

**Spells 224 and 225 from the Pyramid Texts:
Translation and Commentary**

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Introduction

PT 224 and PT 225 display so much common ground that a very close relationship is immediately recognizable – but they also exhibit significant differences: enough to warrant different spell numbers. This combination of common roots and diverse developments holds a special promise for sampling and examining the work of the ancient Egyptian editors of these texts. These particular spells furthermore give evidence of two separate domains of origin: partly from the sphere of the king, partly from that of court officials. With these two domains come separate – or perhaps rather: complementary – visions of the Afterlife.

(This study will be published in two parts, of which this is the first part. The second part will deal with the editorial history of these spells.)

Translation

My original plan was to simply use the most acclaimed modern translation: that of James P. Allen.¹ I began with writing out Allen's translations in adjacent columns, marking the differences between versions. One problem I encountered was, that some differences in his translations did not correspond with differences in the original hieroglyphic texts. In other words: the same word or expression in ancient Egyptian was sometimes translated in different ways – even when there was no difference in context. In a study that focuses on the differences between text versions, such inconsistencies should clearly be avoided.

On further working with the texts, I found there were some other areas as well in which I disagreed with Allen. Some of these points are purely on grounds of personal preference; when a matter of grammar is involved, it will (mostly) be explained in the notes to the translations.

When we are studying versions of a text in translation, it is obviously important that the translations follow the text close enough to allow this. This means that I will stay as closely as possible to the literal meaning of the text, provided I can avoid invalid expressions or word orders. In “standard” translations, one has more room for making small adaptations to the text, to prevent an over-technical translation. An example: *šm.f jw.f* means literally: “he goes (and) he comes”. In a standard translation, one would prefer to translate as follows: “he goes (and) comes” – or even: “he comes and goes.” But for the current exercise, we have to stick to the more literal translation. As will be the case with “this NN”, for *NN pn* and the like – much as I regret it.

Conventions

In the table with translations, the first row gives the following information:

- PT number following Allen's New Concordance;
- between (): the spell number in Allen's translation;
- the pyramids in which this spell version appears, with underlined the pyramid from which the actual text for this translation has come.

The texts have been split into numbered sections, roughly corresponding with Allen's stanza's. The first column gives the section number; numbers between () refer to sections that are displaced.

For the first version (the 2nd column), all grammatical particulars are discussed in notes which follow immediately on the table. For subsequent versions, only new or changed matters are treated. All fully preserved versions from each spell are included in the comparison.

For selected words, a transliteration is included in the text.

¹ Allen 2005.

The commentary deals with anything other than grammar and the translation of individual words. For the first version to be discussed, the text is fully shown and commented on. For subsequent versions, only deviations from the foregoing text(s) are shown and discussed.

The spells are referred to with PT-number and a letter for the pyramid from which a text is drawn, such as PT 224-W = the Unas-version of PT 224. When the letter is omitted, all versions of a given spell are meant.

In grammatical terminology, I will mostly follow Allen (relative *sḏm.f*, relative *sḏm.n.f*, suffix participle, old perfective).

Words between []: word, erroneously omitted by the scribe.

Words between (): not written in Egyptian, but added to clarify the sense.

Words followed by a (?): meaning uncertain.

[...] = word of unknown meaning.

[.....] = section untranslatable.

1. PT 224 and PT 225: Translation

PT 224 and PT 225 occur in the following kingly pyramids:

	Unas	Teti	Pepi I	Merenre	Pepi II
PT 224 (§218-221)	<u>224-W</u> B/E 36-38 (297-299)	<u>224-T</u> B/E ii 1-11 (137-149)	224-P ^a B/Ne iii 41-47 224-P ^b B/Ne iii 48-55	224-M B/E 5-7 (198-200)	<u>224-N</u> B/Ne B v 37-46 (537-546)
PT 225 (§222-224)			225-P B/Ne iii 56-62		<u>225-N</u> ² B/Ne B v 46-53 (546-552+1)

Table 1 Locations of PT 224 – 225

Yellow: spells carved immediately after one another on the same wall.

Underlined: spells, either preserved completely, or with small lacunae that can be restored with confidence.

In his publication of the Pyramid Texts, Sethe refers to PT 225 as “Andere Fassung des Spruches 224” (“Another version of spell 224”). That there is a close connection between the two is confirmed, not only by their apparent similarity, but also by the fact that both instances of PT 225 (one in P, the other in N) immediately follow on PT 224 (see the table above). PT 224 itself has three clearly distinguishable versions: W, T and N respectively.³

In the table below, sections are marked either *K.*, or *Off.*: to be explained shortly.

² At the very end of this spell, a few signs are missing. The end is restored from Nt. The validity of this is confirmed by what remains from 225-P.

³ What little can be seen from 224-P^a, 224-P^b and 224-M follows the pattern of 224-N. (In his New Concordance, Allen suggests that PT 224-P^a and PT 224-P^b have the same longer introduction as PT 224-T, but from the few signs that he shows, nothing definite can be deduced.)

1.1. The different versions in translation, side by side

(Underlining serves to point out differences between versions.)

#	PT 224 (W 135) <u>W</u>	PT 224 (T 141) <u>I</u>	PT 224 (N 308) <u>P^a – P^b – M – N</u>	PT 225 (N 309) <u>P – N</u>
<i>Title</i> (<i>Off.</i>)		(§ 218a) 4 times: giving to him in all his dignities (<i>s3h.w</i>), in all his offices.		
(4) (<i>K.</i>)		(§ 221a) How content is your situation, now that you are an akh, O NN, among your brothers the gods. (§ 221b) How satisfying (<i>ns</i>) (?) it is, how satisfying (?) it is, you whom your children tended (<i>nd</i>).		
(5) (<i>K.</i>)		(But) beware of this end (<i>dr</i>) of yours, which is in the earth!		
(6) (<i>Off.</i>)		(§ 221c) 4 times: dress yourself, and may you come before them.		
1 (<i>K.</i>)	(§ 218c) [...] ^a yourself (<i>kw</i>) ^b NN! Move yourself (<i>kw</i>) about ^c , NN! <u>Go</u> (<i>sm</i>) ^d , that you may command the affairs ^e of Horus's Mounds; <u>go</u> , that you may command the affairs of Seth's Mounds; <u>go</u> , that you may command the affairs of Osiris's Mounds.	(§ 218c) [...]yourself (<i>tw</i>) NN! Move yourself (<i>tw</i>) about, NN! <u>Go</u> (<i>sm</i>), that you may command the affairs of Horus's Mounds; <u>go</u> , that you may command the affairs of Seth's Mounds; <u>go</u> , that you may command the affairs of Osiris's Mounds.	(§ 218c) [...]yourself (<i>tw</i>) NN! Move yourself (<i>tw</i>) about, NN! <u>Go</u> (<i>sm</i>), that you may command the affairs of Horus's Mounds; <u>go</u> , that you may command the affairs of Seth's Mounds; <u>go</u> , that you may command the affairs of Osiris's Mounds.	(§ 222a) [...]yourself (<i>tw</i>) ^f , <u>this NN!</u> Move yourself (<i>tw</i>) about, NN! <u>Go</u> (<i>sm</i>), that you may <u>govern</u> ^g Horus's Mounds; that you may command the affairs of Seth's Mounds, that you may <u>decide</u> (<i>i.dd</i>) the affairs of Osiris's Mounds.
2 (<i>Off.</i>)	(§ 219a) A remuneration ^f that the king gives, in (<i>m</i>) all your dignities ^g (<i>s^ch.w</i>), in (<i>m</i>) all your offices (<i>st.w</i>).	(§ 219a) A remuneration that the king gives, in (<i>m</i>) all your dignities (<i>s^ch.w</i>) – (§ 219b) when your garment is a leopard skin, (or) when your garment is a kilt, (§ 219c) when you go <u>in reed sandals</u> , (or) when [you] butcher a bull, ⁿ (§ 220a) (or) when you go in the <i>W3d-^cn-bark</i> ^o – in all your dignities, in all your offices (<i>st.w</i>).	(§ 219a) A remuneration that the king (gives), ^p in (<i>m</i>) all your dignities (<i>s^ch.w</i>) – (§ 219b) when your garment is a leopard skin, (or) when your garment is a kilt, (§ 219c) when you go <u>in your reed sandals</u> , (or) when you butcher a bull, (§ 220a) (or) when you go in the <i>W3d-^cn-bark</i> – in all your dignities, in all your offices (<i>st.w</i>).	(§ 223a) A remuneration that the king gives, <u>with your son on your seat (of office)</u> (<i>ns.t</i>) – when your garment is a leopard skin, (or) when your garment is a kilt, (§ 223b) when you go <u>in reed sandals</u> , (or) when you butcher a bull, (§ 224a) (or) when you go in the <i>W3d-^cn-bark</i> – <u>in all your offices</u> (<i>st.w</i>), <u>in all your dignities</u> (<i>s^ch.w</i>).

#	PT 224 (W 135) <u>W</u>	PT 224 (T 141) <u>I</u>	PT 224 (N 308) <u>P^a – P^b – M – N</u>	PT 225 (N 309) <u>P – N</u>
3 (Off.)	(§ 220b) May ⁿ⁾ your lotus-bud scepter be at the fore of the living, may your staff be at the fore of the akhs, as Anubis is at the fore of the west-erners, as Andjety is at the fore of the eastern nomes (of the Delta).	(§ 220b) May your lotus-bud scepter be at the fore of the living, may your staff be at the fore of the akhs, as Anubis is at the fore of the west-erners, as Andjety is at the fore of the eastern nomes (of the Delta).	(§ 220b) May your lotus-bud scepter be at the fore of the living, may your staff be at the fore of the akhs, as Anubis is at the fore of the west-erners, as Andjety is at the fore of the eastern nomes (of the Delta).	(§ 224b) May your lotus-bud scepter be at the fore of the living, may your staff be at the fore of the akhs.
4 (K.)	(§ 221a) How content is your situation, now that you are an akh, O NN, among your brothers the gods. (§ 221b) How satisfying (<i>nš</i>) (?) ^{l)} it is, how satisfying(?) it is, you whom <u>your children</u> ⁱ⁾ tended (<i>nd</i>). ^{k)}	(§ 221a) How content is your situation, now that you are an akh, O NN, among your brothers the gods. (§ 221b) How satisfying (<i>nš</i>) (?) it is, you whom <u>your chil-dren</u> tended (<i>nd</i>).	(§ 221a) How content is your situation, now that you are an akh, O NN, among your brothers the gods. (§ 221b) How satisfy-ing (<i>nš</i>) (?) it is, you whom <u>your son</u> tended (<i>nd</i>).	(§ 224c) (And so) the senior one (<i>smsw</i>) goes (<i>i.šm</i>), tended (<i>nd</i>) [by] <u>his son</u> . ^{t)}
5 (K.)	(But) beware of this end (<i>dr</i>) of yours, which is in the earth (<i>pw im t3</i>)!	(But) beware of this end (<i>dr</i>) of yours, which is in the earth (<i>pw im t3</i>)!	(But) beware of this end (<i>dr</i>) of yours, which is in the earth (<i>pw im t3</i>)!. ^{q)}	
6 (Off.)	(§ 221c) Dress your-self, ^{l)} and may you come ^{m)} before them. <u>4 times</u> .	(§ 221c) <u>4 times</u> : dress yourself, and may you come before them.	(§ 221c) <u>4 times</u> : dress yourself, and may you come before them.	(§ 224d) Be dressed, ^{u)} and may you come before me. ^{v)}
Post-script (Off.)		(§ 218b) A remuneration that Geb gives, in all your dignities, in all your offices.		
Post-script (K.)				May Horus's Eye endure for you with you. ^{w)}

Table 2 The versions of PT 224 – 225

1.1.1. Notes on translation

PT 224-W, section 1

- [..] The context requires that this word (*wḥ*) be a verb. Its meaning however is unknown.
- The pronoun 2m.sg. is here written as *kw*, instead of later *tḥw*, which occurs in all other versions of PT 224, as well as in PT 225-P and PT 225-N.
- “Move about”: the *TLA*⁴ gives as translation for *nini*: “(sich) abwenden” (Turn around). This translation works well in most cases, but not in all. It seems that this verb was sometimes used with a somewhat extended meaning: to move (about), from: to turn and turn back, to move to and fro. See e.g. PT 258, § 310c; PT 553, § 1362a; PT 574, § 1491a; PT 684, § 2060.
- “Go:” imperative with reinforcing dative, not *sḏm.n.f*, as Allen has. This way, the sentence agrees better with the foregoing one.
- In the *Wb.*, the expression *wḏ mdw* is treated as a separate entry (*Wb.* 1, 396.1), in meaning almost identical with simple *wḏ*: “befehlen” (“command”). The word *mdw* on its own generally

⁴ *TLA* = Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (aaew.bbaw.de/tla)

means “words,” but it occasionally has an extended meaning: “affairs.”⁵ The conventional translation of *wꜥ mdw* is, “to govern”. Allen: “that you may govern Horus’s Mounds.” I prefer a literal translation: “that you may command the affairs of Horus’s Mounds.” This sounds a bit pompous, but I think that the Egyptian mood towards governing was a bit pompous.

PT 224-W, section 2

- f) Remuneration: see page 12 below, s.v. *A remuneration that the king gives*
 g) Dignities: see page 12 below, s.v. *....in all your dignities.*

PT 224-W, section 3

- h) Adverbial predicate, expressing a wish.⁶

PT 224-W, section 4

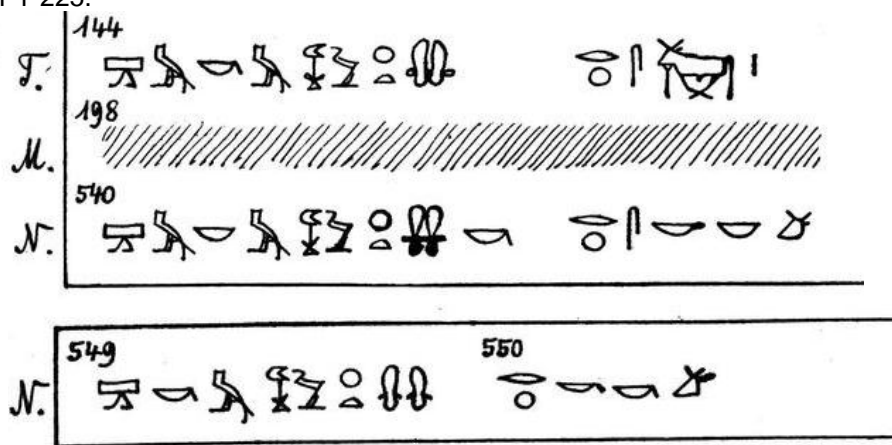
- i) The translation of this word (*nš*) is uncertain, but the context requires something positive. (See also Shmakov.⁷)
 j) Children: plural, not singular as Allen has. A simple writing of *ms* may mean either child or children, but *ms.w* (as in both the W- and T-version) is just plural.
 k) Relative *sꜥm.f.*

PT 224-W, section 6

- l) *ꜥt.k*, literally: your body.⁸
 m) *iw.t.k*: *sꜥm.f.*⁹

PT 224-T, section 2

- n) Allen: “you going in your reed sandals, a bull butchered.” Below is an excerpt from Sethe’s publication, showing this section in T and N, and (beneath that) the N-version of the corresponding part from PT 225.



Literal translations would be:

PT 224-T, § 219c: “when you go in reed sandals, a bull butchered” (passive *sꜥm.f.*).

PT 224-N, § 219c: “when you go in your reed sandals, or when you (written as *nb*) butcher a bull.”

PT 225-N, § 223b: “when you go in reed sandals, or when you butcher a bull.”

It seems likely that in all versions the master text had a suffix, because this entire section is about what the *deceased is doing* in all his dignities – not about what is being done (for him). It seems to me that the absence of the suffix in the T-version is a simple oversight on the part of the draftsman.

- o) This type of bark is only known from this text; its significance is unknown.

⁵ See *TLA*, lemma 78150 (*mdw*), with translations (in German) of PT 273+274, § 399a, and PT 260, § 318b.

⁶ Alan Gardiner: “*Egyptian Grammar*” (1957) (hereafter: *G.*) § 118, 1.

⁷ Timofey T. Shmakov: “*New Readings in the Pyramid Texts*”: updateable working version, update of 26.07.2015. (Hereafter: *New Readings*.) About *nš*: s.v. PT 224, 4.

⁸ See also: Elmar Edel: “*Altägyptische Grammatik*” (1955), (hereafter: *EAG*) § 176.

⁹ See James P. Allen: “The inflexion of the verb in the Pyramid Texts”, 1984 (hereafter: *Inflexion*), § 389.C

PT 224-N, section 2

p) *di* has been omitted.

PT 224-N, section 5

q) “Earth” erroneously written with the sign *n*: caused by misinterpreting the hieratic original.

PT 225-N, section 1

r) The *w* of *tw* has been omitted.

s) “Govern:” in the versions of PT 224, this is written as follows: *wḏ.k mdw*, with the suffix pronoun following on *wḏ* – indicating that *wḏ* is the verb; hence the translation: “(that you may) command the affairs of ...”. In PT 225-N, the same is written with just two signs (V24 for *wḏ* and S43 for *mdw*), followed by the suffix. This shows that now, the total expression is regarded as a verb; so now I translate with one word: “(that you may) govern ...”. In the next clause, concerning the Mounds of Seth, the older writing from PT 224 is retained. In the clause concerning the Mounds of Osiris, a different verb is used: *i.ḏd*. All of this apparently in an effort to enliven the text.

PT 225-N, section 4

t) A literal translation of this part would be: “He tends his son,” or something similar (Allen has: “he will tend his son”). That is however the complete opposite of the other versions. In fact, the verb *nḏ* is in the Pyramid Texts never used to express that *the deceased* is tending or protecting anyone: he is always the object of this verb. Perhaps the intended sense was to put the verb *nḏ* in the passive mode: “He is tended [by] his son.” The logical subject “his son” would however need to be introduced with the particle *in* (more rarely *hr*, see EAG § 756 + 768), and that is missing here. It seems however more probable to me that this particle was forgotten, than that the meaning of the text would turn 180°.

PT 225-N, section 6

u) “Be dressed”: old perfective. Literally: “Be dressed yourself.” The old perfective is here used as an alternative for the imperative that is used in PT 224, section 6 (see *Inflexion*, p. 408).

v) “And may you come before me:” *iw.t.k hr.(i)*. All versions of PT 224 have: “and may you come before them” (*iw.t.k hr sn*) in which “them” refers to the gods of section 4. In the PT 225-N version however, there are no gods mentioned in section 4. The “me” here is the priest who utters the spell.

PT 225-N, postscript

w) In N. the last part of this section is destroyed; it is restored from Nt.

1.1.2. Translation inconsistencies Allen

#	PT 224 (W 135) <u>W</u>	PT 224 (T 141) <u>T</u>	PT 224 (N 308) <i>P^a – P^b – M – N</i>	PT 225 (N 309) <i>P – N</i>
4	<i>nḏ</i> = tended	<i>nḏ</i> = saved	(not translated separately) ¹⁰	<i>nḏ</i> = tend

The verb *nḏ* is admittedly a difficult one,¹¹ but when it is used in exactly the same circumstances, it should in any event be translated the same way.

¹⁰ As a rule, Allen translates only one version of every spell. Variants are specified in a separate chapter, without repeating the translation of the rest of the spell.

¹¹ See note 13 below.

2. PT 224 and PT 225: Commentary

When we examine the texts (see the table on page 5 above), we see that they consist of sections that show markedly different outlooks; some contain imagery more akin to the sphere of court officials than that of the king. These sections are identified here as *Off.* and *K.* respectively. (Further support for the identification of these sections will follow in the course of the coming discussion.)

One may wonder why a collection of spells, designed for use by the king, should include elements of a non-royal background. The Pyramid Texts as a corpus are however in more than one respect quite heterogeneous: most notably so in its religious positions.¹² It seems that the compilers of the corpus wanted to include every existing notion about the Afterlife – including conflicting ones, and including those of commoners. In fact, totally incompatible positions could and would be mixed in one and the same spell – as is the case in PT 224-225.

The kingly sections celebrate the successful transformation of the king into an *akh*: a spirit-being (section 4). This transformation has been brought about by his children, who “tended”¹³ him, i.e.: performed the correct rites for him (section 4). It allows the king to mingle with his brothers, the gods, but he also remains the ruler of the “living”, who live in the Afterlife: those on the Mounds of Horus and of Seth. *And* he rules the dead: those who live on the Mounds of Osiris (section 1). Section 5 adds a stern warning though: if the king wants this happy situation to persist, he has to avoid staying “in the earth” (meaning: in his tomb) for that would be his end. The beginning of spell 258 clarifies what exactly is meant by this:

NN is Osiris in a dust devil(?). The earth is his abomination: NN does not enter into Geb, for he will be destroyed if he sleeps in his mansion on earth¹⁴, and his bones will be broken.

This grim picture no doubt relates to an observed reality of tomb robbing and tomb destruction.

The *Off.* sections show us how a court official imagined the Afterlife. He would still be dependent on the king, as in life, hence this part begins with a prayer for what he needs most: “A remuneration that the king gives.” But in total disregard for this, section 3 describes his desired position in the afterlife: at the head of both the living and the dead. Here, this claim is still formulated as a wish from the officiant: “May your staff...” Later on however, in the Coffin Texts, the deceased will simply insist that this is his rightful place.

So both the *K.* and the *Off.* perspectives testify of a complex, multi-faceted Afterlife.

¹² See e.g. the discussion of PT 224-W, section 1, hereafter.

¹³ The translation of the verb *nd* is a complex affair. Sometimes, *nd* means saving someone from harm, but it may also refer to providing him with a decent burial, or even avenging him. Translating *nd* in all these cases with “to take care of” would perhaps best convey the meaning, but it would also produce decidedly unattractive translations, somewhat reminiscent of comic book parlance: “Yeah, I took good care of him!”. Therefore, Allen’s choice for “to tend” seems a particularly happy one.

¹⁴ “His mansion on earth”: his tomb.

2.1. PT 224-W

This is the full text of the Unas-version:

- 1 (*K.*) [...] yourself, NN! Move yourself about, NN!
Go, that you may command the affairs of Horus's Mounds; go, that you may command the affairs of Seth's Mounds; go, that you may command the affairs of Osiris's Mounds.
- 2 (*Off.*) A remuneration that the king gives, in all your dignities, in all your offices.
- 3 (*Off.*) May your lotus-bud scepter be at the fore of the living, may your staff be at the fore of the akhs, as Anubis is at the fore of the westerners, as Andjety is at the fore of the eastern nomes (of the Delta).
- 4 (*K.*) How content is your situation, now that you are an akh, O NN, among your brothers the gods. How satisfying (?) it is, how satisfying(?) it is, you whom your children tended.
- 5 (*K.*) (But) beware of this end of yours, which is in the earth!
- 6 (*Off.*) Dress yourself, and may you come before them. 4 times.

Note the difference in tone between the kingly sections, and those of the official; the *K.*-sections are confidently asserting, while the *Off.*-sections are primarily hopeful, and a wee bit anxious....

Note furthermore that the king's name ("NN") is only mentioned in some of the *K.*-sections – not in any *Off.*-sections.

Commentary per section

PT 224-W, section 1 (*K.*)

[...] yourself, NN! Move yourself about, NN!

Go, that you may command the affairs of Horus's Mounds; go, that you may command the affairs of Seth's Mounds; go, that you may command the affairs of Osiris's Mounds.

[..]

The context requires that this word (*wḥ*) be a verb. Its meaning however is unknown.

....yourself....

In the W-version, the pronoun here employed is *kw*. All other versions of PT 224, and PT 225, have *ṯw*. *kw* is an older form of *ṯw*; during the Old Kingdom, it is only attested in the Pyramid Texts.¹⁵

The fact that here the older version of the pronoun is used is in itself not enough to conclude that this version of PT 224 is more original than later versions. Perhaps the original did not have *kw* at all, and the editor of Unas just thought it would look better with an archaic pronoun...

¹⁵ See *EAG*, § 167.

[...] yourself, NN! Move yourself about, NN!

This is a summons to the deceased that occurs with some regularity in the Pyramid Texts.¹⁶ Several variants occur also, such as: “Stand up!”, “Raise yourself!”, “Awake!” The deceased is called upon to rise up, to show that he is alive and well.

Go, that you may command the affairs of Horus’s Mounds; go, that you may command the affairs of Seth’s Mounds; go, that you may command the affairs of Osiris’s Mounds.

After the deceased has demonstrated that he can “move about,” he is now told to “go,” so that he can take command of Horus’s Mounds, etcetera.

“Mounds” here refers to inhabited places: to protect these from the waters of the Inundation, towns and villages were preferably constructed on somewhat higher grounds; accumulation of waste would then result in a further raising of the terrain. With Horus and Seth as titulary deities of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively, “The Mounds of Horus and the Mounds of Seth” is a circumscription of “all of Egypt.”

Use of the expression “Mounds of Horus” etc. is however restricted to descriptions of the Afterlife.¹⁷ This points to a heavenly counterpart of Egypt: the land of Egypt as projected in the heavens. “The Mounds of Osiris” on the other hand refers to the domain of Osiris: the Duat or Netherworld – fashioned in the same way as the land of Egypt: consisting of towns and villages on higher grounds – the “Mounds of Osiris” – alongside a river. Taken together this means that the king will have, in the Afterlife, dominion over “the living” and “the dead.” From a logical perspective, *everyone* in the Afterlife is dead – or not, if you believe in life after death. The Egyptians however recognized more than one type of Afterlife: a solar Afterlife, a stellar Afterlife, an Osirian Afterlife, an Afterlife on the Mounds of Horus and Seth, and many more. There is even a degree of competition: in some spells, the virtues of different Afterlives are aggressively compared. So e.g. in PT 697, § 2175:

You should not go on those western walkways: those who go there do not return. You should go, NN, on those eastern walkways, among the followers of Re [...]

This is a direct rebuff of the common prayers in Old Kingdom mastaba’s, where the deceased expresses his hope to walk in the Afterlife on the “good roads of the West.” Or PT 245, § 251, where the king is addressed as follows:

You shall open up your place in the sky among the stars of the sky, for you are the Lone Star, the companion of Hu. May you look down on Osiris as he governs the akhs¹⁸, while you stand far from him: you are not of them, you will not be of them.

The stellar Afterlife is here clearly favored over the Osirian Afterlife.

In the Pyramid Texts as a whole, the identification of the deceased with Osiris is mostly being pursued with great zeal, but these regular discussions suggest for the 5th and 6th dynasty a clash of faiths (or perhaps rather: the last convulsions of such a clash).

In all instances where in the Pyramid Texts one Afterlife is explicitly favored over another Afterlife, the preferred one is always a higher, loftier version: associations with the stars, the sun or the sky (and with gods like Re and Nut) are promoted over staying in the tomb, remaining on earth, or being in the Duat (with gods like Osiris and Geb.) The tone however is not so much triumphant as it is defensive.

Particularly pregnant are some statements in which the position of the king is directly compared to that of the common people (*rhyt*), such as the following:

¹⁶ So in PT 223, § 214a (without “NN”), in PT 628, § 1786a, and PT 664A, § 1884.

¹⁷ See *Wb.* I, 26.10.

¹⁸ Note that here, “the akhs” is a circumscription of “the dead”, comparable with section 3 of the current spell; see the coming discussions of sections 3 and 4.

Oho, oho! Raise yourself, O NN, (...) and stand at the doors which keep out the common people. (PT 373, § 654-655)

The doors of the sky are opened for you, the doors of the firmament are thrown open for you, those which keep out the common people. (PT 463, § 876)

The bolt is opened for you in the double Ram-gate which keeps out the common people. (PT 611, § 1726)

And in all these instances, it is a solar or stellar Afterlife that is promised to the king. It seems that, while the compilers of the Pyramid Texts wanted to incorporate each and every vision on the Afterlife, including those of commoners,¹⁹ the editors took sides with the king, defending his prerogatives.

PT 224-W, section 2 (*Off.*)

A remuneration that the king gives, in all your dignities, in all your offices.

From section 1 to section 2, the narrative abruptly shifts perspective. Awkward breaks like this are exceedingly common in the Pyramid Texts: the editors liberally used the simplest copy-paste techniques.

We are now viewing matters from a court official's perspective.

A remuneration that the king gives....

Allen translates this common expression (*hṯp di nsw*) as "A king-given offering." Another, very frequent translation, is "A boon that the king gives."

This expression recurs time and again in a funerary context. It is mostly followed by specifications that show what the offering or boon should consist of: bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and clothing, and all things good and pure for the "imakhu" NN. We may call these things offerings, (because of the funerary context) but ancient Egypt was a society where payment was always in kind, so this could also relate to a salary, or a pension.²⁰ Given the context ("in all your dignities, in all your offices"), we should regard the "boon" or "offering" here as a salary: hence "remuneration."

....in all your dignities,....

Allen translates: "*....of all your insignia...*"

The Pyramid Texts include extensive offering rituals. Part of those rituals was the Insignia Ritual, consisting of the presentation of all sorts of regalia, weapons and other objects of power. In the pyramids of Unas and Teti, this ritual was however not yet represented – perhaps for lack of space on the walls. But starting with Pepi I (in whose pyramid a lot more room was made available for texts) it becomes a permanent feature. Allen regards PT 224 as one of the introductory spells to the Insignia Ritual; he therefore labels this spell in W and T (his W135 / T141) as the "Invocation of the Insignia Ritual." Presumably because of this perceived connection between PT 224 and the Insignia Ritual, he translates the word *sḥ.w* as "insignia": "A king-given offering of all your insignia in all your places." However, *sḥ.w* means dignities (in the sense of offices), not insignia.²¹

What is offered to the deceased are not insignia, but *hṯp di nsw*: the traditional range of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, clothing and alabaster. The deceased will receive these matters *in all his dignities*, meaning: in all his offices. They are the salary that he used to receive in life, and hopes to continue to receive after his death, from the king: the combined salary for all his offices. As we know from the lists of offices that officials had inscribed in their tombs, they

¹⁹ See page 9 above.

²⁰ The word "imakhu" (*imḥw*) is perhaps to be understood as a term for one who has retired from work: a pensionary.

²¹ The TLA has: "rank, dignity."

could have many – and many offices no doubt meant many salaries, many “enumerations from the king”.

....*in all your offices.*

Allen: “in all your places.” The word here used (*st.w*) can mean “places”, but also “seats,” also as seats of office. (Cf. Shmakov, who also translates: “in all your offices”.²²)

PT 224-W, section 3 (*Off.*)

May your lotus-bud scepter be at the fore of the living, may your staff be at the fore of the akhs, as Anubis is at the fore of the westerners, as Andjety is at the fore of the eastern nomes (of the Delta).

The lotus-bud scepter (or water-lily-bud scepter: *nḥb.t*) is not mentioned frequently. According to the *Zettelarchiv* of the *Wb.*²³, it only occurs in the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts (*DZA* 25.193.240). In the current text, it is used in relation to the living, but in PT 213 (§ 134) it is used in connection with the dead, and in PT 674 (§ 1994) in connection with the Imperishable Stars. If this were a royal scepter, I would have expected a more consistent – as well as more frequent – use.

The word for “staff” (*mdw*) that is used in the next clause is a very common, very widely used term (see *Wb.* 2, 178.1-14). It appears in royal, divine and administrative contexts.

This combination of scepter and staff does here not make a particularly royal impression: it is more likely that this is about the symbols of office of functionaries.

...*at the fore of the akhs...*

Contrasting “the akhs” to “the living” determines this here as a generic label for “the dead:” seen as a multitude, as an essentially faceless mass. This is a common use for this term²⁴, but not the only one: see the discussion of the next section.

....*as Anubis is at the fore of the westerners, as Andjety is at the fore of the eastern nomes (of the Delta).*

This is meant as a variation on the foregoing part, but it does so rather clumsily – as if it were added afterward, by a less gifted author. “The westerners” refers to all of the dead, but “the eastern nomes (of the Delta²⁵)” can hardly represent all of the living.

PT 224-W, section 4 (*K.*)

How content is your situation, now that you are an akh, O NN, among your brothers the gods. How satisfying (?) it is, how satisfying(?) it is, you whom your children tended.

Here, the word *akh* refers to a spirit-being: a specialized form of life after death, of a heightened intensity, elevated (by means of magical rituals) to a level close to that of the gods. The contrast to the other use of the term, as just described at section 3 above, is quite remarkable.

....*among your brothers the gods.*

This marks this section as a kingly one: only a king could call the gods his brothers.

²² *New Readings*. About the reading of *s.t* as office: s.v. PT 224, 2.

²³ See the website of the *TLA*: aaew.bbaw.de/tla.

²⁴ See e.g. the quotation from PT 245, given on page 11 above.

²⁵ Of the Delta: Andjety was closely associated with the eastern nomes of the Delta: see my paper about Amentet, Andjety and Anubis, on www.egyptology.nl.

....you, whom your children tended.

The king's children took care of their father after his demise, providing him with a proper burial, and having the rites performed to help him change into an akh. (See also the comment to section 4 of PT 224-N, on page 15 below.)

PT 224-W, section 5 (*K*.)

(But) beware of this end of yours, which is in the earth.

After the happy description in the foregoing section, this is a warning against choosing the wrong path after death. If the deceased stays in the earth (i.e.: in his tomb), he will come to his end: his definitive end, as his tomb and body will be destroyed. That is why it is so important that he will instead be transformed into a spirit, whose life will be in the heavens: an akh.

This fits in the pattern described on page 11 above: a pattern of warning against an Afterlife in the tomb, on earth, or in the Duat, as opposed to an Afterlife in the sky, among the stars, or with the sun. And it establishes this section as a kingly one.

PT 224-W, section 6 (*Off*.)

Dress yourself, and may you come before them. 4 times.

The "them" here refers to the gods from section 4, so the meaning is: "Dress up: you're going to meet the gods!" This echoes the concerns of a court official who has to dress properly when meeting his superiors.

The addition "4 times" is a cultic direction: "Do this (say this) four times."

2.2. PT 224-T

The T-version is much longer than all other versions. It begins with a formal title, after which extra copies follow of sections 4, 5 and 6. Section 2 moreover has received a lengthy description of various professional activities that the deceased performed in life, and hoped to continue to perform in the Afterlife. The spell ends with a postscript: an "offering formula", addressed to Geb.

(The numbering of §§ is in T somewhat peculiar, because Sethe allocated the same paragraph-numbers to both instances of sections 4, 5 and 6.)

The extra sections 4, 5 and 6 look oddly out of place: they don't fit into the narrative. It seems that the draftsman (or the editor) accidentally skipped a sheet of papyrus on which sections 1, 2 and 3 were. Upon discovering his mistake, he then simply "restarted" with section 1. That the doubling of these sections occurs in only one version adds to the suggestion that it was a (one-time) mistake: a dittograph.

PT 224-T, title (*Off*.)

4 times: giving to him in all his dignities, in all his offices.

The "him" is of course the deceased. This caption positions the spell as a standard offering spell. "Giving to him" is what the mortuary priest did: presenting the deceased with food and drink.²⁶

²⁶ For comparable cultic instructions, see e.g. PT 79, 85, 93, 94, 97, 100.

The addition “*in all his dignities, in all his offices*” anticipates section 2, and makes this an *Off.*-section.

PT 224-T, section 2 (*Off.*)

A remuneration that the king gives, in all your dignities – when your garment is a leopard skin, (or) when your garment is a kilt, when you go in reed sandals, (or) when [you] butcher a bull, (or) when you go in the W3ḏ-^cn- bark – in all your dignities, in all your offices.

The middle part of this section is a specification of the dress and the activities that were characteristic for officials in certain “dignities.” (Note that dress is apparently more important than activity...)

These are all alternatives, to be separated by “or.” The garment is *either* a leopard skin *or* a kilt, and one does not go about the bloody business of butchering a bull wearing nice reed sandals: depictions on tomb walls always show butchers barefooted. (The butchering of a bull is here probably listed as an example of a priestly activity in the service of a god.)

PT 224-T, section 6 (*Off.*)

4 times: dress yourself, and may you come before them.

In the W-version, the cultic direction “4 times” stands at the end of this section. Having it at the beginning makes it more precise as an instruction that just this sentence is to be read four times – not the whole spell.

PT 224-T, postscript (*Off.*)

A remuneration that Geb gives, in all your dignities, in all your offices.

In this postscript, Geb takes the place of the king as the one who pays the salaries. Geb is frequently portrayed in the Pyramid Texts as a major god, or even as Head of the Ennead, which comes close to the later title “King of the Gods” that will primarily fall to Amun (cf. §§ 162, 255, 895, 1868, 2103).

Analogous with the title of this version, this postscript – with its reference to dignities and offices – belongs to the sphere of the official.

2.3. PT 224-N

This version is basically the T-version minus the title, the three dittographs and the postscript. In section 4, it shows one meaningful difference, though.

PT 224-N, section 4 (*K.*)

How content is your situation, now that you are an akh, O NN, among your brothers the gods. How satisfying (?) it is, how satisfying (?) it is, you whom your son tended.

In the W- and T-versions, the deceased’s children (plural) are said to have tended the deceased. In the N-version (P and M are in this spot lost) “your children” changes to “your son.” We may be witnessing here a breaking away from older customs: from the concept of a group of children that supported the king, to that of the one son who would bury and succeed him, as once Horus succeeded Osiris, thus realizing the Osirian myths.

(It is most unfortunate that this section is not preserved in the P- and M-versions of this spell. It would have been very interesting to see when this change from *children* to *son* was effected.)

2.4. PT 225-N

This version differs considerably from the foregoing; therefore first the complete text:

- 1 (K.) [...] yourself, this NN! Move yourself about, NN!
Go, that you may govern Horus's Mounds; that you may command the affairs of Seth's Mounds; that you may decide the affairs of Osiris's Mounds.
- 2 (Off.) A remuneration that the king gives, with your son on your seat (of office) – when your garment is a leopard skin, (or) when your garment is a kilt, when you go in reed sandals, (or) when you butcher a bull, (or) when you go in the *W3d-5n*- bark – in all your offices, in all your dignities.
- 3 (Off.) May your lotus-bud scepter be at the fore of the living, may your staff be at the fore of the akhs.
- 4 (K.) (And so) the senior one goes, tended [by] his son.
- 6 (Off.) Be dressed, and may you come before me.
- Post-script
(K.) May Horus's Eye endure for you with you.

(Section 5 is missing).

PT 225 does not serve as a replacement for PT 224, but as an addition: it follows, both in P and in N, immediately on PT 224. It is a shorter version of PT 224, with another postscript. One might well wonder why it was included at all: it only added to the total volume of texts. That may however have been precisely the objective: starting with P, the number of rooms in the pyramid that were to be inscribed increased drastically, so a lot more texts were needed.

PT 225-N, section 1 (K.)

[...] yourself, this NN! Move yourself about, NN!

Go, that you may govern Horus's Mounds, that you may command the affairs of Seth's Mounds, that you may decide the affairs of Osiris's Mounds.

All versions of PT 224 begin with *[...] yourself, NN!*, this one has *[...] yourself, this NN!* The addition of the demonstrative pronoun does not make the text prettier, but it serves to add emphasis.

All versions of PT 224 repeat three times the verb *šm* ("Go"), while in PT 225-N it occurs only once. The former sounds more melodious, the latter gives more drive.

Where all versions of PT 224 use the same words to refer to governing the various "Mounds", PT 225-N suddenly introduces three different expressions (see note s) on page 8 above for details). This appears to be a deliberate effort to enliven the text with additional variations.

Taken together, these three changes in comparison to PT 224 make this section 1 a more intensified, a more enhanced variant. From a magical-religious point of view, this would have amounted to a more effective variant.

PT 225-N, section 2 (*Off.*)

A remuneration that the king gives, with your son on your seat (of office)....

The word *ns.t* may mean throne, but also seat – also in the meaning “seat of office” (as is the case with *s.t*). Given that this entire section clearly represents an official’s perspective, a translation of *ns.t* as “seat (of office)” is more logical than as “throne,” as Allen has. The underlying meaning is: Your son has succeeded you in your office – which was a coveted achievement. The text possibly connects this here with “a remuneration that the king gives”, because the king had to confirm the son in his father’s office. (Perhaps the confirmation of the son in his father’s office was also part of the father’s pension arrangements: after all, it would also allow the son to support his father financially.)

....in all your offices, in all your dignities.

Compared to PT 224, the order of “offices” and “dignities” is here reversed.

PT 225-N, section 3 (*Off.*)

May your lotus-bud scepter be at the fore of the living, may your staff be at the fore of the akhs.

Compared to PT 224, the following is missing: “as Anubis is at the fore of the westerners, as Andjety is at the fore of the eastern nomes”.

PT 225-N, section 4 (*K.*)

(And so) the senior one goes, tended [by] his son.²⁷

At first sight, this is a very enigmatic statement, but when we eliminate the *Off.*-sections numbers 2 and 3, it suddenly makes sense:

1 (*K.*) [...] yourself, NN! Move yourself about, NN!
 Go, that you may govern Horus’s Mounds, that you may command the affairs of Seth’s Mounds, that you may decide the affairs of Osiris’s Mounds.

4 (*K.*) (And so) the senior one goes, tended [by] his son.

We now see that in section 1, the officiant gives instructions to the king, while section 4 describes how the king – who is here referred to as the senior one – follows these instructions.

(Section 5 does not occur in PT 225)

PT 225-N, section 6 (*Off.*)

Be dressed, and may you come before me.

The cultic direction “4 times” has been left out here; it appears to have been replaced by the new postscript (see the discussion of that section below).

The corresponding text in the PT 224-versions is: “Dress yourself, and may you come before them.” (For the variation between “dress yourself” and “be dressed”, see note *u*) on page 8 above.) The “them” in that sentence refers to “the gods,” mentioned in section 4 of the PT 224-versions. Section 4 of PT 225-N however does not refer to the gods; the “me” is the priest who speaks to the deceased.

²⁷ For the translation, see note *t*) on page 8 above.

(Note that section 6 is an *Off.*-section, while section 4 is a *K.*-section. The fact that we find a direct link between these sections indicates, that the difference in origin did not serve as a barrier against further integration of the text.)

PT 225-N, postscript (*κ*)

May Horus's Eye endure for you with you.

This is a common expression in the Pyramid Texts, particularly in a context of offering spells.²⁸ The Eye of Horus is a circumscription of everything that the deceased is provided with, through the offering ritual, for use in the Afterlife. This wish therefore means: "May your (supply of) offerings endure for you with you."

The expression "Horus's Eye" for "offerings" is during the Old Kingdom only known from a royal context: hence the classification of this section as a kingly one.

(Equating offerings with Horus's Eye was a typical exploit of magical power-play by means of analogy, in three (implicit) steps:

1. The offerings of this NN are the Eye of Horus.
2. His Eye was given (back) to Horus, because it belonged to him, because he was its rightful owner. His Eye could thereafter never again be taken from him, in all eternity.
3. These offerings are given to NN, because they belong to him, because he is their rightful owner. His offerings can hereafter never be taken from him, in all eternity.)

With the elimination in section 6 of the cultic direction "4 times", PT 225-N would not have had any link with offering texts, as all PT 224 versions have (with PT 224-T the most extensive one, through its title and postscript). This postscript in PT 225 may therefore have been added to retain that offering-aspect.

²⁸ See e.g. PT 171, 196, 199 and 223.