READING A PYRAMID

James P. ALLEN

Among the innovations promoted by Jean Leclant in his work on the Pyramid Texts is the practice of numbering the columns of each pyramid by room, wall, and column rather than sequentially: for example, P A/E 4 (for Pepi I, antechamber, east wall, column 4) in place of the older P 208. This is an important step in Pyramid Texts studies because it recognizes the role that physical location plays in the choice and meaning of each text in the pyramid.

The location and order of Pyramid Texts spells within the pyramids has long been, and continues to be, a subject of interest and debate. Despite differing conclusions, each new interpretation has argued for, or at least conceded, the existence of discrete groups of spells within the larger corpus. In the arrangement of these groups most studies have also seen a rationale behind the decoration of the pyramid substructure: architectural, ritual, or both. At the behest of Prof. Leclant, I presented a few ideas on this topic at the Second International Congress of Egyptologists in 1979. Because of his seminal role both in the study of Pyramid Texts and in my own interest in the subject, it is a pleasure to dedicate to Jean Leclant this more formal and expanded presentation.

1. Text Sequences.

The pyramid of Unis has received most attention in this respect because its corpus of texts is the first, and the most complete, of the original Old Kingdom sources: namely, the bicameral pyramids of Unis [W, fig. 1], Teti (T), Pepi I (P), Merenre (M), and Pepi II (N); and the single-chamber tombs of Pepi II's queens N.1 (Nt), Isi (Aj), and Wdjbt-n= (Ou), and the VIIth-Dynasty pharaoh Jbj (Ab). Offsetting these attractions somewhat is the size of Unis' corpus. His sarcophagus chamber, passage, antechamber, and corridor offer the smallest amount of inscribed wall space of

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1. Layout of Walls in the Pyramid of Unis.


- Palace-façade decoration
- Unis sarcophagus-chamber spells
- Unis antechamber spells
- Mekh sequence (not in Unis)

Direction signs face
→ Direction columns read
the five bicameral tombs. Comparison of the layout of Unis’s texts with those of his successors, and with those of Middle Kingdom copies such as that of Senusret-ankh at Lisht, shows that Unis’s editor was not always able to preserve the physical integrity of a complete sequence of spells, and may have had to omit some spells from the corpus as well. Despite such limitations, it is possible not only to recognize distinct groups of spells within the corpus, but also to read from the content and location of these groups the purpose of each element in the burial complex itself.

Unis’s pyramid contains 227 separate spells (“Sprüche/Utterances”), numbered by Sethc as follows: PT 23, 25, 32, 34-57, 72-96, 108-171, 199-200, 204-205, 207, 209-224, 226-258, 260-263, 267-321. Even to the casual observer it is clear that many of these spells belong to larger units: some, despite their discontinuous numbering (e.g., PT 204-205, 207, 209-212, which occupy the whole of the east gable of the sarcophagus chamber and are later incorporated as a whole into Book of the Dead spell 178); some, despite continuous numbering with other spells (e.g., PT 226-243, which fill the west gable of the sarcophagus chamber and are distinct in content and location from PT 244, first spell on the south wall of the passage between the sarcophagus chamber and antechamber). Such larger units can usually be distinguished on the basis of physical location and/or content. Where neither of these criteria is distinctive enough, the arrangement in later Old Kingdom pyramids or in Middle Kingdom copies offers additional help.

The most complete copy of Unis’s corpus of Pyramid Texts, both originally and as preserved, exists in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Senusret-ankh [fig. 2]. In this tomb, a single sarcophagus chamber corresponds to the sarcophagus chamber, passage, and antechamber of Unis’s substructure. The arrangement of spells in the two tombs is therefore slightly different.2

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2. The intervening numbers were assigned by Sethc to later variants (PT 33, 206, 208, 259, 264-266), or to spells that seem to intervene in later pyramids (PT 24, 26-31, 58-71, 97-107, 172-198, 201-203). PT 79-80 and 273-274 are two single spells assigned double numbers for various reasons. In this paper, references to Pyramid Texts are to the spell (PT) and line (Pyr.) numbers of Sethc, Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, Leipzig, 1908-1922, 1-41. Additional texts from the pyramid of Pepi II, his queens, and the VIIIth-Dynasty king Ibi can be found in the following publications of G. Jéquier: Le Monument funéraire de Pépi II, vol. I: Le Tombeau royal, Cairo, 1936; Les Pyramides des reines Nefet et Apouit, Cairo, 1933; La Pyramide d’Oudaibten, Cairo, 1928; La Pyramide d’Aha, Cairo, 1935.

3. W. Hayes, Texts in the Mastaba of Se’n-wosret-ankh at Lisht, PMMA 12, 1937, pl. 3-12. Code as follows:
SI .................. sarcophagus chamber
AP .................. antechamber
PI .................. passage between sarcophagus chamber and antechamber
CI .................. corridor leading out of antechamber
N, E, W .............. North, South, East, West walls
Eg, Wig .............. East gable, West gable
Nw, Ne .............. North wall, west end / east end
Nnw, Nnm, Nne North wall, middle, west end/ middle / east end
i, ii, etc. ............. register numbers.
Numbers in italics indicate partial columns. Numbers enclosed in parentheses indicate columns filling an entire wall or section of wall.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senwosret-ankh location</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>Unis location</th>
<th>PT</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nw i</td>
<td>1-26, 23, 25, 32</td>
<td>S/N i</td>
<td>1-13, 23, 25, 32</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27-36, 34</td>
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<td>14-17, 34</td>
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<td>ii</td>
<td>1-25, 35-42</td>
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<td>26-36, 32-33</td>
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<td>iii</td>
<td>(1-36), 43-56</td>
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<td>37-54, 43-56</td>
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<td>iv</td>
<td>1-2, 57</td>
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<td>55, 57</td>
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<td>3-10, 32</td>
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<td>11-36, 72-80</td>
<td>ii, 1-11</td>
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<td>1-14, 81</td>
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<td>15-31, 25-32</td>
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<td>18-27, 25-32</td>
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<td>1-26, 87-96</td>
<td>vi, 1-26</td>
<td>33-46, 87-96</td>
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<td>iii, (1-55)</td>
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<td>Nmw (1)</td>
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<td>173-196</td>
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<td>2-4, 223</td>
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<td>5, 244</td>
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<td>11-18, 224, 224</td>
<td>S/E</td>
<td>17-19, 200</td>
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<td>1-5, 204-205, 207, 209-212</td>
<td>S/Eg</td>
<td>36-38, 224</td>
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<td>Ne</td>
<td>5-8, 245-246</td>
<td>P/S</td>
<td>2-19, 245-246</td>
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<td>9-31, 302-312</td>
<td>A/N</td>
<td>(1-43), 302-312</td>
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<td>31-32, 373 end</td>
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<td>32-33, CT 516</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>1-33, 213-219 beg</td>
<td>S/S</td>
<td>(1-56), 213-219 beg.</td>
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<td>33-43, 219 end-222</td>
<td>S/E</td>
<td>1-33, 219 end-222</td>
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<td>44-53, 247-253</td>
<td>A/Wg</td>
<td>(1-37), 247-253</td>
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<td>70-91, 260 end-263</td>
<td>A/S</td>
<td>1-24, 260 end-263</td>
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<td>91, 267 beg.</td>
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<td>24, 267 beg.</td>
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<td>1-14, 267 end-272</td>
<td>A/Eg</td>
<td>24-43, 267 end-272</td>
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<td>14-26, 273-276</td>
<td>A/E</td>
<td>(1-36), 273-276</td>
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<td>26-46, 277-301</td>
<td>S/Wg</td>
<td>(1-36), 277-301</td>
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<td>46-57, 226-243</td>
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<td>57-60, 593</td>
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<td>60-63, 356-357</td>
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<td>63, 364 beg.</td>
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<td>1-10, 313-317</td>
<td>C/W</td>
<td>(1-20), 313-317</td>
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<td>10-21, 364 end</td>
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<td>21-23, 677 beg.</td>
<td>C/E</td>
<td>(1-20), 318-321</td>
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<td>1-11, 318-321</td>
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<td></td>
<td>11-17, 677 end</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>17-21, 365</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-23, 373 beg.</td>
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By comparing the layout of the two sources, a number of discrete sequences spells can be recognized:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Senwosret-ankh</th>
<th>Unis</th>
<th>PT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Ne</td>
<td>S/N</td>
<td>Offering list (from PT 23 through PT 1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Nnw - Nme 1</td>
<td>S/E 34-38</td>
<td>172-198</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Nme 2-18</td>
<td>P/N 1</td>
<td>223-224</td>
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<td></td>
<td>P/N 2-16</td>
<td>223, 23, 25</td>
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<td>P/N 17-19</td>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P/S 1</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Ne 1-8</td>
<td>S/Eg</td>
<td>204-205, 207, 209-212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>S 1-43</td>
<td>P/S 2-19</td>
<td>245-246</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>S 44 - E 46</td>
<td>A/Wg</td>
<td>A/Wg 247-253, A/W-A/S 254-258, 260-263, 267-272</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>A/Eg</td>
<td>273-276</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A/E</td>
<td>277-301</td>
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<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Ne 9-31</td>
<td>A/N</td>
<td>302-312</td>
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<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>E 46-57</td>
<td>S/Wg</td>
<td>226-243</td>
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<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>C/W 1-10</td>
<td>C/W</td>
<td>313-317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>C/E 1-11</td>
<td>C/E</td>
<td>318-321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>E 57-63 + C/W 10-23 + C/E 11-23 + Ne 31-33</td>
<td>593, 356-357, 364, 677, 365, 373, CT 51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sequences themselves fall into several groups: those in the western half of Senwosret-ankh’s chamber (A-E), corresponding to Unis’s sarcophagus chamber and passage; those in the eastern half of the chamber (F-H), corresponding mostly to Unis’s antechamber; and those in the corridor of both tombs (I-J).

Unis has one spell not copied by Senwosret-ankh (PT 200). Although it occupies its own discrete columns (P/N 17-19), it can be assigned with some probability to sequence C, since its subject, censing, is the same as that of the preceding spell 25 (P/N 11-16).

Senwosret-ankh’s tomb contains two sequences not found in Unis’s. Sequence B (PT 172-198) is a short list of offerings and accompanying spells, entitled htp-dj-nsw.tj htp-dj-gbb (Pyr. 101 b). The same sequence occurs in the pyramids of Unis’s successors, and may have been omitted from Unis’s corpus for lack of space.

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Sequence K is found as such in other Middle Kingdom sources. Unlike the *hth-dj-sw.t / gbb*, however, this sequence probably did not exist as such before the Middle Kingdom, although its ancestors can be identified in variant sequences from the Old Kingdom pyramids of Teti and his successors.

Within the sequences that Uni and Senwosret-ankh have in common, the order of spells is not always the same. Sequences A, E, and G-J are very nearly identical; the others show differences of one sort or another. In the latter case, the arrangement of Senwosret-ankh indicates a sequence among groups of spells that in Uni are generally arranged as discrete units. In such cases, evidence from other sources often shows which is representative of the more usual order.

Sequence C in Senwosret-ankh corresponds to a series of spells that, in Uni, occupy the end of S/E (34-38), all of P/N (1-19), and the first column of P/S (1). Senwosret-ankh, moreover, begins the sequence with PT 223 and ends it with (two copies of) PT 224, while in Uni these two spells are clearly sequential (S/E 34-36 and 36-38), as in most other Old Kingdom, and several Middle Kingdom, copies.


6. *Pace* ALTMÜLLER, *Begräbnisrituale*, p. 37, 39, 49. See next note. The location of Sequence K in the tomb of Senwosret-ankh, in four sections at the ends of walls, suggests that it was added secondarily to the texts carved in this tomb. Its orthography, moreover, shows Middle Kingdom characteristics, unlike that of the other sequences in the tomb: ALLEN, in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, SAOC 39, 1976, p. 24, n. 1.

7. Teti 355-358 (S/E ii 29-47 = T 156-183)

Pepi I 364-374 (A/Eg 28-55 = T 264-291)

Pepi II 593 (S/Eg 39-42 = P frag. *Orientalis* 40, 1971, pl. 30)

356-357 (S/Ei 1-8 = P 129-136)

365-366 (S/Wg 22-37 = P 22-37)

Merenre 359, 356-357 (S/Eg 1-36 = M 131-166)

364 (A/Eg 40-63 = M 416-437+2)

365-366 (S/Wg 32-42 = M 32-42)

373 (S/Wg horizontal) 3-6 = M 65-67

Pepi II 359, 357 (S/Eii 1-8 = N 647-654)

356, 422, 365, 373 (S/W 35-60 = N 105-130)

364, CT 516 (A/E 9-17 = N 1055-22-30 (pl. 15 frg. 20+1328))

675-677 (P/N 7-27 = N 890-820)

Queen N.t 356, 593, 357 (S/W 37-59 = N 420-442)

Queen Jpt 364, 677, 374, CT 517 (S/E 15-38 = Ap frag. 24/B 1-21)


8. PT 223-225 in N S/Nem v 29-52 = N 529-552; NL S/Nem i-iii (1-29) = NL 339-357; Ou S/Nem iv 29-49 = Ou 112-132; for the last see ALLEN, *JARCE* 23, 1986, p. 6. PT 223-224 in the Licht sarcophagus of Mentu-hotep II (E 35-42, unpublished) and in the coffin of Hnḥijs ḳ3jj (G. LAPP, Sērge des Mittleren Reiches aus der ehemaligen Sammlung Khedibou Ager, Abb 43, 1985, pl. 35 [E] iii 62-70). PT 223 occurs separately in the OK pyramid of Teti (frag. *Orientalia* 35, 1966, pl. 10, fig. 17: 3-6, from somewhere on S/N, following two short offering spells); and in the MK documents B2Bo E 243-253 = B2Bo 566-576 (unpublished), following PT 171 and preceding CT 751 (a food spell); M2C E 5-10 = M2C 96-101 (unpublished), following PT 926 and preceding CT 834 (both similar to PT 224); the coffin of Hnḥijs ḳ3jj (LAPP, *op. cit.*, pl. 35 [E] ii 82-90, at the end of the register, following PT 171); Q1Q E 27-43 (E. CHASINAT et al., *Fouilles de Qattah, MIFAO* 14, 1911, p. 58 sq.), following the offering list and preceding PT 204; and TT 240 S 1-4 = TT 240 62-63 (unpublished), by itself on the wall. PT 224 occurs separately in the pyramids of Teti (S/E 1-13 = T 137-149, preceding PT 172-173) and Merenre (S/E 5-7, in a sequence of spells analogous to Uni's S/Eg); and in the MK coffin S5C W 41-53 = S5C 41-53 (unpublished), between CT 896 (a food spell) and CT 897 (similar to PT 72).
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The characteristic spells of the rest of the sequence, PT 199 and 244, are found up from Unis and Senwosret-ankh only in the pyramids of Merenre and Pepi II. Pepi places these spells at the very end of the north wall (S/Nee v 98-108 = N 552+4 564+3), in the order PT 199, 32-33, [244],9 corresponding to the probable order Unis: PT 199, 32, 23, 25, 200 (P/N), followed by PT 244 (P/S 1). Merenre shows the same order preserved in Senwosret-ankh, PT 199 followed by 244 (S/E 1 = M 194, at the beginning of a series corresponding to Unis’s S/Eg); but this seems to represent an order of the characteristic spells only, and could therefore derive from a sequence with the same order (PT 199, [32, 23, 25], 244) rather than from the sequence preserved in Senwosret-ankh (PT 199, 244, [32, 23, 25]). Both in this case and in his use of I 223-224, Senwosret-ankh seems to follow an order different from that intended by Unis’s editors: PT 223-224 (S/E); 199, 32, 23, 25, 200 (P/N); 244 (P/S).

Sequence D in Senwosret-ankh is another such case. Unis’s PT 245-246 follow directly after PT 204-205, 207, 209-212 in Senwosret-ankh’s copy, in the same column (Ne 5 = S 308). In all other copies, PT 245-246 form a single sequence with E (P 213-222, 245-246).10 Senwosret-ankh’s arrangement must therefore be regarded as anomalous. The distinction between PT 245-246 and the other spells of Sequence I in Senwosret-ankh’s copy is clear on the wall: the hieroglyphs of the other spells are small and crowded, particularly at the end of PT 212; those of PT 245-246 are normal in size and spacing.11 For a parallel instance of two separate sequences beginning and ending in the same column, note Sequence F/H (S 44 - E 46 and E 46-57), clearly separate sequences in Unis (A/Wg-A/W-A/S-A/Eg-A/E and S/Wg); also Sequence K of whose four sections begin in a partial column.

Sequence F consists of four discrete segments in Unis. Apart from Senwosret-ankh there is no evidence to indicate that they are sequential. PT 247-258, 260-263, 267-274 appear as a sequence in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Siese (in a clear sequence in E-S-W-N), and PT 247-258 probably also in a fragmentary Middle Kingdom copy.12 On the other hand, several copies seem to treat PT 272 as the end of a sequence.13

9. The number of columns in each register of this wall (108) requires one more column at the end of register v after Sethos’s S 564-2, which ends PT 33 (Pyr. 25 v). Since this is too short for either PT 23 or PT 25, the short PT 244 is a likely candidate.
10. PT 213-222 followed by PT 245-246 occur as a sequence in the pyramids of Teti (S/S 1-70 = fragm. Orientalia 35, 1966, pl. 9, fig. 15 and J. SAINTE FARE GARNOIS, in Mélanges Mariotte, BdE 32, 1961, pl. 2-3, fragm. 7-15 and pl. 6, fragm. 30; a unique short spell intervenes between PT 222 and PT 245 in T S/S 64-65), Pepi I (S/S 1-36: fragm. Orientalia 40, 1971, pl. 30-31 and Orientalia 41, 1972, pl. 14, fig. 11), Pepi II (S/S 1-50 + N 70945-71919-20), Queen Neferti (S/S 1-89 + S/E 1-7 = Ne 493-581 and 723-729), and King Jph (S/N 1-52 = Ab 261-312). For MK copies of other Senwosret-ankh, PT 245-246 is attested only in QIQ (Se 1-9: CHASSINAT et al., Qattah, p. 54 sq), which does not have PT 213-222.
11. HAYES, Se’m-wosret-ankh, pl. 5, cols. 304-308.
13. In the Lishi tomb of Imhotep (unpublished), PT 268-272 (E 30-55, following Unis’s S/Eg sequence) is followed by the beginning of Sequence E (PT 213- 214: E 55-end). In QIQ, PT 270-272 (Sw 1-10) are followed by the beginning of Sequence G (PT 302- 304: Sw 10-W 12): CHASSINAT et al., Qattah, p. 35-43.
From this evidence, Unis’s text sequences can be reconstructed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unis</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td>S/N</td>
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<tr>
<td>[B]</td>
<td>172-198</td>
<td>omitted (for lack of space ?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>223-224</td>
<td>S/En (S/E 34-38)</td>
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<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>199, 32, 23, 25, 200</td>
<td>P/N</td>
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<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>P/Sw (P/S 1)</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>204-205, 206, 209-212</td>
<td>A/Eg</td>
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<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>213-222</td>
<td>S/S-S/Ea (S/E 1-33)</td>
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<tr>
<td>E2</td>
<td>245-246</td>
<td>P/Se (P/S 2-19)</td>
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<td>247-258, 260-263, 270-272</td>
<td>A/Wg-A/S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>273-276</td>
<td>A/Eg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3</td>
<td>277-301</td>
<td>A/E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>302-312</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>226-243</td>
<td>S/Wg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>313-317</td>
<td>C/W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>318-321</td>
<td>C/E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further evidence, both internal and that of other copies, makes it possible to reconstruct the order of these sequences and their relationship to each other.

2. Sequence Content and Order.

Sequences A-C form a single unit, which can be called the Offering Ritual [fig. 3]. Sequence A consists of the short spells occupying the three registers of the north wall of the sarcophagus chamber:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>PT 23</th>
<th>Libation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>PT 25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10-13</td>
<td>PT 32</td>
<td>Water and Incense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14-25</td>
<td>PT 34-36</td>
<td>Incense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26-37</td>
<td>PT 37-42, 32, 43</td>
<td>Mouth-Opening</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38-55</td>
<td>PT 44-57</td>
<td>Small Meal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>1-17</td>
<td>PT 72-81</td>
<td>Oils, Eyepaint, Clothing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18-23</td>
<td>PT 23</td>
<td>Libation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24-27</td>
<td>PT 32</td>
<td>Water and Incense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28-46</td>
<td>PT 82-96</td>
<td>Offering Table</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>1-55</td>
<td>PT 108-171</td>
<td>Great Meal (abk.t-htp)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The term “ritual” is appropriate for these texts, because they are clearly meant to accompany the presentation of offerings, and to be uttered by an officiant to the dead king (addressed as “Osiris Unis”): e.g.,

\[ Wsjr: Wnjs m-n=k jr.t Hrw f3 n=k s jr hr=k (PT 92) \]

\[ f3.t t hnt.t \]

Osiris Unis, take the Eye of Horus: lift it up for yourself to your face.

Lifting up the bread and beer.
Protective Spells

Personal Spells
("King's Response")

Offering Ritual

Resurrection Ritual

Fig. 3. - Sarcophagus-Chamber Sequences.
In other sources, including the copy of Senwosret-anhk, Sequence A is followed by Sequence B, the http-dj-nsw.t / gbb (PT 172-198),\textsuperscript{14} missing (for lack of space?) in Unis.

Unis’s Offering Ritual concludes with Sequence C, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/E</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>General Offering</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34-36</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>General Food Offering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-38</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>General Offering of Clothing and Insignia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P/N</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>Offering of Clothing and Insignia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>Reversion of Offerings (wdh http.t-npr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Libation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-19</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>Censing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>Smashing Ritual Vessels.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PT 223 is a general summary of the food-offering ritual —

\[ h3\text{ Wmjs } ‘h’ \text{ hms r h3 m t h3 m h(n)q.t } (Pyr. 214 b) \]

Oh Unis, stand up and sit down to a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer.

PT 224 is a similar summary of the ritual for presentation of clothing and royal insignia, absent in Unis (and Senwosret-anhk) but preserved at the end of the north wall in later tombs\textsuperscript{15} —

\[ \text{http-dj-nsw.t m s’n=k nb m swt=k nb } (Pyr. 219 a / 220 a) \]

A royal offering of all your insignia in all your places.

In most sources these spells follow directly after the Great Meal or the http-dj-nsw.t / gbb.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{14} In the pyramid of Pepi II, PT 171 ends the 4th register of the north wall’s east half, middle section (S/Nem iv 64 = N 473), and PT 172-198 begin in the 5th register of the same section (S/Nem v 1-28 = N 501-528). The situation is similar in the chambers of Queens N.t and Wdb t-n=ti(j): PT 171 Ni S/Nem iii 64 (Nt 256) / Ou S/Nem iii 64 (Ou 103).

PT 172-198 Ni S/Nem iv 1-26 (Nt 257-282 = PT 173-198) / Ou S/Nem iv 1-28 (Ou 104-111 = PT 191-198; cols. 1-20 = PT 172-190 lost); for the text of Wdb t-n=ti(j) see Allen, JARCE 23, 1986, p. 6. In the pyramid of King Hj.b, PT 108-198 are sequential in one register (S/Nem iv 1-40 = Ah 221-260).


\textsuperscript{16} N S/Nem v 29-52 (N 529-552) and Ou S/Nem iv 29-49 (Ou 112-132), following PT 172-198. In Teti’s pyramid, PT 224 appears in the second register of the east wall (S/E ii 1-13 = T 137-149), below the end of the Great Meal (PT 142-171; T S/E i = T 107-136) and before the two introductory spells of the http-dj-nsw.t / gbb (PT 172-173; T S/E ii 13-19 = T 149-155); PT 223 occurred somewhere on the north wall (fragm. Orientalia 35, 1966, pl. 10, fig. 17). In the pyramid of Queen N.t, PT 223-225 is positioned at the end of the wall (S/Nec i-ii = Nt 329-357), after the http-dj-nsw.t / gbb (S/Nem iv 1-26 = Nt 257-282) and the clothing/insignia ritual (see preceding note). In Mencare’s sarcophagus chamber, PT 224 appears among a group of spells on the east wall corresponding to Unis’s Sequence D (see n. 7, above). In the copy of Senwosret-anhk, PT 223 follows the http-dj-nsw.t / gbb (Nec 2-4 = S 287-289), and PT 224 (twice) follows the closing spells of the Offering Ritual (Nec 11-18 = S 290-303). In other MK copies, PT 223 follows either the Great Meal (B2Bo S66-576, unpublished; Law, Surah, pl. 35 ii 82-90) or the offering list derived from the Great Meal (OIQ E 27-42; Chassinat et al., Qu’irah, p. 58 sq.; Lish’t sarcophagus of Mentuhotep II 35-42, unpublished).
Their position in Unis's corpus is therefore after Sequence A: they also precede the spells of the closing rite proper (C2-C3), which occupy the north wall of the passage and the first column of the south wall of the passage (P/N - P/S 1). The closing rites themselves consist of the formal "Reversion of Offerings" to the king's use (PT 199), a final purification (PT 32, 23, 25, 200), and smashing of the vessels used in the ritual (to prevent their reuse).

Sequence E forms a second great set of spells, occupying the southern half of Unis's sarcophagus chamber and passage [fig. 3]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/S</th>
<th>S/E 33</th>
<th>PT 213-222 (E1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P/S</td>
<td>2-19</td>
<td>PT 245-246 (E2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite their location on different walls and the intervention of PT 223-224 (S/E 34-38) and PT 244 (P/S 1), PT 245-246 were clearly intended to follow PT 222, as they do in all other OK sources (see n. 10 above). In this sequence, the dead king is identified with Osiris —

\[
\begin{align*}
    d.t=k & \text{ d.t Wnjs pn} \\
    jf=k & \text{ jf Wnjs pn} \\
    q.s.w=k & \text{ q.s.w Wnjs pn (Pyr. 193 a-b)} \\
    (\text{Osiris,}) & \text{ your body is the body of this Unis} \\
    & \text{your flesh is the flesh of this Unis,} \\
    & \text{your bones are this Unis's bones —} \\
\end{align*}
\]

and is urged to leave this world and follow the sun in its daily cycle:

\[
\begin{align*}
    j.zj & \text{ m bt r\(e\)=k …} \\
    w=n=k & \text{ jr gs ntr} \\
    j.jx=k & \text{ pr=k n z3=k n tt.t=k (Pyr. 137 a-c-d)} \\
    \text{Go after your Sun …} \\
    \text{and be beside the god,} \\
    \text{and leave your house to your son of your begetting,} \\
    r\(e\) & \text{ tm j n=k Wnjs pn …} \\
    s.\(s\)=\text{in} & \text{ hr.j f\(e\)=twa m snkw} \\
    wbn=\text{in} & \text{ m 3h.j m bw 3h.n=\text{in jn (Pyr. 152 ff.)}} \\
    \text{Re Atum, this Unis has come to you …} \\
    \text{You two shall travel the above together from the dusk;} \\
    \text{you two shall rise from the Akhet, where you have become akh.}
\end{align*}
\]

17. W S/E 34-38 are the last five columns at the north end of the east wall; PT 223 begins at the top of the first of these columns. *Pace Osing, MDAIK* 42, 1986, p. 136. Sequence D (PT 204-205/207/209-212: S/Eg = W 166-205) is not part of the Offering Ritual per se, either in Unis or elsewhere, but forms instead a "response" to that ritual, originally meant to be spoken by the deceased in the first person (see below). In the copy of Senwosret-ankh it follows the end of the Offering Ritual (which ends in the final column of *Nm = S* 303), and begins in a new column in a new section of the wall (Ne 1 = S 304).
The sequence opens with the famous line
\[ h3 \text{Wnej nj } \text{Sm.n=k js mt=tj} \]
\[ \text{Sm.n=k } \text{Cnh=t (Pyr. 134 a)} \]
Oh Unis, you have not gone away dead:
you have gone away alive.

and ends with an assurance to the king that
\[ n\text{hj } \text{rn=k hr r(m)t} \]
\[ \text{Hpr } \text{rn=k hr nr.w (Pyr. 256 d)} \]
Your name shall endure among men
even as your name comes to be with the gods.

As a whole, Sequence E is apparently intended to release the spirit of the dead
king from its attachment to this world and from the inertia of the Duat — represented
by Horus and Osiris, respectively:
\[ \text{Wjsr nj Shm.n=k jm=f nj Shm.n 23=k jm=f} \]
\[ \text{Hwr nj Shm.n=k jm=f nj Shm.n jt=k jm=f (Pyr. 146 a-b)} \]
Osiris, you cannot have control of him; your son cannot have control of him.
Horus, you cannot have control of him; your father cannot have control of him —
so that it can join the sun in its daily round of death and rebirth: hence, a kind of
“Resurrection Ritual.” Most of the spells are addressed, in whole (PT 213-215) or in
part (PT 221-222, 245-246), to the deceased, and can therefore be recognized as ritual
in origin — even if the ritual consisted solely in reciting the spells themselves,
without other actions. PT 216 retains original first-person forms;\(^\text{18}\) this, as well as the
exclusively third-person spells PT 217-218, may have been intended to be spoken by
(an officiant on behalf of) the deceased. PT 221-222 and 245-246 alternate between
sections addressed to the king and others spoken by (or about) him. In line with its
apparent purpose, the ritual begins with three spells (PT 213-215) addressed solely to
the king (inert in his sarcophagus), continues with three spells (PT 216-18) meant
originally to be spoken by the newly revived king, and concludes with six spells (PT
219-222, 245-246) spoken alternatively to and (originally) by the king.

The Offering Ritual and the Resurrection Ritual constitute nearly all the spells in
Unis’s sarcophagus chamber and passage, with the exception of the two gables. The
sequence of spells within these two great rituals is fairly clear, as shown above.
Fortunately, there is also evidence for the sequence of the two rituals themselves. In

\(^{18}\) Pyr. 150 a-c jw.n=f(j) hr=nt.
In most MK copies these are rendered as third-
person pronominal: jw.n=f; feminine jw.n=s in
B4Bo 371-372, M5C 50-51, TT 319 66; first-
person in MJC 66-67, M2C 56-58, M25C 32 (all
unpublished).
the Middle Kingdom copy of M1C, the Resurrection Ritual, which occupies the entirety of the Back (M1C 29-103 = PT 213-222), is entitled

\[ r n s3w m h r wdb-h.t \ (M1C 29, unpublished) \]

Spell of akh-making after the reversion of offerings.

Apparently, therefore, the king is first provided with the means of continued life, in the Offering Ritual, and is then revived in the Resurrection Ritual to assume that new life as an akh.

The two gables in the sarcophagus chamber are configured as non-ritual sequences meant originally for the personal use of the king, speaking in the first person.\(^{19}\) Sequence H occupies the west gable of the sarcophagus chamber (S/Wg 1-40 = W 300-340). In a few Middle Kingdom copies, this sequence is entitled

\[ r n h sf irk m h r-t-nfr jn NN pn \]

Spell for barring irk in the necropolis by this NN.\(^{20}\)

It is evidently meant to protect the sarcophagus and its contents, lying below, from the snakes, scorpions, and other inimical beings to whom it is addressed. Unis is unique in using such spells in this location: in the other Old Kingdom pyramids the west wall contains spells that either concern the king’s ascension to the sky or reprise themes from the Offering Ritual.\(^{21}\)

Sequence D fills the east gable of Unis’s sarcophagus chamber (S/Eg 1-40 = W 166-205). These spells form a kind of “response” on the part of the deceased to the Offering Ritual conducted on his behalf. In them, the dead king establishes himself as the source of his own food-supply (Pyr. 122 b - 123) and cajoles nourishment from the deities in the next world (Pyr. 124 a-b, 125, 129-130, 131 c-c, 133 d-e). The opening spell, PT 204, may refer to an “Osiris-bed” or similar grain-producing device.\(^{22}\)

Both gable sequences are apparently independent of the two great ritual sequences in the sarcophagus chamber (and passage). If there was a sequential relationship

---

19. On the east gable, original \( \text{is} \) is preserved in Pyr. 124 a-b \( h.t \ n=(j)^{j} \) “A meal for me!” and reflected in the difference between nominal (NN) and pronominal forms in the various OK copies of Pyr. 127 b-c, 128 a, 129 a-c, 130 c-d, 131 b-c, 132 a-c, 133 c-f. Sequence D also appears as a unit in the Book of the Dead (BD 178 b-h). For PT 210 cf. also CT 216. On the west gable, the original \( \text{is} \) is clear in Pyr. 244 b-c Nt (Nt 707), altered variously to third-person or the king’s name in other copies. Original first-person is also preserved, unaltered, in Pyr. 227 b-c (clear in T1Be 260: K.R. Lepsius, Aelteste Texte des Todtenbuchs nach Sarkophagen des altaegyptischen Reichs im Berliner Museum, Berlin, 1867, pl. 15, col. 69) and probably also Pyr. 246 b (\( nj=j \) “I will turn”).

20. Sq1C 27 and Sq2C 18 (G.Maspero, Trois Années de fouilles dans les tombeaux de Thèbes et de Memphis, MMAF 5/2, 1885, p. 225 and 236), T1Be 258 (Lepsius, Aelteste Texte, pl. 15, col. 67), T3Be 34 (ibid., pl. 35, col. 1); \( jn \ NN \ pn \) only in T3Be.

21. Similar sequences of protective spells are found on the east wall of the antechamber in Unis’s succeeding pyramids (see below). This “normal” location for such spells is apparently the motive behind Senosret-ankh’s arrangement of Sequence H at the end of his east wall.

between the four groups, however, it is perhaps indicated by (1) the arrangement in Senwosret-anhk’s copy, where Sequence D follows after the end of the Offering Ritual; and (2) by the words of the opening spell of the Offering Ritual, which may reflect the protective spells of Sequence H:

\[
\begin{align*}
Wsjr \; jf \; n=k \; ms\, dw\; ns\, w\; nb\, w \; mdw \; m \; \text{n} = f \; d\; w \\
Dhwtj \; jz \; jf \; sw \; n \; Ws\; jr \\
ju \; mdw \; m \; \text{n} \; n \; ns\, w\; t \; d\; w \\
d \; n=k \; sw \; md \; dr. \; = k \\
\text{dd}-mdw \; zp \; 4 \; m \; sfrh=k \; \text{j}\; m = f \\
z\; m=k \; sfrhw \; jm = f \; (\text{PT} \; 23)
\end{align*}
\]

Osiris, seize to yourself all who hate the king and whoever speaks badly of his name.
Thoth, come, seize him for Osiris:
get the one who speaks badly of the name of the king.
put him for yourself in your hand.

Recitation four times: Don’t you let loose of him:
Beware that you don’t let loose of him.

Insofar as they are related to one another, therefore, the sequences in Unis’s sarcophagus chamber and passage follow the order: H (S/Wg — protective spells), A-C(1-3) (S/N-S/En-P/N-P/Sw — Offering Ritual), D (S/Eg — “King’s Response”), and E(1-2) (S/S-S/Es-P/Se).

In contrast to the sarcophagus chamber and passage, the spells in the antechamber and corridor are primarily non-ritual — meant for the personal use of the king’s spirit as it makes its way to the next world. The distinction is marked by the first line of the first spell in the antechamber, PT 247:

\[
\text{jr.} \; n = k \; zj = k \; Hrw \; (\text{Pyr.} \; 257 \; a)
\]

Your son Horus has acted for you.

This is apparently a reference to the rituals of the inner chamber, performed by the king’s successor (or an officiant) acting in the role of Horus, son of the deceased Osiris. It is also one of the few sections of the antechamber sequences (F-G, I-J) addressed to the deceased king by an officiant rather than meant (originally) to be spoken by the king himself.\(^{23}\)

As noted above, Senwosret-anhk and other Middle Kingdom copies provide evidence for two (F, G) or at most four (F1, F2, F3, G) sequences linking the five discrete sections of Unis’s antechamber spells. In the antechamber, the orientation of both

\(^{23}\) In Unis’s corpus otherwise only PT 306. The second-person address to the king in PT 254 (Pyr. 282 b - 286 a) is probably spoken by the deity mentioned in Pyr. 282 a; the remainder of the spell is in the (original) first person. PT 301 is apparently a ritual spell, to judge from the legend zp 4 hjk wj w3d wj “Four times. Two green falcons” at its end (Pyr. 475 c), but it too is put in the mouth of the king.
signs (facing right) and text (columns reading from right to left) suggests an overall sequentiality from A/Wg to A/W to A/S to A/Eg to A/E [fig. 4] — evidently confirmed by Senwosret-ankh’s Sequence F. The Middle Kingdom copy Q1 further indicates that Sequence G follows F.24 The Middle Kingdom tomb of Imhotep at Lisht shows that the corridor sequences are to be read in the order I-J, since I (C/W: PT 313-317) and J (C/E: PT 318-321) form a single sequence on its west wall (W 1-20; Sequence I ends, and Sequence J begins, in W 10); these in turn probably follow sequence G, which fills the tomb’s north wall (PT 306-312). The order F(1-3)-G-I-J — i.e.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F1</th>
<th>A/Wg</th>
<th>PT 247-253</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A/W+A/S</td>
<td>PT 254-258, 260-263, 270-272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>A/Eg</td>
<td>PT 273-276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3</td>
<td>A/E</td>
<td>PT 277-301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>A/N</td>
<td>PT 302-312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>C/W</td>
<td>PT 313-317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>C/E</td>
<td>PT 318-321</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

thus seems likely for Unis’s antechamber and corridor texts.

F1 begins with the king “emerging from the Duat” (PT 247) and ends with him demanding entrance to “the gateway of Nu” (PT 272); in between it is concerned mainly with his progress in and through various regions of the pre-dawn sky.25 The theme of G is primarily that of ascent to the sky: its opening spell (PT 302) envisions the king as a bird —

\[
hr=j^* m bk.w \\
\dnh.w=j^* m 3pd.w... \\
j.j=n=j^* \cdot wj=(j) m smn \\
h.n=m^* \dnh=(j) m \dr.t \\
p3 p3 \frt \\
p3=j^* r=j m \cdot =t(n (Pyr. 461 b-c / 463 b-d)^26
\]
My face is that of falcons,
my wings are those of birds...
I have used my arms as a goose,
I have beat my wing as a kite.
Someone has flown away, men:
I have flown away from you —

24. F1 end (PT 270-272; Sw 1-10; CHA\N\AT ET AL., Q\S\T\AB, p. 35-38) followed by the beginning of G (PT 302-304; Sw 10 - W 12; ibid., p. 38-43); F2-3 (PT 273-301) do not occur in this tomb.
25. For the cosmic geography of these texts, see ALLEN, in Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt, YES 3. 1989, p. 1-28.
26. Original first person (represented in transcription by j^*) is preserved in Pyr. 463 d W r=j = N r=j, 462 c W c w(j) = N c w=j, 463 c W dnh=(j) = P f\dnh\w=j, also in 460 c W rd=(j) corrected to rd=j.
and its closing spell (PT 312) echoes the same theme metaphorically:

\[ \text{p3 t} \]
\[ \text{p3 3 t r hwtj hw.wt n t (Pyr. 501)} \]

Bread has flown:
bread indeed has flown, to the estate-owner of the Red Crown estates.

Sequence I-J envisions the king on the point of rising into the sky with, or as, the sun. In its first words, he commands

\[ \text{[s]t3 [h]mn b3[hjij]} \]
\[ \text{[f].wn [3.wj prf (Pyr. 502 a)\textsuperscript{27}]} \]

Draw the “Baboon’s penis” (= the doorbolt)!
Open the door of the sky!

The sequence continues with references to the king’s participation in the sunrise: he “rises” (PT 317, 319); he is a baboon greeting the morning sun (PT 315, 320) or “a bull with sunlight in each eye” (PT 319); he “makes green the vegetation on the shores of the Akhet” (PT 316), “clears away the night... sends away the night-hours” (PT 320). The final spell in the sequence, and in the pyramid (PT 321), has him demanding transportation from the ferryman

\[ \text{pu=f* hr=s r p.t} \]
\[ \text{stp=f* z3 r r c m p.t (Pyr. 517 b)} \]
so that I may go out on it to the sky
and attend the sun in the sky.

On first reading, Sequence(s) F2-3, filling the east wall and its gable, seems to lie outside the logical progression of the other walls in the antechamber and corridor: through the night sky (F1) to the door of the day sky (G) and into the sunrise (I-J). F2-3 seems concerned primarily with the king’s acquisition of magic (PT 273-274) and its use against inimical beings (PT 276-299).\textsuperscript{28} It also contains spells identifying the king with Sobek (PT 275), cajoling a ferryman (PT 300), and addressing the gods of creation (PT 301). A closer study, however, reveals a concern for these themes \textit{within} the overall progression of the antechamber and corridor sequences.

\textsuperscript{27} Restored after Senwosret-ankh 491 and the Light tomb of Imhotep (W1, unpublished).

\textsuperscript{28} Despite their similarity to Sequence H, there is no evidence to indicate that PT 276-299 were viewed as a group independent of the sequence (Senwosret-ankh F) or sequences (Unis A/Eg-A/E) in which they occur — \textit{pure Osim,} \textit{MDAIK} 42, 1986, 132/134 and 140. PT 276-299 are preserved as a sequence only in Unis and Senwosret-ankh. Apart from these two sources, a Ramesside copy has PT 275-276 as a sequence — evidence linking PT 276, at least, with the larger original of Unis’s A/Eg (PT 273-276): G. DARESYY, \textit{ASAE} 16, 1916, p. 57-60. The west wall of Unis’s corridor provides a good parallel for the inclusion of protective spells (there, PT 314) within a larger, coherent sequence (PT 313-317).
The first spell, the famous “Cannibal Hymn” (PT 273-274), opens the sequence with a celestial image:

\[
\begin{align*}
& gp p.t \\
& jbjj sh3.w \\
& nnnm pg.wt \\
& sd3 qs.w 3kr.w \\
& gr r=sn gnm.w \\
& m3.n=sn wj* h=kJ* \\
& h3=kJ* m nfr 'nh m jt.wf wth m mjw.wt=f (Pyr. 393-394 b)
\end{align*}
\]

The sky has clouded over,
the stars have been obscured,
the arcs (of the sky) have quaked,
the bones of the horizons have trembled,
and moving things (?) have grown still,
for they have seen me arisen
and impressive as a god who lives on his fathers and feeds on his mothers.

The image is that of the night sky, thrown into a paroxysm of fear at the arrival of the king. \(^{29}\) Night itself, however, is equivalent to the condition of the universe before the moment of creation (marked by the first sunrise) — that is, to the chaos of the primeval ocean, Nu. In that light, Sequence F2-3 can be seen to follow F1 directly: F1 ended with the king standing at “the gateway of Nu;” F2-3 begins with him emerging into the waters of the pre-creation/pre-sunrise universe. PT 273-274 confirms his acquisition of magic from the chaotic forces of this region/time:

\[
\begin{align*}
& jnk* k3 p.t nhd m jb=f \\
& 'nh m hpr n ntr nb... \\
& jw.w mh ht=r sn m hks.w m jw nsjsj (Pyr. 397)
\end{align*}
\]

I am the sky-bull, aggressive in spirit,
who lives on the development of all (the) god(s)...
that come with their belly filled with magic from the Isle of Conflagration. \(^{30}\)

PT 275 equates the king with Sobek (Pyr. 416 c wr jm šd.t; cf. 1564 b), apparently so that he can dominate the dangers to be found in these waters. \(^{31}\) PT 276-299 can then be seen as protective spells directed against the inimical beings to be found there. In the final spells of the sequence, the king turns to less threatening aspects of the night sky: PT 300 demands passage over it, and PT 301 addresses the creative forces

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29. The concept of night is clear in 393a jbjj sh3.w; for the sense of jbjj cf. the determinatives in T and CT VI 177 b SIC. The meaning of 393c gnm.w is conjectured from its determinatives in T, the parallel stum.w of CT VI 177 d, and the immediate context. For the first-person original, cf. CT VI 177 c.

30. For the role of the pw asrs/ nsjsj in the creation, see R. Grieshammer, LÄ II, col. 258 sq.; cf. CT IV 110 h. For its association with magic, cf. CT II 252 a-b; III 321 d-e; V 74 a-d, 176 e-h; VI 270 v-w, 272 g-h. For the first-person original, cf. CT VI 178 h-k.

31. A theme repeated in the Coffin Texts: R. Altomüller, Syncretismus in den Sargtexten, GOF 7, 1975, p. 188.
within the primeval waters, including the sun itself. Thematically as well as physically, therefore, the spells in Unis's outer rooms can be read as a single sequence, from the west wall of the antechamber to the east wall of the corridor, detailing the king's passage through the night sky to ultimate resurrection with the sun at dawn.

3. Layout.

The evidence presented thus far separates the corpus of Unis's Pyramid Texts into two sets, corresponding to the two major rooms in the substructure of his pyramid: the sarcophagus-chamber set, consisting of Sequences H, A-C, D, and E, in that order (at least as far as A-C and E are concerned); and the antechamber set, consisting of Sequences F(1-3), G, and I-J, in that order. The principles that determine the layout of each set on the walls of the tomb are the same as those that govern the order of columns on each wall [fig. 1]: walls preferably read (1) from right to left, and (2) from inside the tomb outwards. In general, these two principles coincide. Where they do not, the second takes precedence over the first: hence the left-to-right order of the north walls and C/W. In addition, the hieroglyphs regularly face the direction from which the text is read, also corresponding to normal Egyptian practice. The only exception occurs on A/N, for reasons noted below.

Each set begins on the west (inside) wall of its major room, at the north (right) end. In the antechamber, Sequence F (A/W-A/S-A/E) follows the normal right-to-left order, while Sequence G-I-J (A/N-C/W-C/E) reads in the normal outwards direction. Since the latter principle takes precedence over the former, the columns of A/N read left to right even though its texts probably continue those of A/E; its hieroglyphs, however, face right, to give the visual impression of sequentiality with A/E.

Unlike the antechamber, the sarcophagus chamber (and passage) is divided axially, with the Offering Ritual (Sequence A-C) occupying the north half of the complex and the Resurrection Ritual (Sequence E) the south half. The east wall serves both rituals: its right-to-left order is both normal and congruent with that of S/S, which it continues. Although its last five columns (S/E 34-38) continue the texts of the north wall, they read south to north rather than the reverse presumably because directionality is uniform on each wall; the same principle governs the orientation of P/S 1, which belongs with the texts of P/N. The gables are ancillary rather than integral to the two great rituals of the sarcophagus chamber. The west gable is separated from both the north and south walls by the palace-façade decoration; unlike A/Wg, therefore, it is not visually sequential with the south wall, even though both share the same orientation. The independence of the east gable is shown by the fact that the texts of S/S continue on the east wall proper (S/E 1), rather than on the gable (S/ Eg 1), in contrast to the progression visible in the antechamber (A/S followed by A/Eg 1); like S/E 34-38, its directionality is determined by the wall as a whole (as well as the standard right-to-left order), even though it belongs conceptually with the Offering Ritual.
The governing principles visible in the layout of Unis's texts suggest the presence of two underlying considerations. The right-to-left order of most walls reflects the normal direction of Egyptian writing — in this case, presumably that of the scrolls from which Unis's texts were copied onto the walls. The orientation of the hieroglyphs is determined in turn by that of the text columns. In neither case does orientation toward the sarcophagus appear to be the governing factor: if this were so, we should expect all the east and west walls to have the same orientation. The king's body, however, does seem to motivate the progression of the texts outwards from the sarcophagus chamber. This principle, like the dominant west-east axially of the substructure, reflects the king's viewpoint: the texts read in the order he would find them in moving from the sarcophagus out of the tomb.


The concept of the king's journey from death to new life enshrined in Unis's Pyramid Texts parallels that of the sun: dying in the west, uniting with Osiris in the Duat, and rising again in the east. The cosmology of this solar passage is that of night (west to east) rather than day (east to west). It is reflected not only in the texts and their layout but also in the substructure of the pyramid itself [fig. 5].

The western, and innermost, room, the sarcophagus chamber, corresponds to the Duat. In the western, and innermost, part of this room the king's body lies in its sarcophagus as the body of Osiris lies in the most hidden (spt3) part of the

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Duat. The identity of the king's body with Osiris is reflected in the Offering Ritual, which refers to the king as "Osiris Unis" (the only texts that do so in this pyramid), and in the Resurrection Ritual, which equates the king with Osiris (e.g., PT 219). The sarcophagus itself is the goddess Nut — here not in her role of the sky but rather in what seems to be the character original to her name: the “oval” (nwt) enclosing the body of her son Osiris.

In this architectural metaphor, the protective spells on Unis’s west gable serve a dual and equivalent purpose: on the one hand, to protect the king’s body from harm; on the other, to protect Osiris from the dangers of the Duat.36 There is further a duality in the image of the dead king himself.37 His body is Osiris (cf. Pyr. 193, cited above), and clearly remains within the sarcophagus as Osiris remains within the Duat.38 But the king’s new life is not restricted to this mode of existence (Pyr. 146a, cited above). Within the sarcophagus the king’s spirit (h3) unites with his body and receives new life from it, as the sun is regenerated through its union with Osiris in the Duat.39 Life force (k3) derives from the body (hence the need for its preservation), which in turn derives nourishment (k3w) from food.40 The Offering Ritual is therefore integral to the process of uniting the king’s spirit with its new life — reflected in the words of its summary spell, PT 223:

\[ h m \ n y r \ m \ h t p - n y r \]
\[ h m \ m n j s \ m \ t f \ p n \]
\[ j t \ a h 3 \ k \ w s j r \ (P y r . 215 a - b ) \]

The god has been provided with his divine offering.

Unis has been provided with this his bread:
you are come to your ba, Osiris.


For the association of Osiris with the Duat in the Pyramid Texts, cf. Pyr. 331 (mn2 d3t = rs qw3; cf. Wb II, 451, 13), 882c, 1525-27a. In the Saite copy of TT 33, the Offering Ritual begins with the legend dd-mdw pr dw31 dbrt-htp swyh wdrw n k3 n NN m3 frw “Recitation; House of the Duat; the Great Meal; purifying the offering-table for the ka of NN, justified” (J. DUMICHEK, Der Grabhülsen des Petenamenep, 1884-1894, I, pl. 5, col. 1), suggesting that the sarcophagus chamber may have been called pr dw31; cf. also KRI II, 371, 4, where the pr dw31 is the location of a Mouth-Opening Ritual.

35. For the name/identity of Nut as “Oval” in the Pyramid Texts, see ALLEN, in Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt, p. 16 sq. Although the sarcophagus of Unis is uninscribed, those of later pyramids are clearly identified as Nut: PT 1-9; cf. also Pyr. 616d.

36. The latter process reflected in the MK title of the sequence (r n HSn r), cited above.

37. BARTA, Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte, p. 102 sq.

38. Osiris’s restriction to the Duat is elaborated best in BD 175: see HORNUNG, Valley of the Kings, p. 115 sq.

39. See BARTA, Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte, p. 149.

40. Cf. Pyr. 372 d, 373 b; U. SCHWIEZER, Das Wesen des Ku im Diesseits und Jenseits der Alten Ägypter, Ägypt Forsch 19, 1956, p. 68-71, 81-84. Hence, the well-known representation of the ka as a “double” of the body; ibid., p. 63-65.
Although the king’s ba awakens to new life in his mummified body (Osiris), however, it must leave the body and “go after your Sun” (Pyr. 137 a) in order to live fully again. This is the evident purpose of the Resurrection Ritual, the final sequence of sarcophagus chamber spells.

Once released from its attachment to the body, the king’s ba proceeds (with the sun) through the Duat toward sunrise. Between the Duat and the morning sky lies the Akhet. Though it is usually translated “horizon,” the Akhet is in fact a region below the visible horizon, rather than a dividing line between night and day: it is the region through which the sun passes in the hour between its emergence from the Duat at first light and its appearance in the day sky at dawn.\(^{41}\) This sequence is expressed most clearly in the final hour of the New Kingdom “Book of Night”:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pr} \text{ m} & \text{ dw3t} \\
\text{hp} \text{ m} & \text{ m} \text{n3t} \\
\text{s3q} \text{ n3 r} & \text{ wnrn t r} \text{ } \text{nfr w m nhr} \\
\text{hpr} & \text{ m} \text{ hpr} \\
\text{hfr} \text{ n} & \text{ r} \text{ 3ht} \\
\text{wr} & \text{ m} \text{ r} \text{ n} \text{ 3n3} \text{ n3t} \text{ 3ht} \text{ r} \text{ wnrn} \text{ sh} \text{ nfr nfr} \text{ r} \text{ } \text{nfr} \\
\text{Emerging} & \text{ from} \text{ the} \text{ Duat,} \\
\text{coming} & \text{ to} \text{ rest} \text{ in} \text{ the} \text{ day-bark,} \\
\text{and} \text{ sailing} & \text{ Nu} \text{ at} \text{ the} \text{ hour} \text{ of} \text{ the} \text{ sun} \text{ (called)} \text{ “Seeing} \text{ the} \text{ Perfection} \text{ of} \text{ Her} \text{ Lord.”} \\
\text{Becoming} & \text{ Khepri,} \\
\text{climbing} & \text{ to} \text{ the} \text{ Akhet,} \\
\text{having} & \text{ entered} \text{ the} \text{ mouth} \text{ and} \text{ emerged} \text{ from} \text{ the} \text{ vulva.} \\
\text{Rising} & \text{ from} \text{ the} \text{ mouth of} \text{ the} \text{ Akhet’s} \text{ door} \text{ at} \text{ the} \text{ hour} \text{ (called)} \text{ “Causin} \\
& \text{g the} \text{ Sun’s} \text{ Perfection} \text{ to} \text{ Appear.”} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Three distinct stages in the sun’s journey are characterized in this description: (1) emerging from the Duat and transferring to the day-bark; (2) ascending to the Akhet; and (3) rising from the Akhet at dawn. The same three stages underlie the architecture and texts of Unis’s pyramid.

(1) Emerging from the Duat. As the king’s ba proceeds from the sarcophagus chamber to the ante-chamber, it emerges from the Duat: the first spell of the ante-chamber (PT 247) addresses the king in precisely those terms (Pyr. 257 c).\(^{42}\) The king’s transferal from the night-bark to the day-bark is the subject of PT 262 (A/S).

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\(^{41}\) See Allen, in Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt, p. 17-21.

\(^{42}\) Piankoff, Le Livre du jour et de la nuit, BdE 13, 1942, p. 80 sq. See also id., The Tomb of Ramesses VI, BullSer 40, ETR 1, 1954, I, p. 428 and II, pl. 149 and 196. “Seeing the Perfection of Her Lord” is the first (12th) hour of night; “Causin the Sun’s Perfection to Appear” is the first hour of day.

\(^{43}\) PT 247-250 were copied as a single spell (Neville’s 174) in the XVIII-XIXth Dynasty papyrus of swj (Neville’s Ph. I, 3092) and the XX-XXIst
(2) Ascending to the Akhet. As the sun journeys from the Duat to the Akhet, the king’s ba travels from the sarcophagus chamber to the antechamber, the architectural counterpart of the Akhet. Like the Akhet, the antechamber lies east of the Duat/sarcophagus chamber. The final spell of the sarcophagus chamber rituals (PT 246) urges the king to “stand at the door of the Akhet” (Pyr. 255 a). The transition is even clearer in the pyramid of Teti, and to a lesser extent those of Pepi I and II, where the passage between the sarcophagus chamber/Duat and antechamber/Akhet is devoted to spells of passage through the marshland at the western edge of the Akhet.

The Akhet is more than a zone of passage, however: it is literally the “place of becoming akh,” where the deceased’s ba and the sun together are transformed into a newly effective (3ḥ) mode of existence (cf., for example, Pyr. 152 ff., cited above). In the antechamber the king “becomes akh in the Akhet” (Pyr. 350 c), just as the sun “becomes akh again” in the cosmic Akhet. This process of transformation is reflected in the generic term often applied to spells such as those of the Pyramid Texts: s3ḥw, literally “akhifiers.” Although there is some question whether the term referred to the entire corpus, it does seem to reflect the central purpose of these texts, just as the place of becoming akh, the Akhet/antechamber, is central to the pyramid substructure.

(3) Rising from the Akhet at dawn. The New Kingdom “Book of Night” describes the sun rising “from the mouth of the Akhet’s door” into the day-sky at the first hour of daylight. The same image is reflected in PT 311, at the end of the antechamber sequence(s), which speaks of opening “the door of the Akhet for the emergence of the

Dynasty papyrus of mw-r-hpt (Naville’s Af; BM 10001). The latter has a vignette of the deceased emerging from a doorway, with the caption prn nḥn m prj NN “emerging from the doorway in the sky by NN;” the chapter itself has the title n n rd pr 3ḥḥ m ṣḥ m pr “Spell for causing the akh to emerge from the great doorway in the sky.” NAVILLE, Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII., bis XX. Dynastie, 1886, I, pl. 197; II, p. 440. A copy of PT 247-248 in the XVIIIth-Dynasty Theban tomb of mw-r-hpt (TT 87) has the similar title n n rd pr 3ḥ m STAR m pr: ASAE 6, 1905, pl. 5, col. 11-12. This is probably to be read “Spell for causing the akh to emerge as a star in the sky” (cf. the end of PT 248; hḥ NN m ṣḥ “NN will appear as a star”), as suggested by A. ERMAIER (ZAS 32, 1894, p. 22) for the original title of BD 174. But the star could also be a writing of dwt3 “Duat”: in the same copy, the word dwt3 in Pyr. 257 c is written with star and phonetic complement i, as opposed to phonetic complements sḥ plus star for ṣḥ “star” at the end of PT 248: ASAE 6, 1905, pl. 5, col. 13; pl. 6, col. 12. Thus, perhaps, from an original title n n rd pr 3ḥḥ m dwt3 “Spell for causing the akh to emerge from the Duat,” the word dwt3 was reinterpreted in Dyn. XVIII (TT 87) as ṣḥ m pr “star in the sky,” and the latter again in Dyn. XX-XXI as ṣḥ (3ḥ) m pr “(great) gate in the sky.”

44. The same directionality is reflected on Teti’s sarcophagus, whose east and west sides are devoted to spells confirming the king’s control over the Akhet and the Duat, respectively (PT 6-7).

45. Teti P/N (PT 359-363), PIS (PT 262, 264, 272); Pepi I P/N (PT 674-462, 463-464); Pepi II P/N (PT 674-462, 675-677), PIS (PT 587, 463-464, 673, 360-361). See ALLEN, in Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt, p. 19.

46. Pyr. 585 a, 621 b, 636 c, *1886b; see ALLEN, in Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt, p. 20.


48. In the bicameral pyramids of the Vth Dynasty (WTPN), the antechamber lies directly beneath the apex of the pyramid: R. STADELMANN, LA IV, col. 1250 sq.; E.S. EDWARDS, The Pyramids of Egypt, 1926, p. 175, fig. 38.
day-bark" (*Pyr*. 496 a). This doorway in each case is both the exit from the Akhet and the entrance to the day-sky. Architecturally it corresponds to the door from the ante-chamber to the corridor: the first spell of the corridor envisions the king standing at this door (see *Pyr*. 502 a, cited above). Like the sun, the king’s ultimate goal is to be *nh.tj m 3ḥ.k* pr.ṣj m 3ḥt (*Pyr*. 455 b) in possession of your *akh*, emergent from the Akhet, and *pr m hrw pn m jrw m3ḥ n 3ḥj nḥ* (*Pyr*. 318 c) emergent in this day in the proper form of a living *akh.*

The last quotation sounds a theme represented in the Pyramid Texts only here but eventually canonized as the central purpose of the Book of the Dead: namely, *pr t m hrw* “to emerge in the daytime.” In the Pyramid Texts this goal stands at the end of the king’s process of resurrection from the sarcophagus, as it does for the sun’s nightly passage through the Duat. The Pyramid Texts thus combine in one corpus the same vision of rebirth that the New Kingdom divided into the Book of the Dead on the one hand and the “Netherworld” books on the other. While the texts themselves are ancestral to the Book of the Dead, the architecture they decorate is conceptually identical to the cosmic geography of the sun’s nightly journey described in the Amduat and similar New Kingdom creations. In this respect, the pyramid substructure can be read as a concrete expression of the Amduat’s title: *zḥ3w n ć t jmnn* “Description of the Hidden Space.”

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49. Cf. *Pyr*. 2095 b, where “going to the sky” (*j.ḥm.k fr k fr pt*) is equivalent to “emerging from the gate of the Akhet” (*pr.k m n 3ḥj*).

50. In the Saite tomb of *p-di-jmnn-pt* (TT 33), PT 317 (last spell on Unis’s C/W) is entitled *r n prw n 3ḥj* “Spell for the emergence of the *akh*”: DOMICHEN, *Petuamenap* II, pl. 24, col. 8.