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Dia' Abou-Ghazi

Bewailing the King in the Pyramid Texts.

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BEWAILING THE KING IN THE PYRAMID TEXTS

BY

DIA' ABOU-GHAZI

To the triad of professors who aimed to flourish the science of Egyptology in the land of Egyptology : Ludwig Keimer, Vladimir Vikentiev, Etienne Drioton [1].

Egyptian monuments had given us rare examples of royal departure. The first comes from Tell el-Amarna [2]. It shows us Amenophis IV mourning the loss of one of his children. The second comes from the same 18th Dynasty. It shows us the funeral procession of Tut Ankh Amun [3]. The last came from the Meroetic period (160-150 B.C.). It represents the funeral of Queen Nahiriqua [4], accompanied with the mourners.

Such scenes were not the first documents that revealed to us the royal mourning as the Pyramid Texts depict this subject with its two sides. The liturgy of Royal mourning and the feeling of the people towards the departing king.

The liturgy of mourning rouses up from that in the story of Isis and Osiris [5]. As the end of Osiris was through killing, it roused a great anxiety and deep mourning. Death is deplorable always, but in the case of coming through killing, it appears more

[1] They died respectively on 16-8-1957, 8-2-1960, 17-1-1961. The latter was the first to leave his place in Cairo University (end of 1952).

[2] Bouriant, *Monuments pour servir à l'étude du culte d'Atonou en Egypte,* Le Caire 1903, t. I, p. 10, pl. VI-XIII; Werbrouck, *Les pleureuses dans l'Egypte ancienne,* Bruxelles 1938, p. 18-20, pl. XIII-XV.

[3] H. Carter, *The tomb of Tut-Ankh Amoun,* vol. II, p. 26.

[4] M. Werbrouck, *ibid.,* p. 88.

[5] See Mayassis, *Mystère et Initiation d'Egypte Ancienne,* Athènes 1957, §§ 31-33; E.J. Bleeker in *Numen,* V/I, Leiden 1958, p. 16-17, S. Schott in the *Pyramid Texts* IV, p. 107-108.

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sorrowful and more painful. It appears as if one has stolen the life of the other. For that Isis and Nephtys wept and wept that their weeping became the utmost ideal for sadness [1]. Through their weeping life came to Osiris, but it was a sort of life with which he could not live in the world of living, so he left to the other world to be its king and judge [2]. This was the aimed thought in ancient Egypt. To live after death keeping one's position [3].

So the king was to be bewailed in the same manner (PT. 1973) to attain life and dignity in the other world.

Several Pyramid texts gives us a real picture of what was running at the death of the king. In these text, we can differ between four stages.

1. The acts of mourning at the death of the King : 12 *a*, 460 *a-b*, 550 *a-c*, 726 *a*, 794 *c*, 1012 *d*, 1711 *c*, 1791, 1927 *c*, + 5, 6 (Nt. 754 and 709/18).

2. The general feeling towards the king being leaving to the other world : §§ 1365 *c*-1366, 2013-2014 *b*.

3. The feeling of the people : § 688.

4. The feeling towards the memory § 2117-2118.

Weeping [4] comes at the head of the mourning acts. In the texts of weeping; those who act as weepers are mentioned under several names. Isis and Nephtys (872 *a*); Smntt (726 *a*, 136 *a*, 2013 *a*) mint (794 *c*, 1012 *d*, 1366 *a*, 1711 *c*, 1927 *c* + 5, 2013 *a*); two souls (460 *a*) or spirits (1973 *b-c*) *'my ḫnt* [5] (726 *a*) and *wršw* (744 *b*) [6].

[1] C.J. Bleeker, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[2] See Budge, *Osiris* I, p. 305-312-313; Hopfner, *Plutarch über Isis u. Osiris*, Praha, 1941, II, p. 118.

[3] Cf. *PT.* Utterance 576 and § 134, 833, 1364 *d*; H. Goedicke, *Orientalia*, 24/3, p. 233; Davies, *The tomb of Antefoker*, p. 21.

[4] It accompanies the weeping some attitudes and movement of hand, cf. 1281 *b-c*, Werbrouck, *op. cit.*, p. 132 and 145.

[5] A priest who shares in burial liturgy. Cf. *WB.* I, 75/1, Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi* II, pl. VII, 4th register.

[6] Cf. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* III, 744 B, Mercer, *Pyramid Texts* II, 744 B. I think that this word denotes here the mourners in general. The importance of bringing mourners is witnessed by a text from the time of Pepy II. Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, 370 and Bleeker, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

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Smntt denotes the mourning woman [1] which stands in these texts for Isis as cleared by 1947. The same for mint [2] which indicated in 1927 *c* + 5 and 6, Isis as well as Nephtys. Both of them are considered in 1973 *b-c* as two spirits. In 460 *a*, they are mentioned as two souls. In this latter text I think that the souls of Heliopolis, have a part in weeping. Also the sky shares in this act (1365 *c*). By such sharing we find that weeping was not a mere sadness but a kind of glorification. While they pray [3] the god, the souls of Heliopolis chiefed by the two great weepers weep the king *i.e.* praise him.

Praising the king before entering the other world is well indicated by utterance 337. Here we find the cows who had to feed the king when beginning his first steps in the other world had to express their sorrow while praising him.

550 *a* 0 ye milk-cows, there, 0 ye nurse cows there,
550 *b* go around him, weep for him, praise him, lament for him.

Weeping is a sort of sadness, but also it denotes our consideration to the one whom we loose. It is such in this text : high consideration and numbering the deeds of the deplored king.

In 12 *a* we find the mother is the one weeping. I think that the sky is the one meant by the mother and not Isis as considered by Mercer [4] for two reasons. The text says :

He is the defender of his mother when she weeps for him, the defender of her who is united with him.

The one with whom the king unites as revealed by 1300 *a* (cf. 534 *b*) is the sky. It is also the one whom the king defends *i.e.* by supporting (2013 *a*) cf. 952 *c-d*, 1156 *b*. In our text it is considered as his mother. She weeps him and he defends her by uniting with her.

Thus we find the king had to be wept on earth and sky. In sky the weeping is not a mere express of sadness but accompanied by glorifying [5] the king through his deeds. Through these feelings the king has to feel as if he has lost nothing he lost life to begin another [6]. He supported the sky on earth, and he will be united

[1] *WB.*, IV, p. 136/1 ; Sethe, *Kommentar* III, 726 A ; Mercer, *Pyramid Texts* II, 726 A ; Garnot, *Hommage,* pp. 50.
[2] Cf. *WB.,* II 74/11, 12 and Sethe, *Kommentar* III, 794 C ; Garnot, *ibid.*
[3] Cf. § 550 *b*.
[4] A. Mercer, *op. cit.,* II, 12.
[5] Cf. Pap. Nebseni, CLXXII, 8.
[6] Cf. *PT.* 1006, 1975 *a, b*.

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with in the other world. He did for the welfare of his country and people, now his son will carry on with his message (cf. 905 *b*).

This act leads to the next phase of mourning as witnessed by the texts [1].

1973 *a* the gods in Buto were filled with compassion, when they came to Osiris N.
1973 *b* [at the voice of weeping] of Isis and at the lamentation of Nephtys,
1973 *c* at the wailing of these two spirits.
1974 *a* The Souls of Buto dance for thee.
1974 *b* they beat their flesh for thee : they hit their arms for thee ;
1974 *c* they dishevel their hair for thee ;
1974 *d* they smite their legs for thee.
1975 *a* they say to thee Osiris N. ; Thou art gone ; thou art come ;
1975 *b* thou art asleep ; thou art awake ; thou art dead (*mnỉ*) [2] ; thou art alive.

Thus on hearing about the death of the king through the sad crying of Isis and Nephtys the souls of Buto (*i.e.*, the divine kings) were to perform the next act. It was a solemn dance or pathetic one [3]. This mourning dance is described in lines 1974 *b-c* (cf. 1005 *b-c*) in four acts: beating the flesh, hiting the arms, dishevelling the hair [4] and smiting the legs [5]. These acts were accompanied by sympathising the king, as if nothing has happened, a repose for awhile then life again [6].

1947 *a* mentions another dance [7]. It is a festival one. After receiving the king on the sky and giving him the sustenance of the other life (1946 *c*) the *wršw i.e.* the

[1] For the effect of weeping see also Luddeckens, *Untersuchungen über religiosen Gehabt, Sprache und Form der ägypt.* Totenklagen, Berlin, 1943, p. 172-173 ; *PT.* 308 *e*, 312 *e* ; *Book of Dead,* Ch. 180/8-10.

[2] *WB.* II, p. 73/22.

[3] Cf. Garnot, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[4] Cf. Faulkner, *JEA,* XXII, p. 127, 9, 21 and note, and Davies, *The tomb of Nefer hotep at Thebes,* New York, 1935, I, pl. XXII-XXIII and II, pl. LV-V.

[5] The exact pictorial representation of this feeling is depicted in the tomb of Ramose ; Cf. N. de Garis Davies, *The tomb of the Vizier Ramose,* London, 1941, p. 24-25 and pl. XXIV, XLIX.

[6] Cf. *PT.* 1193 *b*. For the conception of death in the Pyramid texts see J. Zandee, *Death as an enemy according to ancient Egyptian conceptions,* Leiden, 1960 ; pp. 45 ; Gardiner, *The attitude of the ancient Egyptians to the death and Dead,* Cambridge, 1935, p. 13 and note 19 ; A. Goedicke, *Orientalia,* vol. 24. fasc. 3, p. 233.

[7] Cf. Lexova, *Ancient Egyptian dances,* Praha 1935, p. 39 and Wild, *Sources orientales* 6, p. 86 ; Mayassis, *op. cit.*, pp. 450.

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watchers of the sky performed in front of him the *ỉb*ꜣ dance to entertain him while chagrin is still on earth and his relatives are calling him.

Seeing the king departing to the other world, sadness transforms to another stage :

1366 *b* the feet agitate for thee, the hands wave for thee [1].
1366 *c* when thou ascendest to heaven as a star, as the morning star.

2014 *a* arms agitate for thee, feet tremble for thee
2014 *b* when thou ascendest as a star, as the morning star.

It is a bitter act coming from human being in front of a dear one leaving for ever. What to do except agitating the feet as if protesting in despair, and waving the hands as if trying to snatch the dead from his fate [2]. But it is death and the king has to go leaving despair to the agitated feelings.

Although the funeral and its rituals are depicted in the Old Kingdom tombs, but such poetic description is exactly pictured in the New Kingdom tombs [3] such as Raʿmose [4] and Nefer-Hotep [5].

Utterance 392 depicts the general feeling in a brief deep way [6].

§§ 688 : to say : the water of N. is in heaven ; the people of N. are on earth the heart is sad ? [7].

Here the text is a mere yield to fate. The king and his people are now on two ways. The sky for the departing one, the earth for the living. This left them with one feeling, the digging of the heart *i.e.* sadness in its profound shape.

This sadness overcoming the heart is narrated to us later in the story of Sinuhe : « The residence was hushed, hearts were filled with mourning» [8]. It is the farewell to the king from his people. Nothing after him except solemn sadness and nothing to him except his destiny, his death.

[1] Cf. 743 *d* : the arms interlace for thee ; the feet agitate for thee ; the hands wave for thee.

[2] See Werbrouck, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

[3] Cf. Werbrouck, *op. cit.*, p. 132 and Bleeker, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[4] Davies (Norman de Garis), *The tomb of the vizier Ramose,* p. 24-25 and pl. XXIV, XLIX.

[5] Davies, (N. de G.), *op. cit.*, p. 43 and pl. XXIV, Notice the raised up feet of some of the women. It is a sign of an agitating movement.

[6] Cf. Faulkner, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[7] Sethe, *Komm.* III, § 688 ; Mercer, *op. cit.* II, § 688.

[8] Gardiner, *Notes on the story of Sinuhe,* R. 9.

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The pyramid texts goes on depicting to us the feelings when the dead becomes a memory.

2117 [O.N.] I have wept for thee, I have mourned for thee.
2118 *a* I shall not forget thee, my heart will not weary to give thee offerings every day.
2118 *b* at the feast of the month, at the feast of the half month, at the feast of covering the firepan, at the feast of Thot, at the *wꜣg*-feast.
2118 *c* at the feast of slaughtering, at the feast of thy years, at the feast of thy birth, at the beginning of thy months, during which thou livest as a god.
2119 O.N. may thy body be clothed, that thou mayest come to me.

The general context is : mourned in present and unforgotten in future. In traditional feasts offerings will be offered to him beside the daily ones.

The necessity of offerings to the dead is cleared by § 559 and 2030 [1]. It ought to be durable (1294 *c*). Perpetual (cf. 772, 905 *c* and 2118 *a*) various and numerous (214 *b-c*, 474, 745-746, 905, 1748, 1954, 2128 *b* + 2, 3, 4 = Nt. 834-835. This variety and plenteousness is mentioned also in the other texts of the Old Kingdom and it is well known to us through the offerings that the excavations yielded to us [2]. They are different sorts of victuals mainly barley and spelt, birds and cattle beside bread, beer, jars of ointment, vases of perfume, garments, oxen heads different kinds of geese, all in thousands.

But the interesting matter in our texts is the feasts [3]. It gives us a list of the feasts in which the memory of the dead, one ought to celebrate [4].

First the feast of the month and the feast of the half month [5]. Barley and spelt [6] were consecrated for both of them (657 *a-c*). The first was celebrated on the first day night of the new month. This was considered always as the monthly birth of the king (732 *b*, 1772 *a* and cf. 1260 *a*); while the latter fell on the 15th day

[1] Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 13, Blackman, *JEA*, III, p. 32; Budge, *The liturgy of funerary offerings*, London 1909, p. 3.

[2] Examples are presented in the Egyptian Museum (e.g. P. 32, Case S). See also Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, vol. VI, part II, Cairo 1946.

[3] See Drioton, *Les fêtes dans les textes des Pyramides* in Mercer, *Pyramid Texts* IV, Exc. XXI, pp. 82; Foucart, *Encyclopedia of religion and ethics*, vol. 3, Edinburgh, 1910, pp. 203.

[4] These are some of the feasts usually mentioned in Old Kingdom Mastabas, see Parker, *Calendars*, p. 35.

[5] Cf. 794, 861, 1012, 1760 and 1711 *b*. The importance of the satisfaction and safety of the king in these feasts is witnessed by 897 *b-c*, 2055-2056.

[6] Cf. 811 *b* where water was offered to the king in both of them.

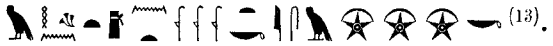
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in which the king was conceived. It meant the beginning for the preparation to the monthly birth (§ 1772 *a*).

It is difficult to determine the third feast *w*ꜣ*h* ʿ*ḥ* [1]. Could it be the feast celebrated on the occasion of the birth of the gods on the five epagomenal days? [2]. If so then it will be the feast of the year's end and so its place after the *W*ꜣ*g* and the feast of Thot in tombs inscriptions is more suitable [3]. It seems that a full meal was offered in this occasion consisting of different kinds of meat, vegetables, fruit, bread, wine, beer, water and natron for purification [4].

Then comes the feast of Thot and the *W*ꜣ*g* feast [5]. The latter was celebrated on the eighteenth day [6] of the first month of the first season of the Egyptian year (= 15 September). Although it is a feast of wine as witnessed by its determinative [7], we find that the offerings to the dead are consisted of barley (1880 *b*) corn (NT 768), bread [8] (2185 *a*), while it is an animal offering [9] in 716 *c*.

The feast of Thot although mentioned here before [10] the Wag festival, it falls after it *i.e.* the 19th of the same month (= 16 September). It is connected with the phases of the moon [11], only mentioned once in the pyramid texts, but always in the Old Kingdom tombs.

In the next line 2118 *c* the restoration of Sethe differs from the text of Neit [12]. That of Sethe gives the meaning that the king will be glorified always year by year, even month by month.  [13].

[1] See, Junker, in *Miscellanea Gregoriana,* Rome 1941, p. 109; *Giza* II, p. 46. Drioton, *op. cit.,* p. 85.

[2] Cf. 1961 *b-c*. In Julian date these feasts coincide with 24-28 August.

[3] Junker, *Giza* II, p. 60-61.

[4] For a detailed list see Junker, in *Miscellanea Gregoriana,* p. 111-116.

[5] Clerc in Proceedings of twenty third Congress of Orientalists suggests to be read *W*ꜣ*gy* instead of *w*ꜣ*g*. It is a feast connected with Osiris as cleared from 819 *c,* 820 and Nt. 777. See also Drioton, *op. cit.*

[6] The night of the *w*ꜣ*g* feast was also celebrated *i.e.* the night of the seventeenth day of the month. Cf. *Ḥp-df*ꜣ inscriptions, Breasted, *Records* I, § 573, 577, 590.

[7] Sethe, *Komm.* IV, p. 66. — In *Ḥp df*ꜣ text beer is one of the offerings. Breasted, *ibid.,* § 550; Hopfner, *op. cit.,* p. 291.

[8] Cf. *Ḥp df*ꜣ inscriptions, *ibid.,* §§ 550, 555 and 564.

[9] Sethe, *op. cit.,* II, 716 *c;* Drioton, *op. cit.,* p. 85 indentifies it with a small cow. Mercer adds (*op. cit.,* II, p. 354) that it might be a bull.

[10] It is not the only case that it precedes the *w*ꜣ*g* cf. Junker, *Giza* II, p. 60, 61, 116.

[11] Drioton, *op. cit.*

[12] Jéquier, *Les Pyramides des Reines Neit,* XXII, 600, 601.

[13] Cf. Drioton, *op. cit.*; Speleers, *Textes des Pyramides,* 2118.

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That of Neit mentions a feast of slaughtering  [1], perhaps it is that of her memorial [2] as we know that an offering ought to be made to the king on his burial (817 *a*, 1120 *c*) [3] *i.e.* on the day of his departure to the sky (817 *b*, 1121 *a*, *b* and 1961 *a*) [4].

Thus, perhaps the first offering to the king ought to be celebrated in the same manner *i.e.* by slaughtering. The remaining of the text denotes briefly the continuous service which would be offered from the livings to the royal living dead.

Pyr. 861 mentions nearly the same feasts with addition of the feast of the sixth day [5].

Although life after death in the same manner was their belief, but death was bitterly deplored [6], not being only a separation from ones family, but being taken away from the usual life [7]. It is the dept of the living towards the departing one to make him share their feasts and festivals through offerings [8].

[1] Cf. *WB* III, p. 122; Mercer, *op. cit.*, III, 2118.

[2] The text mentions an annual celebration cf. Pyr. 965 *b*, 1880 *b*, 2148 *b* and W. S. Blackmann, *The fellahin of Upper Egypt*, Edinburgh 1927, p. 299.

[3] Cf. Pyr. 1323 *c*, 1326 *a*.

[4] Cf. Pyr. 1323 *d*, 1326 *a*.

[5] See Drioton, *op. cit.*, p. 83 and 84.

[6] It was always a frightful mishap. See, Zandee, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[7] Cf. Montet, *La vie quotidienne en Egypte au temps de Ramsès*, Paris 1946, p. 313-314 and cf. Zandee, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[8] Cf. Nelson, *JNES* VIII, episodes, 40, p. 325 and 53, p. 337.

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