed on the sarcophagi of the Saite God's Wife of Amun Ankhnesneferibre and the Napatan King Aspelta formed the third group to which Amenirdis's selections were compared. These two monuments were chosen for comparison with the texts of Amenirdis because they belong to one of her descendants (King Aspelta) and Amenirdis's last successor as God's Wife of Amun (Ankhnesneferibre). Ankhnesneferibre held the same religious position as Amenirdis and Aspelta shared her ethnic heritage. The very few similarities that Amenirdis's texts had with the texts of Aspelta or Ankhnesneferibre seem to indicate that her choice of texts was dictated neither by her ethnic background nor her religious position. Indeed, the texts suggest that neither Aspelta nor Ankhnesneferibre shared the same religious affiliation as Amenirdis.

Finally, when Amenirdis's selections from the Pyramid Texts were compared to the Old Kingdom versions, it became apparent that her texts were most similar to those found in the pyramid-tombs of Pepi II and his Queen Neit. Indeed, Amenirdis's scribes may have found their inspiration in those Sixth Dynasty monuments. Not only were the selections similar, but, more significantly, the location and layout of the particular spells in the funerary chapel of Amenirdis approximated their original location in the pyramid-tombs of Pepi II and Neit.

Amenirdis's selection is thus most similar to the Old Kingdom pyramids, located at Saqqara. Aside from Old Kingdom royal monuments, the Twenty-seventh Dynasty tomb of Pediniese, also at Saqqara, exhibits more similarities with the texts of Amenirdis than any of the Asasif tombs. Rather than class considerations, it seems that the choice of Pyramid Texts was influenced by geographic considerations.

TABLE 1. PT UTTERANCES INSCRIBED IN THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS I, THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT, AND LATE PERIOD TOMBS AT ASASIF

AMENIRDIS	HATSHEPSUT	IBI	SHESHONQ	PEDAMENOPET
				PT 25
				PT 28-92
				PT 29-97
PT 33				PT 32
				PT 34-42
				PT 72-79
PT 81				PT 81
				PT 82-96
				PT 108-71
	PT 205	PT 205		
	PT 207	PT 207		
		PT 208		
	PT 209			
	PT 210	PT 210		
	PT 211	PT 211		
	PT 212	PT 212		
			PT 214-219	
			PT 245-47	PT 245-67
			PT 269-72	
				PT 285
			PT 302-4	PT 302-4
				PT 317-20
				PT 373 (= 436)
PT 412				
PT 414				
PT 454				
PT 468				
				PT 475
PT 634				
PT 635				
PT 670				

TABLE 2. PYRAMID TEXTS INSCRIBED IN THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS I AND TWENTY-SEVENTH-DYNASTY TOMBS AT SAQQARA<sup>61</sup>

UTTERANCE	AMENIRDIS I	PEDINESE	PEDINEITH	TJANHEBOU
PT 81	Nw 1-10	Pediniese 447-55	Pedineith 143-45	Tj.204-10
PT 414 (= 634C)	Ne 1-4; Nw 10-12	Pediniese 456-58		
PT 634F-35B	Ne 4-10	Pediniese 459-63		
PT 634 D-E	Ne 10-12	Pediniese 464-69		
PT 670	W 1-25			

TABLE 3. AMENIRDIS I'S SELECTION AND THE TEXTS ON THE SARCOPHAGI OF ANKHNESNEFERIBRE AND ASPELTA

AMENIRDIS I	ANKHNESNEFERIBRE	ASPELTA
PT 33		
PT 81		
		PT 272
		PT 320
		PT 364
PT 412		PT 412
PT 414		
	PT 422	
PT 454		
PT 468		
	PT 477	
	PT 479	
	PT 532	
		PT 628
		PT 629
PT 634		
PT 635		
PT 670		
	PT 690	

61 In Psametik's Thirtieth Dynasty tomb at Saqqara, PT 81 also occurs on the north wall (lines 29-33), where it follows the text of PT 670 (lines 8-28). It was omitted from the discussion here because of its later date. Cf. G. Daressy, "Inscriptions du tombeau de Psametik a Saqqarah," *RecTrav* 17 (1895), pp. 17-25.

TABLE 4. THE SELECTION OF AMENIRDIS I AND OLD KINGDOM VERSIONS

UTTERANCE	AMENIRDIS	UNIS	TETI	MERENRE	PEPI I	PEPI II
PT 33 <sup>1</sup> (=32=423)	A170-77	W10-13; W32-36.; W78-81 W343-46				N235
PT 81	A198-202	W66-71				N331
PT 412	A84-8		T346-72			N172
PT 414	A97-100 A202-04		T373ff	M124-26		N473+10-12
PT 454	A177-79			M90 f.	P122	N97
PT 468	A50-84			M317-24	P 161-70	N821-46
PT 634C	A106-8					N474-76
PT 634E	A100-2					N474-76
PT 635	A102-6					N476-78
PT 670	A140-64					N759-765

<sup>1</sup> PT33, 634, 635 and 670 occur for the first time among the texts of Pepi II. Cf. Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saqqarah: Le monument funéraire de Pepi II* (Cairo: IFAO, 1936), 25 and 27. It should also be noted that the Unis line numbers refer to occurrences of PT 32.

TABLE 5. THE SELECTION OF AMENIRDIS AND THE TEXTS OF OLD KINGDOM QUEENS

UTTERANCE	AMENIRDIS	APOUIT	WEDJABTEN	NEIT
PT 33 (=32=423)	A170-77	Frag. 10/20: 8-10	Oudj.1f.; 17-9; 42-5	Nt.74-7 Nt.102-5 Nt.166-77 Nt.442-44 Nt.623 f.
PT 81	A198-202	Frag. 21: 1-3	Oudj.37-40	Nt.149-158
T 412	A84-8			Nt.468-79; Nt.640-52
PT 414	A97-100 A202-04			
PT 454	A177-79			Nt.411; Nt.366-68
PT 468	A50-84		Oudj.185-203+1	Nt.456-68; Nt.626-40; Nt.676-91
PT 634C	A106-8			
PT 634E	A100-2			
PT 635	A102-6			Cf. Nt.293-95 <sup>2</sup>
PT 670	A140-64			Nt.328(?)

<sup>2</sup> Similar, but not quite the same as PT 635.

TABLE 6. THE LOCATION OF PT UTTERANCES IN THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS I AND THE PYRAMID-TOMBS OF PEPI II AND NEIT

UTTERANCE	AMENIRDIS I	NEIT	PEPI II
PT 468	east wall; south	east wall; south wall (2)	Antechamber: west wall
PT 412	east wall; north	south wall (2)	Burial chamber: north, west walls
PT 670	west wall; south	Not present	Burial chamber: south wall
PT 33 (= 32 = 423)	west wall; north	west wall (PT 423); north wall (PT 32 x3); south wall (PT32)	Burial chamber: west wall (2)
PT 454	west wall; north	north wall; west wall	Burial chamber: west wall
PT 81	north wall; west	north wall	Burial chamber: north wall
PT 414	north wall; west, east	Not present	Burial chamber: east wall
PT 634	north wall; east	Not present	Burial chamber: north wall
PT 635	north wall; east	north wall	Burial chamber: north wall