

TD 8. Des Textes des Pyramides aux Textes des Sarcophages

Plan du TD :

- Le pain et la bière 5. La fabrication du pain et des moules 10 mn
- Rappel de contexte : les Textes des Pyramides 15 mn
- Lecture comparée de passages des Textes des Pyramides / des Sarcophages 40 mn
- Atelier historiographique : lecture obligatoire et documents complémentaires 50 mn

Le pain et la bière 5. Fabrication du pain et des moules

10 mn

Diapo 3

Faire récapituler étapes précédentes : vannage, stockage dans silo, puis tamisage éventuel pour enlever les impuretés, mouture du grain

Les ingrédients du pain sont simples : eau et farine, ce qui avec le blé amidonnier (qui plus est moulu moins finement au vu des technologies disponibles) produit une pâte beaucoup plus semblable à de la « bouillie » qu'avec le blé tendre que nous utilisons le plus souvent aujourd'hui. On fait aussi des pains d'orge, pas seulement de blé. On a également pu identifier des agrémentations comme des figues, dattes, graines de coriandre (peu d'épices en Egypte à cette époque mais la coriandre y existe) ajoutées au pain.

Comment peut-on connaître la composition des denrées alimentaires, de manière générale ?

Parfois les légendes des scènes de **boulangerie** peuvent nous apprendre certains ingrédients entrant dans leur composition, mais surtout étude d'éventuels **résidus dans les contenants** (vaut pour toutes les préparations alimentaires, aussi et surtout pour la bière qu'on verra une prochaine fois ; parfois appelés **caramel alimentaire** quand c'est une couche carbonisée restée dans le fond du vase), et enfin **étude des pains eux-mêmes**

Faire rappeler dans quels cas les matières organiques se préservent

Desséchés, carbonisés (et s'appliquant moins en Egypte : totalement immergé – pour le bois surtout – dans l'eau ou dans la tourbe, congelé). On a donc plusieurs pains préservés qu'il est possible d'étudier (diapo 4) mais **attention** : ils ne sont pas nécessairement représentatifs du pain mangé tous les jours, en particulier parce que la plupart proviennent de contextes funéraires. Les **formes et les ingrédients spécifiques** ne sont donc pas forcément le pain quotidien.

Diapo 5

Evolution dans la forme des moules à pain

Diapo 6

Résultat d'une expérimentation menée en 2014 : examiner les détails de ce moule à pain expérimental. Que voyez-vous ?

Petits trous dans la surface : spécifique de la façon dont la pâte céramique est fabriquée, et notamment de son **dégraissant** : expliquer le principe et demander des exemples de **dégraissants possibles** ; en l'occurrence, pour obtenir en expérimentation des traces identiques aux exemplaires antiques, paillettes de déjections d'âne séchées ont été utilisées

Traces de doigt : Moules mis au point sur une forme en bois conique (résultant, lors du démoulage, en des marques lorsqu'on les en sort)

Diapos 7-8

👉 Rappel : première pyramide à textes ?

👉 Ils savent déjà que c'est sous Ounas (murs du caveau, de l'antichambre et une partie du couloir) sont décorés, avec hiéroglyphes peints en bleu)

👉 Faire rappeler de quoi il s'agit

👉 Formules magiques de divers types, censées être prononcées à l'oral (débutant systématiquement par *Dd mdw*) : « **de provende** » (formules d'offrande alimentaire pour assurer la survie post-mortem du défunt), de protection contre des maux susceptibles d'être rencontrés dans l'au-delà, d'aide à la résurrection, etc.

Diapo 9

👉 Petit récap historiographique des travaux les plus importants à connaître sur les TP, notamment sur les travaux de **Jim Allen** (lecture des textes dans leur contexte architectural, comme accompagnant la progression du roi défunt – publication en 2005 !) et de **Bernard Mathieu** (rapport à l'oral et origine de ces textes qu'il considère comme composés sur une période extrêmement longue et trouvant peut-être leur origine dans la période prédynastique)

Note si le sujet est évoqué : théorie « cosmographique » et lecture spatiale des TP par Allen a été récemment remise en question par Harold Hays : « selon lui, les TP ne doivent pas être lus comme une séquence linéaire (...) et on ne peut non plus établir une quelconque corrélation entre un élément architectural de l'infrastructure des pyramides et un secteur précis du cosmos (...) ainsi, on ne peut désigner ni la chambre funéraire ni l'antichambre comme étant respectivement la *Douat* et l'*akhet*, dans la mesure où ces deux régions du cosmos sont citées dans l'un ou l'autre de ces appartements funéraires (...) en outre, plusieurs 'récitations' apparaissent en différents endroits des pyramides, ce qui tend à confirmer leur dissociation du cadre architectural »

Diapo 10

👉 Rappel : quelles reines de Pépy Ier connaissez-vous déjà ? Et notamment celle qui est la mère de Pépy II, et la très probable régente lorsqu'il accède au pouvoir très jeune ?

👉 **Ankhsenpépy II** (lecture alternative Ankhnespépy II) est la première reine à bénéficier des Textes des Pyramides dans sa pyramide – du moins dans l'état actuel des connaissances, car cette pyramide à texte a été découverte en 2000.

Diapo 11

👉 Observer les 2 figures, qui sont un fac-similé de textes des pyramides gravés dans la pyramide d'Ounas. De quoi s'agit-il ?

👉 Le mot du dessous (peut-être ceux qui font de l'épigraphie le reconnaissent-ils) est *nswt* (traduire ou faire traduire) : 👉 **pourquoi regraver par-dessus ? que peut-on en conclure sur ces textes ?**

👉 Textes probablement recopiés sur les murs à partir d'une copie « standardisée » sur papyrus (repentirs après recopiage inattentif de termes génériques comme ici, mais aussi retranscriptions fautives de signes hiéroglyphes en hiéroglyphes sont attestés, et enfin des fautes dans la pyramide d'Ankhenesépépy II qui contient des démonstratifs masculins et non féminins à plusieurs endroits, c'est-à-dire fautes d'inattention et non adaptation parfaite au contexte). **Mais** ces compositions ne sont pas seulement standardisées, car **les formules ne sont pas toujours les mêmes** : variantes de

certaines formulations et surtout « anthologie » de divers sorts qui ne sont pas toujours tous présents en même temps. C'est une constante de ces recueils de formules funéraires que l'on retrouvera aussi dans les Textes des Sarcophages

📖 Diapo 12

👉 Rappel : jusqu'à quand construit-on des pyramides royales ?

👉 Pendant la PPI et à nouveau, après un « gap » (XIe dynastie), au Moyen Empire et début DPI. Mais les TP se maintiennent dans les pyramides **jusqu'à la VIIIe dynastie** (ex. **Qakarê-Ibi**, à Saqqara, pyramide peut-être usurpée mais dont les textes ont bien été gravés pour lui)

Lecture comparée de passages TP/CT

40 mn

📖 Diapos 14-15

👉 Lecture des 2 textes + 10/15 mn pour analyser les passages choisis en groupe et tenter d'en tirer des lignes de force comparatives

👉 attention, coquille dans le fascicule change considérablement le sens des titres.....

Similarités	Différences
Forme	
Rédigé à la 2^e personne et adressé au défunt dans la plupart des formules	Les CT ont des titres pour chaque formule, que n'ont pas les TP (+ ces titres ne sont pas toujours évidents et résultent clairement soit d'une interprétation, soit de connaissances paratextuelles qui ne sont pas directement répercutées dans la formule elle-même)
Performativité de l'écrit et de la parole réalisés notamment à travers des formes verbales spécifiques : négation, impératif, futur, optatif (« rien n'a cessé pour toi », « réveille-toi », « cet Ounas vivra », « puisses-tu... »)	
	Une 1^e personne est présente (« je suis venu et je t'ai amené l'œil [d'Horus] »), qui représente sans doute le prêtre ritualiste chargé d'accomplir les sakhou
Fond	
Analogie avec le destin d'Osiris (dont le culte n'est pourtant pas encore si répandu à l'AE, mais qui commence à être mis en avant à partir de la fin de la Ve dynastie)	
Rapport aux dieux : à la fois filiation et assimilation	Posture peut-être plus « humble » dans certains sorts spécifiques aux CT : comparer TP « parmi tes frères les dieux » ≠ CT « Salut à vous, les âmes des Seigneurs... »
Négation de la mort et thématiques de la régénération/réjuvenation/revivification (« cet Ounas n'est pas mort ! », « ayant été rajeuni »)	Volonté d'éviter les dangers que l'on peut rencontrer dans son chemin pour l'au-delà, voire une seconde mort sont peut-être plus présents dans les CT (« sort pour ne pas marcher la tête en bas »)

Conclusion générale : des corpus différents (quoique les CT incorporent de nombreuses formules déjà dans les TP) qui ont beaucoup en commun mais font montrent d'une notable évolution, si bien qu'ils ne peuvent pas être confondus. + longtemps théorie de la **démocratisation** progressive de l'accès à ces textes et donc *in fine* à l'au-delà, mais pour autant les formules que l'on a citées ne permettent pas d'y voir une différence de public radicale

Diapos 16-17

☞ **Point méthode : lire un article d'encyclopédie.** Profiter de l'état de la question normalement proposé dans l'article pour ☞ **définir** les concepts en présence avec précision (c'est-à-dire, notamment, en les distinguant d'autres termes qui ont l'air proches : cf. défaut de définition de *véracité* par rapport à *vérité* dans les fiches de lecture sur L. Coulon...); ☞ jeter un œil (plus encore que d'habitude) à la **bibliographie** listée, pour avoir une idée des auteurs les plus importants sur la question ; et ☞ fiche **les théories en présence** avec le nom de leur inventeur ou défenseur le plus important.

Diapo 18

☞ **Résumer la théorie de la « démocratisation » qui était présentée dans les pages 1-2 de l'article**

☞ là aussi, petit point méthodo : pour caractériser une théorie, il est utile de définir sa période d'émergence, son ou ses promoteurs les plus importants, et ses idées et arguments principaux... l'un au moins de ces paramètres étant très fréquemment oubliés dans vos fiches de lecture
+ s'il y a le temps, faire rappeler la notion de **littérature pessimiste**
+ **évoquer le problème des éditions standardisées**, et notamment le fait (cf. article UCLA p. 5) que la première édition des CT ne comprenait pas les spells identiques à ceux déjà dans les TP
☞ citations tirées de Harco Willems, *Les textes des sarcophages et la démocratie*, 2008 : ☞ à commenter

Diapo 19

☞ Deux contre-arguments majeurs à cette théorie

☞ **15/20 mn de travail sur les documents et l'article en 2 groupes séparés :**

- Pages 3-4 et 7-8 + document 3, page 27 du syllabus
- Pages 5-6 et 9-10 + document 4, page 28 du syllabus

Diapo 20

☞ **Présentation par le groupe 1**

☞ Argument 1 : **ces formules étaient déjà accessibles à l'élite avant la fin de l'Ancien Empire**

(dans les notes sur l'article pages suivantes, en jaune)

Faire rappeler la différence entre **preuves directes** et **preuves indirectes**

Diapo 20

☞ **Présentation par le groupe 2**

☞ Argument 2 : **ces formules ne sont pas pour autant plus accessibles après l'Ancien Empire**

et elles restent un phénomène élitare extrêmement restreint

(dans les notes sur l'article pages suivantes, en bleu)

Diapo 21

Récap des arguments

Diapo 22

 **Au final, de quelle nature sont les changements des TP aux CT ?**

(dans les notes sur l'article pages suivantes, **en vert** + faire récapituler ce qui a été dit lors de l'analyse des extraits des textes plus tôt)

Aussi un changement dans la culture matérielle funéraire,  diapo 23

Mark Smith, « Democratization of the Afterlife », UCLA (2009)

1 Rappel, dans les choses à retenir : “**Not all pyramids have the same number of them, nor do they always occur in the same sequence**” + “One particularly important category of spells within this corpus is **that of *sakhu*, or ‘glorifications’**. **These are ritual utterances whose purpose is to transfigure the deceased into an *akh***, or glorified spirit, enabling them to join the company of the gods in the afterlife and share in the privileges that they enjoyed (Assmann 2001:323). As a result of the recitation of such spells **in conjunction with the mummification rituals** performed for his benefit, the deceased ruler was believed to acquire an Osirian aspect or form as well”

2 Opinion classique : “At some point after the end of the Old Kingdom, glorifications and other spells intended to benefit the deceased in the afterlife began to be inscribed inside the coffins of non-royal individuals who had sufficient means to pay for them to be decorated in this manner (...) A number of the spells in question were taken over from the Pyramid Texts, in some instances with considerable editing or alteration, but there is a large amount of new material as well. In many Coffin Text spells, non-royal individuals are referred to as the Osiris of so-and-so, just as royalty had been earlier”

2 “Some believe that the Coffin Texts reflect a change in religious ideas triggered by the decline of royal power and centralized control in the First Intermediate Period, and consequent loss of respect for both the person of the king and the institution of kingship itself at that time (...) Whereas previously, these individuals had experienced, at best, an attenuated form of survival after death in comparison with the king’s, centered around their tombs in the necropolis, now then enjoyed the same benefits as their rulers”

2 🖱️ **A faire gloser** : “Willems (2008) has attempted to trace the origin and spread of this idea in Egyptology, a development which he sees as a reaction to the upheavals of the First World War and its aftermath, but in fact it is attested much earlier”

2 “**First of all, it is a well-established fact that non-royal individuals already had access to glorification spells and other texts for the afterlife during the OK itself, prior to the FIP**. Remains of phrases similar to those found in some Coffin Text spells have been discovered on fragments of a shroud belonging to a provincial governor named Medunefert from Balat in the Dakhla Oasis. It has been argued that these were originally inscribed on his coffin, which is now lost, and were imprinted on the shroud as a result of prolonged direct contact between its surface and that of the inner wall of the coffin in damp conditions”

3 “**Although the direct evidence provided by actual specimens of works of this nature is rather sparse, we have abundant evidence, both representational and textual**, which demonstrates that non-royal individuals already had access to and enjoyed the benefits of glorifications and similar ritual utterances in the OK. A scene in the 6th Dynasty tomb of Kagemni at Saqqara, for instance, depicts a lector priest reading from a papyrus roll for his benefit. The labels in front of and behind this figure inform us that he is ‘*reciting numerous glorifications*’ (Assmann 2002) (...) Furthermore, **a number of statements in tomb inscriptions of this period attest to the tomb owner’s access to and knowledge of such spells**. Thus, in his tomb at Giza, the 6th Dynasty scribe Ankhudja asserts, ‘I am an excellent spirit who knows his utterances’”

3 “**The attribution of the status of *akh*, ‘spirit’, to the non-royal deceased is attested very early in Egyptian history**. Since an individual was believed to acquire this status as a direct result of the recitation of glorification spells for his benefit, a practice already attested in the early 4th Dynasty tomb of Metjen, this attribution in itself is sufficient proof that access to such texts was not solely a royal prerogative in the Old Kingdom”

3 Théorie ‘concurrente’ de celle des instances de la personne sur le *ba* “The *ba* is not an element or component of an individual. Rather, it is the whole person, but as seen from a particular aspect: the form in which that person was manifested in the physical world posthumously (...) Having a fully functioning *ba* was viewed as contingent upon being or becoming a spirit. **Although references to *bas* of the non-royal deceased are relatively rare in the OK, they do nevertheless occur**. The same applies to the Osirian aspect or form to which reference has been made above (...) The precise dating of the earliest attributions of an Osirian aspect to non-royal individuals has been disputed, but at least some examples can be assigned to the OK”

4 “**On one level, therefore, the nature of the change marked by the Coffin Texts is not so much a change in belief viz. that now a wider section of Egyptian society could share in privileges and benefits in the afterlife that were previously a royal prerogative) as it is a change in practice. Whereas before non-royal individuals did not have texts for the afterlife inscribed in their tombs or on objects (...) now they did**”

4 “The precise motives for this development may be irrecoverable, rather like those that led to **the abandonment of the practice of inscribing texts for the afterlife in royal tombs** after the end of the OK (...) Nevertheless, it is possible to suggest **various factors that may have influenced the change. Previously, religious scruples may have prevented lengthy texts of this nature from being inscribed in the burial chamber for fear that those of their constituent signs that depicted living creatures might harm the occupant, defile his purity, or consume his food offerings** (...) The Egyptians believed that by inscribing or depositing ritual texts in a tomb they could eternalize a rite. The texts constituted not simply a record of it, but a performance as well, **ensuring that it would be repeated unceasingly at each appropriate moment for all eternity even without further intervention on the part of any human agency.** In the OK, priests came to tombs and recited glorifications and other texts for the occupants on feast days and other important occasions, and in some instances even daily. With such visits occurring on a regular basis, perhaps it was not considered essential to perpetuate the rites by any other means (...) Archaeological evidence shows cemetery sites continued in use without interruption throughout the period. If anything, there was an increased expenditure on material provision for the afterlife at this time (...) **Yet another possibility is that texts for the afterlife were already being deposited in private tombs in the OK, but these were inscribed on rolls of papyrus that have not survived**”

5 **“Can the Coffin Texts really be distinguished from the Pyramid Texts or are both parts of a larger corpus of texts for the afterlife that was already in existence in the OK? And second, if such a corpus did exist at that time, was it accessible to non-royalty as well as royalty?”**

5 “Recent research on the Pyramid and CT has tended to **highlight their similarities and points of convergence.** The standard edition of the latter (de Buck 1935 – 1962) omitted many spells on coffins that were already known from the Pyramid Texts, creating the impression that those without an earlier parallel occurred in isolation and thus constituted an entirely distinct corpus. **But the recent publication of spells omitted by de Buck (Allen 2006) has redressed the balance to some extent,** underlining the fact that the 2 groups of utterances do actually occur in conjunction with each other on coffins and other objects. Moreover, ongoing archaeological and epigraphic work in the pyramids of the kings and queens of the 6th Dynasty at Saqqara has resulted in the **recovery and identification of several new Pyramid Text spells, including a number that were previously only known as Coffin Texts**”

5 “Such developments have led some to claim that **the two collections of spells are essentially one, both belonging to a single continuously developing corpus.** The most comprehensive argument for the essential identity of the PT and CT has been advanced by Mathieu (2004). **This is based upon 5 points: 1) a number of spells are common to both collections; 2) both can be found inscribed on the surfaces of the same types of object; 3) the oldest Coffin Text spells are not much later than the earliest attestations of the Pyramid Texts; 4) both Pyramid and Coffin Texts contain the same range of spell genres and display the influence of Heliopolitan religious thought; and 5) the same groups of people had access to and made use of both**”

5 “All of this may well be true, but it hardly proves the identity of the Pyramid and the Coffin Texts. The same points can be made in relation to the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead, but one would certainly not argue on this basis that those two collections of spells are identical, despite the fact that there are connections between them and a certain amount of development from one to the other. One is justified in speaking about the identity of individual spells or sequences of spells when these are transmitted from an earlier collection to a later one, but not about the identity of the collections themselves”

5 “A more nuanced view has been expressed by Willems (2008). He notes that, **although Pyramid Text spells do appear on the coffins of non-royal individuals after the end of the Old Kingdom, the number of these is relatively circumscribed, a point already made by de Buck, who says that on such coffins they ‘form a distinct body of texts, a foreign body clearly different from the other spells’.** **Willems also draws attention to certain features of the Coffin Texts that distinguish them unambiguously from their earlier counterpart – for instance, the marked emphasis on the importance of family links in many Coffin Text spells, in particular those between father and son,** and the patterns of social organization in the afterlife that these texts presuppose (...) Moreover, the ‘*god’s domain*’, a term denoting the necropolis and, by extension, the underworld, is of central importance in the Coffin Texts as a locus for the deceased’s activities in the hereafter (...) [6] It would not be difficult to adduce further examples to illustrate the same point: despite the many features they share in common, the ‘world’ of the Coffin Texts and that of the Pyramid Texts are figuratively and literally two very different places”

6 **“One should allow for a certain amount of reinterpretation over time. A good index of this is probably provided by the titles and colophons that were added to such spells in their later versions.** Mathieu (2004) assumes that these features must have been present in the OK versions as well, but were omitted when the texts were carved on the walls of

pyramid chambers. He argues that they would have been unnecessary, since the nature and function of a particular spell would have been apparent from its position on a particular wall or chamber. However, chamber and wall location normally only provides generic information about a spell or group of spells (...) **Therefore, titles and colophons would have been no less useful for purposes of identification and providing other information on the walls of these monuments than they were on coffins. Given the lack of any more cogent explanation for their virtually complete absence from the Pyramid Texts, one is probably justified in regarding such features as a later invention**"

6 "Pyramid Text Spell 315, in its later incarnation as Coffin Text Spell 421, acquires the title 'Proceeding to Heliopolis and receiving offerings there'. The reason for the attribution of a title like this to a spell that mentions neither Heliopolis, nor offerings, nor movement of any sort, may be difficult for us to discern, but It nevertheless represents a conscious decision on the part of the attributor, and as such is a development of some significance in the text's transmission and reception"

6 "Both clearly belong to the same tradition. **But the idea that they are essentially the same, or that the latter, in their entirety, represent a direct, linear development from the former is improbable** (...) Moreover, this view assumes an uninterrupted chronological progression from one to the other, and whether there was such a progression is a matter of considerable debate. Some place the origin of the Coffin Texts as a distinctive corpus squarely within the FIP, while others believe that this is primarily a development of the Middle Kingdom, proponents of each view arguing that the texts reflect social conditions specific to their time of creation. Obviously, **the later one dates the CT, the more difficult it becomes to sustain a case for direct linear development from the PT**"

7 "**There is relatively little in the PT that appears to be of explicitly royal nature, while on the other hand a number of PT utterances (...) show clear evidence of having been composed with non-royal persons in mind. Thus, both rulers and their subjects are likely to have drawn their afterlife texts from a common stock**"

7 " [5th dynasty Mastaba of Nimaatra at Giza] *'the king ordered all the rites of glorification to be carried out for me'* (...) **Statements like these last 2 might be taken as an indication that it was the king who granted the privilege of being glorified. However, the vast majority of those who claim to have enjoyed the benefits of glorification rites or assert that they know the spells employed in them make no reference to the ruler's involvement** (...) Thus it is more likely that in the cases just noted, the king actually paid for the performance of the rites as a mark of special favor, and this is what the tomb owner is recording. One can compare other Old Kingdom inscriptions in which the occupant of a tomb boasts that the ruler provided him with a false door, sarcophagus, or even an entire tomb, such gifts being cited as evidence of how highly he was esteemed by the monarch whom he served. **This is not to say that the king had no influence whatsoever over who was glorified and who was not. A decree of the ephemeral ruler Demedjibtawy asserts that he has the power to prohibit malefactors from joining the spirits in the necropolis**"

7 "A number of tomb owners explicitly refer to the glorification spells as '**writings of the house of the god's book**', implying that there was a library or archive where copies of these were kept. This repository can be further described as 'the house of the god's book of the *shenut*-shrine', which suggests that it was attached or connected to a temple. **It is of interest that all of the above references come from tombs at Saqqara, adjacent to the capital Memphis.** In his tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi, the nomarch and overseer of Upper Egypt Ibi asserts that he is an excellent and well-equipped spirit who knows '**all the secret magic of the residence, every secret thing through which one is transfigured in the necropolis**', further evidence of the existence of an archive containing glorification spells in the capital"

8 "The Field of Offerings, a region of the night sky situated to the north of the ecliptic, figures prominently in the Pyramid Texts as a destination that the king is supposed to reach. Iteti's formula demonstrates that contemporary non-royalty could aspire to reach the same destination, since it envisages that its beneficiary will '*travel on the beautiful roads to the Field of Offerings*', and presumably he was supposed to gain admittance to this celestial region with the aid of the same sort of spells that allowed royalty to enter it"

8 "In the case of glorification spells then, there is good reason to think that non-royal individuals in the Old Kingdom had access to the same corpus of material as their rulers. The situation was probably very much the same as with the offering ritual, another important ceremony for ensuring the deceased's well-being in the afterlife. It is clear that by the early 5th Dynasty, and possibly before then, a canonical offering list had come into being. This comprise more than 90 items, arranged in a more or less fixed sequence, which were presented to kings and their subjects alike (Barta 1963) (...) The only difference between the royal and private versions of the offering ritual is that the former incorporates the presentation of various objects pertaining to the Rite of Opening the Mouth, certain items of the king's regalia, and a short concluding meal. Initially, these were omitted in the non-royal version, although by the end of the 6th Dynasty the objects in the first group had been added to it as well"

9 “How are the Coffin Texts, or more specifically those Coffin Texts spells not found in the Pyramid Texts, related to that corpus? There are 3 possibilities. First, they may comprise material drawn from the corpus that does not appear in any of the royal pyramids because it was used in other ritual contexts. Willems (2008), for instance, suggests that some of the material in the Coffin Texts may reflect cultic activities that took place in the so-called *ka*-mansions (...). Second, they may comprise material unrelated to the corpus because it was composed after the end of the OK. The third, and most likely, possibility is that they are a mixture of these two types of material. If this conclusion is correct, then the CT do mark a real religious change in so far as they introduce new spells, including previously unattested types of spell, adapt or reinterpret old spells, and combine the two in a distinctive new corpus”

9 “Some, for example, Willems (2008) have objected to the use of such terms in connection with the appearance of the Coffin Texts for another reason, viz. that only a tiny minority of individuals could have afforded a coffin decorated and inscribed with lengthy texts for the afterlife. According to him, ownership of such an object would have been the equivalent of owning a Rolls Royce today. This argument rather misses the point. If no new social groups gained access to the benefits conferred by the Coffin Texts, then the overall number of those who had such access is irrelevant. [10] The argument also assumes that the only means of access to these benefits was through the ownership of a decorated and inscribed coffin, ignoring the possibility that some, perhaps many, may have possessed copies of the spells written on less expensive media, such as rolls of papyrus. The fact that only a few can afford to own a Rolls Royce today does not mean that all others are debarred from having cars, since cheaper alternatives are available as well”

10 “One should also remember that access and ownership are two different things. Even some who were unable to afford their own scroll may have been able to arrange for a priest or someone with the requisite ritual expertise to recite spells like those in the CT for them using an archival manuscript or their own personal copy, which would then be returned to wherever it was kept until the next time it was needed”

10 Partie de la conclusion : “Religious change is not necessarily linked to political change. Some writers (e.g. Assmann 1996) present a schematic view of Egyptian history in which each successive political phase brings with it a new and distinctive religious ethos. This is overly simplistic. As Shaw (2000) points out, cultural and social patterns and trends do not always fit neatly within the framework of dynasties, kingdoms, and intermediate periods that Egyptologists are accustomed to use in studying political history. Sometimes they transcend, or even conflict with, that framework”